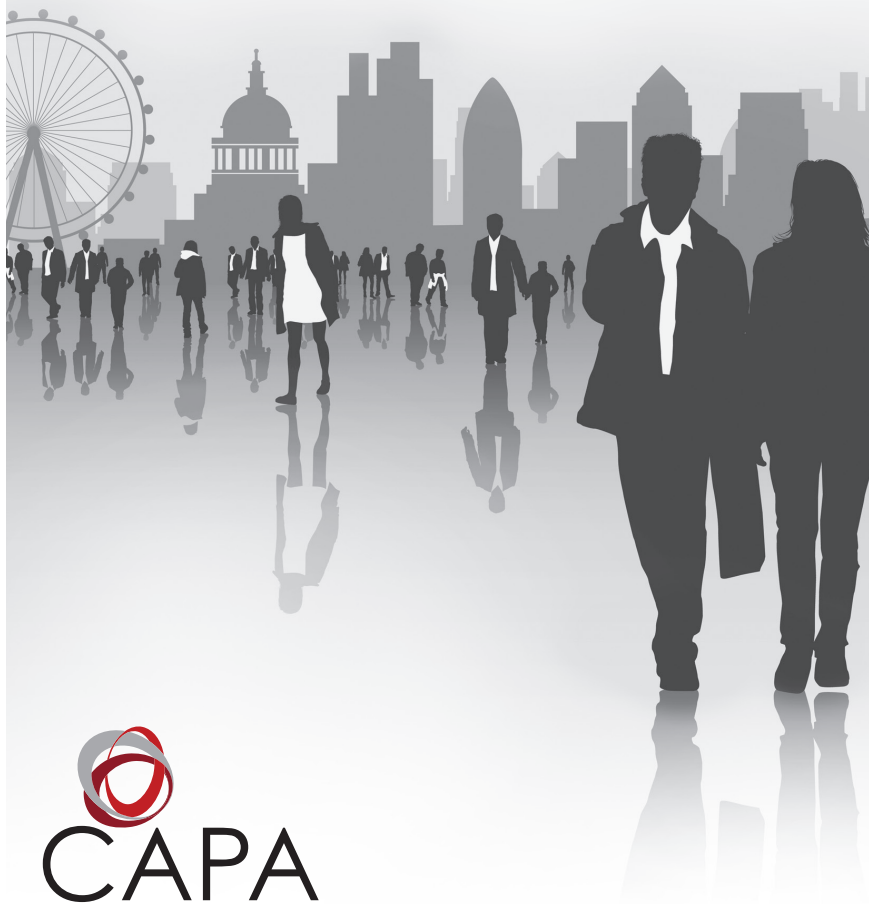# Cosmopolitanism and Diversity

Concepts, Practices and Policies In Education Abroad

Editors: Anthony Gristwood & Michael Woolf

CAPA
INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION

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CAPA INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION

CAPA International Education is an international education organization committed to high-quality educational provision. Academic excellence, integrity and innovation in education abroad are at the center of CAPA's endeavors.

Our mission is to provide meaningful learning abroad experiences that challenge and inspire students to analyze and explore complex political, cultural and social landscapes within urban environments. Through our commitment to personalized learning, academic rigor and cultural engagement, we prepare students to live and work in a globally interdependent and diverse world.

This mission is served by the creation of strategic and integrated learning opportunities. We believe that experiential education is a key pedagogy in that process. To that end, the development of mechanisms for critical engagement with host societies is crucial. The CAPA learning experience is characterized by the integration of curriculum, formal and informal experiential education, and study environments conducive to the analysis and exploration of the global cities in which we are located: learning laboratories in which students are empowered to develop their academic skills.

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Contributors

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Andrew Gordon founded Diversity Abroad in 2006 to connect students and young professionals with meaningful international opportunities. Andrew earned a BS from the University of San Francisco and studied abroad in Cuernavaca and Seville. He is also an alumnus of INROADS and AIESEC. Andrew is a member of NAFSA: Association of International Educators, the National Association of Black Accountants, and the Association of Latino Professionals in Finance and Accounting. Prior to starting Diversity Abroad, Andrew worked as an associate at Deloitte & Touche, with Duff & Phelps in San Francisco, California, and for Equifax in Madrid, Spain.

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Darren Kelly holds a PhD in Cultural Geography and for over ten years has designed and taught numerous interdisciplinary and service-learning programs for American students studying in Ireland. From 2007-08, he was a Fulbright Scholar-in-Residence at Beloit College, working with the Office of International Education. He has contributed two chapters to *Integrating Study Abroad into the Curriculum: Theory and Practice across the Disciplines* (2009) and wrote on the changing nature of the study abroad student experience due to increased internet usage in a *New Directions in Higher Education Special Issue: International Collaborations: Opportunities, Strategies, Challenges,* Volume 2010 Issue 150 (Summer 2010).

Lance M. Kenney is the Director of International Studies at Villanova University. He entered the field as an Assistant (Resident) Director for Brethren Colleges Abroad, living in Cheltenham, England, for five years. While in the UK, he completed an MA in International Relations at the University of Bristol, specializing in international political theory.   Joining Villanova University in 2000 as Assistant Director, he was promoted to Director one year later. Lance has been the SECUSSA representative for Region VIII and has served on the advisory boards for Arcadia University's Center for Education Abroad; Butler University's Institute or Study Abroad; and Lexia International.   He has also served in elected positions for the Forum on Education Abroad, the Pennsylvania Council on International Education, and the Institute for the International Education of Students.   He has presented papers and written book reviews on a wide range of issues related to education abroad, particularly critical theory and philosophy.

Fiona O'Riordan (BABS; MBS; MEd; currently pursuing EdD) is the Head of the Centre for Academic Excellence, Griffith College in Dublin, Ireland. Fiona spearheaded the Centre as a focus for best pedagogical practice and pastoral care for Griffith College academics. She is a founding member of an internationally recognized conference for engaging pedagogy – ICEP (International Conference for Engaging Pedagogy, see www.icep.ie) and was conference chair for Higher Education Colleges Association 2011. She is the co-author of two chapters in the book *Emerging Issues in Higher Education*, which will be published in June 2013. She was commissioned by the National Academy for the Integration of Research, Teaching and Learning to contribute to a report for the Higher Education Authority in April 2012 on the establishment

of a National Academy for the Enhancement of Teaching and Learning. As Head of the Centre for Promoting Academic Excellen, Fiona advises on the selection, alignment, and practice of appropriate teaching and assessment strategies to promote and support effective learning. In addition, she plays a key role on all new program development and programmatic reviews. She successfully led, and worked with, curriculum design teams to secure HETAC validation. Fiona also championed and advanced academic development through initiatives such as the Special Purpose Training & Education program from which over 100 academics have graduated in the last four years.

Jenny Owen has taught Media and Cultural Studies at London South Bank University since 1994 and is currently Head of Department for Culture, Writing, and Performance. She holds a BA in Media Studies from the Polytechnic of Central London (1991) and a PhD from the University of Westminster in 1996 for a body of work entitled *Crisis or renewal? The origins, evolution and development of public service broadcasting in Britain, 1922-1996.*

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Donna Vaughan is the Director of Academic Affairs for CAPA International Education, Sydney. She holds a BA and Bachelor of Law (BA/ LLB) from the University of Sydney, an MA in Social Science (International Development) from the Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology (RMIT), and a PhD in Social Science and Policy (Development Studies) from the University of New South Wales (UNSW). Donna has taught development studies, global studies, political economy, anthropology, and sociology at the undergraduate level and currently teaches the CAPA flagship course, *Global Cities*, in Sydney. Prior to teaching, Donna worked for twenty-five years in the information technology and management consulting sectors and has served as the vice president of an international NGO, working in education in developing countries. Donna's research interests include globalization and development, community development (Sri Lanka and Indigenous Australian communities), and the role of teachers in post-conflict environments.

Brian J. Whalen is the President and CEO of the Forum on Education Abroad, a global membership association of over 600 institutional members that is the higher education association for U.S. education abroad. Recognized as the Standards Development Organization (SDO) by the U.S. Department of Justice and the Federal Trade Commission, the Forum sets guidelines for the development and management of education abroad programs. Until recently, Brian was also Associate Provost, Associate Professor of International Studies and Executive Director of the Office of Global Education at Dickinson College in Carlisle, Pennsylvania, where the Forum continues to be housed. A well-known international educator, Brian writes and speaks on a wide range of international education topics and serves on a number of boards, including the Advisory Board of the National Science Foundation Partnership for International Research and Education, the NanoJapan Program, and the Editorial Board of the journal Beliefs and Values: Understanding the Global Implications of Human Nature. Brian is the founding editor of *Frontiers: The Interdisciplinary Journal of Study Abroad*, begun in 1994 as the first academic journal devoted to study abroad, and he continues to serve as its editor and publisher. For five years, he was an on-site resident director of study abroad programs in Italy, and he has developed and overseen programs in over 40 countries. Brian holds a BA, MA, and PhD in psychology with a scholarly focus on the history and philosophy of psychology as well as the intersection of literature and psychology.

Michael Woolf is Deputy President and Chief Academic Officer of CAPA International Education. He has held leadership roles in international education for many years and has written widely on international education and cultural studies; indeed, much of Mike's career has included an international focus. Mike's undergraduate studies were in History and Politics; his MA and PhD work focused primarily on American literature and culture. Mike serves on a number of advisory boards and was a member of the Board of Directors of the Forum on Education Abroad from 2006-12. He has worked with Anthony Gristwood and other colleagues to develop the *Global Cities* initiative at CAPA International Education.

Foreword

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In 2012, CAPA International Education hosted the second in its seminar series for study abroad professionals and faculty at the NAFSA conference in Houston, Texas: 'Cosmopolitanism and Diversity: Concepts and Controversies.' A second seminar on the same theme was held on the campus of Griffith College, Dublin, in September 2012.

These seminars are designed to focus on significant issues of interest and concern in the field of education abroad, creating a forum for the intellectual and academic exploration of relevant issues. The seminars aspire to become a conceptual pillar for creating curriculum and, thus, consider topics more in-depth than the normal administrative/practical/superficial approach to them. The first of these seminars, on the pedagogy of the global city, took place in Vancouver in May 2011; the Occasional Paper published is still available.

Diversity and cosmopolitanism would seem to have a great deal in common, both as aspirational states and existing realities, as evidenced by the robust academic discussions that ensued during the the 2012 seminars. These discussions continue to be reflected in the papers in this collection.

Cosmopolitanism
Laced in historical and contemporary controversy, cosmopolitanism is, in simple terms, predominantly found in the city and simply, too simply, asserted to be comfortable living in a rich human landscape. One problem with this simplicity is that it begs the questions of tolerance in the diverse landscape that is embedded within cosmopolitanism. Within a diverse cosmopolitan landscape, do its different communities either choose to live, work, eat, and move amongst each other or are they forced to do so? Does cosmopolitanism aspire to diverse communities remaining pure to their traditions or does it aspire to a mixing of identities? Is the aspiration to retain tradition and generate new ones part of the changing dynamic that is, in fact, the topography of the cosmos and the city?

In these papers we explore that notion and offer some historical European context to cosmopolitanism, offering reference to its origins and complex, ambiguous, contemporary existence.

In 'Beyond Diversity: The Cosmopolitan Dilemma,' Jim Cullen writes:

> In a sense, cosmopolitanism is synonymous with diversity as described here: both terms regard difference as a positive good, and one to be actively sought and promoted. Cosmopolitanism has the great advantage, though, of being avowedly kaleidoscopic: it not only savors variety, but also variation in that variety. It attends less to the features of a minority culture than a desire to blend many different kinds of experience in the hope that the resulting mixture will engender a sense of personal as well as collective improvement. The people produced from this process create a pool of leaders, broadly construed, who can be counted on to promote cosmopolitan values in societies where their opponents may pose challenges that range from the distasteful to the immoral. The process may vary, but the capacity of any society to reproduce such people comes close to describing what it means to sustain what we would call a civilization (Cullen, 2009).

This creates an ethical imperative and an organizational aspiration to reach out to under-represented communities. Our discussions highlighted the importance of resisting the tendency to revert to the default position. Diversity is much more than a single focus on the question of under-representation of racial or ethnic minorities. It includes religious, political, socio-economic, gender-centric, sexual orientation, (dis)ability, and even geographic dimensions. Our concerns with under-representation are, therefore, arguably themselves selective. As Mike Woolf has argued,

> we are most concerned about the under-representation of those communities of whom we approve. We assume (often wrongly) that there exists a community of shared purpose and common values. This is an illusion. There are under-represented groups who have a profoundly conservative view of the world in which, for example, homosexuality is an anathema; interaction with other communities may be seen not only as an opportunity but as a potential threat. For example, when has we heard anyone in education abroad expressing concern that the Christian Right is under-represented? They are, and you haven't. That is because they do not belong to the community of education abroad shaped by liberal ideologies that are implicit, embedded, and usually unacknowledged (Woolf, 2013).

These discussions led to a thoughtful and scholarly review of diversity and cosmopolitanism and the interrelationship of one upon the other. That these discussions were inconclusive was inevitable and positive in that we are left with an ongoing agenda that impacts our thinking and our aspirations.

How does this relate to our work? Once again to quote my Deputy President, Dr. Michael Woolf:

Education abroad can be a highly significant mechanism that can enable students to cross the difficult border between self and the world beyond. It empowers students to penetrate the Other; it gives them analytical tools to help them to understand that new place and consequently, create the social empathy that will truly be formative. In short, it may take students from a preoccupation with their national 'I' to a sense of being part of an international 'We'.

This IS the agenda.

Many thanks are due to our thoughtful and provocative presenters at both seminars. Anything worth thinking about needs more thought. These contributions are, therefore, not the end of anything but part of an ongoing debate that we anticipate will continue to challenge us all.

Introduction: Interrogating the Cosmopolitan, Engaging Diversity

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As the papers in this volume demonstrate in a variety of ways, cosmopolitanism is a hotly contested term, and one which has long been sidelined - only recently re-emerging in a wide range of social, political and cultural contexts as part of the debate around globalization and its impacts. The etymology of the term 'cosmopolitan' itself derives from the Greek *kosmos* ('world') and *polis* ('city'), and clearly implies someone who is a citizen of the world. For some commentators, therefore, it is associated primarily with new visions of global democracy or 'global citizenship' (see, for example, Held, 1992; 1995); for others, it is a term which challenges conventional notions of belonging, identity, and social engagement and describes individuals who are footloose, 'on the move in the world,' who 'tend to want to immerse themselves in other cultures' and are characterized by 'openness toward divergent cultural experiences' (Hannerz, 1990, pp. 239-241; 1996). In an ideal sense, such cosmopolitans are characterized as open to the diversity of world cultures and supposedly disposed towards understanding the cultural perspectives of the 'Other.' More problematically, they may have a sense of wider political, social, or cultural commitment to the idea of belonging to the world as a whole – an ethical disposition towards global responsibility – or they may not, instead indulging a taste for the consumption of new cultural experiences whilst remaining essentially unengaged and uncommitted.

A number of key problems cohere around this notion. Firstly, the idea that 'global' is privileged over 'local' experience. Secondly, this is a term with specific gendered connotations – conventional notions of the 'man of the world,' for example, or – more recently – the 'fun, fearless female' of *Cosmopolitan* magazine, as Giselda Beaudin's paper reminds us. Both indicate the inescapably embodied nature of the cosmopolitan subject. Thirdly, there is the implication that the cosmopolitan is literally and symbolically a signifier of Western colonialism and ethnocentrism, a 'predominantly white / First World take on things' (Massey, 1994,

p. 165) – the ethical and intellectual world-view of the West. As Donna Vaughan observes, this is connected with a much wider question about the relationship of modernity to the West and the different historical experiences of modernization ('global', or 'alternative' modernities). Finally, the term 'cosmopolitan' implies an aspect of social privilege, a cultural elite beyond the merely 'provincial' whose socioeconomic advantages facilitate a somehow superior moral agency in practice.

The sociologist John Urry has written extensively on the practices and performances of contemporary travel and tourism, connecting the growth in these experiences directly to the development of what he terms 'aesthetic cosmopolitanism' (Urry, 1995). This involves 'a stance of openness towards divergent experiences from different national cultures' and a quest for, and celebration of, contrasts between societies, implying a willingness to move beyond the conventional 'comfort-zone' of the Self; a level of semiotic fluency in decoding cultural signs; and the reflexive ability to be able to locate and more clearly appreciate one's own culture 'in the light of wider historical and geographical knowledge' (Urry, 1995, p. 167). He distinguishes this version of cosmopolitanism from that associated with the aristocratic practitioners of the Grand Tour in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries in two main ways. Firstly, late twentieth and early twenty-first century travel is a democratized and popularized experience; secondly, it is embedded firmly in the practices and attitudes of wider consumer culture as places are consumed as cultural commodities. For education abroad, the implications are obvious and double-edged, as the field continues to develop and expand.

Several of our contributors address these controversies directly by offering alternative theories and critiques of cosmopolitanism as a concept and by illuminating its complex terrain as a term. For Mike Woolf, the concept offers a critical challenge to settled definitions of community, culture, and identity and provides a productive framework for enabling and assessing students' learning. Paradoxically, given its association with the footloose placelessness of the global, as Brian Whalen, Lance Kenney, and William Hyndman clearly demonstrate, cosmopolitanism is a concept that has varied a great deal across time and space, with very different meanings and associations emerging in different national contexts. These papers reveal a complex, contested, and located concept, engaged and operationalized in specific places and spaces by different constituencies, a counterbalance to the idea of a universalist tendency (itself a product of post-revolutionary France and the European Enlightenment). A rich series of individual biographies reveal some of the specific individuals involved in the evolution of these different cosmopolitanisms. For Kenney, some of the basic tenets of cosmopolitanism can be found in the core texts of the United

States' founding, and he considers these figures' potential contributions to broader discussions of cosmopolitanism. How did the (albeit rare) international experiences of these individuals (particularly Franklin, Adams, and Jefferson) shape their own cosmopolitan tendencies? To put it another way, building on the ancient Greek aphorism to 'know thyself,' how do these figures represent education abroad prototypes for increasingly cosmopolitan U.S. undergraduates?

The contrast between today's idealized notions of 'global citizenship' and the multifaceted idea of cosmopolitanism outlined by Mike Woolf's essays relates directly to how study abroad is relevant to the contemporary disciplinary perspectives which structure the typical university curriculum in the United States and Europe – and to the current practices of the field of international education. Dennis Gordon analyzes how the study of International Relations remains dominated by three theoretical perspectives – Realism, Idealism/ Wilsonianism, and Constructivism – and the extent to which 'global citizenship' or 'cosmopolitanism' is a more useful concept to help study abroad students understand how the world works and to facilitate curricular integration with concepts taught on the home campus. Scott Blair examines the extent to which the concepts of cosmopolitanism and diversity are engaged by the current Forum Standards as benchmarks for best practice in education abroad and finds plenty of scope for additional engagement with their implications.

Diversity is a term no less multiple in its meanings and connotations. The contributions to this volume treat it here as both a focus and subject of investigation (Gristwood, Owen, Reverdito, Speakman), and as an ethical imperative for programmatic and curricular design (Christian, Gordon, Woolf). The imperative of diversification of international education abroad is clear, especially in the context of the changing nature of the U.S. student body. The 2011 census documented sweeping changes in the demography of the United States, indicating that racial and ethnic minorities make up more than half of the children born in the country for the first time. Hispanic and African-Americans are currently the fastest growing groups (two-thirds of Hispanic population growth due to births rather than migration) and increasing numbers of Americans are marrying outside their own ethnic groups. Whilst this phenomenon is currently particularly marked in a few states, it is clear that young Americans are increasingly familiar with, and representative of, an increasingly diverse nation (Associated Press, 2012; Pilkington, 2012). As Jenny Owen argues, the figure of Obama and his representations in media and art have been iconic of this transition and his presidential image has come to represent a more cosmopolitan, globalized sense of American identity.

Such issues focus attention on the continuing need to examine and attempt to overcome the barriers to certain groups' participation in education abroad (as Andrew Gordon's and John Christian's calls for greater commitment to these issues attest). It also requires that we sharpen our articulation of the value and relevance of the experience to the widest possible constituency. In addition, increasingly diverse students going overseas imply new kinds of problems and challenges emerging as a result. Our attention is drawn once again to the ways in which the embodied nature of that experience for students – its 'biopolitics' – is clearly very different for different groups, as well as to the interplay of their multiple identities in structuring their engagement with the environments and communities they encounter, as well as with each other.

An often overlooked dimension is the opportunity that education abroad presents for students to learn as much about their own country – and to interrogate their assumptions about themselves as Americans – as to engage the 'Other,' something implied by the conceptualization of cosmopolitanism as an inherently reflexive concept (Appiah, 2006; Held, 2003). For example, in mixing together with one another, students from different regions and backgrounds have significant opportunities for peer learning about their own diversity as Americans – something under-utilized by much curriculum and program design, and often unacknowledged by recruitment policies.

Questions of diversity and the co-related issue of under-representation have occupied and pre-occupied organizations in education abroad. As these essays attest, there is a recurrent sense of unease: awareness that the rhetoric of concern has not been matched by the reality of action. There is a bothersome disconnect between what we aspire to and what we appear to have achieved. These essays also reflect an increasing awareness of the complexity embedded in the broader discussion. We are not confident about what diversity may or may not really mean. We may aspire to increasing the diversity of our student body, but we may not have entirely or properly considered the implications of those processes. Institutional barriers in terms of curricular content or transferability of courses, questions of cost and affordability, and indeed of intellectual capacity, all intersect here to challenge the access agenda.

A number of essays in this collection (Whalen and Kenney, in particular) remind us that international engagement has been a characteristic of American culture before and after independence. Paradoxically, the periods of isolationism in American political life have been highly-conscious acts of disengagement: not so much symptoms of parochialism but a reaffirmation of independence. Such acts have also always been conditional and temporary. Brian Whalen asks if there are traditions of U.S. cosmopolitanism that are worth recuperating in the

context of current debates, and, if so, how they might inform our understanding of our own students' education abroad experiences. He argues that detailed study of some of the most 'American' of writers and thinkers reveals that many of their works explore the desires and imaginings of cosmopolitanism and help to explain the particular dynamics that shape the experience of our would-be student cosmopolites.

Diversity is not simply a matter of the demography of our students. It is also frequently a characteristic of the environments in which our students study. While our students often do not reflect the realities of U.S. higher education, they are, nevertheless, brought into necessary encounters with communities that are not familiar to them. The urban environments they encounter vary wildly in the inclusivity of their definitions of 'diversity' (Colin Speakman). Some may test the limits of tolerance; a few, such as London, are perhaps exceptional in their cosmopolitanism and present different kinds of challenges with which to cope. Students may encounter religious and ethnic communities that are a challenge to their own sense of ease in the world.

Education abroad is not intended to be a comfortable experience. Engagements with the unexpected are part of international educational challenges and they will disrupt students' sense of the familiar. We will, therefore, have a responsibility to teach diversity as a significant aspect of the reality that students may encounter. The impacts of urbanization and globalization are made concrete in the environments in which our students study and live. Moreover, to use the terminology of the philosopher and social critic Slavoj Žižek, our students encounter – and are required to negotiate – various structures of symbolic and systemic violence, including the invisible social and economic structures which underpin social inequalities and the elements of language, thought, and ideology that allow, encourage, and reproduce violence (Žižek, 2008). In his account of the comparative analysis of the representation of sexual diversity in Italian cinema, Guido Reverdito highlights the significance of understanding these structures for a wider appreciation of the changing nature of Italian society and culture, a battleground of attitudes reflected by Italian films addressing these issues.

It is apparent that cosmopolitanism in one form or another permeates the culture of the United States. It is, after all, a nation shaped by international mobility. In study abroad, we construct a notion of 'abroad' as a place of potential enlightenment, in contrast to the USA (as if enlightenment were primarily due to location rather than introspection). 'Europe' is a particularly dense, complex, paradoxical, intimate version of abroad. Constructions of Europe are deeply embedded within the American mind in both popular and 'high' culture. It should also be recognized that Europe is not one single location but, of course, a loose

amalgam of various national cultures. Co-existent with that diversity, however, is another concept: the notion of 'Europe' as a mythologized landscape, a poetic entirety, which is alternative, not analogous, to the USA: a collective 'Other': a landscape both real and imagined where alternatives to American identities are explored and experienced. Europe is, then, a set of diverse nations and, simultaneously, a single mythologized space within the American mind. A fascination with Europe and a need to explore and re-explore its meanings has been a persistent thread throughout American literary history. The western European intellectual tradition is, indeed, at the heart of the curriculum of U.S. universities. Thus, Western Europe remains, reasonably enough, the primary location for U.S. study abroad students.

Washington Irving is one of the earliest important American writers of imaginative prose literature, and he identified an impulse that is persistent and pervasive. He perceived Europe ambiguously as containing the social complexity and the sense of a historical past that was felt to be absent in America. He also, however, hinted at the decadence and decay of Europe in the sheer length of that past experience. Most significantly, he isolated the mythic status of Europe – a sense that Europe belongs to the shapes of the past rather than to current realities. Irving identifies a number of characteristics that became deeply, almost permanently, associated with Europe in the American imagination. Firstly, it is a landscape rich in art and poetic symbols, elements on which, for Irving, literature seemed to depend. Secondly, it contains complex social conventions, a 'highly-cultivated society' absent in America. However, his language reveals a basic ambiguity – the attraction of Europe is focused on 'ruins' and 'moldering stone,' in contrast to the 'youthful promise' of America. Irving's comment contains envious admiration, but also a sense that the future is American, while Europe belongs essentially to the past. He expands this point as he describes the impulse that led him to explore France, Italy, and England:

> I longed to wander over the seas of renowned antiquity - to tread, as it were, in the footsteps of antiquity - to loiter about the ruined castle - to meditate on the falling tower - to escape ... from the commonplace realities of the present, and to lose myself among the shadowy grandeurs of the past (Irving, 1849, pp. 10-11).

The activities are significant – to loiter, wander, and meditate – in essence, to engage with Europe introspectively and to evoke poetic motifs rather than living reality. It is more a landscape of mind than concrete reality. Significantly, Irving served as an ambassador in Europe, but that political reality is rarely expressed, let alone explored. Engagement with Europe is partial and selective.

The legacy of these attitudes continues to shape student perceptions of European

study abroad destinations. For example, Darren Kelly explains how many American students of Irish heritage arrive in Ireland with an aim of finding and experiencing their past. However, they quickly discover that the stereotyped rural mono-cultural idyll has been replaced by a country that is overwhelmingly urban and poly-cultural. He explores in-class projects and fieldwork which critically engage with the students' existing perceptions and initial disappointment about these radical changes in Irish society by forcing the student to study the city as a palimpsest, discerning traces of the past in the present and considering the social construction of key tropes of Irish national identity. Furthermore, by studying the pace at which Irish society continues to be transformed, students can reflect on related aspects of the American experience – the notion that 'their' past is 'our' present – as well as contextualize contemporary issues around diversity and integration in the Irish context.

Race, gender, sexuality, and class structure every aspect of the student experience. At its most extreme, some students may reject study abroad altogether – for example those who are forced migrants themselves or are the children of refugees and necessarily associate their countries of origin with the memory of violence or other trauma. Any imagined notion of a 'return to origins' takes on an entirely different character for such students. An increasingly diverse student body certainly implies additional complexities in terms of how the experience is understood and processed, and demands additional analytical work in both curriculum and programmatic design. For our students, comparative reflection requires not only the conceptualization of other groups' experiences, but thinking relationally, which engages them in the analysis of diverse groups' relationships with one another. A full appreciation of different groups' experiences requires untangling the complex relationships of connected systems of power, such as the relationship between forms of racial and gender-based oppression. The question for international educators is how best to facilitate an engaged, *critical* cosmopolitanism amongst students that enables them to cope with the range of responses to diversity which they will encounter, whilst avoiding their uncritical reproduction as part of those cultural formations, thus creating a space for the potential to change – rather than just document – those very systems of power and inequality.

Several of the contributors here address this challenge directly to suggest a critical, active form of cosmopolitanism. Anthony Gristwood examines the ways in which cosmopolitan identities intersect with, reproduce, but also elide other socio-cultural distinctions, particularly class and ethnicity in London. Class cultures represent a major component of the diversity or 'difference' that make cities what they are – heterogeneous sites of people, enmeshed by a series of socio-economic, cultural and political practices. The analysis of specific

constructions of cosmopolitan urban spaces, he argues, provides a rich terrain for field-based research and can attune our students to their complexity beyond basic objectives of encounter and recognition, as well as encouraging them to reflect on their own practices as cosmopolitan 'agents. Donna Vaughan also outlines a more radical agenda, drawing on current critiques of cosmopolitan ideals of universalism and respect for difference to assert the value of a more critical cosmopolitanism that moves beyond simply valuing cultural diversity to embrace alternative pathways to modernity, engaging more intensely with the indigenous cultures of Australia's first people in both the classroom and experientially.

The natures of cosmopolitanism and diversity are, therefore, neither single nor simple. These essays present a collective awareness that simple solutions simply do not work and nor do they have simple impacts. We know that we are not doing well, but we do not really know what doing well might mean. What we suspect is that the challenges to the ideological and pedagogical norms of education abroad will be profound and, probably, unanticipated, as will the implications for recruitment strategies and the involvement of student ambassadors and advisors in this process. In the concluding article, Fiona O'Riordan focuses on what internationalization can look like in reality and in practice, examining some of the challenges accompanying the process and various approaches and models which offer opportunities to internationalize education provision. She argues that it is important to assess critically the extent to which these different methods are, or should be, embedded into the curriculum.

These issues have, in short, generated waves of emotional self-righteousness and much alliterative and plosive passion. Our intent was to initiate a more grown-up conversation which recognizes that nothing is as obvious as it may at first seem and that beneath the rhetoric of social consciousness a cluster of complexities are accumulated. The division of the volume into three main sections, *Concepts, Practices, and Policies*, reflects both the wide-ranging nature of this terrain but also the fundamental relationships between abstract theory, concrete practices and strategic policy-making in this crucial area.

The Challenge of Cosmopolitanism

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> We live in a global age, in an age of overlapping communities of fate, where the fate and fortunes of countries are increasingly entwined with one another. Cosmopolitanism... is a philosophy and ethical orientation that takes account of the dense enmeshment of human beings - the connections between them, the bonds that link them, the interests that divide them, and the clashes of ethical and political outlook. Cosmopolitanism is a philosophy for the age of human interconnectedness, and generates a politics for a 'small world' (Brown & Held, 2010, p. 13).

Concepts of cosmopolitanism based around the idea of a shared humanity have been debated for almost 2500 years. Diogenes of Sinope (400 - 323 BC) asserted that he was *kosmopolites* and, thus, part of a common humanity beyond and across political or geographical boundaries. Over 2000 years later the concept continued to engage the Enlightenment thinkers of the late eighteenth century (not least Immanuel Kant, whose work *Perpetual Peace* is a key text in the history of these ideas). The notion that our connections are, or should be, stronger than those forces that divide us gains new resonance in our times partly as a consequence of the hideous historical barbarism of two European wars, and partly because we now know so much about each other through enhanced technologies. To be a parochial, isolated person in these times would be for most of us a reactionary act of political will: a retreat from the present-future. A moral and political imperative that recognizes that human similarities transcend differences shaped by nation, tribe, or culture may or may not be an attractive ideology (for nationalists, for example) but it clearly resonates with our human condition.

The notion of cosmopolitanism significantly challenges ways in which we think about the world we inhabit and the world we have inhabited and raises questions that resonate within education abroad. The idea of cosmopolitanism generates powerful analyses and high-level discourse that is not always so readily apparent in international education where, reasonably enough, we are often preoccupied by practical imperatives. 'How' to do things tends to take precedence over the question of 'why' to do them. Alone, this may not be a significantly problematic situation until we make the claim for the centrality of international education within

higher education in general. The notion that universities need a 'comprehensive internationalization' strategy permeates U.S. higher education and tends to be a core aspiration in strategic planning. The inherent difficulty in that proposition is that international education does not, for the most part, generate the level of conceptual sophistication that would justify any kind of centrality within mainstream academe. We can confidently assert that in some kinds of ways education abroad enhances undergraduate experience. That is a pragmatic conclusion drawn from observation and anecdote. Beyond that, the case for international education is often made through inflated rhetorical assertion and clichéd repetition. Discussions of cosmopolitanism, in contrast, challenge us to rethink some of our embedded assumptions and offer alternative ways of conceptualizing learning outcomes.

In this discussion, I will consider the relationship of cosmopolitanism (in its many guises) to the issue of community, to the question of culture, and then to the concept of global citizenship. Education abroad often suggests that engagement with the community and its culture is an operational aspiration while the creation of global citizens (whatever that means) is an educational aspiration. Cosmopolitanism subverts those aspirations.

Community and Cosmopolitanism

Making your way in the world today takes everything you've got.
Taking a break from all your worries, sure would help a lot.

Wouldn't you like to get away?
Sometimes you want to go

Where everybody knows your name, and they're always glad you came.
You wanna be where you can see, our troubles are all the same
You wanna be where everybody knows your name.

You wanna go where people know, people are all the same,
You wanna go where everybody knows your name (Portnoy & Angelo, 1982).

The lyrics that open the great television series *Cheers* remind us that we all yearn for community, for the place where we are recognized and valued, what we used to call 'home.' The television series was so popular, and continues to be so, precisely because it constructs a haven of imagined security in an urban environment. It is no accident that the bar is in the basement and that stairs lead upwards towards the more troublesome world elsewhere that the characters only glimpse periodically. It is a closed community protected from disturbing reality; it exists literally and figuratively beneath the feet that pass hurriedly over

the heads of the inhabitants of the bar. We have no notion of where those people are going or why; their undisclosed purposes are a perfect counterpoint to the world beneath the streets. Human isolation and loneliness is, temporarily at least, relieved through the existence of a sanctuary of connection and secure stasis.

That is not to say that such places do not exist but they are not part of the reality that most of us experience in our daily lives. Processes of urbanization and globalization have redefined community and made it a more problematic, complex proposition. For most of us, community is not defined by geography or location. *Cheers* offers a mythic world where our yearning to belong is met because in a single location 'everybody knows your name' and 'people are all the same.' This is related to the notion that informed another television series, *Taxi*. If anything, the notion of community is more dramatic, as taxi drivers, are by nature, an isolated set of individuals, separated from their customers by barriers. Their engagement with others is, in their jobs at least, temporary and functional. Communication is limited by topic and duration. Thus, to create a notion of community in contrast to that reality, the action of *Taxi* is mostly contained within the base garage where connections are established and where individuals react and bond with each other in significant supportive and personal ways.[1]

If these are urban fantasies, the other source of our yearning for community is memory, exemplified by the British comedian Les Dawson's nostalgic perception of the Manchester of his childhood in the 1930s:

> ... nobody locked their doors, old citizens never died for want of caring, no child ever lacked supervision. Every street was a commune. Each one had its amateur midwife, undertaker, judge and medical advisor... If two men fought it was with fists and fair play, and all the policemen were beefy Sons of Erin, who corrected an offender with a judicial clout, not a charge sheet (Barfe, 2012, p. 3).

The lenses of nostalgia may distort history and a yearning to belong may explain the popularity of wish-fulfillment fantasies. Nevertheless, these versions of community are seductive in the context of globalization and urbanization in so far as they resonate with our atavistic desire for identity, security and home. For most of us, however, for good or ill our experience is not shaped by these constructs. Community, where it exists, tends to be defined not by geography but by function. I have, for example, more in common with colleagues who attended the CAPA seminars in Houston and Dublin than I have with my next-door neighbor in North London. The world most of us inhabit is not characterized by a sense of secure location. The impact of globalization and urbanization has been to dislocate

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[1] *Taxi* ran from 1978 to 1982. *Cheers* ran from 1982 to 1993. Both shows are regularly available as re-runs on TV channels to this day. This continuity may suggest that there is a persistent attraction for fantasies of urban community.

rather than locate human experience. We have become, like it or not and in some sense or another, cosmopolitans.

If we prioritize simple notions of community engagement into education abroad, we may be directing our students towards forms of sociological archaeology, digging out versions of Les Dawson's constructed memories or towards the marginal vestiges of community that may be found in urban environments (perhaps in neighborhood bars like *Cheers* and in religious or ethnic associations). That is not, in itself, an invalid exercise as long as the context is clear. The kinds of community recalled by Dawson, invented on television, and found in microcosmic forms in urban environments are not representative of what happens to most of us. The realities of urban existence make community a problematic, complex notion; cosmopolitan perspectives offer meaningful and alternative contexts, and modes of enquiry that better reflect the dynamics of contemporary experience.

Global Citizenship and Cosmopolitanism
The notion is also relevant when contrasted with the contested term 'global citizenship.' Cosmopolitanism can be progressively acquired; it can, therefore, be taught (the business of educators). It is possible to be more or less cosmopolitan. In contrast, global citizenship (whatever it means) is a state of grace (not a progressive acquisition). Cosmopolitanism refocuses attention on learning abroad and on the intellectual acquisition of added insights and information. It is not dependent on the language of transformation (which is the province of prophets and priests, not educators).

The notion of global citizenship assumes, firstly, that there is such an entity as the 'globe' that exists in something more than a purely geographical sense. The second assumption is that it is possible to be a citizen of such a place (if indeed it existed). The key question in this context derives from the fact that, in the commonly understood sense, a citizen is a 'member' of an entity with rights and duties that are legally guaranteed and required. How is it possible to be a citizen of something that has no legal existence and that exists (outside of geography) only as a metaphor? To be a citizen is, in one way or another, to belong to a 'club.' You belong and others do not. Thus, in a geopolitical sense, a citizen is also defined by the excluded counterpart. Historically, this has had the consequence of encouraging conflict between cities, tribes, nations, or regions where the superiority of one set of citizens is asserted over another.

The idea of a global citizen may, nevertheless, have a profound moral intention. To achieve that meaning, however, it is necessary to create the kind of rhetorical slide achieved by Franklin Roosevelt. In this case, he speaks of the closely related notion of world citizenship:

We have learned that we cannot live alone, at peace, that our own well-being is dependent on the well-being of other nations, far away. We have learned that we must live as men, and not as ostriches, nor as dogs in the manger. We have learned to be citizens of the world, members of the human community (Roosevelt, [1945] 2005, p. 151).

What Roosevelt does, of course, is to conflate the moral position and the legal position so as to give greater weight to his political commitment to engage with other nations (this was 1945 after all). The key is in the repetition of 'learned,' which, beneath the rhetoric, enforces the sense that this is a process not a condition: a consciousness gained by painful experience and serious reflection. It is not possible, outside of the world of wishful metaphor, to learn to be a citizen (you may learn to be a good citizen or, indeed, become a bad citizen, but that is an adjectival qualification of a legal state or condition). You may certainly learn those things necessary to become a citizen but the movement from non-citizen to citizen is an event, not a process.

The notion of a 'global citizen' is, however, not without meaning as a metaphor. It prioritizes the cosmopolitan over the parochial. In that sense, it is aspirational: a moral rather than a legal condition that asserts the interdependence of humanity, stressing core ideas such as empathy for others, a belief in common human rights, care for the environment, and so on. An attempt to define global citizenship is made by Oxfam, the key characteristics being awareness of the wider world, respect for diversity, outrage at social injustice, community engagement, and the desire to make the world a more sustainable place. These qualities are patently descriptive of a good citizen (a phrase that means something, albeit not exactly the same thing, everywhere) and are indicative of cosmopolitan values, as clearly demonstrated for example by the aspirations of Oxfam Education (Oxfam, n.d.). Few of us would find anything to object to in these ethical positions. They define a moral human in a world more and more inter-connected at many levels. Nothing is gained by defining those values as, in some way or another, 'global.' They are, sadly, not globally shared. A key objective in education abroad is to raise the international consciousness of students so that they may become, progressively, better citizens, more cosmopolitan in outlook. There is, in short, no definition of a global citizen that could not be applied to the notion of a good citizen: global here simply means good.[2]

The concept of the 'global citizen' is obviously an oxymoron – we are citizens of a country and we are not citizens of the globe: the 'globe' is a very fractured and divided place. The problem is that, if we tell students that what we do is educate them to be global citizens by sending them to study overseas, we are embedding potential failure into the experience by inflating claims for anticipated

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[2] The idea of the global citizen may also signal the development of a new privileged and empowered class: those who have access to technology and travel are this new global elite.

learning outcomes. Rather, we should be more realistic and say that the goal of study abroad is to create better educated citizens, and one of the ways to cultivate a better educated citizen is to gain international experience. The idea of cosmopolitanism is far more realistic and manageable in that it does not contain an absolute goal: the object is to teach students something about another society so that they can be better citizens of their own. This is not mere semantics but reflects the need to put *education* (rather than the rhetoric of transformation) at the center of education abroad.

The status of a 'global citizen' is an absolute condition (you either are or are not). In contrast the notion of cosmopolitanism is progressive (you might metaphorically achieve a creditable B+ or a fairly average C-). It is possible to be more or less cosmopolitan. Thus, cosmopolitanism is acquired through a learning process, not some envisaged state of grace; it is a progression (from less to more), and, thus, the purview of education. A necessary characteristic of any learning objective is that it can be qualified by 'more' or 'less,' by the progressive acquisition of skills and/or knowledge, not by mystical transformation.

Cosmopolitanism and Culture
Somewhere or other in the notion of cosmopolitanism is the idea that certain ethical values are universal and that they are not shaped or modified by relative cultural practices. In that sense, cosmopolitanism is connected to the tradition of 'grand narratives' that embed forms of moral judgment in their implicit or explicit ideology (the Ten Commandments is an example of how a grand narrative may put moral values at the center of its ideology). The notion of universal rights is somewhere or other at the core of the cosmopolitan agenda. Thus, the execution of an 18 year old in Somalia by stoning for the 'crime' of homosexuality (reported in March 2013[3]) is indefensible and unforgivable by any criteria. The fact that something may be described as 'cultural' does not, in these perspectives, make it less inhuman or barbaric.

Dan Rebellato makes a similar point:

Although there are huge differences of cultural practice and belief in the world, is wrongful imprisonment, or torture, or murder, or rape less wrong in Burma than it is in Boston?... For the cosmopolitan, it is important that the oppressed can appeal to universal rights beyond the level of the state (Rebellato, 2009, p. 67).

The idea of cosmopolitanism challenges the degree to which the discourse of education abroad is rooted in questions of 'culture' in its many collocations (inter-cultural or cross-cultural communication etc.) A comprehensive and consuming

[3] See, for example, the report from Associated Press (Guled, 2013).

focus on (often imprecise) notions of culture raises some obvious questions: What are we not talking about? Why are we not talking about those things? Why are questions of politics, inequality, social injustice, history so muted in education abroad? There may be a plethora of reasons but at least one explanation is rooted in the history of education abroad in the twentieth century.

This field limped towards maturity in the 1950s at precisely the point that it became suspect and foolhardy to say too much about internationalism, cosmopolitanism, or the politics of trans-national relations (unless you were against all of them). On US campuses in the 1950s, on university campuses (and elsewhere) it was, simply, a risky business. It became easier to talk about something else, something safer and more anodyne. The historical roots of education abroad have led towards foci on culture rather than politics: questions of religious difference, inequality, social injustice, nationalism, tribalism, or historical conflict are muted in the education abroad discourse because it is less disturbing to talk about culture rather than questions of the politics and morality of global injustice.

Such intellectual inertia does no service either to the field of education abroad or to the students who participate in programs that fail to offer analyses beyond the anodyne. Implicit in the prevailing set of emphases is the idea that, somehow or other, culture offers a grand narrative or global explanation of difference. It constructs culture as some kind of barrier to communication: as a set of constraints that students need to be taught to overcome because, the assumption goes, that culture defines our differences. The focus on culture as a barrier (the cross-cultural preoccupation) is reactionary and parochial in so far as it prioritizes that which divides humanity over that which expresses commonality. In that respect it conflicts with the ethical implications embedded in cosmopolitanism.

This also ignores the fact that, depending on what view you take of culture, it may be seen as a cohesive rather than a divisive factor. It can be argued, for example, that youth culture as expressed in pop music, by way of illustration, creates a level of common communication greater than any disconnects resulting from national difference. The same might be said of trans-national communities created by professions (international educators), shared faith, language, class, sexual preference, and so on.

Furthermore, educational objectives based around notions of culture may also distort and constrain credible learning outcomes. In programs in the developing world, for example, are learning outcomes based on cultural difference the most important thing to understand about, say, South Africa or Ghana? What of geopolitical consequences of the North-South divide? Where do students learn of the inequitable distribution of global resources? Can we understand the

significance of apartheid solely through cultural analysis? These are not questions that can be answered through the lens of cultural discourse. The degree to which the language of education abroad is rooted, myopically, in questions of 'culture' in its many collocations has not enhanced our academic credibility.

The notion of tolerance or acceptance of cultural diversity is also problematic in that tolerance is not a value that we should promote without serious qualification. Do we want students to tolerate bullfighting as a factor in Spanish culture for example? That is not a simple ethical question and may reasonably be answered either way. It becomes much easier, however, if we consider some of these cultural norms: torture, abuse of women, bribery, public execution, female circumcision, the amputation of limbs for criminal acts, the imprisonment and execution of homosexuals, honor killing, slavery (all practices that are, or have been, embedded in some national cultures). Do we want students to learn to be tolerant of that cultural diversity? Do we want to encourage students to become apologists for cruelty and inhumanity? That is more than immoral; it is also stupid – it assumes, for example, that national practices are static cultural realities rather than temporary aberrations or cruelties.

At least one implication of cosmopolitanism is that there are ethical imperatives that transcend national or cultural norms. The implication is that education in general should aspire to teach students not to tolerate, but to discriminate between things: the smart and the stupid, the crass and the clever, the moral, amoral and immoral, the real and the unreal, the humane and the inhumane. Cosmopolitanism at the most basic level offers an ethical prescription beyond cultural or national assumptions. It involves, as Appiah suggests, 'the recognition of our responsibility for every human being' (Appiah, 2006, p. 7). Cosmopolitanism restores political, historical and ethical perspectives to the necessary discourse of education abroad, or as Marsha Meskimmon argues: '[c]osmopolitan imagination is key to engendering a global sense of ethical and political responsibility' (Meskimmon, 2011, p. 7).

Conclusion: Reclaiming Cosmopolitanism
Cosmopolitanism is a concept distorted by history through association with notions of rootlessness, restlessness, and homelessness. In the nationalisms of the nineteenth and twentieth century, cosmopolitanism was often considered unpatriotic and, sometimes, criminal. The association with global conspiracy theories (such as the Protocols of the Elders of Zion) suggested that cosmopolitans had allegiances to alien, dangerous, and sinister alliances outside of the nation-state (as Senator Joseph McCarthy believed). For Hitler and Stalin, cosmopolitanism was a symptom of traitorous counter-national loyalties (it was also frequently a shorthand for Jewish). As Beck and Grande argue:

In the collective symbolic system of the Nazis 'cosmopolitanism' was synonymous with a death sentence. All victims of the planned mass murder were portrayed as 'cosmopolitans'; and this death sentence was extended to the word, which in its own way succumbed to the same fate. The Nazis said 'Jew' and meant 'cosmopolitan', the Stalinists said 'cosmopolitan' and meant 'Jew' (2007, p. 3).

The idea of cosmopolitanism has been distorted by twentieth-century history because of the 'involuntary association with the Holocaust and the Stalinist Gulag' (Beck & Grande, 2007, p. 3). That suggests that the history of cosmopolitanism is, in itself, a relevant topic for education abroad. It offers a dramatic example of an ideological collision between nationalism and internationalism and it encapsulates key conflicts in human history. It can be argued that it represents one end of an ideological spectrum that has helped shape our common experience. In that sense, it offers a field for potential study that is of particular and special relevance to any international educational agenda. Some understanding of these dynamics and counter-dynamics would enrich the study abroad classroom.

However, the notion goes beyond historical, political, or ideological contexts. It offers us a constructive alternative to vague ideas of community, culture, and global citizenship so that the quality of our discussions may more closely align with the aspiration to make internationalization a core aspiration in higher education. Further, and of primary significance, cosmopolitanism suggests a set of values and an ethical agenda that draws attention to the inter-connectedness of humanity beyond any divisions envisaged in culture. Notions of cultural differences suggest barriers to be crossed whereas as Rebellato argues:

Cosmopolitanism is a belief that all human beings, regardless of their differences, are members of a single community and all worth of equal moral regard. Cosmopolitanism also entails a commitment to enriching and deepening that global ethical community (Rebellato, 2009, p. 60).

That may be too lofty an aspiration for many of us and for many of our students but it speaks to the core of what we believe, albeit fitfully and imperfectly. The central belief that all are worth equal moral regard enables us to make crucial distinctions; to recognize the tolerable and to condemn that which is not to be tolerated; to deny that all things are gray, and to say that there is light in the world, and there is darkness too.

The Forgotten Prophets: the Founding Fathers, Cosmopolitanism and Education Abroad

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International Relations (IR) as an academic discipline studies world events through an interdisciplinary lens of political science, sociology, economics, and philosophy. In the 1990s, theoretical schools within IR began moving away from the inter-paradigm debate of realism versus idealism, and instead began taking on another binary, that of cosmopolitanism versus communitarianism. However, the events of September 11, 2001 derailed this debate, shifting the focus of IR to issues like security studies and hegemony.

However, at the height of this debate, an article appeared in *International Studies Quarterly* entitled, 'The Forgotten Prophet: Tom Paine's Cosmopolitanism and International Relations.' In this article, the author highlights that Tom Paine's world view included 'the most enduring strands of cosmopolitan thought: democratic governance, free trade, high degrees of interdependence, non-provocative defense policies, a recognition that conquest cannot be profitable, and a universal respect for human rights' (Walker, 2000, p. 52).

Though Paine's writings may make him the most comprehensive cosmopolitan from this time period – Walker feels that he may even trump Immanuel Kant in this regard – it seems to me that the bulk of the Founding Fathers could equally be labeled as 'forgotten prophets.' I would like to make the argument that though our profession is primarily concerned with the practice of sending U.S. students to overseas destinations, we have been remiss in talking about this aspect of U.S. history, both within the field and to our students. If 'cosmopolitanism' is a worldview that we hope to instill in our students, then our histories of education abroad should not start with the Henry James-type Grand Tour of the nineteenth century or even the earliest education abroad programs from the first part of the twentieth century. Any genealogy of a US-based cosmopolitanism should begin with the Founding Fathers. In fact, I think it is the three most international of these figures (Adams, Jefferson, and Franklin) that represent prototypes of the U.S. undergraduate overseas experience.

Do these figures have anything to contribute to discussions of cosmopolitanism?

I would say unequivocally, yes. One excellent starting point would be cosmopolitanism's antithesis, nationalism. In what is perhaps the most accessible and succinct discussion of contemporary cosmopolitanism, Kwame Anthony Appiah highlights that both Hitler and Stalin launched 'regular invectives against "rootless cosmopolitans"; and while, for both, anti-cosmopolitanism was often just a euphemism for anti-Semitism….both required a kind of loyalty to one portion of humanity—a nation, a class—that ruled out loyalty to all humanity' (Appiah, 2006, p. xvi). Nationalism, this anti-cosmopolitanism, at its worst, has been responsible in the last century for war, genocide, ethnic cleansing, and crimes against humanity.

However, I think this perhaps oversimplifies the definition of nationalism. International relations theory teaches us that there are three broad types of nationalism: ethnic nationalism, cultural nationalism, and civic nationalism (Anderson, 1991). Ethnic nationalism refers to nationalist sentiment based on a shared ancestry or race; and cultural nationalism, as its name implies, reflects a shared identity related to cultural traditions and common language. Civic nationalism, by contrast, refers to those who retain a nationalist sentiment based on subscription to political institutions and procedures, where rights are equal and shared.

It is this nationalism that definitely applies to the United States, and it is at its founding that we find the writings that not only manifest this typology, but also provide the language that perhaps best defines a cosmopolitan way of thinking. Most famously, we all know portions of Jefferson's Declaration of Independence: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness' (Jefferson, 1950). By extension, Adams, when writing the constitution of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts – the oldest functioning written constitution in the world – stated that '[t]he end of…government is to…furnish the individuals who compose it with the power of enjoying, in safety and tranquility, their natural rights and the blessings of life…' (McCullough, 2001, p. 221). And Franklin perhaps best enunciates the cosmopolitan mindset when he writes, 'God grant, that not only the Love of Liberty, but a thorough Knowledge of the Rights of Man, may pervade all the Nations of the Earth, so that a Philosopher may set his Foot anywhere on its Surface, and say, "This is my Country"' (Smyth, 1907, p. 72). The emphasis by the Founders on these basic rights, pulling from the natural law tradition and applying them to all people, regardless of national origin, places them firmly in the cosmopolitan camp.

I would like to turn, therefore, to the international credentials of these three men. Without going too much into their individual biographies, it is amazing that at a time when trans-Atlantic sea travel was still treacherous, these men had as much experience in Europe as they did. For instance, Adams, later to be the second U.S. president, was in Europe nearly a decade, serving as representative to the French court, acquiring loans from Dutch bankers, negotiating the treaty the ended the American Revolution, and becoming the first U.S. ambassador to Great Britain. Thomas Jefferson, later the third U.S. president, also spent significant time in France, serving as commissioner and minister from 1784 to 1789. Most remarkably, Franklin traveled to Europe four separate times, living in either England or France in total for just over a quarter century.

However, all three men had different experiences. Adams, in short, was miserable. In fact, one historian has commented that if Prozac had existed at the time, Adams should have been on it (Berkin, 2010). As his then-friend Jefferson put it, '[H]e hates Franklin, he hates John Jay, he hates the French, he hates the English' (Isaacson, 2003, p. 428). Franklin was even harsher: '[Adams is a man who] means well for his Country, is always an honest Man, often a Wise One, but sometimes and in some things, absolutely out of his senses…' (Wood, 2006, p. 177). These representations perhaps highlight another of Adams' traits: he was vain, obnoxious, and overbearing. As historian Gordon Wood has written, '[h]is colleagues scarcely knew what to do with him….his behavior often caused them to shake their heads and roll their eyes' (Wood, 2006, p. 177). Adams came away from Europe concerned with America's character, more inflexible in his provincial beliefs, and mortified by European morals. When a friend's son asked him how to prepare for a trip to Europe, Adams replied 'Permit me to take the liberty of advising you to cultivate the manners of your own country, not those of Europe' (McCullough, John Adams, 2001, p. 237).

By contrast, Jefferson's five years in France were perhaps the happiest of his life. He participated in salons with the *philosophes* and operated in the most notable social circles. He traveled the countryside, where he was 'nourished with the remains of Roman grandeur' in Nîmes, and impressed with Beaujolais, where 'nature has spread it's [sic] richest gifts in profusion' (Cunningham, 1987, p. 108). He fell in love (with a married woman!), wrote amorous letters, purchased books *en masse*, and bought crates of fine wine to take with him back to the U.S. Jefferson's time in Paris made him appreciate more fully American simplicity, and it was a springboard for his intellectual development, particularly around the bedrock ideas that we now refer to as 'the American dream.' However, he couldn't resist the attraction of French fashion, art, and

music. 'Were I to proceed to tell you how much I enjoy their architecture, sculpture, painting, music, I should want words' (Peterson, 1976, p. 36). In some ways, he tried to be more French than the French.

Franklin, especially during his final years in France, became the most famous American in the world. Like Adams, he remained conscious of his Americanness, and actually flaunted it. He dressed simply, wore a fur cap and ignored court protocol. He seized the role of country bumpkin, even while touting his friendships with Voltaire and Hume. Like Jefferson, though, he threw himself into French high culture. He, too, was an active participant in the salons, debating the *philosophes* on issues of liberty and egalitarianism. His near-omnipresence on the social scene led to his face appearing on medallions, snuffboxes, rings, statues, and prints. (In fact, it is reported that King Louis XVI became so irritated with this popularity that he commissioned the creation of a chamber pot with Franklin's image in the bottom.) The French were infatuated, and Franklin loved his celebrity status. He was the most successful diplomat in U.S. history, and accomplished this with only a minimal knowledge of the French language (Wood, 2006, pp. 178-180).

To summarize, we have here three Founders, each operating in a cosmopolitan mindset, each with extensive international experience, each applying those international experiences differently. What applications are there for this annotated history and education abroad? I would say that there are two lessons. The first is of course the need to better educate U.S. students about their own history prior to their overseas sojourn. I believe students have a lot to gain from learning about these first U.S. citizens and their experiences in Europe. On the one hand, familiarity with this history leads to the sort of critical self-reflection that is the bedrock of the education abroad experience: not just an extension of the ancient Greek axiom *gnōthi seauton* ('know thyself'), nor a rehashing of the cliché that 'you can't know where you're going until you know where you've been.' Demonstrating to students how the first U.S. citizens faced, met, or even ignored these challenges gives them U.S.-specific examples of cross-cultural learning styles that are perhaps more accessible to them than thinkers like Immanuel Kant, Edward Hall, Martha Nussbaum, or even Jacques Derrida.

For those of us that work with U.S. undergraduates or even receive those students on programs and campuses, I strongly believe that this three-part typology represents the broad categories of students with whom we work. We all know of U.S. students that get *more* ethnocentric because of education abroad, and this is obviously the Adams model. If Adams had been administered the Intercultural Development Inventory, I am convinced (best case) that we

would have seen regression during his time overseas, perhaps with his ending in the 'denial' phase. These students need to see – as someone should have demonstrated to Adams – that the marginalization and ostracization that they feel is not being directed at them as individuals, but is an opportunity to reflect critically on their home culture. Similarly, we also work with those students that try to throw themselves so thoroughly into their host culture that they abjure their home culture and perhaps cling to only the stereotypes of their host culture (the study abroad student in England who starts smoking a pipe, the student in France that wears a beret, etc.). This model is, by far, a Jeffersonian one, and these students need to be taught about their host culture more comprehensively, past (once again) the Henry James 'Grand Tour' approach to learn about things like economic and social minorities; immigration issues; questions of religion, gender, and sexuality; in short, all of those things that realist international relations theorists call 'low politics.'

What of Franklin? I think 'Poor Richard' can only be labeled as a participant in what Jim Citron famously calls 'third culture formation' (Citron, 1996). He is not like Adams in his approach to his host culture, nor can he be described as Jeffersonian: to quote another famous philosopher, 'it's a little bit of both.' These students, like Franklin, are the rare good golf shot, the reasons we keep playing the game. They immerse themselves without denying where they are from; they actively engage in conversations about their home and their host; they participate in what Appiah calls the 'payoffs of cosmopolitan curiosity' (Appiah, 2006, p. 97). The best we can do for these students is to challenge them, foster them, and support them. It is then, as Franklin himself said, that we will be doing well by doing good.

The Experience of Cosmopolitanism: Three Types from U.S. Cultural History

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Let us begin this short exploration of cosmopolitanism with one of the most astute observers of the U.S. and its relation to other cultures and societies, George Santayana. His full name was Jorge Agustín Nicolás Ruiz de Santayana y Borrás (1863–1952), and his life was in many respects a search for a cosmopolitan existence. A lifelong Spanish citizen, he was raised and educated in the U.S. and identified himself as an American although he always kept a valid Spanish passport. At the age of forty-eight, he left his faculty position at Harvard and returned to Europe permanently, never to return to the U.S. His final wish was to be buried in Rome upon his death, and his remains are in the *Cimitero Monumentale Del Verano* there.

In his seminal essay, 'The Genteel Tradition in American Philosophy,' Santayana observed a lack of 'vigor of mind' in U.S. culture and society, the remedy for which is the attainment of what he called an 'outside view,' a perspective on the U.S. from afar that overcomes the trappings of U.S. provincialism. The prescription for this 'gentility,' Santayana wrote, is a 'collision of cultures,' a vibrant exchange with 'the Other' that calls deeply into question one's native cultural perspective (Santayana, 1973). Santayana saw the international experience – a movement outward to collide with other cultures and societies – as being central to achieving both a fulfilled individual and a civilized U.S. society.

The extrication from the chains of a narrow and provincial world view is a major topic within U.S. cultural history, expressing itself in a variety of forms through several themes related to cosmopolitanism: travel, diversity, identity, and the meaning of home. An analysis of these themes and their interconnectedness sheds light on the experience of contemporary study abroad students who, like some of the archetypal figures of U.S. cultural history, seek the 'vigor of mind' espoused by Santayana. Such an analysis of the inherited 'cosmopolitan imagination' enlightens us to the challenges of overcoming cultural biases that color the U.S. perspective on cosmopolitanism generally.

One of the ways in which the problem of cosmopolitanism is expressed in U.S. culture is through a description of a root tension: the desire to depart home and the desire to stay. In U.S. literature the theme is a major one with characters who wander 'on the road' to embrace the call of the frontier, or alternatively, those who are suffocated by 'main street' and a stifling heritage that becomes their pathological destiny.

The Swiss psychoanalyst Erik Erikson deciphered the American psyche in this regard and noted a root bifurcation that exists between what he calls the sedentary and migratory inclinations. He observes that America has no epic story that articulates a narrative of perpetual departure and return that would describe contacts with other cultures and societies and a return that incorporates those experiences into one's life 'back home' as a more cosmopolitan soul (Erikson, 1978).

Like Santayana and Erikson, many writers and thinkers frame cosmopolitanism as the polar opposite of 'home' within the U.S. cultural experience. And certainly we can observe these inclinations in our study abroad students. They are sometimes defensive and cling to who they are and from whence they come. And yet they also grow to embrace other places and cultures and call into question their established world views and values. There are a number of typologies or models of cosmopolitanism that resonate within both U.S. cultural history and the student experience abroad that move us beyond this dualism. I would like to discuss only three of them here: self-reliant cosmopolitanism, ironic cosmopolitanism, and pragmatic cosmopolitanism.

Self-Reliant Cosmopolitanism
This first typology I call 'self-reliant cosmopolitanism' and often appears in descriptions by study abroad alumni when they recall their experiences abroad. I believe that, in general, we undervalue or perhaps simply don't talk enough about the role of memory in study abroad learning, how their experience continues to instruct, and how it is re-imagined over time. In an unpublished study that I conducted on what and how study abroad alumni remember, the most common type of memory involved the students being in a stressful situation that had to do with cultural difference, and how they navigated through it.[4] The chief message was that the students had to rely on themselves in such situations, and from this experience they were transformed and learned. Very often alumni reported that they viewed this type of memory as a moment when they grew as an individual because they somehow broke away from what they considered their former 'self.'

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[4] The study was carried out in 2001-02 at Dickinson College. Over 500 alumni responded to a questionnaire that asked about their educational experiences and memories from their time on campus and abroad.

Of course, this type of self-reliance runs deep within the American character, and its highest expression appears in Emerson's essay, 'Self-Reliance,' which maps out the cultural psychology of the independent and limitless powers of the individual self. In this essay, Emerson voices the imperialism that U.S. culture attaches to the self and the dominance that it has over the natural world. He criticizes the urge to contact other cultures, viewing this as a tendency to imitate rather than to 'be oneself.' His analysis beautifully exposes the American sense that home is located in the confines of the self and to wander outside of this home means not being true to one's self (Emerson, 1883, p. 81).

For Emerson, traveling should do nothing to avert one's gaze away from oneself, a self that provides one with a home in the world. In this view, other places, cultures, and societies are indifferent; the unrelenting self is all that matters. That this myth has endured and fueled the engine of U.S. society is undisputed. It is a story that shapes U.S. contact with other cultures, an impulse that no doubt sprang from the first contact with the 'Other' in the New World: the wilderness and its 'savage' inhabitants.[5] Later, the seemingly vast frontier shaped this errand into the wilderness, making it accessible and meaningful for the secularized self-made man. The frontier promised a blank canvas onto which one could create oneself and make one's place in the world. As Santayana suggested, 'the frontier lured the mind, and the mind filled it up.' Its cultures were to be encountered, conquered, and simultaneously developed along with the creation of the self (Santayana, 1973, p. 1550).

In many respects, Americans' journeys to other cultures, including those of our students who venture abroad, replicate this frontier psychology: foreign cultures become material by which a personal history may be asserted and established. There is a naiveté to the spontaneous way that Americans incorporate events into their personal histories. In her autobiography, *A Romantic Education*, Patricia Hampfl describes her Midwestern childhood, her coming of age in the 1960s, and a journey to the Prague of her family's past (1999). She learned from her experience abroad that the approach that one takes to the experience of another culture and society determines its meaning, and that Americans are tempted to impose their personal psychology onto the experience. Hampfl explains that in terms of U.S. immigrant populations and their search for a connection to an ancestral past. She writes:

> [I]f you go to the old country seeking, as third or fourth generation Americans often do, a strictly personal history based on bloodlines, then, the less intimate history of nation cannot impose itself upon you very strongly. History is reduced to genealogy, which is supposed to satisfy a hunger that is clearly much larger (Hampfl, 1999, p. 142).

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[5] This aspect of what Perry Miller famously called 'the errand into the wilderness' (1952) has been explored by a number of authors. See, especially: Slotkin (1973); and Tichi (1979).

Thoreau was able to move beyond his personal experience and connect it to the world beyond. He was that provincial yet wonderfully expansive soul who rarely ventured beyond his beloved Concord and his cabin at Walden Pond. Yet his immersion in the local fueled his imagination about distant places and the roles that he might play in various locations around the world:

> The world is a fit theater to-day in which any part may be acted. There is this moment proposed to me every kind of life that men lead anywhere, or that imagination can paint. By another spring I may be a mail-carrier in Peru, or a South African planter, or a Siberian exile, or a Greenland whaler, or a settler on the Columbia River, or a Canton merchant, or a soldier in Florida or a mackerel-fisher off Cape Sable, or a Robinson Crusoe in the Pacific, or a silent navigator of any sea. So wide is the choice of parts, what a pity if the part of Hamlet be left out! (Thoreau, 1973, p. 773)

Thoreau used local experience to transcend his locale and for this reason we might label him a local cosmopolite. He famously stated that the 'frontiers are not east or west, north or south, but wherever a man fronts a fact,' thus transforming the image of America's frontier into a private metaphor (1973, p. 773). Thoreau's genius was to see, as Frederick Turner has argued,

> that the cultural journey cannot properly take place without the personal one. For Thoreau, some personal voyage of self-discovery must accompany any genuine understanding of another culture (Turner, 1986, p. 87).

Turner suggests that this view generated the unique anthropological tradition of the West, where there was a 'contraction of the unit of social initiative to the individual.' In this tradition, 'Americans are anthropologists [who are] alone, almost marooned or shipwrecked in the culture they study.' Alone, yes, and on a personal journey of transformation that occurs simultaneously with the accumulated understanding of a new culture. This is, Turner tells us,

> an experience of personal conversion that involves culture shock, self-confrontation, a profound alienation from their own culture, a sense of being only a child in their newly adopted culture, an initiation into its mysteries and acceptance by it (1986, pp. 87-88)

Hampfl would have us embrace the history of a foreign place and through this act simultaneously discover ourselves. In her view, the study of the cultural and societal history of a nation is a study of oneself:

> [T]he country itself becomes the lost ancestry and, one finds, the country is eloquent. Its long story, its history, satisfy the instinct for kinship in a way that the discovery of a distant cousin could not. For it is really the longing for a lost culture that sends Americans on these pilgrimages (1999, p. 142).

The typology of self-reliant cosmopolitanism is a form that involves the bridging of cultures through personal history, imagination and, yes, determination. It is simultaneously an outward movement of the self into other cultures as well as an interior journey into the self. Here, personal and cultural journeys unite to form a type of cosmopolitanism brought about through personal trial and transformation in the adaptation to a new culture.

Ironic Cosmopolitanism

A second typology I call ironic cosmopolitanism, which involves an existence perched in between two cultures. The ironic cosmopolite exists as two distinct selves engaged in two different contexts. Unlike the self-reliant cosmopolite who embraces the self's personal history and is able to integrate it with a cultural history, the ironic cosmopolite transcends cultures and floats freely beyond each of their bounds. Humor is often part of ironic cosmopolitanism because the position outside of culture affords an opportunity to view it more objectively and see the relativity of its practices.

The fullest expression of ironic cosmopolitanism in U.S. cultural history can be found in the writings of Mark Twain, who espoused, '[T]ravel is fatal to prejudice, bigotry, and narrow-mindedness, and many of our people need it sorely on these accounts' ([1869] 1911, p. 407). Twain of course spent a great deal of time abroad and wrote wonderful and generally underrated travel narratives that are richly complex in the way that they analyze and critique both U.S. and foreign cultures in laugh out loud ways.

In the collection of essays in the book, *Cosmopolitan Twain*, the various aspects of Twain's ironic approach to other cultures as well as his own are explored. In the introduction, Ann Ryan states that

> Twain is a cosmopolitan: he is competitive, skeptical, necessarily tolerant, passionately secular, multilingual and multicultural, frankly materialistic and acquisitive. ...[his writing] evinces a progressive, modernist critique of American politics and history, a critique provoked by his life as an urban citizen (Ryan, 2008, p. 4).

Commenting on Ryan's introduction, Twain scholar Harold K. Bush notes that Ryan considers cosmopolitanism as an identity that is 'at once displaced and interconnected, of being unified and connected,' a way 'of living at home abroad and abroad at home,' and that 'both of these statements ring true for Mark Twain.' Bush also observes that Ryan quotes from Marshall McLuhan's 1964 description that the cosmopolitan 'transcends national boundaries and…articulates the commonality of human suffering and human potential… sympathetic, engaged, yet also distanced from his subject… Again, a bullseye for Twain' (Bush, 2009).

In *The Innocents Abroad and A Tramp Abroad,* Twain is at his cosmopolitan best. They are hilariously funny, irreverent, politically incorrect and refreshingly critical of the cultures and societies that Twain visits, as well as the U.S. society that he has left behind. Twain embodies the ugly American who travels abroad as he exaggerates the unsophisticated, rude, loud, obnoxious and uncultured American on holiday. His travel companions become fodder for his sharp wit as much as the cultures that he dismantles. Twain's writings would make excellent pre-departure reading for students preparing to study abroad because they provide a humorous gaze into the cultural mirror, encouraging the sojourning American to laugh at and critique his or her culturally insensitive behavior.

For example, Twain describes how he and some of his travel companions play jokes on their enthusiastic tour guides who lead them around to visit historic monuments. Here, Twain knowingly plays the role of the naïve American, uncultured and ignorant of the high culture to which the guides introduce them. They call all of their tour guides 'Ferguson,' and ask them with feigned naiveté if this or that well-known historic figure is now dead. In one museum, Twain expresses puzzlement while listening to the guide describe a statue, asking the guide, 'Oh, I see. Now...which is the bust and which is the pedestal?' ([1869] 1911, p. 110). When touring around Rome, Twain and his companions become weary of how much of the city and its monuments seem to be attributed to Michelangelo, causing Twain to write, 'I never felt so fervently thankful, so soothed, so tranquil, so filled with a blessed peace, as I did yesterday when I learned that Michael Angelo was dead' ([1869] 1911, p. 110). And they conspire to play a joke on the tour guide:

> He shows us a figure and says: 'Statoo brunzo'. (Bronze statue.)
> We look at it indifferently and the doctor asks: 'By Michael Angelo?'
> 'No--not know who.'
> Then he shows us the ancient Roman Forum. The doctor asks: 'Michael Angelo?'
> A stare from the guide. 'No--thousan' year before he is born.'
> Then an Egyptian obelisk. Again: 'Michael Angelo?'
> 'Oh, *mon dieu*, genteelmen! Zis is two thousan' year before he is born!'

> He grows so tired of that unceasing question sometimes, that he dreads to show us anything at all. The wretch has tried all the ways he can think of to make us comprehend that Michael Angelo is only responsible for the creation of a part of the world, but somehow he has not succeeded yet. Relief for overtasked eyes and brain from study and sightseeing is necessary, or we shall become idiotic sure enough. Therefore this guide must continue to suffer. If he does not enjoy it, so much the worse for him. We do (Twain, [1869] 1911, p. 289).

In his travel writings, Twain stands outside of both the U.S. and the foreign host culture, simultaneously criticizing both through his ironic imagination. This ability to be critical both of one's hosts, as well one's home, is a laughable matter. The intercultural space that the ironic cosmopolite inhabits between cultures is filled with laughter, and we would do well to foster this appropriate laughter in both our students and our international friends and colleagues.

Pragmatic Cosmopolitanism

A third typology I call pragmatic cosmopolitanism. Study abroad alumni describe this as the experience of being actively involved in a role abroad that is at once familiar yet somewhat foreign because they are enacting this role in a different cultural environment. Engaging in a familiar role in a foreign culture requires a person to make adjustments to their actions, modifications that are not required when they act in their home culture. The American philosopher and psychologist William James called this 'plasticity,' the ability for a person to change and adapt to new situations on new stages of action, and it is a core characteristic of the pragmatic cosmopolite.[6]

Pragmatic cosmopolitanism is embodied and articulated most fully in the U.S. cultural tradition by William James and his brother, Henry James. William James has long been regarded as one of America's greatest intellectuals and his younger brother, Henry, one of its greatest writers. William synthesized the intellectual viewpoints of his day into what I call a pragmatic cosmopolitanism, a form that many of the characters in Henry's novels dramatize.[7]

William James made major contributions to theories of the self by articulating the principle of multiplicity of social selves, the view that the 'self' is actually a collection of possible selves that we might embody at any given time.'[8] While James adopted this idea from depth psychology, he is also considered to be a phenomenologist and even a founder of the school of behaviorism because of his insistence on 'radical empiricism,' a philosophy that espouses observing that which only is visible and known through embodied experience. For James, the habits or roles that we engage in on a daily basis bridge the multiple interior selves and the exterior empirical stage of the world. And while he lived out this philosophy in an international context in his own life (he studied abroad multiple

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[6] James developed this notion of plasticity initially as a concept related to human habits and physiology in his landmark work *The Principles of Psychology* (1890), widely recognized as the first psychology textbook.

[7] There are a number of studies of the pragmatism of William and Henry James. See, for example: Hocks (1974); Lapoujade (2008); and Cormier (1997).

[8] See, for example, Taylor (1983). As the editor points out in the introduction, James met both Freud and Jung on their visits to the U.S. and was influenced by both of them in his own development of a theory of the self.

times and traveled extensively overseas in a variety of roles, including on a famous expedition to the Amazon with Darwin's student Louis Agassiz), it was his brother, Henry, who explored this form of cosmopolitanism in his literary works.

Henry James inaugurated what is known as the 'international theme' in American literature in which he portrays his literary characters as figures in a drama who act out their roles (and often become unraveled in doing so) on a foreign stage. His characters are 'ambassadors' and expatriates who attempt to adjust a variety of selves to the European environment. As the critic Jessica Berman points out, in his novels, James explores 'the drama of identity formation provoked by the modern experience of cross-cultural encounter' (2010, p. 138).

This is not an easy matter to decipher in James' writings, which are often richly complex. However, taken as a whole the span of his literary work mirrors his own life as a person perpetually navigating between cultures. In both the literary and personal realms, James is fascinated by how he and his characters embody the space between cultures and societies. One of his later works, *The American Scene,* is an account of his extended trip across the United States after many years of living abroad. Here James 'struggles to define a modern, everyday cosmopolitanism, one where appreciation for the world does not imply military expansionism or rapacious commercialism, but where room remains for pride of place and the cultivation of a worldly conversation' (Berman, 2010, p. 147). After lamenting the 'embalmed' cosmopolites of a faded Newport, James was struck by the vibrant and productive immigrants of New York City and Baltimore, but saw the latter as turning away from the wider world in their obsession with their newfound opportunities in America (Berman, 2010, p. 146).   As Irving Howe observes in his definitive introduction to *The American Scene*, James was searching for signs that America was achieving the promise of a 'humane civilization' in which its citizens respected their own and other cultural traditions and habits and found ways to incorporate them into everyday life (Howe, 1967, p. xvi). While James ultimately does not provide an answer to this question, his hope is anchored in the people whom he meets in specific locations and situations, aware at once of their duties at home, and simultaneously aware of the need to engage and act in the world at large. In other words, James saw hope in the way that people are able to adapt their domestic habits and roles to an increasingly internationalized world.

This typology is akin to the cosmopolitanism that is articulated by Appiah, who is concerned about 'specific locations and situations and espouses a type of cosmopolitanism that is based on the assumption of shared universal values and liberal conversation' (Berman, 2010, p. 140). Appiah writes, '[c]osmopolitanism shouldn't be seen as some exalted attainment; it begins in the simple idea that in

the human community, as in national communities, we need to develop habits of coexistence...' (Appiah, 2006, pp. xviii-xix). Appiah's vision of cosmopolitanism 'would require that people accept the citizen's responsibility to nurture the culture and politics of their homes, whether they spend their lives in the places that shaped them or move elsewhere, taking their cultural practices with them' (Berman, 2010, p. 147). For James 'the ideal cosmopolitan world becomes harder and harder to imagine, he continues to describe the possibility of a cosmopolitan sentiment, able to bridge the worlds of both home and away...' (Berman, 2010, p. 147).

The pragmatic cosmopolite does indeed aspire to adapt domestic habits and roles in order to live in an international community. The phrase, 'think globally, act locally' almost fits here; but a better way to convey this form of cosmopolitanism would be, 'act locally and globally.'

Conclusion

I have focused on cosmopolitanism from a psychological perspective, as being a matter of personal identity and experience, and have tried to identify three of its forms. Each of the forms moves us beyond both Santayana's lament and Erikson's diagnosis of an American mind that cannot reconcile the conservative with the liberal. The three typologies described above help us to transcend the traditional views of the problem of home versus abroad and in doing so offer opportunities to explore the more subtle and complex nature of sojourns abroad.

Cosmopolitanism no doubt takes many forms and individuals will take on some of these within their experience, and certainly these typologies will overlap and exist within the same, discrete experience. In the study abroad context, students act out the forms of cosmopolitanism that have been reflected by and articulated in American cultural history. Taken together, the cultural expressions and student experiences inform us of the distinctive U.S. cultural characteristics of cosmopolitanism.

Cosmopolitanism and Diversity in France

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Cosmopolitanism: Definition and Critiques

Before beginning to address the topic of cosmopolitanism and diversity in France it seems fitting to frame the discussion. What is cosmopolitanism and how can it be defined? For Hannerz, cosmopolitanism is 'an intellectual and aesthetic stance of openness toward divergent cultural experiences, a search for contrasts rather than uniformity' which implies a 'willingness to become involved with the Other, and the concern with achieving competence in cultures' (1990, p. 113). Appiah (2006) approaches cosmopolitanism as universality plus difference. Other cultures must be respected because people matter and culture matters to people. It is this openness towards difference and willingness to engage with the Other that truly defines cosmopolitanism.

Hannerz identifies two 'faces' of cosmopolitanism, culture and politics. On the one hand, cultural cosmopolitanism can be viewed as 'a management of meaning in an interconnected but culturally diverse world' (Hannerz, 2006, p. 6). This can be driven by increased mobility, which, while neither a necessary nor a sufficient condition, can be a contributing factor to the development of an intellectual openness to different cultures and an ability to navigate those cultures. This 'cultural cosmopolitanism' implies immersion in a different culture along with participation and acceptance of differences. Political cosmopolitanism, or 'cosmopolitics,' involves 'governments, statesmen, international commissions, and think tanks in working out ideas and institutions of global governance from the top down and social movements and networks promoting transnational civil society and global awareness' (Hannerz, 2006, p. 9).

These two cosmopolitanisms present separate challenges and both have had their critics. Cosmopolitanism has been applied as a term of derision, attacked as a threat to the nation, challenged as essentially an upper-class, Western notion, an occupational and experiential culture that implies an appreciation of varied lifestyles, but one that has little relevance to most individuals. Roberio defines cosmopolitanism as a Western notion that 'epitomizes the need social agents have to conceive of a political and cultural entity larger than their homeland, that would encompass all human beings on a global scale' (2001, p. 2842). This leads to the question of whether cosmopolitanism can promise any universalism that is

not simply a generalization of some Western specificity? (Breckenridge, Pollock, Bhabha, & Chakrabarty, 2002).

As a term of derision, cosmopolitanism was used by both the Nazis in Germany and by Stalin during the 1940s and 1950s. For both the Nazis and the Soviets, cosmopolitanism was seen as being in opposition to nationalism and patriotism. In the Soviet Union, there was a concerted effort to attack 'groveling before the West,' 'anti-patriotism,' and cosmopolitanism: in short anything 'non-Russian' (Azadovskii & Egorov, 2002). This anti-cosmopolitanism soon permeated every corner of life in Russia, including academe, where entire fields were corrupted and twisted to fit the Soviet régime's worldview.

Hitler and the Nazi party in Germany also rejected cosmopolitanism. Like the Soviets, the Nazi rejection of cosmopolitanism was based on nationalism, upholding a German and Aryan identity. This view was grounded in the philosophy of Nietzsche (Hicks, 2010). There was no place for Western liberalism, internationalism, or cosmopolitanism.

In Nazi Germany and in the Soviet Union, this anti-cosmopolitanism was closely linked to anti-Semitism, Jews being viewed as 'rootless' cosmopolitans with no allegiance or connection to state or the nation. Since the reunification of Germany, Berlin has once again become a cosmopolitan city, embracing its identity as a 'global city' where cultural diversity is celebrated (Vertovec, 2009). In Russia, 'the overt anti-Semitism of the anti-cosmopolitan campaigns and of other events in Stalin's final years left its own poisonous effects on Soviet society - effects that continue to this day' (Azadovskii & Egorov, 2002, p. 79).

Anti-Semitism has been closely linked to anti-cosmopolitanism in France as well. During the period of the Dreyfus Affair, cosmopolitanism was associated with rootless Jews and seen as a profanity or treason. In France after the Franco-Prussian War there was a strong return to traditional values. The real question for the opposing parties in the Dreyfus affair was not the matter of guilt or innocence, but the future of France. Should France be modern or traditional, cosmopolitan or nationalist, Catholic or secular, a republic or a monarchy? In some sense this was a return to the struggle between 'champions and foes of the Enlightenment' (Brown, 2010).

Cosmopolitanism in Enlightenment Thought and the French Revolution
The view of France as a cosmopolitan nation is not new. Enlightenment philosophers embraced cosmopolitanism and the French Revolution can be viewed through a cosmopolitan prism. France's history as a land welcoming to immigrants, and its color-blind society have also contributed to this image.

Like the *American Declaration of Independence*, The French *Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen* was a statement of aspirational principles rather than reality. In practice it applied to men and excluded women, slaves, and foreigners. What is important for the discussion of cosmopolitanism is that the idealism and vision expressed in the document expresses the notion that these are universal values. American cosmopolitans and Francophiles Thomas Jefferson, Gouverneur Morris, Thomas Paine, Joel Barlow, and James Monroe shared the belief that the values expressed in these documents were universal (Ziesche, 2010).

Cosmopolitanism as an idea was endorsed by many of the *Encyclopédistes* and *philosophes* in the first half of the eighteenth century. Fougeret de Monbron contributed to the spread of the term cosmopolite with the publication of his provocative work, *Le Cosmopolite ou le citoyen du monde*, which begins with *'[L]' univers est une espece de livre, dont on n'a lu que la premiere page quand on n'a vu que son Pays'* (1761, p. 3); translation: '[T]he universe is a sort of book and one has only read the first page if one has seen only his or her own country.' The notion of being a citizen of the world was, and for some still is, viewed as synonymous with cosmopolitanism.

Enlightenment philosophers and key figures in the French Revolution had much to say regarding the question of cosmopolitanism. Voltaire, Hume, and Franklin all advanced notions of universalism (Schlereth, 1977). In the debate between nationalism or patriotism and cosmopolitanism, Rousseau had much to say on both sides but ultimately came down on the side of patriotism. He viewed cosmopolitanism as an ideal notion but one that was far too abstract. One can read his writings as favoring a kind of heartfelt or visceral cosmopolitanism that 'surmounts the imaginary barriers that separate Peoples' as he write in the *Second Discourse*. This echoes the two facets of cosmopolitanism identified by Hannerz and one might imagine Rousseau embracing cultural cosmopolitanism while remaining more skeptical about the potential for true political cosmopolitanism. A similar tension between cultural and political cosmopolitanism can be observed in the views of key figures of the French Revolution.

Among the figures of the French Revolution who supported universalism or cosmopolitanism were Henri Grégoire, a priest better known as Abbé Grégoire, and Anarchis Cloots. While these men shared a belief in the importance of cosmopolitanism, their lives could not have been more different. Cloots declared himself to be the personal enemy of Jesus Christ and was sentenced to death by Robespierre. Abbé Grégoire always considered himself a Catholic. His funeral cortege was followed by thousands of Parisians, and in 1989, the bicentennial year of the French Revolution, his remains were transferred with great pomp to the Pantheon.

Grégoire was an ardent abolitionist, a supporter of universal suffrage and a defender of the Jews in France (Necheles, 1969; Sepinwall, 2005). While Grégoire condemned both extreme chauvinistic patriotism and 'systematic and de facto cosmopolitanism' that ignores citizens' obligation to their country, he supported the co-operation of all nations and traveling as a means to learn about different cultures. For Grégoire, this cosmopolitanism was grounded in Catholic thought, particularly the writings of Abbé Saint-Pierre (Schuck, 2005). Along with his fellow religious, Abbé Claude Fauchet, Grégoire viewed the republican ideals of liberty, equality, fraternity, as values from the Gospels that applied universally to all men (Schuck, 2005).

Anarchis Cloots' cosmopolitanism was grounded in secular values. He was born a Prussian nobleman but became known as the orator of mankind and a citizen of humanity. On the evening of June 19, 1790, Cloots led a delegation of foreigners composed of English, Prussians, Sicilians, Dutch, Russians, Poles, Germans, Swedes, Italians, Spaniards, Brabançons, Liégois, Avignonnais, Swiss, Genevans, Indians, Arabs, Chaldeans and others, to the bar of the French National Assembly. He gave an impassioned speech on behalf of the peoples of the world represented by this 'foreign deputation.' Cloots was a proponent of a world state based on the values of the French Revolution, and saw the values of the French Revolution as universal values that should be spread throughout the world (Bevilaqua, 2012).

While there is a strong kernel of cosmopolitanism in the French Revolution, it resides in opposition to the principle of the nation. Viewing cosmopolitanism from Hannerz's (2006) two faces is useful in this context. Rousseau and Grégoire clearly saw the value of cultural cosmopolitanism, while also appreciating the difficulties and challenges of political cosmopolitanism. As Leoussi writes, 'cosmopolitanism and nationalism shared the same intellectual foundations in the idea of natural rights, but once applied to real life their interests increasingly and inevitably diverged' (2001, p. 35). One can view the first French republic as conflicted in its approach to cosmopolitanism.

Cosmopolitanism in France

At first glance, particularly viewed from without, France and especially its capital city, Paris, would seem to be the example of a cosmopolitanism society, viewed as a place of sophistication and refinement. It has a longstanding reputation as a *terre d'accueil*, a land welcoming to foreigners. Generations of writers and artists seeking a place of freedom and openness came to France: Latin Americans fleeing political persecution (Schwartz, 1999; Weiss, 2003); American writers, painters, poets, and thinkers (Longstreet, 1972; McCullough, 2011), and African-Americans seeking to escape racism and segregation (Stovall, 1996).

Starting with the founding fathers of the United States – Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Franklin, and John Adams in the late 1700s – American politicians, artists, architects, writers, and doctors have been drawn to France and to Paris to encounter a different culture. In Paris they were surrounded by art and architecture and a culture that seemed more open to difference (Longstreet, 1972; McCullough, 2011).

Great American artists like sculptor Augustus Saint-Gaudens and painters Mary Cassat and John Singer Sargent found themselves inspired not just by the French masters but by Paris itself. While studying at the Sorbonne, Massachusetts politician Charles Sumner saw black African students treated as equals by their French peers. This led him to reflect that American attitudes towards race were taught and learned, not part of the nature of things. As David McCullough observed, 'of all that Americans were to "bring home" from their time in Paris in the form of newly acquired professional skills, new ways of seeing things, this insight was to be as important as any' (McCullough, 2011, pp. 131-132).

In the summer of 1849, William Wells Brown arrived in Paris. An escaped slave, he had already written a popular book in 1847: *Narrative of William W. Brown, a Fugitive Slave*. He came as part of a delegation attending an international peace conference led by the French author Victor Hugo. In Paris he was received with much fanfare and was invited to a lavish reception given in his honor by the French Foreign Minister, Alexis de Tocqueville. Many roadblocks were put in his place by the American government, which initially refused to issue a passport to him because he was a 'person of color.' In France things were different: 'never once, under any circumstances, was he made to feel anything but welcome' (McCullough, 2011, p. 196). Brown went on to become a successful novelist and playwright.

African-American artist Henry O. Tanner, who had briefly studied under Thomas Eakins at the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts in Philadelphia, arrived in Paris in 1891. In Paris he was not made to feel inferior because of his color. He was unwelcome in some restaurants, not because of his race but because he did not drink wine. 'In the cheap restaurants to which I went, they did not care to serve one unless one took wine - They made little or no profit on the food…I was thus an undesirable customer and several times forced to change restaurants' (McCullough, 2011, p. 428). His intention was to travel on to Rome but once he arrived in France he was seduced by Paris and remained there for the rest of his life, where he died a wealthy and successful painter in 1937.

When America entered the First World War in April 1917, the United States was still a young parochial nation in many ways and segregationist Jim Crow

laws were firmly in place in most southern states. In 1917, seventy African-Americans were lynched in the U.S. By the end of the war, over four million U.S. troops had served as combatants, with thirteen percent of the American draftees African-American. Over 400,000 African-American troops served during the war, roughly half serving in France as part of the American Expeditionary Force, many distinguishing themselves in combat. The African-American troops, many of them from southern states, encountered a very different attitude towards race in France, where they were treated as equals by French troops and civilians (Stovall, 1996).

For many white Americans the experience of seeing Paris was also transformational. For many in the U.S., there was concern that these men might be tainted by the decadent Old World. In the U.S. being a Francophile or a cosmopolitan were seen as synonymous. Neither inclination was viewed in a positive light. A popular U.S. song of the time, entitled *How 'Ya Gonna Keep 'Em Down on the Farm (After They've Seen Paree)* expressed this concern (Young, Lewis, & Donaldson, 1918).

The French embraced African-American culture and especially the new jazz music that many African-Americans brought with them. In the interwar period, Paris became a capital of jazz music, attracting the best talent. The African-American singer and dancer Josephine Baker became a star and went on to open her own club, Chez Joséphine, in Paris in 1926. The famous Le Hot Club de France attracted top jazz talent like Duke Ellington and Coleman Hawkins. In the post World War II period, jazz continued to be popular in France while a new group of African-American artists, writers this time, came to the city: James Baldwin, Richard Wright, and William Gardner Smith, among others.

Despite the color-blind society that African-American writers, musicians, and artists encountered in France, there was an undercurrent of racism against Arabs in France that was witnessed by African-American writers. William Gardner Smith evokes this in his last novel *The Stone Face*, published in 1963 during the War in Algeria, when tensions were high in France. The novel testifies to the anti-Arab racism that Smith witnessed while working as a journalist in Paris and includes a fictionalized account of the massacre of October 17, 1961, in which French police attacked a demonstration of Algerians killing at least 40 and as many as 200.

Diversity and Identity in France
The notion of diversity as understood in the American context is alien to the French. America has long viewed itself as a melting pot, a sentiment perhaps first expressed by Hector St. John de Crevecoeur in his 1782 work, *Letters from*

an American Farmer, in which he writes that Americans are individuals from all nations who are 'melted into a new race of men.' The motto on the Great Seal of the United States reads *e pluribus unum* ('out of many, one'). Despite these fine sentiments, since the nineteenth century the decennial U.S. census has gathered official data on residents' country of origin, the country of origin of their parents, and whether they spoke English as a first language. Today Americans identify themselves as Irish-American, Polish-American, or African-American. This notion of hyphenated Americans is validated in popular culture and by a shift in the discourse from the metaphor of a melting pot to that of a salad bowl.

Citizenship in France, like in America, is based on the notion of *jus soli*, 'right of soil,' rather than *jus sanguinis*, 'right of blood,' meaning those born of a French parent or born on French soil are French. Here is where the French model of citizenship, designed in the wake of the French Revolution, and the U.S. model of citizenship diverge. The French model dissociates racial and national identity, rendering 'distinctions of race' irrelevant and invisible in the community of citizens. French law dating from 1872 and reaffirmed in 1978 explicitly prohibits the government from collecting any census data about the religious belief or ethnic origins of citizens and residents.

This republican model is still cited as the source of harmonious race relations in France – a model by which skin color, ethnic origin, religion, or belief are private matters that should not discourage equal participation in the public sphere or fair treatment in society. The French state is officially secular. This separation of Church and State is much more extreme than that in the U.S., a nation where 'In God We Trust' is printed on every coin and banknote and politicians and presidents end every speech with the phrase, 'God Bless America.' It would be illegal and unconstitutional for the government in France to print 'In God We Trust' anywhere on an official document. It is inconceivable to imagine a French president ever uttering the words, 'God Bless France.'

The motto of France is *liberté, égalité, fraternité* ('liberty, equality, fraternity'). This motto appears above the door of every French city hall and on all official documents. Like any nation there are those with opposing views and some of these were expressed during the period of occupation, when Maréchal Philippe Pétain changed the Republican motto to *travail, famille, patrie* ('work, family, country'). Today, in some municipalities with communist mayors, the motto on city hall reads *liberté, égalité, fraternité, solidarité* ('liberty, equality, fraternity, solidarity'), but the word 'diversity' has no place.

While diversity has no official place in France, immigration has long been a reality and France is proud of its tradition as a *terre d'acceuil*, a land welcoming newcomers. In the nineteenth century a wave of immigrants from Italy, many

from the Piedmont region, settled in France. The history of Italian immigration to France dates back to the Renaissance. After the genocide of 1915-23, a large group of Armenians settled in France. The popular French singer Charles Aznavour and award-winning French film director Henri Verneuil were both sons of Armenian immigrants. Some estimates put the number of French citizens of Armenian descent at over 400,000 (Institute for Armenian Research, n.d.).

Immigration to France from Spain and Portugal has a long history and for centuries the porous border between Spain and France in the Pyrenees created a region with a rich culture and tradition, not to mention the Basque region, which straddles Spain and France. In the postwar period, immigrants from Central Europe also found their way to France.

The Italian, Armenian, Spanish, Portuguese, and Central European immigrants were European and mostly Christian. Notwithstanding the mixed welcome received by some first generation Armenians, an experience dramatized in Henri Verneuil's films *Mayrig* and *588 Rue Paradis*, their assimilation into French culture was relatively smooth. Nicolas Sarkozy, France's president from 2007 to 2012 is the son of a Hungarian immigrant father and a Greek Jewish mother. This fact was well known in France, yet never a major source of discussion in the French press, underlining a key difference between France and the U.S.

Approaching the topic of diversity in France one must address the issue of regional cultures within the French nation. Like many other European nations, there are a number of distinct and unique cultures to be found within France. Brittany, Corsica, Alsace, Provence, and the Basque region in particular have distinct cultures and languages. While French is the official language of France, there are several important regional languages still spoken. According to some estimates, over five million French citizens speak a regional language. While exact numbers are difficult to obtain, it is estimated that roughly 200,000 French citizens speak Breton, 150,000 speak Corsican, 900,000 speak Alsatian, 200,000 speak Basque or Catalan and three million speak some dialect of Occitan (INSEE, 1999). France is one of the few European states that have not ratified the European Charter for Regional and Minority Languages (Hooper, 2012). Language is one of the main means of cultural transmission and in a world where regional languages are disappearing at an alarming rate (Rymer, 2012) the official French attitude towards its regional languages and cultures is puzzling.

Islam in France
Many visitors from the U.S. have been impressed with the multiculturalism of large French cities, viewing the art and music emanating from minority communities as an exciting creative energy. However, the relatively smooth assimilation of other Europeans has not been experienced by most Muslim immigrants to France.

This group is mostly from the former French colonies of North Africa – Algeria, Morocco, and Tunisia – but also includes important numbers of sub-Saharan Africans from former French colonies in West Africa. In fact, France has the largest Muslim population in Europe, at roughly five million people, which makes Islam the second most practiced religion in France (Laurence & Vaisse, 2006, p. 15).

The influx of Muslim immigrants to France has created concerns over France's national identity and culture. Gurfinkiel (1997, p. 19) states that these 'French minority groups tend to have alien values, to think of themselves as a new nation, and even to have hopes of superseding the present Judeo-Christian nation of France.' According to a recent poll (IFOP, 2012) a majority of people in France (69%), feel that French society is sufficiently open towards Islam. However, the poll also revealed that 60% feel that Islam is too influential in French society and close to 50% believe that Muslims pose a threat to France's national identity.

The French government made a decision to ban Islamic headscarves and other religious signs from public schools in 2004. This puzzled many observers because it seemed to be an infringement on religious freedom. At the same time, the decision was praised by some as a response to societal problems like violence against women in poor neighborhoods and to anti-Semitism. Bowen (2007) argues that the focus on headscarves was based on a longstanding sensitivity to the public presence of religion in schools and the fear of links between a public expression of Muslim identity and radical Islam as well as a media-driven frenzy in support of the ban. The defense of *laïcité* (secularism) was cited by many supporters of the law as its principal justification (Davis, 2011).

These attitudes seem at odds with the traditional view of France as a welcoming land for immigrants and an open cosmopolitan society. How could a place that welcomed African-American and Latin American artists and writers be at the same time so opposed to Muslim immigrants? In reality cosmopolitanism is a complex notion. A society may be cosmopolitan while a state may be anti-cosmopolitan. Different regions within a nation-state may embrace cultural difference while others may be closed to the Other.

Ordinary Cosmopolitanism
One of the criticisms of cosmopolitanism cited at the beginning of this article was that cosmopolitanism is in fact an elite Western notion. Lamont and Aksartova (2002) conducted a study of U.S. and French working class men to explore strategies and views used by them to bridge racial and ethnic boundaries, in essence to discover how working class French and Americans manage cultural differences to become more cosmopolitan. These strategies reveal something profound about the culture of each group and perhaps a lesson on how to approach the issue of cosmopolitanism.

In France, the 'white' French workers referred to feelings of solidarity and egalitarianism when discussing racial and ethnic equality. These values were grounded in Republicanism, Socialism, and Catholicism. At the same time the North African French relied on the universality of morality, referring to the Koranic notion of the 'straight path.' By contrast, in the U.S., 'white' workers used market-based arguments: everyone has an opportunity to succeed, equal opportunity, and a level playing field, phrases and concepts not used in France. For African-American workers, citizenship, universal differences in level of intelligence, universal morality, the idea that we are all children of God, were the values and notions that helped them to bridge the gap.

Conclusion

Cosmopolitanism is a complex notion that can refer to cultural or political cosmopolitanism. Labeling a country or a society as cosmopolitan is a task fraught with difficulty. A country may embrace a kind of cultural cosmopolitanism while rejecting political cosmopolitanism or some elements of society may reject both forms of cosmopolitanism.

The traditional goal of education abroad has been cultural immersion, yet for international educators the question of cosmopolitanism raises a challenge. If a city like Paris or a country like France can be viewed as cosmopolitan, then in which culture are students to be immersed? To paraphrase Hannerz (1990), perhaps instead of seeking immersion in a specific culture, the goal should be to foster cosmopolitanism within students, to teach them to be open to different cultural experiences, to look for contrasts, to be willing to become engaged with the Other, and to achieve competence in engaging with cultures different from their own.

Cosmopolitanism and Alternative Modernities: Contest or Renewal?

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Introduction

The forces of globalization increasingly confront the Enlightenment ideal of a cosmopolitanism that transcends the local, parochial, and particularities of an individual nation and society to create a universal set of principles for ordering global politics, economics, and culture. Instead of a process of emergence or progress towards modernity based on these universal principles, the pace and intensity of globalization is demanding that the ideal be operationalized at a much faster pace or be overtaken completely with consequent risk of abrogation of rights and obligations at an international level (Held, 2003).

Sociology has been a late entrant to cosmopolitan discourse, in part due to the framing of cosmopolitanism itself as primarily a governance or political project and sociology's focus on a nationally-bounded social world. Nevertheless, sociology is well positioned to break the nexus that is tightening between cosmopolitanism and globalization by challenging the joint assumption of a single, universal modernity. This paper explores this proposition with reference to related debates in the literature. The case of Indigenous Australians is used to illustrate the theoretical discussion and to argue that engaging through research with Indigenous peoples in a colonized context is one practical way in which the study abroad student can begin to appreciate the existence of an alternative modernity and in doing so begin to develop a critical cosmopolitan imagination.

The Methodological Challenge

In order to distinguish between cosmopolitanism and globalization, Beck argues for a cosmopolitan turn in sociology that analyses the social world unconstrained by national or cultural boundaries, that is, a shift from methodological nationalism to methodological cosmopolitanism (Beck & Sznaider, 2006; Beck, 2012). Further, such an approach must also recognize the distinction between the normative or universal ideal and the empirically observed real which he terms respectively cosmopolitanism and cosmopolitanization (Beck & Sznaider, 2006, p. 7). The latter, like globalization, is not a voluntary process but rather an enforced process:

> The fact that really-existing cosmopolitanization is not achieved through struggle, that it is not chosen, that it does not come into the world as progress with the reflected

moral authority of the Enlightenment, but as something deformed and profane, cloaked in the anonymity of side-effects – this is an essential founding moment within cosmopolitan realism in the social sciences (Beck & Sznaider, 2006, p. 8).

Unlike globalization, however, cosmopolitanization takes place from within, as societies become caught up in a 'cosmopolitan interdependence' brought about by globalization and respond co-operatively to the threats posed (Beck & Sznaider, 2006, p. 12). The empirical study of this process and the resulting human condition, which crosses national boundaries, is by definition a cosmopolitan sociology.

Beck bases his argument on a single modernity. He deals with the different experiences of modernity by incorporating 'other ("native") sociologies' into his methodological cosmopolitanism, which represent 'entangled modernity,' that is, 'conflicting contextual modernities in their economic, cultural and political dimensions' (Beck & Sznaider, 2006, p. 14). He makes the case for a single second modernity in which we find ourselves today but at the same time a 'pluralization of modernity.' This pluralization, however, is not about multiple modernities but rather 'the conceptualization of divergent trajectories of modernities in different parts of the world' (Beck, 2010, p. 218).

This is the point at which the debate relating to the acceptance of a single modernities arises. Beck dispenses with the dualisms of traditional and modern, northern and southern, on the basis that they blind sociology to the reality of cosmopolitanization (2012, p. 11) and inhibit finding solutions to social problems that are no longer bounded nationally or culturally. Connell opposes this leap from native to modern to cosmopolitan on three grounds: firstly, Beck's concept of globalization from which cosmopolitanization derives, reflects a northern narrative of the experience of globalization (Connell, 2010b); secondly, his incorporation of other 'native' sociologies does not address the 'methodological projection' inherent in metropolitan (i.e. northern) social thought (Connell, 2007b); and thirdly, Beck and globalization theory in general, ignore the significance of the distinct experience of imperialism and colonialism on southern knowledge and theory (Connell, 2007b).

If, as Connell argues, 'some of the most powerful alternatives to metropolitan [northern] thought are those that arose not before colonialism, but in response to 'colonialism and its evolution' (2010b), then this body of knowledge can potentially provide a useful starting point for theorizing globalization and, by implication, cosmopolitanization. Connell envisages 'a polycentric world sociology that is not only culturally richer than metropolitan sociology, but can play a unique democratic role in a neo-liberal world' (Connell, 2010a, p. 82).

For Connell,

> [i]nhabitants of the majority world are not the objects of globalization theory, the data mine for sociology. Rather, they are the subjects, that is, producers of globalization theory......To recognize the validity of nonmetropolitan experience is, necessarily, to challenge the terms in which the theory is constituted (2007b, p. 381).

Combining Beck and Connell, the methodological challenge for sociology posed by cosmopolitanism is to develop a sociology of cosmopolitanism – or theory of cosmopolitanization – which builds on both the distinct knowledge systems and social theory of the metropole and non-metropole, or north and south. The discipline itself must become cosmopolitan. Is this possible? Beck holds that the sociological perspective must be post-southern and post-northern and move on from such dualisms because the two are interwoven in a shared experience and that the core and periphery structure based on national boundaries no longer holds. Connell rebuts this by pointing to the persistence of poverty, a consequence of colonialism, imperialism, and globalization, which still maps to north/south divisions. The debate to some extent conflates dualisms with alternatives. The particular alternative, which needs to be brought into the discussion at this point, is that of alternative modernities and alternatives to modernity (Escobar, 2008).

Alternatives and Modernity
While Beck (2006, p. 14) refers to 'entangled modernities,' Delanty (2006) allows for multiple modernities and even multiple cosmopolitanisms:

> Cosmopolitanism refers to the multiplicity of ways in which the social world is constructed in different modernities. Rather than see cosmopolitanism as a particular or singular condition that either exists or does not, a state or goal to be realized, it should instead be seen as a cultural medium of societal transformation that is based on the principle of world openness, which is associated with the notion of global publics (Delanty, 2006, p. 27).

He goes on to define critical cosmopolitanism as the analysis of the encounter between the global and the local, which lead to this 'openness' and the social construction of alternatives. Underpinning this methodological approach is the acceptance of multiple modernities. Modernization assumes that all societies are on a journey to a common state via a common process. The theory of multiple modernities by contrast breaks the tie between modernization and modernity and leads in turn to a post-universalist and pluralist concept of cosmopolitanism. With globalization acting as a catalyst for societies to reflect, self-problematize, and transform; and as a space in which different modernities

interact – an interaction which Delanty refers to as 'the cosmopolitanism of modernity' (Delanty, 2006, p. 38) – the goal is not a universal set of principles but, rather, individual manifestations of globalization predicated upon the unique challenges that are found in each society. This cosmopolitanism from within contrasts with Beck's cosmopolitanization from outside, reflected in 'entangled modernities.'

Delanty's concept of multiple modernities – '[m]odernity takes different societal and civilizational forms, but fundamental to it is the movement towards self-transformation' (2006, p. 38) – also differs from Beck's language of 'conflicting contextual modernities' (Beck & Sznaider, 2006, p. 14) in which plurality exists in the context (economic, political, and cultural) but not in modernity itself.

Multiple is however not the same as alternate. The concept of a real alternative implies a challenge to globalization itself, not just a transnational resistance and adjustment based on agreed, cosmopolitan principles of governance and protection of rights.   In the context of development, Escobar distinguishes between alternative modernities and alternatives to modernity:

> Alternative modernities, building on the countertendencies effected on development interventions by local groups and towards the contestation of global designs (2008, pp. 162-163).

> Alternatives to modernity, then refers to...an alternative construction of the world from the perspective of the colonial difference....a moment when social life is no longer so thoroughly determined by the constructs of economy, individual, market, rationality, order, and so forth that are characteristic of the dominant Euro-modernity (2008, p. 196).

Escobar's alternatives to modernity are not necessarily about the real or existing or bringing the alternative construction into existence. That, as he points out, is another project altogether. Rather they 'are intended as a reformulation of the modern colonial world system but still operating within modern/decolonial critical languages...' (Escobar, 2008, pp. 196-197). Escobar suggests ways in which these alternatives can be brought into limited existence, for example through projects that encourage a diverse economy.   To illustrate, Altman (2007) advocates a hybrid economy in which the Indigenous Australian tradition of caring for country is marketized for its environmental value while at the same time allowing Indigenous people to live a traditional life in remote areas without being excluded from economic development opportunities.

While Escobar is concerned with the current practice of development and its underlying social and economic construction based on a single, globalized

modernity and an assumption of modernity as a universal goal, Connell is concerned with the way in which this practice and globalization is more broadly based on a northern narrative and a northern interpretation of southern social worlds. The two are therefore closely aligned and in turn can be married more readily with critical cosmopolitanism as an internal matter than with methodological cosmopolitanism with its tendency to subjugate diversity.

The theoretical discussion above can be illustrated through the case study of Indigenous Australia.

Indigenous Australia, Modernity and the Cosmopolitan Imagination
Since colonization, the story of Australia's Indigenous people is one of competing modernities. The modernizing policies of successive governments have consistently sought to integrate or assimilate Indigenous people into the dominant social, economic, and political structures of the nation. This is notwithstanding structures such as Native Title to traditional land, or establishment of a national representative body, the National Congress of Australia's First People. Even in such cases, the structure facilitates participation within the dominant structures, albeit from a specific entry-point. Respect for the dignity of Indigenous people living on the country according to tradition and custom has taken a second place to the economic imperatives of reducing government expenditure and support relative to what is provided to the rest of the Australian population. The language of government, specifically 'closing the gap' ostensibly refers to Indigenous disadvantage but in reality, as evidenced by the conditions imposed on Indigenous communities receiving support, the objective is to reduce the cost of dependence.

These are very general statements and the situation of Indigenous people living in urban, remote, and very remote communities varies significantly. In all cases, there is a level of disadvantage in excess of the norm for the rest of the population. However, it is at its most extreme in remote and very remote communities. These are the communities attempting to maintain an *alternative* modernity, and in the case of some very remote communities, even an *alternative* to modernity as they live a traditional life in small clan or family groups, caring for country on traditional clan territory. In remote areas, it is a struggle to maintain and preserve culture, including responsibility for caring for country, within a traditional communal social and economic structure while attempting to respond to external modernizing pressures and transform their society, through interaction with the Other, at their own pace. These communities are indeed engaged in a process of reflection and self-problematization, as per Delanty's critical cosmopolitanism. They are also actively cosmopolitan in their fight for their rights within international forums, such as the United Nations Permanent

Forum on Indigenous Issues, and via international instruments, in particular the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous People.

It is difficult to find a reflection of Beck's integrated narratives, entangled modernities, or cosmopolitan interdependence. The dualisms are stark and mainstream Australia cannot blame cosmopolitanization for the level of disadvantage suffered by Indigenous Australians today or at any time in the past. Beck's illustrations are, as Connell points out, based on a northern theory of globalization and northern narratives that have little or no resonance for Indigenous people in Australia. The cosmopolitan ideal does, however, resonate to the extent that it encourages us to respect the 'Other' and, through a critical cosmopolitanism within both Indigenous and non-Indigenous society, to search for a better way to bring justice to Indigenous Australians in terms of removing disadvantage and recognition of an alternative modernity and even an alternative to modernity.

The critical cosmopolitanism challenge can be extended to the study abroad student, even within the time-limited framework of a semester abroad: '[i]n critical cosmopolitanism, the cosmopolitan imagination occurs when and wherever new relations between self, other, and world develop in moments of openness' (Delanty, 2006, p. 27). Students who undertake intensive research have the potential to create such moments both within themselves and amongs Indigenous Australians and even beyond, should the project be broadened on return home. If indeed the goal of study abroad is to stimulate the cosmopolitan imagination, then in-depth engagement with alternative modernities is a constructive way to achieve this.

Conclusion

The cosmopolitan ideal based on a moral or ethical universalism combined with respect for difference has been challenged on the basis of Western traditions and knowledge systems (Connell, 2010a). Beck (2012) argues in response that the process of 'cosmopolitanization' in a globalized world inevitably results in integrated narratives, such that the case for a distinctive southern sociology and knowledge has been superseded (Connell, 2007a). The southern perspective is in part informed and shaped by the processes of modernity and globalization. Indigenous peoples around the world challenge these processes and, in so doing, challenge cosmopolitanism to move beyond simply valuing cultural diversity to encompass alternative modernities or alternatives to modernity (Escobar, 2008). Study abroad students in Australia, given the opportunity to engage with Australia's first people in the contemporary context through research, can develop their own cosmopolitan imagination and contribute to the wider community's own critical cosmopolitanism (Delanty, 2006) within Australia and abroad.

Selling Study Abroad: Cosmopolitanism as Commodity

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Over the past several years, many of us working in international education have witnessed and been party to an increased focus on the marketing of study abroad. Among the many reasons for this shift are the pressure to boost student numbers and expand the demographics of those studying abroad, an increasingly competitive higher-education market, and even the influx of younger professionals into the field – a group already familiar with the sophisticated bombardment of modern advertising. As institutions and organizations seek to entice more students to study abroad, not only have we embraced a multitude of means and media designed to attract different kinds of students, but it has also become much more pivotal that we define, neatly and cleanly, the product we are selling. Enter the shorthand terms and phrases we all love to hate (or hate to admit we love): global citizen, transformation, inter-cultural competence….and now, perhaps, cosmopolitanism.

In order to evaluate the potential utility of the term 'cosmopolitan' for our use in study abroad, we must first confront the word's pop culture significance. First, the Cosmopolitan cocktail: this was made ubiquitous by the television series *Sex in the City*. Despite the fact that the series ended in 2004, the subsequent movies (released in 2008 and 2010) as well as the syndication of the TV show and the availability of episodes via DVD and HBO on-demand ensures that the mythology of the series endures. In this narrative, the Cosmopolitan is a pink vodka martini, strong, yet still feminine; the Cosmopolitan promises to its consumers a taste of an urban, independent, and fashionable lifestyle. The second pop culture reference is to the women's magazine *Cosmopolitan*, a popular publication noted for celebrity gossip, fashion news, and sex advice, along with a dash of watered-down female empowerment. Though the magazine had a prior life as a general interest family publication dating to the nineteenth century, it was Helen Gurley Brown in 1965 who reinvented *Cosmopolitan* to reflect an emerging demographic – the 'liberated', educated, working, and sexual/sexualized woman (*Cosmopolitan*, 2013a). Her legacy is so strong that the magazine's core readership remains employed, college-educated women between the ages of eighteen and thirty-four (*Cosmopolitan*, 2013b). Like the drink, the magazine invokes images of glamour, again in an urban setting. The current tagline for the *Cosmopolitan* woman is 'fun, fearless, female.'

The name of the drink and of the magazine both act as a focusing lens for the term itself: though the word has a long philosophical history rooted in traditions of humanism, the more common American, modern associations are with a certain moneyed, urban, and perhaps culturally sophisticated lifestyle.   The very fact that a popular drink and a popular magazine both adopted the word as title indicates a desire to emphasize this meaning of the term. The use of the term in conjunction with the magazine has reinforced these associations over the past forty-plus years, while the more recent reclaiming of the Cosmopolitan as a cocktail for the single, urban, career girl has amplified the effect. It is crucial, especially given the continued dominance of women in study abroad that we not ignore these connotations.   The audience that advertisers pay premium rates to reach in the pages of *Cosmopolitan* is the same audience that we seek to reach with promises of transformative adventures, with the mythical lure of global citizenship. And like these advertisers, we are selling a complete package, a narrative that we hope our students (and parents and administrators) will buy.

This form of pervasive marketing influences and, in fact, creates identity. The modern advertiser sells not just a product but a particular self. In a capitalist culture, we literally purchase our identity through our consumer choices. The examples associated with the term cosmopolitan – a magazine and a television show - are particularly vivid in this regard: it is fairly simple to see how media creates desirable identities and how a consumer of that media might seek to take on aspects of this attractive and popularized identity. The process, however, is no different for a pair of shoes or a cappuccino. There is an identity associated with a Starbucks skinny mochachino, just as there is an identity associated with a soy latte made from shade-grown, fair-trade coffee. Whether we consciously see this identity or not, none of us are above or outside these influences. Our students, raised completely in an era where they have been exposed daily to advertising – and are also still exploring and performing different identities – are particularly swayed by these connections between product and person.

For two decades at least, we have been living in a turbo-capitalist world, a place where even communist states enter into the networks of trade and commodities.   The bulk of our students, regardless of whether they can articulate this, conceptualize themselves as consumers. They have likely been encouraged to define themselves through their purchases from a very young age and are also likely to understand their education as a necessary investment for their future (career, home, family, success, etc.). Their parents, many of whom pay the bills in full or in part for the college, and by extension for the study abroad experience, are even more attuned to their role as consumer.

When we market study abroad as a path to an end goal – you too can study abroad and become a global citizen – we not only present a false teleology, but we also speak in terms with which our students are all too familiar. If you buy X, you will achieve or become Y. Is this not what *Cosmopolitan* does with every issue? If you subscribe to this magazine, you will become stylish, sexy: a fun, fearless female.

This slippage between product and identity is closed related to the concept of commodity fetishization: the mechanisms by which society constructs the value of commodities based on nothing more than the production and relationship chains that result in those commodities, while simultaneously erasing those chains in favor of the constructed value (Marx, 1990). One could argue for a newer twist on the term given our turbo-capitalist world; not only have we effectively eradicated the traces of production and the people involved with production, but we have gone one step further to fetishize some hazy image associated with the commodity, rather than the commodity itself. I fear that study abroad, always and already at risk of potential connections to the exotic, to the fantastic 'Other,' will too easily become fetishized in this manner. By collapsing the study abroad experience into any packaged term, but especially the term cosmopolitanism, we assist our students in eclipsing the experience itself with all its ups and downs in favor of a desirable endpoint.

Unlike the term global citizenship, which has largely come into vogue in the past decade, the term cosmopolitan is already intimately connected to consumer culture through its contemporary associations. It is too easy for students to make the leap, to see cosmopolitanism as another product for purchase. When students see this product for purchase, they are far more likely to deny any responsibility for their own growth. If cosmopolitanism is the commodified end result of study abroad, then there is no need for any deliberate reflection, no expectation for challenge (or even failure); one simply purchases the study abroad experience and in exchange becomes cosmopolitan.

An exploration of the term cosmopolitanism reveals with powerful precision the overarching problem with any term we seek to use as the goal or result of study abroad. By attempting to brand study abroad, we play into the narrative of consumerism and capitalism: like any good advertiser, we make a false promise to sell our product. We know that study abroad does not translate into any neatly packaged end-point; we know that our students, and even ourselves, confront other cultures as interpolated individuals, that each student enters into the study abroad experience already deep within his or her own narrative, and that the continued story will vary by student, influenced by a thousand factors moment to moment. As responsible international educators, we ought

to resist with all our might this desire to simplify what must remain complex. For myself, I simply hope that somewhere in the semester or summer abroad, something gives each student pause, surprises them or piques their curiosity, and then, ideally, someone intervenes and mediates that moment, drawing the connections between experience, reflection, and learning. This certainly won't work as a tagline for study abroad, but maybe that's the point.

Cosmopolitanism and Constructivism: Making Study Abroad Relevant to the International Relations Classroom

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International Relations instructors who are familiar with study abroad may be struck by the contrast between what they teach about national sovereignty and power and the potential of becoming global citizens offered by some international education offices. In recent years there has been a lively debate about the discourse, terminology, and marketing of study abroad. The casual use of terms such as 'educating for global citizenship,' or exaggerated emphasis on personal development which Michael Woolf calls the promise of 'mystical transformation,' diminishes what should be a profound academic experience for students (see, for example, Ogden, 2008; Reilly & Senders, 2009; Woolf, 2010a). This essay explores how curriculum integration, using the field of International Relations as an example, can help study abroad balance marketing and vague slogans with what faculty actually teach every day on the home campus.

The claim of 'educating for global citizenship' has come to symbolize the mission drift on the part of some study abroad programs. While such rhetoric can also be found in the general goals of many institutions of higher learning, it seems all the more inappropriate when used by those professing a deep understanding of how to send eager undergraduates out to learn the mysteries of the world. As many observers have noted, the fundamental problem is that no legal category of global citizen exists and that students in Greece or Spain are more likely to encounter an anti-European Union demonstration than a celebration of Schuman's dream of a united Europe (Woolf, 2010b). Secessionist movements, driven by nationalism rather than a quest for global citizenship, stretch from Scotland through Catalonia and on to the four corners of the earth. Mistrust of international governmental organizations, moreover, is almost a religion in the United States. An official from the Council on European Security and Cooperation, assigned poll-watching duties in the Lone Star State as part of the organization's mandate to monitor elections in all member states, was criticized in the local press for 'messing with Texas' (Gordon, Interview,

Dublin, 2012). Indeed, the closest thing to a global citizen might be someone awaiting trial at the International Criminal Court or a soldier serving on an out-gunned United Nations Peacekeeping force.

The global citizen debate has inspired new ways of thinking about the larger goals of study abroad. Of the 108 panel sessions included in the 2012 meeting of the Association for International Education Administrators, only two used the term 'global citizen' or 'global citizenship' in the title. In the place of global citizen terminology, the more familiar phrase *intercultural competence* prevailed. Darla Deardorff, drawing upon her own research and that of other scholars, defines intercultural competence as both a specific set of skills and a life-long process and practice. A significant dimension of Deardorff's discussion is her qualification that '...beyond international education, what are the broader implications and contexts of intercultural competence?' (Deardorff, 2006). In raising the normative dimension, Deardorff indirectly poses a crucial but seemingly obvious question – intercultural competence towards what end? While some definitions of intercultural competence contain normative elements, in general a culturally competent person is not necessarily a moral person. Indeed, learning language, local cultural norms, and empathy are hardly neutral and can be essential tools of the terrorist or sweatshop operator as well as the diplomat or aid worker.

How then can the international education community respond to the multidimensional quest for relevance, academic rigor, intercultural competence, and normative goals which lie behind program mission statements and home institution values? A partial answer is suggested by a panel 'Curriculum Integration: Re-inventing Ways to Harmonize European Courses within Their U.S. Home Institutions' presented at a 2012 Forum on International Education Abroad's conference in the Republic of Ireland. This panel's title begs the question if rather than *re-inventing* curriculum, study abroad program designers might consider *revisiting* existing curriculum and pedagogy offered by faculty on their home campus. In years past, students simply walked into the overseas classroom and studied the disciplinary canon based on the professor's expertise and point of view. Their international education commenced with few pre-existing expectations about immersion, service-learning, intercultural competency, or preparing for global citizenship. Thus, revisiting rather than reinventing can lead to an appreciation that academic concepts, theories, methods, and curriculum that already exist are used every day in classrooms around the world. Acknowledging this legacy and storehouse of knowledge underscores the importance of well-conceived curriculum integration as study abroad in the United States comes under increasing scrutiny from academic assessment officers, budget managers, and faculty.

The field of International Relations offers a good case study as it deals specifically with many of the global issues that study abroad proponents aim to address while offering a sophisticated analysis and discussion of how the world 'really works.' It is a discipline that students may be encouraged to study as preparation for an international experience. Most importantly, it is a field undergoing change as traditional theoretical perspectives such as Realism and Idealism are joined by differing concepts, both new and old, of what drives international behavior. The field of International Relations has a common language and set of principles, many contested to be sure. Here the practical pedagogical uses of contemporary cosmopolitanism in combination with constructivism, an emerging theoretical perspective in International Relations, are briefly explored with the goal of making study abroad more relevant to what is studied on the home campus.

Constructivism

Generations around the globe, especially following the demise of most Marxist and Neo-Marxist states, have learned International Relations through the theoretical lens of the Realist-Idealist dichotomy. Realists see state behavior as driven by self-interest, defined as the acquisition and maintenance of power. The quest for power is universal: the structure of government and individual human values are largely irrelevant. Power asymmetries will inevitably lead to conflict and conquest. Idealists, on the other hand, see the State's governmental structure, political culture, and economic system as driving behavior in the world. Idealists believe that the creation of a global legal order will replace the anarchy which allows 'bad' states to pursue narrow self-interest through violence and domination. Both Realists and Idealists see competition and conflict as a necessary part of the global state system.

Comparing and contrasting Realism and Idealism in the classroom, supplemented by the Neo-Realist and Feminist perspectives, produced a straightforward pedagogy. In the past twenty years, however, the constructivist perspective, emerging from the larger Social Constructivist School, challenged this conventional wisdom in International Relations pedagogy. According to Ted Hopf, 'Whereas constructivism treats identity as an empirical question to be theorized within a historical context, neo-realism assumes that all units in global politics have only one meaningful identity, that of self-interested states' (Hopf, 1998, p. 175). Constructivists, in rejecting the Realist's determinism and the Idealist's optimism, emphasize the role of ideas and individual identity in shaping State preferences and international outcomes. Arguing that 'the world is what we make it,' constructivists indirectly elevate the intercultural skills and understanding of other cultures and nations that study abroad aims to provide.

Like curriculum integration, encouraging undergraduate research abroad has grown in importance for international educators. Drawing upon the constructivist perspective allows students to generate researchable questions about international education: questions relevant to the International Relations classroom on the home campus. Students may explore, for example, if globally experienced and educated students are more likely to lobby the United States Senate to ratify international climate change treaties and thus challenge the Realist view that only narrowly defined self-interest counts in the foreign policy process.

The rise of constructivism is confirmed in recent surveys conducted by the TRIP Project at the College of William and Mary (Jordan, Maliniak, Oakes, Peterson, & Tierney, 2009). By a slim margin, constructivism now is the leading approach used by International Relations instructors in the United States (Maliniak, Peterson, & Tierney, 2012).

Cosmopolitanism

Just as international educators ask 'intercultural competency to what end,' International Relations instructors in embracing the possibility of human volition in State behavior, introduce normative questions into the curriculum. In both instances the venerable concept/ideology of cosmopolitanism is attracting interest. In Robert Fine's view:

> [c]osmopolitan social theory reconstructs the history and traditions of social theory in terms of its universalistic concept of society, the recognition of differences within a universalistic frame, and the critique of methodological and political nationalism. It stands firm against approaches to understanding and changing society grounded in nationalist, racist, sexist or anti-Semitic presuppositions (2007, p. x).

One example of cosmopolitanism's interest to the International Relations scholarly community is Richard Beardsworth's *Cosmopolitanism and International Relations Theory* (2011). Beardsworth argues that while cosmopolitanism is primarily a moral theory framing what should be the case in today's world, it does generate questions that can be satisfied by empirical research. Using the example of the Stockholm Convention on persistent organic pollutants, for instance, cosmopolitanism questions the Realist assertion that building international law and enforcement regimes is futile in the face of global anarchy and power asymmetries. A moral consensus can be built and veto coalitions overcome.

Cosmopolitanism acknowledges that individuals 'come from somewhere' and are not in any formal way citizens of a political entity beyond the national. A

cosmopolitan, nonetheless, can appreciate growing universal international norms and rights as exemplified by the creation of the International Criminal Court and the new thinking about national sovereignty and human rights seen in the United Nations' embrace of the interventionist 'Responsibility to Protect' principle. Finally cosmopolitanism revives the admonition to 'think global, act local' which reinforces the goal popular on many campuses in the United States of linking study abroad to domestic social challenges (Slimbach, 2010).

Conclusion

Integration of international educational experiences with the curriculum on the home campus is becoming one of the top goals of most study abroad programs. This is driven by several factors including a belief by some scholars that study abroad's image in the academic world will be improved by replacing the general feel good rhetoric of global citizenship with concepts such as constructivism, which are commonly discussed in the International Relations classroom. While International Relations scholars may be uncomfortable with an over-sold notion of educating for global citizenship, constructivists see the value of exposing students to other cultures, developing empathy, and transcending ridged deterministic models of state behavior. Constructivism's emphasis on the ability of human thought and action to change the global system harkens back to study abroad's original dream of bringing people together after World War II in the name of peace.

If constructivism opens students' minds to the possibility that 'the world is what we make it,' then cosmopolitanism can help provide a moral compass to guide the establishment of this new order. At the end of the day, most teachers of International Relations do not cling to a narrow theoretical bias when it comes to understanding human behavior on the world stage. Adding cosmopolitanism to the mix, with its appreciation of both the positive tribal dimensions of nationalism and the recognition of universal human norms, can bring out the best in students both personally and academically.

Still haven't found what you're looking for? American students' search for authenticity in contemporary Ireland

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The following informal discussion essay is based on how I have (partly through necessity) tried to utilize students' pre-departure misconceptions of Ireland as a starting point for their appreciation and understanding of the complex nature of contemporary Irish society. This is particularly important given the speed at which some changes have occurred in Ireland, a process that could be characterized as the nation's transition from a primarily mono-cultural rural society to one that is increasingly poly-cultural and urban, cosmopolitan, and diverse.

In this essay I will describe, in the mode of the *flâneur*, one particular field trip in north inner-city Dublin I conduct (or give to students as a research site) so that students experience first-hand the realities of contemporary Dublin and Ireland – in this case the street is the classroom. I will then comment on grading and educational tools, such as Google Maps, that students use to illustrate their learning. I will then discuss how I use literature and critical (mainly postcolonial) theory to foster students' understanding of the construction and contested nature of 'Irishness' and the significance of place and space in the constitution of Irish identity.

Episode 14, Series 20, of *The Simpsons* (Sosa, 2009) entitled, 'In the Name of the Grandfather', was aired on March 17th, 2009 – the first episode to be premiered outside of America, by Sky TV (IMDb, 2009). As the date (St. Patrick's Day) suggests, the episode is set in Ireland wherein the Simpsons bring their grandpa Abe back to Ireland to have, as part of his bucket list, a pint in Tom O'Flanagan's pub in the town of Dunkilderry, where, we are led to believe, he was stationed as a soldier (as American service personnel have never been stationed in Ireland, one must allow for poetic license). As they are sitting in the plane, Abe remarks, 'get ready to step back [in time] to a simpler age, filled with tweed caps, happy sheep...'.

In Grandpa's mind, Ireland is still unchanged, despite the intervening years since his departure. It could be argued that this was the same process for the

nineteenth-century emigrant Irish in America, whose memories set in stone the Ireland of their past, to be celebrated systematically through story and song as a cultural/collective memory passed on from one generation to the next. The descendants of some of those earlier generations have become heritage students arriving in Ireland, like Abe, in search of the land that time forgot.

On the first day of class with my American students, I ask them to write down and illustrate their perceptions of Ireland. Many share the same views as Abe and, no doubt, his shock as they drive through contemporary Dublin. As the Simpsons drive from the airport to the town of Dunkilderry, they see a range of technology firms that have arrived as part of Ireland's Celtic Tiger period, including Hewlett Fitzpackard, Mick-rosoft, and Cisc O'Systems, to which Lisa explains, 'Well, Ireland is at the forefront of Europe's tech boom.' They see that large new buildings have altered the small village - next to the pub is 'Bog Bath and Beyond,' 'Colleen's Secrets,' and some leprechauns discussing their plasma screen TVs and villas in Tuscany. When the family finally enters Tom O'Flanagan's pub, it is empty: '…'cos they all got jobs, that's why' exclaims Tom, before asking, 'I suppose it's a glass of Shiraz you're after…'; to make matters worse, smoking is prohibited (Ireland's smoking ban was enacted in 2004). Later, the family observes the very same two male leprechauns holding hands to which Moe replies, 'They're certainly liberal when it comes to romance.'

What one sees in the episode is the physical and socio-cultural morphology, including gentrification, of contemporary Ireland; the reaction by the Simpsons (and some heritage students) is one of shock and awe! What is not seen in the episode is the rate of change in Ireland's population due to recent high levels of immigration, primarily to fill jobs necessary for the 2000s boom in construction and service industries. For example, according to the Census of Population (2011), just over half of the population of Dublin's North Inner City were born outside of Ireland.[9] In the Electoral Division, North City, which is just off O'Connell Street, Dublin's main thoroughfare, 70% of the population was born outside of Ireland (Duncan, 2012). It is typically Irish to re-name official monuments and, in the case of O'Connell Street, its 390 foot Dublin Spire has, amongst other things, been christened 'the stiletto in the ghetto'!

To illustrate this rate of change and to discuss how I have my students engage with and understand these changes, in the mode of the *flâneur*, let us take a short stroll of approximately 1.5km around the O'Connell Street area, as my students do on assignment, and thereafter reflect on the lessons they might learn.

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[9] See, for example, the interactive census maps produced by the All-Island Research Observatory, NUI Maynooth (AIRO, 2011).

The Street as Classroom

Marking the beginning of O'Connell Street as one crosses the River Liffey onto Dublin's North Side is the statue of Daniel O'Connell, 'The Liberator,' who successfully fought for Catholic Emancipation in 1829. Dominating the center of the street, facing the Spire, is the GPO (General Post Office), a beautiful example of neo-classical Georgian architecture. The large Corinthian columns at the entrance to the GPO are pockmarked with bullet-holes from the 1916 rebellion. From here it is a hundred meter stroll to Moore Street, where the leaders of the rebellion sought refuge and finally surrendered. All along this street are indigenous fruit, vegetable and fish vendors calling out from their stalls '10 bananas for €2'– just as Molly Malone would have cried 'Cockles and Mussels' in times gone by – and under their breath – to evade the police – advertise their contraband goods, 'tobacco, fireworks...'. Behind them in run-down, decaying buildings are dozens of immigrant shops and services selling goods from Poland to Pakistan. This street is a vibrant multi-sensory kaleidoscope that represents in microcosm the cosmopolitanism and diversity of contemporary Dublin and Ireland. At the top of this street is the T-junction at Parnell Street, named after James Stewart Parnell, the 'uncrowned King' of Ireland: the nationalist leader and advocate of Home Rule for Ireland during the 1880s. Turning right, back towards O'Connell Street, you pass his grandiose memorial and crossing the street, enter into Dublin's growing 'Chinatown' neighborhood, which is buttressed up against the greatly disadvantaged old working-class neighborhoods of the north inner city.

Backtrack and turn to the right up Parnell Square, and you pass Kevin Barry Hall, the headquarters of Sinn Féin (a coffee-shop and bookshop - where you can purchase your ticket for the Rebel Walking Tour of Dublin). You now arrive at the beautiful and peaceful Garden of Remembrance – 'in memory of all those who gave their lives in the cause of Irish freedom' (Whelan, 2001, pp. 145-150). Running up the center of the 150 meter garden is a water feature in the shape of a cross whose shimmering base has Celtic mosaics depicting broken weapons (a symbol of the end of battle). Just beyond, up a number of steps, is the inspiring Children of Lir statue, depicting children metamorphosing into swans taking flight, and behind it, inscribed into the wall, is a 1976 poem by Liam Mac Uistin entitled 'We Saw a Vision', which is displayed in Gaelic, English, and French:

> In the darkness of despair we saw a vision,
> We lit the light of hope and it was not extinguished.
> In the desert of discouragement we saw a vision.
> We planted the tree of valour and it blossomed.
> In the winter of bondage we saw a vision.

We melted the snow of lethargy and the river of resurrection flowed from it.
We sent our vision aswim like a swan on the river. The vision became a reality.
Winter became summer. Bondage became freedom and this we left to you as your inheritance.
O generations of freedom remember us, the generations of the vision

It was of great symbolic relevance that Queen Elizabeth II laid a wreath here during her visit to the Garden in 2011. Of equal significance was her visit to Croke Park, one kilometer to the East, the national stadium of the GAA, the association governing Ireland's national sports. This is the site of Bloody Sunday, where in 1920, British soldiers broke into the stadium during a game and fired their weapons into the crowd, killing one player and thirteen spectators in retaliation for the killing of fourteen undercover British agents (known as the Cairo Gang) the previous night, an attack orchestrated by Michael Collins, one of the progenitors of modern urban guerilla warfare (GAA, 2013).

One can take a rest from one's stroll here or pop into the Hugh Lane gallery overlooking the Garden to see the Francis Bacon exhibition – or next door, into the Dublin Writers' Museum. Later, strolling back down Parnell Square, one passes the late residence of Oliver St. John Gogarty, surgeon, man of letters, and friend of Joyce whose name is now known by most American students as a raucously popular Irish pub in Temple Bar. This stroll ends at the Gate Theatre, where one can enjoy a show.

Alternatively, continue along down O'Connell Street, past the statue of James Joyce ('the prick with the stick'!), past the Ann Summers lingerie and novelty store that opened its doors in 1999 after a High Court Ruling against Dublin Corporation's ban on the 'inappropriate' use of the site, as well as quite loud public rumblings of discontent that such a store would open out (like Pandora's Box) onto our capital's main street. We continue past the store – which coincidentally is situated right alongside a Legion of Mary shop selling traditional Catholic objects – and encounter in the middle of the street the statue of the great twentieth-century union leader James Larkin. He has his hands raised high into the sky and below him the inscription (again, in Irish, English and French): 'the great appear great because we are on our knees, let us arise.' We continue on, passing the street peppered with chain stores: McDonald's, Burger King, Eddie Rockets, Footlocker. We then turn left onto Abbey Street in order to see a show in Ireland's national theater, The Abbey.

After the show, one may be tired and decide to take a LUAS tram back home. The LUAS recently opened (in 2004) but, like so much of the city, was built upon tracks once overlain and partially forgotten. In this case, the tram lines

criss-crossed Dublin in the late nineteenth century, epitomized by Joyce in *Ulysses* episode seven, 'Aeolus', which begins with the title, 'In the Heart of the Hibernian Metropolis':

Before Nelson's Pillar trams slowed, shunted, changed trolley, started for Blackrock, Kingstown and Dalkey, Clonskea, Rathgar and Terenure, Palmerston Park and upper Rathmines, Sandymount Green, Rathmines, Ringsend and Sandymount Tower, Harold's Cross. The hoarse Dublin United Tramway Company's timekeeper bawled them off:
— Rathgar and Terenure!
— Come on, Sandymount Green!
Right and left parallel clanging ringing a doubledecker and a singledeck moved from their railheads, swerved to the down line, glided parallel.
— Start, Palmerston Park!

....Under the porch of the General Post Office shoeblacks called and polished. Parked in North Prince's Street His Majesty's vermillion mailcars, bearing on their sides the royal initials, E.R., received loudly flung sacks of letters, postcards, lettercards, parcels, insured and paid, for local, provincial, British and overseas delivery.

...Grossbooted draymen rolled barrels dullthudding out of Prince's stores and bumped them up on the brewery float. On the brewery float bumped dullthudding barrels rolled by grossbooted draymen out of Prince's stores (Joyce, 1992, pp. 147-148).

Meanwhile, back in the class
It is obvious from this class field trip (or student research assignment) that elements of old Ireland and new Ireland are radically juxtaposed, as with the GPO and O'Connell Street next to cosmopolitan Moore Street; Chinatown and indigenous working class neighborhoods; a glass-encased statue of Jesus and a nightclub; American fast food and Ann Summers next to the nineteenth century Cleary's Department Store and its famous clock - still used for Dubliners' rendezvous.

What is just as intriguing as the cityscape is the fact that a very large proportion of the students do not venture into this part of the city's center. There are many reasons for this, ranging from not knowing about it to preferring the more fashionable high-end shopping and tourist areas south of the Liffey. Furthermore, from talking with my students, some have not ventured across the Liffey due to its negative portrayal, and some tend to shy away from less manicured spaces due to fear and misconceptions of immigrant and working-class spaces such as Moore Street.

In order to have students critically about this area, as well as related questions concerning old and new Ireland, I assign interdisciplinary readings and discussion on topics such as postcolonialism and the nature (construction) of Irish identity and how they relate to the built environment, as well as discourses of cultural nationalism and hybridity. I also guide students to compare seminal Irish literary texts which debate the nature of Irish identity and that are each related to this part of the city.

One way that I have students engage their thinking on the social construction of space is to have them ask Dubliners for their views on the Millennium Spire. It becomes apparent to the students that many people do not like it because of the symbolic space upon which it stands, rather than because of the nature of the Spire itself. Students soon learn what preceded the Spire. Nelson's Pillar, signifying the power and might of colonial England, stood towering over the city until 1966, when it was destroyed by an IRA bomb during the 50th anniversary of the 1916 rising. Furthermore, they learn that it stood on what was then Sackville Street, that Parnell Street was Rutland Street and, through further investigation, that much of the city's nomenclature and monuments have been erased and re-inscribed with names and monuments that signify newly independent (1922), postcolonial Ireland. According to Whelan, in *Reinventing Modern Dublin*:

> The metaphor for 'landscape as text' highlights the authored nature of the world and the fact that cities are 'written' by many agents of power. Just as contemporary literary theory has come to view texts as a 'matrix of social powers', one of the geographer's chief areas of study - landscape - can also be seen as the product of social, political and institutional processes (2003, p. 13).

Students, by becoming intentional observers of the social construction of the built environment become unable, like the literary critic, to read the text passively. In *Cultural Geography*, Crang writes:

> Literary landscapes are best thought of as a combination of literature and landscape, not with literature as a separate lens or mirror reflecting or distorting an outside world… To say it is subjective is to miss a key point. It is a social product…the ideologies and beliefs of peoples and epochs both shape and are shaped by these texts… Here we may...ask whether geographical accounts are so different from literature... We should not see geography and literature as two different orders of knowledge (one imaginative and one factual) but rather as a field of textual genres, in order to highlight both the 'worldliness of literary texts and the imaginativeness of geographical texts' (Daniels & Rycroft, 1993, p. 461 [quoted by Crang]) (Crang, 1998, pp. 57-58).

While the students clearly see, like a palimpsest, the colonial city revealed behind the postcolonial city, they also consider how Dublin's identity is being changed once more. Students are asked to consider the naming of the three most recent bridges in Dublin (Beckett, O'Casey and Joyce) and what they signify. Students are impressed that the colorful statue of Oscar Wilde, which was erected in Merrion Square in 1997, is prominently placed and celebrated, particularly given the fact that the decriminalization of homosexuality occurred in 1992. In the city's new iteration - that of a cultural space - students discuss the role of the heritage *industry* in re-shaping Dublin's identity and the issues this raises around identity formation and authenticity. Rather than simply discussing the marketing of the city, students contemplate this as a form of decolonizing the city from its postcolonial imperative. To do this they discuss readings and key theories related to identity formation such as object relations theory - as discussed, for example, in David Sibley's *Geographies of Exclusion* (1995). In returning to their perceptions of Irishness (i.e. the stereotypes), they are challenged to consider these as binaries constructed against constructions of Englishness. To what extent are we Irish because we are *not* English; is this new apolitical nature of public space (as signified by the Spire) a form of self-secured identity? Is there also a relationship between this decolonization and our relatively new (semi-) co-identity as Europeans? Furthermore, on a more concrete note for critical urban observation, students assess the effects of the smoking ban on the built environment, in this case the way the city has been radically transformed with the widespread construction of awnings outside bars and cafés over the sidewalks, thus making the city feel more European / urbane / cosmopolitan.

While there is no one answer, if any, to those questions raised above, they take the student into the realm of criticism and, hopefully, engage them in a more philosophical and spatially-engaged discourse with their host city, Dublin. With this analytical toolkit, students can then better engage critically with their travels throughout Ireland and Europe, which they are asked to write about and reflect upon in class discussion following mid-term excursions.

There are two ways that students can be examined on their new-found skills: first by researching a neighborhood and creating an online Google Map that illustrates the possible diverse meanings and uses of key sites. Below is an example of a map of the sites discussed above. When each marker is clicked on the online version of the map, a picture and discussion, with academic references, are presented for the reader.

Sample student assignment:
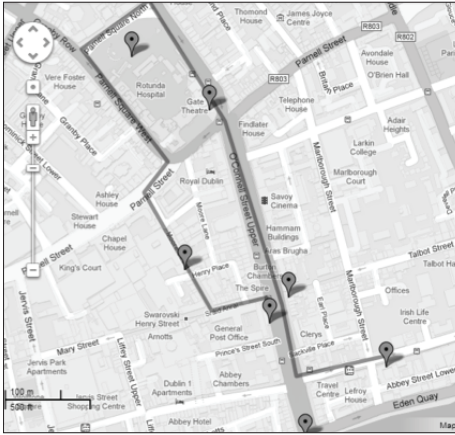
Secondly, small groups of students are assigned a neighborhood to research, including analyzing census data. They are required to conduct a field trip of the area for their fellow classmates. As part of this exercise in 'rhythmanalysis,' the students visit the site on numerous occasions - mornings, afternoons and evenings on different days of the week - to get a feel for the area and document their interactions with the local shops, services and people.

To build upon these introductions to identity formation, postcolonial theory and the nature of the built environment, students discuss two seminal texts by Irish Nobel Laureates: James Joyce's 'The Dead' and William Butler Yeats' *Cathleen Ni Houlihan*. While these two texts are deliberately binaries and somewhat stereotypical, they do shed light on different visions of Ireland in the early twentieth century that are still debated today in different terms, such as notions of Irishness and their possible relationship with forms of racism in which the oppressed become the oppressors.

Cathleen Ni Houlihan was first staged in the Irish Literary Theatre in 1902, which two years later would become the Abbey Theatre. Overtly nationalistic, the play is set in 1798 as French troops, a decade after their Revolution, are landing on the west coast of Ireland to join in what would become the failed Irish rebellion (the students may now understand why some inscriptions on Irish monuments are written in French). The main protagonist, Cathleen, laments the loss of her four green fields to strangers. This is an obvious metaphor for the colonization of the Four Irish provinces by England. The play ends when Patrick, who is soon to be married, decides to follow the old woman - who 'had the walk of a queen' - to, one imagines, his death. This was, in all but name, a literary 'call to arms' by Yeats, who years later would question, in his poem, 'The Man and the Echo' (1997, p. 178), 'did that play of mine send out / Certain men the English shot' (on O'Connell Street, a few yards' walk from the theater). This play gives the students an example of postcolonial literature. The theater itself, Lady Gregory would write in an open letter, would 'show that Ireland is not a home of buffoonery and easy sentiment...' (Harrington, 2009, p. ix), which had been one of the reductive stereotypes that emerged about Ireland and its inhabitants

during the previous century. Peter Barry, in *Beginning Theory*, a text which the students are required to read, writes that Edward Said, whose seminal *Orientalism* (1978) brought postcolonial criticism into full focus in the academy,

> views the desire, frequently expressed in Yeat's work, to regain contact with an earlier, mythical, nationalistic Ireland as typical of writers whose own position is postcolonial, and is closely related to Fanon's idea of reclaiming the past (Barry, 1995, p. 188).

The students explore aspects of the Irish literary revival in line with the creation of the Gaelic League (Irish language) and the GAA (Irish sport), which together created a surge of cultural nationalism that contributed to the armed rebellion in 1916, as seminal critical work by such Irish postcolonial critics as Seamus Deane (1987) and Declan Kiberd (1996) has amply demonstrated.

Students are also required to read criticism that explores the notion of historical revisionism which is subsequently later re-examined in terms of the heritage industry and potential cultural revisionism as part of a post-Tiger reclamation of identity against the cosmopolitanism and immigration of the 2000s. They also consider the rise in nationalist political movements that have seen a dangerous rise in popularity in times of recession across Europe and question if this might occur in Ireland.

As an entrée into this debate and to understand the binaries of the West of Ireland (traditionalism) and the East (Europe and cosmopolitanism), students read James Joyce's 'The Dead' from *Dubliners.* In a seminal section, the main protagonist Gabriel Conroy is called a West Briton, a pejorative term for those who are deemed to look to England for cultural relevancy rather than to their own culture in Ireland – one could utilize Homi Bhabha's discourse on 'mimicry' in this instance (Bhabha, 1994). Gabriel has been ridiculed previously for wearing galoshes, a fashion associated with the continent, and is castigated, even if playfully, for writing theater reviews for the *Daily Express*, a Unionist ('rag') newspaper. Furthermore, he holidays in the Benelux and keeps in touch with their languages, to which the cultural nationalist Molly Ivors retorts, '[a]nd haven't you your own land to visit...that you know nothing of, your own people, and your own country.... and haven't you your own language to keep in touch with?' Conroy's response is that 'Well... if it comes to that, you know, Irish is not my language [and] ....I'm sick of my own country, sick of it' (Joyce, 1992, pp. 188-190).

Returning to object relations theory, it could be argued, in the case of Ivors, that to be cosmopolitan is to be anti-Irish and students observe the inextricable role of art and politics in Ireland - on Moore Street, during their field trip,

they read the seven commemorative steel plaques, which illustrate the faces and biographies of each of the seven signatories of the Proclamation of the Republic, a number of whom are listed first and foremost as previously being poets (e.g. 'writer, educator and politician...').

To aid this understanding of the interplay of cultural politics and identity, students relate the construction of Dublin's postcolonial landscape to the construction of a postcolonial imagination. To add to the debate, we return to Joyce and the quotation above from the 'Aeolus' episode of *Ulysses* where Joyce calls Dublin a metropolis - some yards from the Abbey Theatre. How different is the hustle and bustle of Dublin from the representations of Yeats as reflected on the Abbey stage. In 1907, Joyce in a lecture given in Trieste entitled 'Ireland: Island of Saints and Sages' proclaimed, 'Just as ancient Egypt is dead, so is ancient Ireland....Our civilisation is an immense woven fabric in which very different elements are mixed...In such a fabric it is pointless searching for a thread that has remained pure, virgin and uninfluenced by other threads nearby' (Regan, 2004, p. xxxiv). Ramachandra Guha argues that

> [Joyce was] ...warning against Irish Catholic nationalism, against a kind of cultural chauvinism which reduced national identity to a religion and a language. The warning applies with great force to contemporary India (2004, p. 6).

It can also be argued that the same warning applies to Ireland and thus, brings us back to the contemporary streets of Ireland where, unfortunately, racism has raised its ugly head - echoing Joyce's bigoted character, the 'citizen', who abuses *Ulysses'* protagonist, Leopold Bloom, the Jewish son of a Hungarian immigrant.

Conclusion: making this all relevant to America (past to present and back again)

Yeats' vision of a traditional, mythic, romantic Ireland matches some of the American students' perceptions of the country before they arrive. Upon landing, however, they enter into a more Joycean, bustling and conflicted cosmopolitan cityscape. Rather than focusing on the negatives or wrongly arguing that 'romantic Ireland is dead and gone' - a quote from Yeats' poem 'September 1913' (Yeats, 1997) - I use their perceptions as the platform for discussing the 'creation' of this Irishness and its links to cultural nationalism and, furthermore, the role of Irish America and Hollywood - for example, *The Quiet Man* (Ford, 1952) - in the social construction of Irish identity. Reading contemporary texts such as Roddy Doyle's *The Deportees* (2007) and *Landing Places: Immigrant Poets in Ireland* (Bourke & Farago, 2010), as well as popular TV shows or films, such as *Crash* (Haggis, 2004), or a critically acclaimed film such as *La Haine*

(Kassovitz, 1995), help students to reflect on current debates on diversity in cityspaces worldwide and compare and contrast them with places and events in Ireland. Furthermore, the frames of reference brought to Ireland by American students help them understand contemporary Ireland (i.e. that they arrive looking for Ireland's past, but in our present they find elements of their own past - of immigration, multiculturalism, urbanization and segregation, to name but a few).

Field trips are one of the most productive and accessible ways for students to 'feel' the juxtapositions of old and new in their study abroad sites - in this case, Dublin. By jumping in at the deep end of the city through guided activities one can bypass the intellect and get straight to the emotive, the visceral, the instinctive. Then, back in the classroom, time is taken to reflect on the built environment and deconstruct its various meanings through time and space. Reading seminal literary texts (this can also apply to art, music and film), students can engage with the cultural politics of identity with the aid of critical theory to guide their way.

Arming students with such an analytical toolkit enables them to re-enter the field and to engage more self-consciously and critically with the city and, ultimately, themselves.

Cosmopolitanism, Diversity and the City: Comparative Perspectives from the U.S. and U.K.

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Questions of cosmopolitanism and diversity have become commonplace in debates around contemporary urban change. As a geographer working in education abroad, I am interested in examining the role of urban spaces and places in shaping specific cosmopolitan practices and attitudes and in the ways in which we can attune our students to their complexities beyond basic objectives of encounter and recognition, thereby encouraging them to reflect on their own practices as cosmopolitan agents.

Specifically, I want to ask what 'cosmopolitanism' actually means when grounded in the city, and how different notions of the 'cosmopolitan city' are constructed and contested - how are discourses of cosmopolitanism related to the specific places where they are produced? The process of cosmopolitanization, intimately connected with the forces of globalization, is in a very real sense an outcome of 'glocalization' (the interplay of local and global forces in particular locations) and reminds us of the nature of global cities as 'factories' of globalization processes and trends. In this context, how do cosmopolitan identities intersect with, reproduce but also elide other socio-cultural distinctions – particularly ethnicity and class? Class cultures represent a large part of the diversity or 'difference' that makes cities what they are – heterogeneous sites of people, the gathering together of strangers, enmeshed together by a series of socio-economic, cultural and political practices – marked by diversity and inequality. On one level, a focus on cosmopolitanization as a process - and cosmopolitanism as its end 'goal' – arguably generates political credibility whilst diverting attention away from existing social inequalities.

As many of the other contributions in this volume attest, cosmopolitanism is a highly contested concept, engaging with multiple social structures of power and confronting existing politics of class, ethnicity, gender and sexuality. The process of creating the necessary conditions for its existence – 'cosmopolitanization' – is, therefore, also inherently politicized. For Ahmed Samatar, the urban environment is an ideal arena in which cosmopolitanism as a set of attitudes, values and practices can develop – through the 'fusion of immediate and transnational conceptions of self' opening a gateway to the

'revival of inclusive empathy' (Samatar, 2007, pp. 7-8). This makes the city an intriguing setting to interrogate these concepts and to analyze the role of the social dynamics of diversity which is implied here. Beck (2002) observes that the ideal objective of cosmopolitanism is constantly conflicting in practice with counter-tendencies in society. In this paper, I will outline the potential offered by comparative analysis at 'home' (the U.S.) and 'abroad' (the U.K.) to understand and assess how urban areas provide social laboratories for testing the concrete outcomes of this process in different situations.

In the context of the USA, Houston provides an ideal location to raise such questions about cosmopolitanism and diversity. For example, the George R. Brown Convention Center welcomed delegates to the 2012 NAFSA conference by characterizing the city as offering 'Southern hospitality with a cosmopolitan twist'. The city, which the *Economist* colorfully described in 2001 as 'the blob that ate East Texas' (2001), is now the fourth largest city in America and one of its most rapidly-growing urban agglomerations. This low-lying city region is characterized by dynamic growth in leading service and retail sectors, and the urban entrepreneurialism typical of late capitalism (Scott & Soja, 1996). It now covers around 634 square miles (that is enough space, in case you are wondering, to engulf New York, Boston, Seattle, San Francisco, Miami, and Washington DC within the city limits). If we add in the contiguous cities and counties, the overall Greater Houston area spans more than 10,000 miles.

Houston is a city which aspires to be global – and in recent years has reconstructed itself as a cosmopolitan, entrepreneurial hub with a varied economic base including sectors such as aeronautics, computers, education, medical research and of course energy. This process has been accentuated by the emergence of a powerful group of civic-minded business leaders who have been closely involved with the transformation of the city's downtown and cultural facilities – such as the small Discovery Park near the NAFSA convention center, established in 2008, and the nearby Minute Maid - originally Enron - Park. A massive node for transnational flows of capital, culture and people, in the terms of the sociologist Ulrich Beck, Houston provides a pre-eminent example of globalization and cosmopolitanization in action (Beck, 2002).

Since the 1970s, Houston has gone from being primarily a bi-racial city to a truly multiethnic one. Nearly 70% of the city's population represents at least one racial or ethnic minority group, and many residents were born abroad. Houston is home to a substantially larger percentage of African-American, Hispanics, Latinos and foreign-born residents than the rest of Texas. Its diverse population is made up of 37% Hispanic, 25% African-American and 5% Asian people, in a total population of 2,208,180 – one of the fastest growing

metropolitan populations in the U.S. If the cities and nine counties neighboring Houston are added to this total – the figure is closer to 5.7 million - 2007 figures (City of Houston, 2012).

Ninety languages are spoken in the city; Houston has two Chinatowns and a little Saigon, as well as the largest performing arts district outside of New York, with 90 groups devoted to multicultural and minority arts; annual ethnic festivals (Greek, Japanese, Egyptian); and a large number of ethnically diverse residential areas (Haylett, 2006, p. 191). Uniquely for an American metropolis, Houston has no citywide zoning ordinances. Lack of zoning laws make things easier and cheaper for the would-be entrepreneur, of course, and - as the journey from the airport demonstrated to all of the NAFSA delegates - encourages large developments and rapid urban transformation. Crucially, it also makes neighborhoods slightly more mixed than they otherwise might be – in terms both of usage, and ethnically, making Houston arguably one of the least segregated cities in the U.S.

As Chris Haylett's study (2006) of social inequalities in contemporary Houston demonstrates, the lack of zoning laws prevents local groups from keeping poor people out (such as by designating large plot sizes). Nevertheless, the phenomenon of white flight to the suburbs and exurbs of the city has been a significant process here and the ethnic mix downtown is now dominated by African-, Hispanic and Asian Americans (the city has, for example, the second-largest Vietnamese settlement after southern California). This has helped draw in a pool of immigrant labor to the city and the city government has appropriated this diversity to promote the city's image as a cosmopolitan hub. Yet on a fundamental level the construction of Houston as a cosmopolitan city is predicated on the replication of social inequalities.

As Haylett goes on to argue, an analysis of civic engagement and welfare programs in Houston reveals that the city's diverse urban cultures do not simply complement its prosperity – its growth is 'striated by class differences and inequalities' making this a "city of difference" as well as one of economic growth' (2006, p. 191). He demonstrates how culture and economy are interconnected and work through each other, reproducing inequality – which is, in turn, lived through everyday urban culture. In the context of the U.S., class has been replaced as a primary category of social understanding by terminologies of race and ethnicity. Haylett outlines how class difference is made invisible in Houston physically through the cityscape – for example in the creation and concealment of working class residential areas in toxic industrial zones and so-called 'bypass zones' crossed by the city's freeways. Crucially, he argues, the erasure of class divisions in this city of transnational

industry and migrant labor also works here on the discursive level through the very representation of Houston as a cosmopolitan city, access to which, and citizenship of which, is essentially withdrawn from its working class poor.

Such practices of cosmopolitanization focus our attention on the ways in which cosmopolitanism is a complex and contested concept, deployed in a variety of ways in different political, cultural and policy contexts. It intersects with a complex and contested identity politics of class, gender, sexuality, race and ethnicity, and implies unequal power relations. It can be characterized I think in two main ways. In popular terminology, the term cosmopolitan expresses a modern style of urbanity characterized by cultural consumption and lively sophistication – symbolized by chic cafés, the festivalization of cityscapes through the arts and cultural industries, and the celebration of vibrant street life and food. In this sense, it essentially constitutes a commodified form of cultural capital.

Second, as several of the other contributors in this volume indicate, cosmopolitanism implies a particular set of skills and attitudes towards diversity and difference. This is more complicated: in academic terms, 'cosmopolitan' is transposed to 'cosmopolitanism' whereby it becomes imbued with political and ethical content, offering an idealized view of society as a place of togetherness where 'otherness' has been banished to the darkness of less enlightened times. This latter idea is of course structured around the idea of cultural openness to a mix of differences – primarily those of ethnicity or race – expressed as a sense of connectedness beyond the confines of national identity – a 'planetary humanism' or 'global citizenship' including what Paul Gilroy (2001) terms the 'otherness of the Other' which transcends the boundaries of the nation-state and which connects the micro-scale of individual rights and responsibilities with the global scale of rights and responsibilities in a world which is increasingly interconnected and globalized.

Neither of these versions of the cosmopolitan present us with a view of the urban in which social class is a significant feature – instead, *class* is superseded by *culture*. The language of cosmopolitanism does not readily conjure up images of the black or white working class, or poor immigrants or refugees. Its central ethic is cultural openness and tolerance, not social or economic equality. I want to argue for the importance of seeing cosmopolitanism in relation to social class, which can be explored through the analysis of urban culture and the practices of urban life – forms of urbanism – operating in urban neighborhoods.

For example, in terms of urban culture, how useful we find cosmopolitanism as an idea largely depends on our own positionality or perspective of seeing

– as for example, members of the professional middle class. Additionally, there is the issue of how cosmopolites' encounters with difference are shaped by processes of commodification and consumerism. Whose urban culture is represented, by whom, and how? How might different versions of cosmopolitan urban culture emerge, and how can they be interpreted?

Let us take as an additional example the city which continues to be the number one destination for study abroad students in Europe: London. A key European global city, London is characterized by what has become labeled as 'super-diversity' (Vertovec, 2007). The 2001 census confirmed London, a city of roughly eight million people, as the most diverse city in Britain. The city receives nearly a third of the international immigration into the U.K.; there are at least fifty non-indigenous communities with populations of 10,000 or more; about a third of London's population was born overseas (Office for National Statistics, 2009); more than 300 languages are spoken in its schools; and over 40% of London's population belongs to minority ethnic communities (London Councils, 2008).

London's role as the host city for the 2012 Olympic Games drew attention to the full significance – and paradoxical nature - of these characteristics. London became the first Olympic City in history to include members of every participating country amongst its resident population. A key element of the city's successful bid for the Games was its focus on the city's multiethnic diversity, especially that of East London. The participation of local schoolchildren in the opening ceremonies, and the notion that these were intended to be 'everyone's Games,' embedded this message firmly in its marketing discourse even before the Games themselves got underway. A few months later, the release of new census data revealing the rapid development of the city's linguistic diversity became headline news (22% of the population with a first language other than English and more than 100 languages spoken in virtually every city borough) as did confirmation that a minority of people in inner London now identified themselves as 'white British' (Bentham, 2013; Easton, 2013).

In the years preceding the Olympics, a series of reports in the British media had already presented a series of starkly contrasting tropes of the cosmopolitan city, as several commentators have noted (Binnie, Holloway, Millington, & Young, 2006). For example, in an article entitled 'The World in One City', the *Guardian* celebrated London's supposed status as the 'world capital of cosmopolitanism', depicting the city as a site where 'every race, colour, nation and religion' could be found and experienced (Benedictus, 2005). At the same time, by contrast, another British newspaper, *The Independent*, focused instead on ethnic difference in London in terms of emerging anxieties that organized

criminal gangs within certain immigrant groups were becoming increasingly active and violent. Entitled 'London's cosmopolitan criminals targeted', this article included a map of neighborhoods associated with these enclaves and the forms of criminality most associated with them, including Albanian pimps, Kosovan gunmen, Chinese people-traffickers and Nigerian fraudsters (Bennetto, 2005). These two articles chart sharply contrasting contours of urban cosmopolitanism and widely divergent attitudes towards encounters with difference in urban space.

These competing constructions of London as a cosmopolitan space were also informed by unfolding debates about the significance of diversity as a signifier of creativity and entrepreneurialism in British cities, which regarded ethnic and sexualized difference as key indicators of success. For example, the British political think tank Demos developed a series of metrics to measure the 'creative potential' of forty of the UK's largest cities, using criteria such as the number of residents who were not categorized as 'White British' or the number of services provided to the cities' LGBTQ communities. Manchester, followed by Leicester and London in joint second place, topped the list of centers of so-called 'Boho Britain' (Demos, 2003). This exercise was stimulated by a similar exercise applied to U.S. cities by Richard Florida, whose ideas - outlined in *The Rise of the Creative Class* (2002) - have been highly influential in focusing policy-makers' attention on the degree of correlation between ethnic and sexual diversity, urban entrepreneurialism and the rise of creative industries. They continue to generate wide-ranging scholarly and popular interest on the economic implications of urban cosmopolitanism (see, for example, Glaeser, 2012; Hollis, 2013).

What is apparent from these various examples is that notions of the cosmopolitan or diverse city are deployed and mobilized in a diverse range of contexts. Essentially, as Szerszynski and Urry (2002, p. 469) have suggested, the term 'cosmopolitan' has become an 'empty signifier' to be utilized in many potentially contradictory ways. Simultaneously, the 'cosmopolitan city' has become a concept which is now firmly embedded in public discourse.

A number of critical issues are implied here, which together provide a rich terrain for critical student reflection and research in the urban arena. Questions which are generated by such a focus include: why is diversity seen as key to the success of the contemporary city? How is diversity encountered and practiced in the cosmopolitan city? What is actually meant by a 'cosmopolitan' urban setting? What are the consequences for the groups who are part of the fabric of the 'cosmopolitan city', and for those who are labeled as 'outside' this imaginary? Who exactly participates in cosmopolitan interaction (and who does not)? How is this significant?

The construction of cosmopolitan spaces – what Arjun Appaduri (1996) has termed 'ethnoscapes' - have become crucial strategies for managing cities by urban planners, regeneration agencies and local politicians. This tends to be focused on the production of commodified spaces which showcase the exotic – which, rather than generating new or challenging encounters, potentially results in the homogenization or domestication of difference, packaged for consumption by a privileged elite.

Two neighborhoods in the East End of London – Brick Lane in Spitalfields and Green Street in the borough of Newham – provide contrasting strategies in this respect. They clearly illustrate the complexity of multicultural place promotion (Shaw, Bagwell, & Karmowska, 2004). These sites, once synonymous with poverty and social exclusion, are being repositioned to attract sophisticated cosmopolites; the associated danger, of course, is that this will result in their appropriation by a gentrifying elite and the displacement of their existing cultures.

Brick Lane represents what I would describe as the 'theme-parkization' of ethnic/cultural diversity. This is an area adjacent to London's commercial core, the City. It has been shaped by successive waves of migrants arriving in London – starting with Huguenot refugees in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Irish and Jewish migration in the nineteenth century and subsequently becoming a hub for Bengali migrants in the latter twentieth and early twenty-first century. Drawing on its plethora of curry houses, and with the Fournier Street mosque – the Jamme Masjid – at its heart (formerly a synagogue and originally a Protestant chapel), local entrepreneurs in conjunction with Tower Hamlets council have sought to make the Brick Lane area attractive through its explicit branding as 'Banglatown', drawing on its cultural capital as exotic 'Other'. This strategy has been manifested through diverse mechanisms, ranging from the design of distinctive street furniture and the Banglatown gateway marking the southern end of the street to a specially-designed street banner unfurled for the benefit of Olympic visitors, which proclaimed the area as London's 'Curry Capital'.

However, as several studies have shown, this promotional strategy has relied heavily on a racialized construction of difference aligned with multicultural consumerism (Jacobs, 1996; Shaw, Bagwell, & Karmowska, 2004). The process has been perceived as divisive and exclusive by many local Bengalis and other members of the local community, a tension accentuated by the controversy surrounding the filming of Monica Ali's Booker-shortlisted novel *Brick Lane* in the area in 2006 (itself a novel re-branded by her shrewd publisher to generate interest) which saw street demonstrations from community elders whilst young Bengalis – especially young women – queued up to appear as extras in the

movie (Lea & Lewis, 2006). In the last twenty years, as Jane Jacobs has charted in detail, the area has seen rapid transformation and the ignition of a complicated, racialized politics of urban transformation involving yuppie gentrifiers, Bengali workers in the rag trade, property developers and entrepreneurs – a process exemplified by the transformation of the Spitalfields fruit and vegetable market into a gentrified consumer experience of chic, 'boho' antiques and collectables stalls, restaurant chains and coffee bars (Jacobs, 1996, pp. 70-102).

By way of contrast, whilst Green Street, the heart of Newham, is fundamentally driven by its fashion shops and consumerism, the area's extensive street market is still firmly embedded in the everyday needs of that community, despite the regeneration projects driven by the Olympics which have been unfolding elsewhere in the borough. Located between Tower Hamlets and suburban Essex, north of the Royal Docks in East London, Newham is characterized as 'super-diverse' and is second only to Brent as the most diverse borough in London. Its community consists of the largest non-white population in Britain with over thirty different ethnic groups residing in the borough and over a hundred languages spoken (Newham London, 2013). Newham was also one of the principal Olympic boroughs with 61% of the Olympic Park located there and continues to undergo substantial regeneration as part of the legacy of the Games (Newham London, 2012). Green Street is another showcase of multicultural London, site of the famous Queen's Market, and the most important Asian shopping street in London, nicknamed 'the Bond Street of the East End'.

Green Street forms the heart of one of London's most vibrant and complex communities. The residents of this community have imparted their distinctive religious and cultural heritage to the neighborhood, as seen for example in the mosaics of Saint Stephen's Parade. The cultural hybridity of the area showcases the ways in which diverse Asian, African, African-Caribbean, and Eastern European residents have all sought to create 'a home away from home' in this East London neighborhood. Along Green Street, varied elements create this dynamic atmosphere, with more than four hundred shops featuring everything from saris to spices, food, fashion, fabric and jewelry, attracting customers from throughout the city. Queen's Market is one of the city's most vibrant local markets, selling an astonishing array of 'exotic' ingredients for Asian and African cuisine. At the southern end of the street, Newham Bookshop is East London's leading independent bookseller, whilst the Boleyn Theatre showcases the delights of Bollywood cinema.

The London borough of Newham's approach to place promotion at Green Street draws on some of the lessons learned by Tower Hamlets' attempts to re-brand Spitalfields as 'Banglatown', reflecting community concerns that such a strategy would reduce the area to a mere spectacular curiosity for voyeuristic

tourists – particularly in the context of the Olympic Games themselves as an urban mega-event involving the re-branding of East London for international visitors. Policies for Green Street have instead continued to focus on a community-driven agenda rather than re-imagining the area as the preserve of one ethnic group (such a controversial aspect of the ongoing promotion of 'Banglatown'). Arguably, this represents a much more cosmopolitan strategy, which instead of appropriating the cultural property of one ethnic group for the 'tourist gaze' (Urry, 1995; Larsen & Urry, 2011), ensures that the whole district continues to be receptive to a wide range of ethnic and cultural differences (Shaw, Bagwell, & Karmowska, 2004, p. 1995).

Where does this lead us in terms of the pedagogy of education abroad in the city? It is not enough simply to encounter the 'cosmopolitan' spaces of London as spectacle or as exotic, without considering the specific socio-cultural contexts of their production and assessing the relationship between particular brand-images of cosmopolitanism and the socio-cultural diversity of the urban areas in which these are applied. A related issue to be addressed is that of the cultural politics - what the geographer Doreen Massey would call the 'power-geometries' (1994) implied by the kind of cosmopolitanism practiced by American students as they explore and analyze such environments. If, at an abstract level, cosmopolitanism can be conceived as a philosophy of global citizenship or a specific set of attitudes towards diversity/difference, such case studies demand that we are sensitive to the ways in which these idealized notions are actually enacted in the field. Also, what implications follow from exposure to different kinds of urban experiences for creating a more critical cosmopolitanism out of student engagement with the city?

In order to facilitate the active interrogation of cosmopolitanization as a contested process, student research needs to be designed and framed intentionally to consider questions such as: what kind of cosmopolitan spaces are these and what kind of cosmopolitanism is being practiced there? Whose cultures are represented, and how? Who has constructed them and under what circumstances? What are the ways in which these neighborhoods are being represented or packaged? How are these significant? How far are they 'authentic' or embedded in local communities? Do they represent a 'themed' environment or a 'branding exercise' which selectively draws upon - or simulates - sanitized versions of community heritage? The debate such questions generate is rich and nuanced, and impacts both the students' understanding of the dynamics of the global city they are encountering abroad as well as their own agency as cosmopolitan consumers of diversity.

Reflections on Diversity in China's Global Cities

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Introduction: Some Basic Facts

China has the world's largest population at over 1.3 billion. Its land area has borders with no fewer than fourteen countries and there are fifty-six recognized ethnic minorities in China (Starr, 2010, pp. 181-206). One seemingly endless trend is a move from rural to urban living. As a result of the Hukou system, which requires rural citizens to obtain a type of residence permit to move to an urban environment, many people moving to the cities without these residence permits live instead as 'migrant workers' and have an inferior status in terms of access to local services. The megacities of Beijing and Shanghai attract a high proportion of these migrant workers, as well as an increasing number of foreigners living in these cities as 'ex-pats.' The constitution of the People's Republic of China only allows one political party to govern - the Communist Party of China – which is officially atheist. Despite practicing 'Socialism with Chinese Characteristics,' China now has one of the highest levels of income (or wealth) inequality in the world, as measured by the Gini coefficient. Under the work of the Italian statistician of that name, a Gini Coefficient of 0 equals perfect equality of wealth distribution and 1 equals the most extreme concentration of income. A figure of 0.4 is seen as a warning sign of extreme inequality. In 2012, China rated as 0.47, one of the most unequal in the world (Yao & Wang, 2013). Communism has a different meaning in China.

The country and these cities make effective case studies of how well they embrace diversity, defined for such purposes as encompassing acceptance and respect, understanding that each individual is unique, and recognizing individual differences, along with the dimensions of race, ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, socio-economic status, age, physical abilities, religious beliefs, political beliefs, and other ideologies.

China Is Big and Diverse

Most countries subscribe to the 'One China Policy,' the idea that China contains a number of entities that sometimes outsiders regard (rightly or wrongly) as being 'separate.' To Chinese authorities, the country comprises the more obvious Inner Mongolia, and the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region, as well as Tibet (as the West calls it), the Special Administrative Regions of Hong

Kong (since 1997), Macau (since 1999) and, under this policy, the 'province' of Taiwan; and that is not to mention various islands in the East China and South China seas.

Of course, some will wish to treat Taiwan as operating independently of mainland China with increased 'cross-straits' co-operation. They may know that although a Taiwanese passport is held by residents of Taiwan, mainland China does not recognize it for entry and instead such travelers must obtain 'Travel Passes for Taiwan Residents to Enter or Leave the Mainland' and show those, rather than a passport, for inspection at the border. In sports events in China (and often internationally), Taiwan teams compete for 'Chinese Taipei.' Thus, embracing diversity is political.

When the mainland instigated 'reform and opening up' in 1978, few were familiar with the economic ways of the West, especially the notions of enterprise, private ownership, markets and profit. Those experienced in the Western ways who first lent their expertise came from Hong Kong and Taiwan. Although initially entering into the 1979 Special Economic Zone of nearby Shenzhen, some Hong Kong and Taiwan business people made China's big cities their home as the experiment succeeded, and spread, especially to Shanghai and other East China port cities. China needed to embrace them and the subsequent foreign investment from Western multinationals increasingly attracted to the country.

Accommodating the diversity of culture, economic incentive, and political and religious beliefs in this 'big China' is not easy.

Accommodating Socio-Economic Diversity
From a Mao-led focus on collectivism, new leader Deng Xiaoping (1978) is said to have pronounced that 'to be rich is glorious' - though there is no confirmation of this - and hoped that the prospering of some people would pull up others later (Iritani, 2004). In 2012, China had 1.2 million millionaires (in US$), and perhaps two under the radar for each one known (Andrew & Yali, 2012; Business Insider, 2012). The highest number of Chinese millionaires live in Beijing, followed by Shanghai; this is also true for the super-rich, those roughly 180,000 people in China worth over US$16 million. It can be said then that megacities produce the mega-rich (Group M Knowledge, 2012)!

Many housing developments have been built to meet the demand from this wealthy group - in fact, far more than they actually need. Some prime position luxury apartments, such as those fronting Shanghai's Huangpu River, have remained vacant for years so that developers and banks can record the potential future rental income as a viable project rather than lower the rents to make them more financially accessible. The central and local governments

are painfully aware of the lack of affordable megacity accommodation. This is reflected in policies to lower housing prices by limiting the right for the wealthier people to own more than one home and by insisting that, as part of land sales to property developers, some low cost housing also be built.

China has a rising middle class, which is defined by the Boston Consulting Group as earning over 5,000 rmb (about US$790) a month, that already exceeds 100 million and is expected to reach 400 million by 2020. It also has a lot of people living in poverty and an estimated 2012 Gross National Product per head of around US$6,000 a year (Shengxia, 2013).[10]

The seemingly unstoppable trend toward urbanization and the focus for most of the last 30 years on the Eastern regions of China have led to many workers uprooting to Beijing and Shanghai in search of better paid jobs. These migrant workers have few, if any, benefits that Beijingers and Shanghainese have, as they lack the Hukou, or residence permit, for those megacities (Xu, 2009). Instead, they live in temporary housing (like multi-story portacabins) on the construction sites where they work. It is hard to see that they integrate into the local city life at all – working long hours, cooking their own food, saving as much money as possible to send to family members left at home. Other kinds of migrant workers are well-educated graduates from the provinces attracted to the political or the economic capital by long-term job prospects. I am proud to count some among my friends and I know they have little choice but to stay in units originally intended as small apartments, which have been entrepreneurially converted to accommodate five or six migrants sharing one kitchen and bathroom. Such an existence is the only way that a modest graduate starting salary of 4,000 to 5,000 rmb (about US$700) a month can be enough to live on. Extreme economic misery is accommodated in Beijing, for example, by beggars earning perhaps 30 rmb a day, or up to 50 rmb (a bit over US$7) a day on a long shift collecting used plastic bottles for a gang master, then returning to dilapidated small rooms in shanty villages at the end of the metro systems for a few hundred rmb a month rent (Starr, 2010, pp. 140-159). Megacities have their extremes.

It is clear that the Hukou system restricts labor mobility and opportunities for upward social mobility. Many high school students fiercely compete for places at Beijing and Shanghai universities where they can afford to live because the on-campus housing is so heavily subsidized by the authorities; however, at undergraduate level, six to eight students often live together in one room with bunk beds, no running hot water in-room (huge vacuum flasks are provided) and communal showers at the ends of corridors. Yet, the main challenge is upon graduation. Students from the provinces have no right to remain in Beijing

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[10] For comparison, the USA is approaching $50,000 a year per capita GNP.

or Shanghai with regular benefits unless they can secure a much sought-after position with a big city organization that can sponsor the Hukou. If dreams are unfulfilled, they need to marry a local or return to the provincial areas and work for notably lower pay.

It is hard not to mention China's 'One Child Policy' as an aspect of socio-economic diversity. For the past forty years or so, China has required couples to have just one child (the exception being nowadays that if both marriage partners are themselves from a one-child family, they may have two children). Prior to that, quite large families were typical and it was recognized that some children grew up in poverty due to limited family income and certainly limited housing space. The policy involves a fine for those having a second child (or more) of an amount poorer families cannot afford to pay. This explains the figures released and confirmed by the Chinese authorities in March 2013 that Chinese doctors have performed more than 336 million recorded abortions since 1971 and nearly 200 million sterilizations in that period. It lends credence to the claim that, but for this policy, the Chinese population today could have been over 400 million greater (Rabinovitch, 2013).

However, those on higher incomes can simply pay the fine and bring up a second or even a third child. A second sanction applies to government-employed workers, who can lose their job as punishment. The only alternative for poorer families is to hide a second child away with relatives in another province and not bring it up with the sibling. This is a fundamental example of where economic inequality directly alters family lifestyle.

Accommodating Political and Religious Diversity
Visitors to Beijing will see, in many places, a large sign which proclaims the goal of 'Patriotism, Innovation, Inclusiveness, Virtue' for all the residents of Beijing. In principle, the government wants everyone to be a part of Beijing life. On March 15, 2013, Beijingers (and the world) saw the culmination of two weeks of meetings of the National People's Congress (NPC) and the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC), during which the new leaders of the People's Republic of China (PRC) were confirmed, having been elected in somewhat of a formality by approximately 3,000 deputies. Both Xi Jinping (the new President) and Li Keqiang (the new Premier) outlined the hopes for a rejuvenation of the 'Chinese Dream,' which was defined as focused on modest prosperity for all and continuing development in a harmonious society. Reference was made in speeches to the increased involvement of wider political views and of religious views.

Although the constitution of the PRC provides that only one party, the Communist Party of China (CCP), can govern the country, this does not mean

that other political parties cannot exist nor indeed cannot participate in the political process. In fact, there are eight 'non-communist' political parties in the PRC (Lin, 2013). The founding of these parties, known as 'democratic parties,' dates from 1925 through 1948 and their membership today varies from a high of 230,000 members for the Chinese Democratic League to 2,600 in the Taiwan Democratic Self-Government League. No new political parties have been recognized since the foundation of the PRC in 1949. The CCP has a membership above 80 million - the largest political party in the world - and many more Chinese wish to join. Most are turned down, as membership requirements are strict: about twenty million apply each year and around two million are accepted. It is seen as a great honor among university students to be elected and accepted to be a CCP member (Speakman, 2011).

In the National People's Congress, the PRC's legislative body, as one would expect, CCP membership dominates among 3,000 deputies. It includes perhaps 1,000 quite wealthy members of society. In the CPPCC (the political advisory body to the NPC with no binding powers), 65% of around 2,200 delegates are not CCP members. Some are members of the democratic parties, while others have no party affiliation. Some are media personalities, entertainers and business leaders. Democracy in nominations and elections is evident to some extent in the CPPCC and in local town and village positions. However, it was confirmed during these conferences by the newly-elected head of the CPPCC, Yu Zhengsheng, that China will promote 'consultative democracy' and not copy Western political systems 'under any circumstances.'

Outlets for differing political views outside the consultative democracy process have grown, despite the restrictions on Internet access to certain foreign social networks, such as Twitter, and certain foreign online media, notably *The New York Times* and *BBC World Service* radio broadcasts. China has the largest number of 'netizens' (internet users) in the world and it appears that any political debate that can be fostered might, as an example, expose corruption by local government officials or abuse of powers (*The Economic Times*, 2012). Weibo is popular as a Chinese alternative to blocked Twitter for short comments on Chinese affairs. It is estimated that 300 million Chinese use Weibo (out of around half a billion 'netizens' that are active overall). However, research published in March 2013 suggests that messages are deleted in real time using a combination of key-word matching software and human censors, so that politically controversial posts are immediately removed (BBC News, 2013).

The official policy on religion in China is that it allows freedom of individuals to follow the religion of their choice of recognized religions. It is important to make a distinction between that and politically-motivated groups using religion for other

purposes, which China does not tolerate, especially if the motivation is 'splittist,' or, in other words, contrary to the 'One China' policy. Such issues come into the situation on religious freedom in Tibet for example, where the government sees some outside influences as influencing Tibetan monks towards behavior not consistent with non-political religious activities. Thus, while the official creed of the CCP as leaders of China is 'no religion,' the largest recognized religions are Taoism and Buddhism, the fastest growing is Christianity, and there are significant numbers of Muslims (Jiao, 2007). In fact, religious and philosophical beliefs (as illustrated by Confucianism) play an important role in maintaining moral society, especially at a time when, by Chinese leaders' own admission, corruption threatens the very heart of the Chinese system (Wee & Blanchard, 2012).

A distinction has to be made to understand religious freedom in China. While an individual may hold true to his or her chosen beliefs, there is not the right for such individuals to engage in missionary work to persuade others to join that religion. Thus, promoting a religious belief is not allowed. Some of the Western churches that are allowed to operate may not admit Chinese nationals to their meetings and services, although the more substantial ones can do so. In Beijing, one will find a beautiful historic Catholic cathedral near downtown Wangfujing Street, and a very modern Christian church in the Haidian District to the West of Beijing, in addition to the famous Buddhist Lama Temple and a nearby Confucius Temple.

Accommodating Ethnic Diversity
The fifty-six ethnic groups in China can be considered as fifty-five ethnic groups plus the Han Chinese, who make up roughly 91% of the population (National Bureau of Statistics of China, 2013). The Chinese authorities feel that it is important for the fifty-five minorities to be represented in major events, for example, at the 2008 Olympics and at the March 2013 political meetings in Beijing, where their distinctive local costumes were evident. Beijing also has two museums dedicated to Chinese minorities (one of which is currently under reconstruction). Yet it remains true that most of these minorities come from the West and Southwest of China, reflecting nearby borders and differing climates and traditions. These are not wealthy areas; to increase economic development, it has often been the case that Han Chinese businesspeople and government officials have been brought in to invest in areas such as Tibet and Xinjang Uyghur Autonomous Region, where the Chinese government has decided to invest $100 billion to help lower tensions. This has produced some culture clashes and local difficulties which, at times, have led to the authorities barring foreigners from visiting these regions at sensitive times. Yunnan Province has been essentially stable and home to most of the ethnic groups.

The economic development of China was based on a government policy of 'let

the East go first' and of investment, including much from overseas. Much of this foreign investment went into the South and East coastline (and also a bit inland) and was encouraged by Special Economic Zones (now termed 'New Areas'), first in Guangdong's Shenzhen in 1979 and then in Shanghai's Pudong at the start of the 1990s. It was not until 2010 that the West of China got its first such zone in a part of the Chongqing Municipality and in 2012, further west in Lanzhou in Gansu Province (British Chamber of Commerce in China, 2012). Much of the income inequality in China is reflected in an East-West divide, and incomes per head (but also living costs and conditions) are noticeably lower in the regions that most ethnic minorities inhabit.

The Chinese government wishes to promote the speaking of Mandarin as the national language (Speakman, 2011). It wants to see this language taught and used in schools even in such large areas as Guangdong Province, where Cantonese is the local language, as well as the Special Administrative Regions of Hong Kong and Macau, where Cantonese and Portuguese historically dominated. Hence in ethnic minority areas there are understandable concerns about preserving local dialects which might fall into disuse. Equally for the ethnic cultures, including historic crafts and skills, there are fears that future generations of school children may not wish to learn the skills to work in local traditional industries.

The 9% of Chinese citizens who make up the 'non-Han' 55 ethnic minorities adds up to around 117 million people. The diversity of language and culture is significant, but difficult to harmonize with economic development, especially as economic progress in those Western and South Western regions is likely to increase the gap between income levels of some minorities and the Han majority. As the urbanization trend extends to the west, urban areas continue to expand, and new cities are developed, the harmonious inclusion of minorities into those cities from a more rural tradition will be an interesting challenge.

Concluding Thoughts
China officially embraces inclusion and has had the goal of a harmonious society for many years. It is clear to an outsider living on the inside that these goals have to be understood within the meaning of 'Socialism with Chinese Characteristics.' China has made great progress and the overall income levels in the eastern megacities, if taken in isolation, resemble those of the developed world. The prosperity represented by the amazing malls on Nanjing West Road's in Shanghai with Gucci, Louis Vuitton, Ferrari and Maserati outlets, or the Mall of the Oriental Plaza near the Grand Hyatt in Beijing, is a face of China. But this can mask the significant diversity amongst the 1.3 billion population, including the significant problem of low income citizens whose aspirations have yet to be remotely close to being met by the Chinese Dream. It is an issue of which the Chinese authorities are fully aware, and regularly review how to address.

Understanding the Idea of Obama: the Production and Consumption of the Presidential Image in News and Art, 2007-8

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In 2007 Barack Hussein Obama emerged as a candidate for the U.S. presidency and in so doing provided a challenge for news producers and consumers, activists, commentators and artists in the U.S. and globally. The first ever seriously electable African-American candidate for the U.S. presidency raised a fundamental question - how could the candidate be made intelligible for audiences and citizens?

There is an extensive literature on the power of the news media to shape agendas and to control frames of reference in political news and beyond (Tuchman, 1978; Van Dijk, 1988; McNair, 1995; Entman, 1993, 2004) but what was noteworthy about Obama's emergence onto the U.S. presidential political stage in 2007 was the extent to which his candidacy reached beyond the traditional mainstream politics/news nexus to a constituency that included activists and artists. Likewise, this was the first presidential candidate since John Fitzgerald Kennedy (JFK) whose image and message was able to reach out to a receptive global audience.

In this short essay I plan to discuss how U.S. news organizations and journalists sought to explain Obama (in the years 2007-8) to their audiences and how artists such as Shepard Fairey in the U.S., and Nicola Green in the U.K., also appropriated Obama's image to communicate their own understanding of the candidate and his message.

Obama announced his candidacy in February 2007 and accepted the Democratic nomination in August 2008. As Senator for Illinois, Obama was known to political insiders, but was not well-known to the general public; and as a relative newcomer to national politics and an 'unconventional' African-American (the mixed-race son of a white woman from Kansas and a Kenyan student, who had been born in Hawaii and lived in Indonesia as a child) he posed a challenge for journalists and news organizations looking for an easy way to present him to their readers and viewers.

Berkowitz and Raaii (2010) suggest that when faced with atypical subjects who do not fit pre-existing frames of reference, journalists seek to produce news that 'feels resonant and familiar' by using collective memory and references to the past. It was through the collective memory of past presidents (Lincoln, Roosevelt, JFK – even activists such as Martin Luther King) that Obama was made explicable to U.S. citizens in particular (Berkowitz & Raaii, 2010, p. 365). The news media also used this technique to present the families and wives of candidates to the public – thus the ultimate accolade for any presidential wife is to be dubbed the 'new Jackie Kennedy.' 2007/8 was a particularly challenging time politically. The wars in Iraq and Afghanistan post-9/11 had taken their toll, and the financial crisis had essentially brought the presidency of George W. Bush to its lowest ebb. Thus, the device of using the collective memory of presidents who brought the nation together helped the media offer a soothing message within the news that was culturally desirable and uplifting (Berkowitz & Raaii, 2010, p. 376).

The relationship between journalism and memory however, is a complex one. Carolyn Kitch (2008, p. 312) notes that journalism is not only the 'first draft of history' it is also the 'first draft of memory, a statement about what should be considered, in the future, as having mattered today'. Kitch adds that similarly, reporters 'tell stories about current events by using culturally resonant archetypes and narratives' to 'contextualise present day events' (2008, p. 312); while Berkowitz and Raaii (2010, p. 366) note that journalists serve a key role in a process which helps affirm group values and identities and provides shape and narrative for audiences; in short, that news narratives draw on society's collective meanings in order to make the unfamiliar familiar.

Berkowitz and Raaii (2010) research the ways in which collective memory was used to tell the story of Obama's candidacy, through an analysis of five key areas of Obama's campaign; the announcement of his candidacy in February 2007, his victory in the Iowa caucuses in January 2008, his speech denouncing the values of his 'firebrand' pastor in March 2008, his acceptance speech as Democratic nominee in August 2008, and his response to the national financial crisis in September 2008.

In their analysis, Berkowitz and Raaii (2010, p. 370) suggest that Obama carefully stage-managed an early association with Lincoln by announcing his candidacy on the same spot as Lincoln had done 150 years earlier (on the steps of the Illinois Capitol building) – this allowed for an easy identification with a set of desirable personal attributes – and the news media duly obliged with a set of stories drawing on cultural/collective memories of Lincoln and his historical period. For example, notions such as the 'power in hope' and the idea of the

'beacon in history' suggested that Obama could bring the country together in the post-9/11, Iraq and Afghanistan war era - just as Lincoln had sought to do after the Civil War. The media did not create this comparison but accepted it for its reporting and audience value for 'reuniting a torn country' (Berkowitz & Raaii, 2010, p. 370).

Later, at the Democratic National Convention, Obama tied himself to the legacy of Roosevelt (FDR) who had pulled the country out of an economic and financial crisis in the 1930s. His running mate, Joe Biden, also gave a speech which reinforced the connection and later the media began to draw on analogies with FDR to describe Obama's 'calm and seriousness' in the face of the crisis. Collective memories of FDR provided journalists with the means to craft a story that resonated with media audiences.

Berkowitz and Raaii (2010) note that the invocation of the memory of John Fitzgerald Kennedy (JFK) provided a contrasting message – that Obama's minimal experience in politics did not preclude success in office. It also drove home the 'hope for a better world' message, his relative youthfulness, and his 'vision and public speaking ability'. The use of the collective memory of JFK was particularly effective in the U.K. and Europe (again reinforced by Obama's visit to Berlin in 2008).

Collective memory was also invoked through a clear association between Obama and the civil rights campaigner Martin Luther King. However, Obama clearly sought to avoid overt comparisons, since he did not want to risk the accusation of excessive partisanship along racial lines. Thus, in the case of Martin Luther King the comparison with Obama was less to do with any links to his qualities of leadership, and more to do with Obama as an embodiment of King's dream.

However, while collective memory as a journalistic device was able to make Obama (the unfamiliar) feel natural and familiar, the key to the success of this device is the relationship between the collective memory and the actual situation being reported upon – hence this was not a strategy that could work again for Obama in 2012 when he sought re-election for a second term. It was not, however, just news organizations that sought to understand and communicate the essence of Obama to audiences. Artists in the U.S. and U.K. were also attracted to the challenge.

The street artist and graphic designer Shepard Fairey is the American artist most associated with Obama at this point. Fairey 'borrowed' a photograph as the basis of a screen print of the candidate and stenciled the word 'Progress'

at the bottom. This image was quickly adopted (on a semi-official basis) by the Obama campaign (as Fairey did not own the copyright) and the word 'Progress' was replaced by the word 'Hope.' This screen-print image encapsulated both fine art and street traditions. On the one hand the image spoke to the idea that art could be in the vanguard of social change (drawing on traditions such as Russian constructivism); and Fairey noted that:

> I did that poster as an outsider, not as part of the campaign…I was a grassroots activist artist. I thought that Obama might be that subversive delivery vehicle for progressive ideas who would infiltrate the system and change it from within (McLean, 2012).

On the other hand, the screen print image also offered a strong association with pop art, particularly Andy Warhol's deconstruction of the star image of Marilyn Monroe (Schneider, 2012, p. 106).

Warhol's repetitive screen-printed images of Monroe had had the function of both celebrating and depersonalizing the star and of celebrating and critiquing the commodification of all life under capitalism. In this same way, Fairey's pop art rendition of Obama made him 'look famous' and gained him 'not only superstar status but also street presence… Although the Illinois senator was already a rising star in politics, the general public needed a celebrity to win their votes' (Schneider, 2012, p. 108).

In the U.K., Obama's image also had considerable resonance for audiences and artists. Nicola Green's suite of serigraph prints 'In Seven Days…' (2010) were inspired by her encounters with Obama's 2008 presidential campaign. Green is a British artist, married to black British Labour MP David Lammy - a friend of Obama's from Harvard. Green says that as a mother of mixed race boys she 'saw his face in theirs, saw their hope and their future....wanted to make work that would tell the story of what happened and why it was important to the next generation'. The aim of the work, according to Green, was to emphasize the universal story of the campaign, 'what is possible when people come together to achieve change, while exploring the many meta-narratives underlying the historic moment' (Green, 2011).

The final images in the series are a distillation of photographs, conversations, sketches and prints made by the artist and she claims that 'the story I was witnessing was about the American people, the campaign and the global community more than it was about Obama'. Green states that the intention behind her work was that it should be 'devoid of critical comment or political stance; presented in a universal idiom as opposed to the pervasive biases of the 2008 campaign'. Viewed in full 'the work is a deconstruction of what hope

really is: a reflection on what future generations can take from this moment in history' (Green, 2011).

Green's work uses biblical imagery and text - 'In Seven Days' for example, the God of Judeo-Christian tradition was said to have made the world. The implication for Obama is that he will now recreate the world in some way - although how is unclear; nor is it certain that Green's use of this metaphor is successful in communicating the meaning of Obama.

Green's seven serigraphs are as follows: *The First Day: Light* – here the work draws on the raised hands of the forty-fifth anniversary of Martin Luther King's 'I Have a Dream' speech in August 2008. The hands of the audience reach out to grasp those of the candidate. *The Second Day: Struggle* proffers the raised fist of black power and the impassioned gesticulations of Obama on the stump. *The Third Day: Hope* suggests Obama's appeal across the racial/ethnic divide; *The Fourth Day:* Change shows Obama in cowboy pose, the archetypal figure of the American dream/imagination is subverted; *The Fifth Day: Fear* reveals the endless scrutiny of the camera and intrusive media attention, with echoes of the memory of presidential assassinations; *The Sixth Day: Sacrifice/Embrace* presents Obama in crucifixion pose and communicates anxiety mixed with promise; and *The Seventh Day: Peace* offers a single raised hand, not in any kind of salute, but a moment of repose, where the power enters the body of the president.[11]

It could be argued that ultimately the Obama image (in 2007-8) was relatively simple. The image communicated something historical to U.S. audiences, with a nod to the cultural memory of Lincoln coming from the 'cabin in the woods', but it also communicated something very powerful on the international stage. Obama's image was a reminder that great wealth and power is not all there is about the USA. For global audiences in particular, Obama seemed to embody the American dream – especially compared to the Bushes who seemed like a semi-aristocratic dynasty. Obama reversed that tendency, and along with the photogenic Michelle and their children, Obama's image was essentially a promise, that the American dream can be shared with anyone and that all may have access to it.

Green's work arguably embodies this idealistic view of Obama - in it he comes across as a kind of Abraham Lincoln of the world. Obama is also a quintessentially cosmopolitan figure in a way that no other American could be. Obama was not the 'black candidate' in any real sense - he was very different from, say, Condoleezza Rice who had a totally American image. Obama's

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[11] Reproductions can be viewed at the artist's website: http://www.nicolagreen.com/In_Seven_Days

image suggested a bypassing of the old dynamics of racial politics and pointed towards the possibility of a post-racial world.

Obama's constituency in the end was not about what Obama looked like - it was to do with the idea that you can become whatever you want. This was hugely appealing in great swathes of Europe, especially amongst minority groups such as the Roma and migrant groups. Obama embodied a new dream; not the old American Dream, but a new dream about migration, moving across borders, and about not having to be a 'traditional person' in order to be accepted. In Europe he represented a 'new American'; he was an outsider but was still able to inherit the power. This of course became his problem in his first term of office, as his opponents/enemies focused on him not being a 'real' American. However, this tells you what his appeal was, and to some extent, continues to be. It is noteworthy for example, that one of his boldest policy decisions has been his amnesty for young migrants, mostly of Hispanic descent.

In conclusion, the use of the cultural memory of past and iconic presidents appears to have been an effective strategy for introducing a non-traditional candidate to U.S. audiences and arguably worked in Obama's favor. Similarly, the intervention by activist artists such as Shepard Fairey also provided the lesser-known candidate with a useful repertoire of visual associations and meanings to do with the nature of change and how to challenge the status quo. Green's intervention was more reflective as befits her status as an outsider; nevertheless her work provides insights into the ways in which global audiences are able to engage across national boundaries in global discussions about citizenship, identity and hope.

(Mis)representation of sexual diversity in Italian Cinema

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that are too rapid: there is no tolerance or openness towards those relationships still widely perceived as unnatural.

However, Vittorio Caprioli's *Splendori e Miserie di Madame Royale* [*Splendor and Misery of Madame Royale*] was almost entirely grounded in realities of queer experience, and it quickly became a cult classic for the Italian gay community. For the first time, Italian cinema had the courage to represent an image that was not a mere caricature of homosexuality. Classified by the powerful Catholic Cinematographic Center as 'seriously offensive to doctrine and Catholic morality' (Russo, 1981, p. 27), the film triggered judicial action to block distribution, including massive cuts and substitutions of scenes considered to be the most obscene, and prohibition of the film for those under eighteen.

Once again with a very few exceptions in the early part of the decade, the 1970s lacked a work that treated homosexuality in a truly mature manner. The decade was also characterized by the triumph of vulgar and degraded versions of derivative comedy that celebrated the passive physicality of the female body and exploited - as often as possible - crude homosexual caricatures to be mocked in a series of double entendres and situations of dubious taste.

The 80s recorded a considerable decline both in the quality and quantity of films dedicated to LGBTQ themes. While in the U.S. - and also in Europe - a genuine flowering of major titles took place which was destined to change radically the cinematic scenarios dedicated to such topics; noteworthy films produced in Italy in this period continued to be very scarce. With the vanishing of personalities of the stature of Pasolini and Visconti in the mid-70s, even art cinema seemed unable to ignore the crude exploitation of homosexuality. This creative lacuna persists into the middle of the next decade, stifling the opportunity to engage with new global issues, such as the sudden emergence of HIV-AIDS, as well as changing social conditions which enabled the gay community to gain more leeway and, consequently, visibility.

When compared to the lack of titles that focus on LGBTQ issues that came out in the 80s, the outlook of the next decade was much more comforting, not only in purely quantitative terms, but also with regard to the desire to address controversial topics such as transsexuality and pedophilia that had always been banned from Italian cinema. The changed social conditions in the country and the gradual rise of a progressive way of examining sexual diversity begin to be incorporated into screenplays without creating excessive trauma or unbalancing the psychological dynamics present in the film.

Nevertheless, as was the case in previous years, the 90s also saw numerous exploitative titles produced which were derisive towards the figure of the

homosexual. Fortunately, especially in the second half of the decade, some better films emerged that, on the contrary, put LGBTQ experiences at the center of the events narrated, showing true courage in denouncing ongoing distortions such as stories about the 'impossibility' of cohabitation between gay and straight people, as well as illustrating in an unflinching way the backwardness of Italian society in its capacity to perceive - and accept - sexual diversity as a fact.

The latter part of the decade witnessed the arrival in Italy, and subsequently the debut, of a director born in Istanbul but destined to undergo a gradual process of full integration into Italian society. This complex positionality made it possible for him to become probably the most important figure in the legitimation of LGBTQ issues in films produced and distributed in Italy. Ferzan Özpetek has never made any secret of his homosexuality; culturally distant enough to be able to scrutinize Italian society with a critical eye, he is also in an ideal position to represent its provincial pettiness and inability to deal in a mature way with such topics. Between 1997 and 1999, Özpetek directed *Il Bagno Turco – Hamam e Harem Suarè* [*The Turkish Bath – Hamam and Harem Suare*]. These two titles, whilst dealing with diverse subjects far away in both time and space, immediately reveal a different sensitivity and suggest that finally the Italian gay community has found the *auteur* able to offer films produced with the necessary sensibility. These focus on obviously LGBTQ issues, but also address them to the larger Italian public that for decades had always rejected the presence of such themes on the big screen, electing instead to list them as morally unrepresentable and exploiting them only to hold them up to ridicule in a coarse manner.

However, since the millennium, perhaps we might have expected more in terms both of the quantity and the quality of LGBTQ-themed cinema, even in Italy. Instead, things have not been going well at all if we analyze the films produced in Italy in the last thirteen years. Italian society has not, in fact, made huge progress in terms of social acceptance and integration of the so-called *diverse*, continuing to express intolerant attitudes unacceptably hidden behind the façade of farce. Fortunately, there have been some notable exceptions. In 2003, the third film by Ferzan Özpetek, *Le Fate Ignoranti* [*The Ignorant Fairies*] was released, followed two years later by *L'Imbalsamatore* [*The Embalmer*]. The latter film is one of the few titles of the entire decade in which the theme of sexual *diversity* is demonstrated as such, and it is not used unworthily to trigger the easy laughter of the audience thanks to the usual ambiguous situations engendered by the presence on the scene of some characters not sexually aligned to 'normal' definitions.

Arguably, two of the best films dedicated openly to LGBTQ issues released during recent years have been written and directed by two women and focus

on lesbianism.   The first, *Viola di Mare* [*The Sea Purple*] (directed in 2009 by Donatella Maiorca) is the story of two girls who grew up together on a small island near Sicily in the mid-1800s, who discover the deepening of their friendship into a sexual relationship and find themselves in conflict with a village community too backward to understand something that even today would cause scandal. In 2012 another equally courageous film was released. Directed by Francesca Muci and based on her novel of the same name, *L'Amore è Imperfetto* [*Love is Imperfect*] another film in which the theme of female homosexuality is presented with courage. The film depicts a woman capable of going against the rigid bourgeois norms of Italian society to pursue happiness at the cost of respectability. Elena, the protagonist, is a woman in her mid-thirties who, has had an unfortunate and disappointing relationship with a man who is the father of her child. From this sad existence, Elena suddenly flourishes when almost simultaneously she meets a charming middle-aged man who makes her rediscover the power of passion and a young girl who helps her discover her hidden bisexual soul.

It is however the Turkish naturalized Italian, Ferzan Özpetek, who has emerged since his first films directed in Italy as the most sensitive interpreter - perhaps the only one - of all those instances of balanced representation and presence that the Italian gay community has relied on for years but has never been able to express, precisely because of the same insurmountable limits that macho Italian society has imposed on the presence of sexual diversity - a presence perceived as a threat to the heterosexual community and therefore often ridiculed and reduced to the status of an excuse for ambiguous situations capable of triggering easy laughter in the audience.

Interpreting Özpetek
Ferzan Özpetek's cinema starts from a completely antithetical premise: not being Italian - and not having grown up under the evil influence of this kind of sexist and homophobic environment - his eye was not affected in any way and he has always had complete freedom of representation without ever having to act under the influence of any form of prejudice. Despite being openly gay, this conceptual distance has allowed him to be more objective than any other Italian *auteur* (whether hetero- or homosexual) engaged in attempts to recount the urgent needs of the gay community and its difficulties in engaging with heterosexual society.

Le Fate Ignoranti [The Ignorant Fairies]
Students were asked to consider first *Le Fate Ignoranti*, written and directed by Özpetek in 2000, which soon become a cult title for reasons that student group work allowed to emerge. The film's is absolutely exemplary but also

partly specious in terms of the director's intentions - that is, the depiction of the substantial exclusion of diversity in a society still unprepared to accept and integrate what is not in line with normalized models established for centuries. The main character is Antonia, a wealthy doctor involved in the care of patients with AIDS: happily married to Massimo for ten years, she sees her life turned upside down by the sudden death of her husband in a minor car accident. Unable to recover from the trauma of widowhood, she must soon come to terms with a new and even more devastating discovery after finding an unusual dedication on the back of a picture that her husband kept in his office, which reveals that her beloved husband had had an adulterous relationship for years. Antonia has the additional unpleasant surprise of finding out that the third side of the faithless triangle was in fact a man, Michele.

Shocked by the discovery, she comes across the address of her husband's former lover and confronts him, finding a cultured and refined young man who is host in his house to a strange community of *diverse* people (gay men, lesbians, transgendered individuals, refugees and people with AIDS) who live in conditions of perfect harmony and mutual support in the constant struggle of integration that each of them faces day after day. After an initial and natural confusion due to the double shock of the revelation of homosexual betrayal and this 'unclassifiable' environment, Antonia begins to soften and mitigate the intransigence of her initial judgment. Over time she and Michele also discover they have common interests – beyond the love they felt for the husband/dead lover - and even end up having a moment of unthinkable intimacy sealed by a kiss, which the public perceives not as the beginning of a relationship, but as the prelude to a workable coexistence initially interpreted as impossible due to the incompatibility of the parties involved.

With *Le Fate Ignoranti*, the gay community has been able for the first time ever to encounter a film in which diversity is represented in all its possible nuances and in which the director never took the liberty to make judgments related to any of the many *diverse* characters staged or to exploit the different dispositions towards sex to lead to comic effects in questionable taste. The only one who expresses her sharp moral judgment is Antonia, the one who cannot mask her physical disgust when she realizes that she shared a bed for years with a man who cheated on her with a gay lover. Antonia becomes the typical representation of the attitude that a large portion of the Italian population has towards sexual diversity in all its forms and manifestations: the radical rejection dictated not only by its bourgeois origins, but also by the Catholic culture that has turned sexual *diversity* into the common enemy to fight on behalf of standardization. Antonia changes over time: she pulls away, realizing that Michele's house-community is an archetype of all the 'loose cannons' that normalized society fears and

marginalizes when it comes into close contact with them. And that is when her emancipation from prejudice takes her to the point where Özpetek wishes that one day the entirety of Italian society will arrive: namely, the realization that love cannot - and should not - necessarily be a link only between people of different sexes, but can also occur in very different ways that we refuse to accept because our culture prevents us from knowing them.

Mine Vaganti [Loose Cannons]

Eight years after this milestone in the history of the claim for the dignity of all the *diverse* within a society that has withheld its acceptance, Özpetek directed *Mine Vaganti*, a new and important step in his personal reconnaissance of the lack of openness in Italian society towards homosexuality. After the civilized, cosmopolitan Rome of *Le Fate Ignoranti*, with this film students were asked to examine the context of the 'deep south' of Italy. That is the part of the country where, according to tradition, the elements of *machismo* are perhaps even stronger and acceptance of all forms of diversity resisted with even greater bitterness and determination.

It is no coincidence that Özpetek takes his cue from what appears to be some sort of theorem that the Turkish director and screenwriter undertakes to demonstrate in film. That is: what would happen if in a family in southern Italy, with conservative values linked to thousands of years of patriarchal *machismo* and manliness, one of the young descendants was homosexual and had the courage to make a public *outing* in front of the entire community of family members and relatives? Provoked by the explosive potential of a subject of this kind, Özpetek decided to exaggerate it by adding an extra load to aggravate even more the imbalances already existing in the script.

The film is set in Puglia. Although the city is not easily identified, it could be Lecce. The Cantone family, that for generations has produced pasta and wealth for its members but also for those who work in their factory, is trying to respond to the global crisis by establishing a new partnership. In celebration, the patriarch, Vincenzo, has organized a sumptuous welcome dinner to which he has invited all the members of the clan, including Tommaso, the younger of his two sons who for some years has been in Rome (where everyone thinks he is a committed student of Economics and Business, whilst he has in fact registered for Literature courses wanting to become a writer; not having any intentions of following his father's footsteps). The night of his arrival in Puglia, Tommaso has a dramatic dialogue with his older brother Antonio, through which the viewer makes a series of decidedly traumatic discoveries, especially if one thinks of the character of the father Vincenzo (until that moment presented as the classic patriarch who comprehensively embodies all the values of Southern *machismo*

in a complete synthesis of entrepreneurial masculinity and sexual dominance over the women of the house). During the tense dialogue that the two brothers have, the spectator is provided with information inevitably destined to upset the family scenario were it to become common knowledge. Tommaso confesses to his older brother his desire to become a writer, but above all of always being gay, while never having had the courage to admit it. Antonio reciprocates by confiding that he is also gay.

The next evening, the great celebration dinner is organized to welcome the new partner into the family. Just after his brother-in-law has made an explicitly homophobic joke, Tommaso seeks to make his important announcement. But Antonio steals the scene from him and performs the most spectacular *outing* that one can imagine. The reaction of the family is a sort of extraordinary encyclopedia of homophobia in Italian style. The mother laughs, imagining that her son is joking and wants to make people laugh with a joke that is able to keep pace with that of her son-in-law. The dizzy and nymphomaniac visionary aunt (who we have already seen pretending more than once to be a victim of violence from a thief entering her room at night-time) says that it is not a problem and claims to have heard that 'they can cure them', and thus her nephew should not worry. The father instead plays dumb and turns to the new business partner trying to resume the conversation.

At this point, Antonio strongly reaffirms the concept. Firstly, he recounts his love affair with a worker subsequently fired because of his closeness with one of the owners that was not pleasing to the head of the family, and then recounts all of the vocabulary in Italian which alludes to his homosexual orientation in a vulgar and politically incorrect manner. Now convinced that it is not a joke, Vincenzo has the reaction that everyone would expect from a man with his myopic vision: he intimates to his son to leave the house and to never be seen around anymore. When Antonio does precisely what his father has ordered him to do, the viewer has time to stare at the terrified face of Tommaso, knowing full well how devastating a second *outing* would be at that moment, of which only the viewer is aware. But the young Cantone offspring does not have time to assess the impact of the second blow that he has in store; Vincenzo has a heart attack and falls to the floor, dragging down all the finest china with which the large table was richly laden.

Vincenzo's recovery affords the audience the opportunity to discover that he has an 'official' mistress - confirming his role of dominant male contemptuous of decorum and of the dignity of women in marriage. The film illustrates another typical characteristic of Italian society: that is, the terror that the individual has of being judged by the rest of the community. If we then add that in this case we

are in a small city of southern Italy, and judgment concerns the discovery of an alternative masculinity of one of the young men of the Cantone clan, the picture becomes even more powerful in the eyes of an American observer. Walking through the streets of the town center in the company of Tommaso, Vincenzo is obsessed with the idea that everyone knows that one of his sons is 'one of them'. A situation even more grotesque for a foreign audience to see is that everyone knows that Tommaso is gay even if the father ignores it (and so it will be until the end).

But the apotheosis is yet to arrive. When at mid-film Tommaso's boyfriend and his other gay friends from Rome decide to make an impromptu visit, all the members of the Cantone family are all determined to deny the evidence that all of Tommaso's friends are clearly and manifestly gay in the way they move, speak, and behave. But no one gives the impression of wanting to admit it: far from it. Vincenzo wants his son Tommaso, the only 'healthy' one who remains available, fully to interpret the role of *macho* so that at least one of his offspring should have inherited his genes. He therefore invites the young women of the city to pay attention to the handsome men who have arrived in the wake of his son to massacre hearts and more.

Mine Vaganti, much loved by the Italian gay community for its ability to report very clearly the extreme backwardness of the south of Italy in confronting an orientation other than straight, proved to be a perfect test of sociological group work done in class. The students in fact had been able to understand the stereotypes of the Cantone family and to understand the underlying reasons for a cultural refusal that has lasted for centuries - and that persists in contradiction to all forms of openness and modernity of vision.

No one, however, failed to notice that a courageous film like *Mine Vaganti* is written and directed by a homosexual director who culturally was not raised in Italy, and thus, is capable of dealing with a very delicate subject (the outing of two boys in an ultra-conservative family in the reactionary south) in a serious and rigorous manner. In the hands of an Italian colleague, the story would probably have descended into farce, debasing the depth of the human drama in all its anthropological and cultural subtlety that instead Özpetek has the courage to create.

Comparative perspectives: *Diverso da Chi?* [*Different From Whom?*]
Courage seems to be missing in the third film analyzed in the group work, from the Italian director Umberto Carteni. A recent product - and programmatically much more daring than other Italian films dedicated to the topic of sexual diversity, *Diverso da Chi?* already contains in its title a precise reference to

the same concept of difference from the norm. The students were asked to compare the two works of the Turkish director against this difficult-to-categorize romantic comedy, striving to examine the differences in approach and freedom of expression in relation to their aesthetic and narrative.

Diverso da Chi? is set in Trieste, a pre-eminently conservative city because of its long-term integration into the Austro-Hungarian sphere, which became part of Italy only after the Second World War. The film tries to respond to some extremely complex questions regarding the relationship between homosexuals and heterosexuals. This, too, is a programmatically exemplary story: the rapaciously ambitious Piero Bonutti - a young university professor and local council member - by a series of fortuitous circumstances, is chosen by his political party to stand for election as mayor.

Openly gay, and living for fourteen years with a writer of gourmet restaurant guides, Piero does not conceal his sexual orientation, even if his profession of militancy embarrasses the leaders of the party - who are evidently unprepared to accept such a radical innovation, despite the open-minded vision that should characterize their political stance. In order not to upset the more moderate wing of the party, he is joined by a female candidate for deputy mayor. Everything would be normal if it were not that the woman, Adele Ferri, is an ultra-Catholic champion of family values and evidently hostile to all forms of diversity that are not according to 'nature'.

After a lot of initial friction between the two culturally incompatible candidates, the film does not take long to become a completely Italian product - that is, conceived in a country that has always had limited familiarity with homosexual themes, often exploited for comic purposes. In this case too, although the film has probably the best intentions of telling a story of social integration combined with one of individual success, diversity cannot be addressed in an adequately serious way and everything soon turns into comedy tinted with strong shades of farce. The thing that is most striking (especially to American students) is the imbalance between the shocking opening sequence and the degenerative developments the film offers from its mid-point. Whereas the film opens with an intense kiss between Piero and his male partner at the end of a rowing competition which they have just won (a context that creates an even stronger and more significant impact because the kiss happens as part of a very masculine and hard competition), at some point the script ensures that the spark of love bursts between Piero and Adele.

Listed as an unexplained accident by a man who had in fact always lived convinced of his genuine homosexual nature since his early teens and who lived

with the difficulties of the reactionary and provincial context in which he grew up, after some scenes the forbidden attraction becomes a comic element that make spectators laugh spontaneously at the misunderstandings generated by a gay man who is able to have sex with a fanatical Catholic, in turn inexplicably drawn to one of those *diverse* she has always abhorred for her entire life.

Subsequently, the film has a series of feel-good developments that lead to an impartial ending which tries to please everyone in the classic spirit of a synthesis of feel-good comedy. For example, Adele has a son with Piero, whose gay partner is also accepted as a father, thus creating an unprecedented form of extended family. The students engaged in associated group work did not fail to notice the deep-seated aversion that Italian cinema continues to demonstrate in not being able to represent homosexuality as a viable possible alternative and not as a symptom of inadequacy due to a different sexual orientation. And it is no coincidence – this detail having equally emerged in the course of the analysis presented in class – that Carteni presents the homosexuality of Piero Bonutti as a sort of passing affection which can be remedied by the vicinity of the highly desirable body of a woman like Adele.

Conclusions
The characters in the two films by Özpetek react in a wildly dramatic manner the very moment which they are confronted with homosexuality. Antonia, a liberated woman and born into the rich Roman bourgeoisie, nevertheless lacks the necessary cultural tools to address the 'modernity' of a homosexual relationship. Her only contact with what she imagines as a 'deviance' will finally lead her to the capacity to understand. Vincenzo Cantone is so unprepared for the idea of having a son that is not as conventionally masculine as every other man must be in a society dominated for centuries by a 'virile pulse' that he cannot physically bear an 'outing' imposed by his eldest son. His heart gives out and summarizes centuries of rejection. Although the viewer of course knows full well that it is not so and would sadistically want a second 'outing' to weaken his patriarchal arrogance forever - symbolically erasing years of prejudice - only the illusion that at least the second son is 'normal' helps Vincenzo to keep going.

Özpetek sees Italian attitudes with clarity because he looks at them with the imaginative distance of one who does not let himself be influenced by its conventional constraints. By contrast, Carteni's characters, whilst they genuinely attempt to represent a new Italy ready to welcome the presence of diversity as a driving force of a potential social renaissance after centuries of obscurantism and prevarication, cannot resist falling into farce, thus preventing those who analyze their tortuous inner changes from taking them seriously and doing so in such a way that sexual diversity reverts once again to a pretext for unreflective recreation.

A Commitment to Diversify in Education Abroad

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Diversity can be defined in a variety of ways. In the context of education abroad, the term 'diversity' is normally used as an umbrella term that encompasses issues of access, inclusion, and under-representation. Even though many students do not participate in education abroad, research points to specific groups, mainly ethnically and racially diverse as well as economically disadvantaged students, who consistently are excluded from meaningful international education opportunities. While the higher education community's efforts to increase enrollment of diverse and economically disadvantaged students has had some success, this success has not translated into a substantial increase in these groups consistently participating in education abroad. Although professionals involved in education abroad are aware of these dismal participation rates, obstacles remain that contribute to low participation among the above noted under-represented student populations. Professionals in the field should be asking themselves: 'as a field, at my institution or organization, and individually, are we truly committed to changing the status quo with respect to diversity in education abroad?'

What does a commitment to diversifying education abroad really mean? For some, this commitment is much like a charitable initiative that should be supported and funded whatever the cost because it feels like the right thing to do. On the other end of the spectrum, there are those who see economic opportunity in reaching ethnically diverse or disadvantaged students as many of these students can boost enrollment numbers. In reality, a commitment to diversity in education abroad has little to do with charity or with enrollment. If these were the basis for commitment, the commitment would dissolve if funding dried up or if enrollment did not reach expectations or provide the perceived economic benefit. A commitment to diversity is the unequivocal conviction that every student should have access to the benefits afforded through education abroad. This does not mean that every student will take advantage of this access but every student *should* have access. This commitment is also the belief that if colleges and universities are to be equitable institutions, then they must ensure that international education opportunities are truly accessible to all students.

The concept of connecting access to education abroad as an issue of equity

in higher education is simple. In our globalized society, students who graduate with meaningful international education experience will increasingly be more competitive and marketable than those without these experiences. As American students compete with students from other countries who speak several languages and who have studied, interned, or worked in countries other than their own, those students that are not prepared to compete in this globalized environment will be at a disadvantage. Thus, even though they have gained access to higher education, their continued lack of access to international education opportunities perpetuates a disadvantage: they graduate without having had real access to meaningful international opportunities like their peers. Professionals in the field of education abroad must ask themselves if the lack of commitment to diversify education abroad perpetuates the graduation of certain populations on an unequal playing field. We must ask if by limiting students' access to international education opportunities, we are fostering a two-tiered higher education system that perpetuates the inequities that exist in other parts of society. This is the big picture.

There is no silver bullet to address the issues of diversifying education abroad. That said, until professionals change their outlook and develop a true commitment to diversifying education abroad, the trend of low participation of ethnically diverse and economically disadvantaged students will continue. True commitment to diversify education abroad requires leadership and this must come from the top down. This commitment must go beyond rhetoric and must show itself through action and accountability. Action in this area cannot be a passive marketing gimmick or a simple diversity scholarship. Action requires a diversity strategy that ensures diversity is integrated into each aspect of the education abroad process, from initial advising through re-entry. True commitment in the field requires that colleges and universities - as well as international education organizations - are recognized for diversity and inclusive excellence and are held accountable when diversity standards are not met. Change to the status quo will only come about once a tipping point is reached and the majority or vocal minority of institutions and organizations subscribe to this vision of commitment to diversifying education abroad.

The face of higher education in the United States has changed; the face of education abroad has not. Diversity plays an integral role in higher education in the United States and will continue to do so. If education abroad is truly to be an integral part of higher education, there must be a commitment to diversifying education abroad. For this commitment to go beyond mere rhetoric, leadership, action and accountability are required. Only then will ethnically diverse and economically disadvantaged students really have access to the same benefits afforded to their peers, and be enabled to participate in meaningful international education opportunities.

What If?
Plenary Address to the Diversity Abroad
Conference Chicago, April 2013

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In learning abroad we are always talking about strategies that create viable study abroad options for students from various under-represented communities through financial, psychological and educational pathways. The students who will benefit from these strategies are briefly categorized as, but not limited to, those of different races, ethnic and religious backgrounds, varying disciplines, financial status, sexual identities, and comfort zones. They may be first time higher education learners, first time travelers, and/or have differing physical and mental abilities and challenges, both visible and invisible.

I think it is time to ask ourselves the question: what is the ultimate goal of diversity in learning abroad and how will we get there? Is it to create access and raise statistics amongst under-represented student groups? Or is it something much greater as these students embark upon a journey that places them in a new student community of complex and diverse values, beliefs, abilities, and dreams, in a location that is inherently foreign to them? What personal growth are we looking to offer them and how will we achieve this through the experiences we create for them abroad? Are we aspiring to a larger social/ political agenda or a societal shift?

To me, this greater agenda is about the high-level vision, delivery, and mission of our work. It is about our commitment to building learning communities among our students as they grow to appreciate the diversity characterized by their peers and their new location. Such new student communities are much in contrast to the elite, white female-dominated one with which we are most familiar. The transformational aspiration is surely to move them to a place of advocacy and to participate in, and value the benefits of, a diverse and globalized future.

So how do we bridge this gap between under-representation and our commitment to the notion of diversity? Is the work of access and education out of sync with our mission as international educators? So I ask you, *what if* we do realize the dream of having our programs populated with students from

these many different identities and from a range of institutions, each with its own distinctive culture, ethos, and campus life?

A student's decision to enroll at a particular college or university is often driven by personal choice, such as a religious or racial/ethnic connection or ideology. Such choice is not always possible to match when a student enrolls in a study abroad program, resulting in students finding themselves melded into one student community in a diverse international location. Students are asked to connect to each other and adapt as learners and individuals within this new set of rules and mores in a new and unfamiliar location.

As such, we are building a community of students, not just a pathway into other established communities. Most frequently, these communities are the unique result of how international education organizations recruit students from multiple institutions. A consequence of the work of IEOs and the center-based model in particular is this distinctive environment, in which students can learn from each other within the 'community/communities' of other U.S. students abroad.

To my knowledge, there is very little discussion of the implications of this building of student communities. Students, who in some cases may not engage with each other very much on a U.S. campus, are brought together abroad - what does that mean? Is this an implicit learning objective or an ironic consequence of education abroad, in that students can learn about diversity at home because they are abroad and united by the experience of being outsiders; strangers in strange lands?

We need to address this and create effective strategies for building these connections. If we achieved somewhere near the Simon dream of one million students studying abroad, we would be further challenged in several unanticipated ways:

1. By resources, as implied above.
2. By attitudes that may not cohere with the embedded liberalism in much of education abroad curricula.
3. By new perspectives and expectations.

If we envision the movement from what is now often seen as an elite activity to a mass activity, the impact on services and pedagogies would be significant. We have not yet had this conversation that is timely and even overdue.

The 2013 Diversity Conference, alongside the work of Diversity Abroad and the Diversity Network, is the perfect opportunity to open this dialogue. The ultimate solution is to teach 'diversity as a topic.' At CAPA, we believe that diversity is more than an ethical imperative centered on access; it is an operational principle as well as a subject that we teach our study abroad students, especially as it supports our global cities agenda. It is at the core of the educational pedagogy by which we conduct our programs.

There are a number of potential strategies to move this agenda forward, not considering the challenges - and of course necessary funding - involved in their implementation, so this perhaps is also aspirational. The generation of formal and informal educational opportunities for students to examine and explore their experience and the role of diversity in that experience (and to create a meaningful transaction between the two) is central to its success. Formal opportunities need to be created by weaving diversity themes into the curriculum throughout our syllabi. This is not without its challenges, not the least of which is training faculty, some of whom may be your own - and most of whom will work for another institution. We also have a rise in faculty-led and short-term programs. We will therefore be making demands on our own U.S. faculty that are not commonly made on faculty on U.S. home campuses.

Informal opportunities are generated using one of our core learning abroad pedagogies - experiential learning - to challenge comfort zones, encourage growth through community relationships -- both *within* the student body itself and *with* their learning abroad location, and by weaving diversity themes into co-curricular and extra-curricular activities. In doing so, we must also ensure that we understand that experiential learning is more than simply learning through experience; it is learning that is structured, thoughtful and based upon a set of intended learning outcomes. In Buenos Aires, for example, we examine transgender as evidenced in the media and street life of the megacity; in Sydney, multiculturalism as Australian government policy; and in Beijing, the conflicts amongst the many ethnic minorities in China.

Training (and more training) is key! This goes without saying, but staff diversity and training is mission critical in this work. This includes the appointment of diversity advisors in the United States and abroad in order to facilitate community understanding and relations. The formation of diversity committees for the exchange, sharing, and comparison of diversity practices among program directors in the USA and abroad is also crucial here. Alongside this, we need to build in opportunities for leadership from within the student body by creating student councils with budgetary power and diversity as part of their agenda. Our aspiration here is that program staff, reflecting the same

diversity as the student body, are well-trained counselors and facilitators who work effectively with students in all phases of the study abroad experience. They would have an understanding of personal development issues for this age group, as well as the skills to assist students in the exploration of their identities. The Diversity Abroad-run workshops which we have hosted in the U.S. and internationally have genuinely had a professional developmental impact on CAPA staff; of course this all takes funding!

It is also important to examine what role social media can have on the various ways students reflect on and share their experiences. The prevalent use of social media has actually become one of our biggest areas of conflict and opportunity in this work. As students process their experiences, they express themselves through social media, sometimes to share stories and sometimes to share fears or even 'vent' about how their new experiences simply do not make sense to them or in fact are not, in their view, positive. We need to offer guidelines to help students use social media as an outlet for sharing and learning and, when they 'fall down,' to provide a teachable moment for them *and* us.

We need to understand that identity is not fixed. All young people experiment with their identities. Education abroad empowers students to develop a sense of self in intense and accelerated ways, sometimes free from burdens of their home campus pre-defined roles. We also need to appreciate that diversity is not limited to the 'usual suspects' and cognizant of the need to create opportunities for all students to express their individuality: above all, to create a safe environment in which students can explore their own identities and then be comfortable enough to share these explorations with each other.

We can also work to raise the bar on the strategy and outcomes of our work. Much the same as the Forum has moved the field towards standards for best practice and quality assurance in learning abroad, Diversity Abroad, through this conference and their excellent work, can move us towards strategy, action and assessment more significant than scholarships and accessibility – towards education through diversity.

What are the implications and potential hazards of all this?
We have begun to implement many of these requirements at CAPA and I can tell you that we still have many challenges that result from our increasingly diverse student body. We are not a large organization, so putting diversity at the top of the agenda takes some real planning, finance commitments, and hard work. We have had students from almost every corner of the diversity 'cube.' We have housed students from these varying backgrounds and identities together, and sometimes it simply does not work.

Even with informed advisors and thoughtful interventions, some issues remain insoluble. What I *can* tell you is that this is every bit as much of a strategic plan as it is a fiscal commitment, which requires the thumbprint of every individual working at our organization. So, while I believe that a conference like this puts us on the right path, the real work is only just beginning. What I do know is that we must ensure this part of the agenda receives attention and that successful methodologies are shared and repeated.

An additional pressure is demonstrated by figures from recent Open Doors Reports (2010; 2011) which suggest that financial accessibility has had an impact on the length of the programs in which students are enrolling. The Reports suggest that in terms of the overall percentage of U.S. students studying abroad over this period, eight week or shorter programs rose by 20.91%; at the same time, academic *year* programs fell by over 9%; semester programs are down by almost 3%; and quarter programs dropped by over 11%.[13]

This potentially creates a yet more serious challenge: understanding comes with education, communication – in our case, pedagogy – and, above all, time. The challenge here is to understand how we can achieve some or any of our important work when the time we actually have with students abroad is shrinking. I cannot address that here, but I know that this topic must be on our future agenda.

This conference is of course the place to consider these challenges. Yes, it is about access - psychological, affordable, logistical, academic, lifestyle, and personal. But the real story lies in what happens *after* we achieve success with the access agenda. A line from the poem 'To His Coy Mistress' by Andrew Marvell comes to mind here: 'Had we but world enough, and time.'

Thank you.

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[13] Visualizations of some of the main data may be viewed online at http://visual.ly/changing-face-study-abroad

On Diversity and Cosmopolitanism

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'Diversity and inclusion must be more than rhetoric; it must be true outreach in action.' Anthony Jewett, Bardoli Global, at the Forum on Education Abroad Conference, Boston, April 3rd, 2008

Introduction

The ideas clustered around notions of cosmopolitanism offer theoretical perspectives on the processes of globalization; diversity is, in one way or another, the concrete expression of those processes. The values related to cosmopolitanism are part of the implicit or explicit agenda of education abroad; under-representation in education abroad reflects the relative lack of impact of those values. Cosmopolitanism, in short, is a set of theories; diversity is the manifestation of those theories. If urbanization and globalization are key dynamics in the shaping of contemporary reality, diversity is the political, social, and intellectual fabric of the lives we live. We confront, for good and ill, the mobility of our landscapes as populations (willingly and unwillingly) become increasingly mobile, as the geographies of our environments become fluid and mutable, as who we are becomes an issue for complex and challenging analysis. Out of all of these processes, diversity emerges as a consequence of contemporary fluidity.

It is also an inexact and troublesome concept. The obvious dilemma is that it implies a state of normalcy from which we are somehow disconnected. What are we, in short, diverse from? What state of imagined homogeneity or stability have we lost? I suspect that we need to go back to Eden to form any coherent response. It is, probably, not a productive journey. We recognize that diversity is a reality and that it is something we inevitably engage with when we open our eyes to our environments at home or abroad. The fact that we are unable to formulate a satisfactory definition in no way diminishes the importance of the topic. We need to live with ambiguities and recognize that diversity suggests a field of meaning that encompasses an analysis of change, a subject of enquiry and an ethical obligation. T.S. Eliot offers a way out of a linguistic miasma and directs us to go beyond the limitations of semantics:

> I gotta use words when I talk to you
> But if you understand or if you don't

that's nothing to me and nothing to you
We all gotta do what we gotta do.
Sweeney Agonistes, Fragment of an Agon ([1932] 2002)

What are we still talking about?

In education abroad questions of diversity (whatever it means) and under-representation are nearly always properly co-related. In simple terms, a consequence of the exclusion of certain regions, groups, and disciplines leads to a relative lack of diversity on education abroad programs. The demography of education abroad does not, very clearly, reflect the composition of U.S. higher education. This is the basic reality with which we need to engage at a level beyond rhetoric and semantics. In my thirty plus years in education abroad, I have observed the fact that we have huffed and puffed but notably failed to blow the house down.

The barriers to participation are very familiar. They may, for example, be related to imagination, to cost and circumstance, to discipline, to geography, to gender, to family and peer attitudes, to culture, to religion, to ethnicity and so on. There is also not necessarily a universal recognition of the value of education abroad and some colleagues in academia (and elsewhere) may view what we do as of peripheral value. We are somewhat to blame for this. Study abroad is sometimes seen as frippery, a kind of quasi-tourism, because of the manner in which we have too often used the language of tourism and inflated expectations to promote our activities. The challenge is, therefore, complex. We have to convince academe that our activities are worthwhile in general and, then, convince students from under-represented groups that these are both worthwhile and, in particular, relevant to them. We also need to broaden our own perceptions of under-representation to become more aware that, for example, Muslim students, fundamentalist Jews, and orthodox Christians are also part of a group of excluded communities.

If we are to move forward more purposefully, we need to be a little more nuanced in our discussions and to acknowledge that, for example, under-representation is not an absolute condition but a relative state. Therefore, compared to continental European students and the more developed Asian regions, American students in general are under-represented in international educational mobility. Over four million students are annually mobile: the USA represents substantially less than 300,000 of this population (Open Doors, 2011). However, compared to students from the developing world, many American students are hugely privileged and empowered to pay for, and benefit from, international experience. Consequently, absolute or 'global' solutions are likely to be utopian thus remaining ineffective, albeit well-intentioned. To impact U.S. education abroad, efforts to make the

student body more diverse are likely to be conditional, relative, concrete, and accumulative. If we seek to change the whole world, we are likely to fail; if we establish concrete and manageable targets, we are likely to make some important differences.

Why bother?

The case for diversity must go further and deeper than vague aspiration. Diversity is, in fact, already at the core of study abroad in a number of significant ways. Experiential education is a key pedagogy and is enhanced by the exploration of landscapes beyond the familiar. Education abroad implicitly or explicitly recognizes the benefits of the diversification of learning environments. Diversity is also a reality that U.S. students experience when they leave the USA. It is, therefore, or ought to be, part of the pedagogic agenda of education abroad in so far as students are guided to understand, observe, analyze, and explore their host environments. In some cases, diversity at home may or may not be part of a student's reality. On the home campus, a student may live in more homogeneous environments than those the student will encounter abroad or, indeed, may not have 'seen' or experienced the realities within their home communities. This is not a critique of our students. Many of us are insulated from reality and live blinkered lives seeing only that which we have already seen or that which we choose to observe. The object of education is to correct our vision.

In education abroad, students are almost certainly required to engage critically with various communities, intellectual approaches, methodologies, perspectives, and ethical relativism in ways that ultimately demonstrate the reality of our very diverse world. This is not a view that will necessarily become readily apparent to students who do not leave their geographical, social, cultural, or intellectual zones of safety. Thus, diversity at some level is, at once, environment, subject matter, and pedagogical methodology.

As an outsider (from the U.K.) peering myopically in to higher education in the USA, I am also sometimes surprised that opportunities for learning about diversity are not more systematically created on many U.S. campuses. Given that a considerable number of students will never study abroad, the exploration of diversity at home can be created through a number of mechanisms: curriculum development and community engagement are obvious. I also suspect that the potential for co-operation between international education and multicultural education is under-explored but significant. There are, of course, 'political' and territorial issues (as ever) on campuses but, beneath the superficiality of difference (and beyond the fight for resources), there is a core of shared and co-related perspectives with potential for mutual enrichment. Multicultural education could be exposed to what that term means in various international

contexts (not the same thing as in the USA). International education would benefit from an understanding of how cultural diversity is manifested at home. I suspect that greater co-operation between these agencies would also, ultimately, encourage wider participation in education abroad. The line between multicultural education and international education is blurred and the points of intersection create zones of potential mutual enlightenment.

Simply, some groups are under-represented and, as we believe in the value of what we do, we seek to find ways to broaden participation from those excluded groups and that will involve the development of co-operative agendas. There are many anecdotal reasons given for the fact that some groups do not participate to the degree to which we would aspire. These are, sometimes, supported by research and, in any case, contain elements of probable truth. For example, men are under-represented because we have failed to make the case for the importance of education abroad as career enhancement. This is a consequence of promoting location over serious content. Professional and natural scientific fields tend not to participate for a combination of co-related reasons; in some disciplines, U.S. universities create curriculum paths that are rigid and inflexible (they are, demonstrably, unconvinced of the value of diverse learning). As a result, there are fewer programs available (but, we have not built them). We have not done enough to encourage students with physical difficulties. In short, the nature of under-representation is multi-layered and complex. There are no quick fixes or easy global solutions. Rather, we need to commit to the possible and leave the rest to the dreamers.

The starkest example of under-representation is, certainly, that manifest through exclusion by ethnicity and religion. The percentage of African-Americans, Native Americans, Hispanic students, for example, participating in our programs is relatively limited. This creates an urgent agenda. In saying that, I am conscious of the fact that this area has been most beset by the rhetoric of good intentions and by the relative failure of substantial delivery. There is a plethora of analysis and speculation that, in essence, boils down to a few assertions: cost may be a barrier; cultural attitudes create a sense that education abroad is not relevant or appropriate; some locations are perceived as less hospitable and so on. These clearly contain some element of truth but they are also conditional obstructions (not absolutes) and some steps have been taken to overcome these.

Some institutions and organizations have worked effectively to erode some of the barriers. Many of us have created programs, services, actions, and scholarships aimed at attracting, and better serving, under-represented groups. CAPA International Education has established a set of strategies based on curriculum in 'global cities' and, simultaneously, outreach to relevant communities. We are

not alone in this important work and the path ahead has to be based on co-operation and collective will. The world is not marked by equality of opportunity. The USA is a culture where inequality is a historical (and arguably current) reality. Prejudice and discrimination are embedded in many parts of the world. Education is an expensive commodity; some groups in the developing world (for example) cannot afford to participate in any higher education at all, let alone higher education abroad. Relative wealth creates relative exclusion globally and nationally. There is clearly no single radical solution to these problems. What we need to create are strategies for improvement that recognize the limitations and capabilities of our specific institutions. Like any other strategic plan, this may contain flawed aspirations with some success and much failure. That said, small successes have the power to generate change: a pebble thrown in to the pond may create many ripples.

An imperfect world is not a reason to do nothing. If it were, we would all huddle together to await, in passive expectation, the arrival of a Messiah. Without disrespect to the prophets among us, that is not a path towards social improvement. We need to make decisions about priorities and resources that are, ultimately, political rather than prophetic. The path ahead is difficult, winding, and the point of arrival is misty and unclear. The journey is, however, necessary for those of us who believe in social and natural justice.

The Question of Justice
I have had a long commitment to education abroad for any number of personal and professional reasons. I am a first-generation college graduate and, as a Jew born in the East End of London shortly after World War II, I have some sense of what it is to be part of a minority. My life was enhanced by international experience and one wishes others to similarly benefit. As a teacher and educationalist I know that a diverse student body enriches the learning environment. This is a mission that is deeply endorsed by CAPA International Education: we have initiated debates, formed alliances and partnerships, and created programs that enable us to take some small steps on the rocky path to greater diversity. For many years, though, the discussion of widening participation has been mired in high-flown rhetoric rather than action. Our collective obligation in education abroad is now to go beyond rhetoric. As a field in which cosmopolitanism and international values are implicitly embedded in a common ethical view, we need to be fully aware that increased diversity in the student body is both a moral obligation and a means of enriching all our experiences.

Above all, I believe that exclusion is a form of prejudice in action; inclusion is a form of natural justice. Striving, however imperfectly, for natural justice is, and must be, an urgent political and ethical imperative.

Cosmopolitanism and Diversity: Opportunities for Good Practice in Education Abroad

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The words 'cosmopolitanism' or 'cosmopolitan' appear nowhere in the Forum on Education Abroad's fourth edition of the *Standards of Good Practice for Education Abroad* (2011a) or in the Forum's *Code of Ethics for Education Abroad* (2011b). The word 'diversity' can be found in the *Standards*, but only once and this only in the context of encouraging study abroad administrators to adopt appropriate staff hiring policies. Similarly, the *Code of Ethics* makes but one mention of the term 'diversity,' but again only insofar as it applies to the importance of being sensitive to diversity in hiring practice and work environments. Nowhere in these publications do we find the words 'cosmopolitanism' or 'diversity' used in reference to student learning goals, developmental objectives, or desired program outcomes. With respect to the specific theme of the 2012 Dublin *CAPA Seminar* - the significance of cosmopolitanism and diversity to the core agenda of international education and what they mean in an Irish or indeed European study abroad context - the Forum on Education Abroad is silent.

However, it would be a mistake to conclude that the absence in Forum literature of the mere words 'cosmopolitanism' and 'diversity' indicates that the concepts underlying them are of no concern to the Forum, or its mission or members. To the contrary, the *concepts* of cosmopolitanism and diversity are either explicitly or implicitly referenced in all nine of the Forum *Standards* and in all four sections of the Forum *Code*. For example, some 63 individual *Standards* queries (out of roughly 270) speak directly to the concerns of encountering, managing, and welcoming diversity, on the one hand, or of developing the knowledge, skills and attitudes of the cosmopolitan, on the other. So while Forum *Standards* and queries are worded in ways that permit study abroad administrators to implement good practice in light of their specific program model and institutional mission without mentioning such terms explicitly, it is evident throughout the language of the *Standards* and *Code* that the Forum on Education Abroad believes that good practice in education abroad includes student learning and development vis-à-vis the *notion* of cosmopolitanism and diversity.

Queries in Standard 2 on *Student Learning and Development*, for example, invite program administrators to ask themselves whether their programs are structured in ways that contribute to students' appreciation and respect for people with differing cultural values; to their adaptive skills for living in a cultural milieu different from their own; and to their ability to interact with people of different backgrounds. These attitudes and skills describe important parts of the cosmopolitan character and imply a related interest in encountering and embracing diversity. Similarly, this Standard encourages us to build into the curriculum coursework designed to support these developmental goals through constructs such as foreign language instruction, engagement with local cultural institutions, comparative analysis of cultural difference, use of culture-specific resources, and exposure to different cultural perspectives of the discipline. Forum *Standards* remind us that, in a number of ways, co-curricular programming can also be enlisted in the cause of promoting cosmopolitanism and diversity through, for example, housing placements that intentionally impose ethnic and cultural variety and through social activities designed to celebrate cultural diversity. In the end, however, it is Standard 1 on *Mission & Commitment* that determines the presence or absence of 'cosmopolitan and diversity' content in programs. By intentionally deciding to articulate 'specific objectives' and 'expected outcomes' for their programs in terms of cosmopolitanism and diversity, administrators ensure that both pedagogy and content align with such goals. In short, Standard 1 presents the clearest opportunity to link such goals to the institutional mission.

The impulse to embrace cosmopolitanism and diversity - even for programs whose missions do not explicitly target them - can be detected, and indeed deepened, by using other parts of Standard 2, particularly those related to assessment. Here again, Forum queries remind us of the need to assess students' comparative knowledge of multiple cultures, their intercultural competence, their ability to adapt to a different culture, and their cultural learning. As such, it is through our assessment choices - so the Forum implies - that we most reveal who we are. Whether we are assessing the achievement of specific course learning objectives or larger program goals, the type of evidence we collect tells us much about what we value. So the dictum holds: assess what you value; don't value what you assess. When, therefore, program administrators use assessment instruments and processes designed to capture how students' attitudes towards cosmopolitanism and diversity evolve across the experience of education abroad, they tell us that they value the teaching and learning of these concepts. As stated above, this message echoes throughout the Forum's publications.

The Forum is also sensitive to the need to create educational and

administrative spaces and environments for education abroad students in which cosmopolitanism and tolerance for diversity can flourish. Standard 5 on *Student Selection and Code of Conduct* asks whether the program's admissions process reflect a policy of 'non-discrimination on the basis of race, color, sex, sexual orientation, gender identity, physical ability, age, marital or familial status, religion, or national and ethnic origin.' Standard 7 on *Administrative and Support Personnel*, for example, encourages diversity in program hiring, cultural competence in staff training, and infusion of local culture into housing arrangements. Similarly, key sections of Standard 9 on *Ethics and Integrity* ask whether study abroad programs 'value, welcome, and provide a supportive environment for all students, regardless of gender, age, religion, disability, sexual orientation, and national or ethnic origin.' With respect to the ethical and legal responsibilities related to the home institution's academic advising for education abroad, the Forum reminds us, additionally, in appendix I that 'advisors should accommodate all students, no matter what their ability; age; cultural heritage; disability; ethnicity; gender identity; nationality; political affiliation; race; religious affiliation; sex; sexual orientation.' When guidelines such as these find expression in program structures, processes, and institutional culture, they provide an example of the cosmopolitan worldview, of the embracing of diversity, and of the richness and value of cultural pluralism. Finally, the *Code of Ethics* indicates that best practice requires that we engage in no employment or admissions discrimination on the basis of 'race, color, religion, sex, sexual orientation, gender identity, physical ability, marital status, national origin, age, ancestry, or familial status'. Again, the words 'cosmopolitanism' and 'diversity' are nowhere present, but the Forum's message is unmistakable - these are student learning outcomes we should value in education abroad and we must therefore make available for them an educational space in our programs.

One section of the Forum *Code of Ethics* probably comes closest to making an explicit appeal to the cosmopolitan impulse underlying much of education abroad. One such appeal is made within a section entitled 'Relationships with Host Societies' and speaks to the appropriate role the (cosmopolitan) individual might play when moving from one cultural setting to another: sensitivity to local cultural norms; awareness of one's impact on others; avoidance of conduct damaging to people and places; reciprocity of education, social and economic exchange; environmental awareness and sustainability; engagement with local experts and resources; and supporting local communities and their assets. Another appeal - this one in the context of questions one should ask when making ethics-based decisions in education abroad - appears in the Forum *Compass*: does it foster international understanding? This may be a close definition of what we mean by cosmopolitanism, at least as pursued on the ground by students in semester-long education abroad programs.

From this very brief review of good practice in education abroad, we can draw a few simple conclusions. First, the *Forum Standards* and *Code* do not require us to articulate our education abroad programs in terms of cosmopolitanism or diversity. Indeed, each program will have distinct goals that reflect institutional culture and align with the larger institutional mission. Forum *Standards* do however create a permissive - even supportive - framework for integrating cosmopolitanism and diversity into programs committed to such outcomes. But even without such explicit commitment, program administrators reading the Forum *Standards* and *Code* should conclude that these concepts are not unrelated to intercultural competence, global citizenship, ethical development, social responsibility, and civic engagement - all commonly sought-after learning and development outcomes in education abroad. As such, introducing these concepts into instructional strategies and program language might help students progress in these other related areas.

Second, however we may define cosmopolitanism, and however much we state it explicitly or implicitly as a desired learning outcome for our overseas programs, a reading of Forum literature alerts us to the fact that attitudinal development towards cosmopolitanism does not just happen. Only by intentionally integrating the concepts of cosmopolitanism and diversity into core components of curricular, co-curricular, and community-based program design are education abroad administrators likely to provoke the significant cognitive, affective, and behavioral change in their students that they desire. While this should come as no surprise, Forum *Standards* do nevertheless provide a useful reminder that there are a great many points of possible instructional intervention in program design, implementation, and assessment when it comes to pursuing specific outcomes, such as cosmopolitanism and diversity. If we wish to explore with students the values and practices of cosmopolitanism and if we expect students to address the notion of diversity as a core part of the agenda of international education, then we must ensure that these concepts become a part of pedagogy, administrative practice, and ethical imperative we weave into our institutions. The Forum *Standards of Good Practice* and *Code of Ethics* are instructive in this endeavor because they indicate the many opportunities we have in education abroad for doing just that.

Internationalization – What is it?

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Introduction

It is expected that this discussion will present more questions than answers with regard to internationalization. We will explore what internationalization actually means from a European and national context. This will require some 'unpacking' of the concept pertaining to aspirational vision and underpinning policies and procedures.

We will then examine what internationalization can look like in reality, and in practice. There are varying approaches and models that offer providers opportunities to internationalize education. It is important to probe the extent to which the different methods are, or should be, embedded into the curriculum. Included in this conversation will be discussion of some of the challenges accompanying internationalization.

What Is the National and European Context?

European Context

One of the seven working groups established to progress the European Higher Education Area (EHEA) objectives is on mobility. The Ministers responsible for higher education in the countries participating in the Bologna Process cite mobility of staff, students and graduates as 'creating opportunities for personal growth, developing international cooperation between individuals and institutions, enhancing the quality of higher education and research, and giving substance to the European dimension' (EHEA Bologna Process, 2007).

While the EHEA are still firmly committed to advancing the objective of mobility, they do recognize the many challenges that exist, particularly in terms of study abroad initiatives, such as difficulty accessing visas, residence or work permits and the financial aspect of studying abroad in a climate with reducing availability of financial incentives such as funding, grants and student loans. Other challenges identified by the EHEA relate to curricular issues, for example, the development of joint programs, greater flexibility of provision in terms of recognizing prior and experiential learning (RPL; RPEL), and modes of delivery. These issues also involve challenges in recognizing qualifications.

Irish Context

The National Strategy for Higher Education to 2030 was commissioned by the Department of Education and Skills (DES) and was published in early 2011. It was led by a high level strategy group chaired by Dr Colin Hunt and offers the DES a framework for development of the higher education system over the next decades. One of six high level objectives in realization of the strategy is that 'Ireland will have an excellent higher education system that will attract and respond to a wide range of potential students from Ireland and abroad.' The strategy group urges providers to use every opportunity to enrich the learners' experience by 'cooperating and working jointly with complementary institutions in other countries.' They acknowledge that 'in an inter-connected world, knowledge and ideas have no respect for borders.' The strategy group goes on to say that 'talented staff, students and researchers are global in outlook, and migrate towards the best opportunities.' Examples of such opportunities include growing numbers of students studying abroad and cross-border collaborations with other higher education (HE) providers. The report identifies globalization as one of the key issues defining economic development and recommends 'higher education institutions to consider internationalization and global engagement in the widest perspective' (Hunt, 2011).

Historically….is it much different today?

John Henry Cardinal Newman, who was instrumental in the founding of University College Dublin, in his much acclaimed published volume of lectures entitled 'The Idea of a University,' describes a university as a

> School of Universal Learning [which] implies the assemblage of strangers from all parts in one spot… Accordingly, in its simple and rudimental form, it is a school of knowledge of every kind, consisting of teachers and learners from every quarter…. It is the place to which a thousand schools make contributions; in which the intellect may safely range and speculate, sure to find its equal in some antagonist activity, and its judge in the tribunal of truth. It is a place where inquiry is pushed forward, and discoveries verified and perfected, and rashness rendered innocuous, and error exposed, by the collision of mind with mind, and knowledge with knowledge (Newman, 1909-14, p. 39).

This description would be believed if it were put forward today as a definition or description of internationalization in higher education. Thomas Merton once wrote that 'the purpose of education is to show a person how to define himself authentically and spontaneously in relation to his world; not to impose a prefabricated definition of the world' ([1979] 2002). The world our learners inhabit is a global world, so we have a responsibility to facilitate our learners in defining themselves in relation to that world. More recently, Palmer (1994) seeks a form of education that creates graduates who can 'welcome diversity

and conflict, [to] tolerate ambiguity, and [to] embrace paradox'. How would this be possible if graduates did not experience diversity, ambiguity and paradox in the modern global world in which we all live? Paulo Freire (2001) puts it quite simply; in his view, 'education is a specifically human experience…a form of intervention in the world.' In order to intervene in the global world in which we live, learners must experience it.

So without policies or government directives, true and passionate educators must, by default, welcome internationalization if they are truly to support and scaffold learners as they progress through their education. Is what we are striving for today in higher education much different to what many other highly respected educators before us were seeking? The only difference is perhaps that the world in which learners grow up, graduate into, and are experiencing, is a global world. In this regard it makes utter sense that their learning experiences are in this global context. The only question that remains is what this global context looks like. The world we now find ourselves in is a global world, where boundaries are blurred.

Today, universities and colleges are all promoting the international element of their mission and vision. President John Sexton calls New York University a 'Global Network University,' which he says resembles a matrix system of interconnected parts where the 'network provides the movement of talent, assets, ideas and creativity and multiplies and enhances the capacity of each element.' This matrix consists of a technological framework which will, he says, 'support classroom and other academic activities in multiple locations.' He uses the analogy of a course which may be 'orchestrated on two different continents, directed by a single conductor but performing a symphony together' (New York University, 2012).

Is internationalization for liberal or neo-liberal universities and colleges?
If we view liberal and neo-liberal education on a continuum, on one end we have liberal education, which is about the development of the whole person in a liberating manner and could be arguably in the interest of advanced societies and cultures. On the other end of the continuum is neo-liberalism where, by contrast, education is more reflective of commodification and consumerism of higher education in the interest of advanced economies and markets. Regardless of which educational ideology an institution reflects in its mission, internationalization must play a crucial role. If the ethos of the provider is that of liberalism, then the provider is of the belief that its duty is to develop well-rounded and holistic graduates, and this will require opportunities for learners to experience a broader society and diversity of cultures. Paolo Freire (2001) seeks 'an education that both includes technical and scientific preparation and speaks of the learners' presence in the world.'

Alternatively, if the institution's mission is more reflective of neo-liberalism, then learner demand for international education experience is increasing as businesses are keen to recruit graduates with international learning experiences:

> [g]lobal businesses are increasingly recruiting globally. Graduates who have international experience are highly employable because they have demonstrated that they have drive, resilience and inter-cultural sensitivities as well as language skills. They are a self-selecting elite. (Brown, Archer, & Barnes, 2008, p. 5, quoted by Jackson & Huddart, 2010, p. 81).

Findings from a study of Australian universities that provide international study programs overseas (at universities in Singapore, Hong Kong and Malaysia) showed how students felt the experience contributed to their personal, professional and international identity by providing 'international exposure and outlook.' They considered studying on the international programs (albeit in their home country) as an 'investment in career advancement' (Chapman & Pyvis, 2006).

What does internationalization in higher education look like?

Internationalization is much more than mobility as defined by the EHEA. It is, for many of our younger learners, a given. It is the global world they were born into and now see as the norm. Many high school graduates today are comfortable in the global world in which they live. They are often widely traveled; they use all the advanced communication tools to liaise comfortably with international colleagues and friends; many grow up with friends from different nationalities. Thomas Friedman (2005) argues that technological advances have created a 'flat-world platform' for individuals to collaborate and compete globally. Perhaps conceptualizing and internationalizing higher education is more of a challenge for my generation, and the generation of policy makers who are responsible for pushing the international agenda.

The Irish national high-level strategy group sees internationalization in a combination of ways. They suggest it is about attracting more international students into Ireland; making it easier for Irish staff and students to study and to engage in research work abroad; making Ireland an attractive destination for talented overseas faculty; establishing more collaborative institutional and research links; internationalizing curricula; further developing Irish involvement in transnational education (delivering Irish academic programs overseas and establishing Irish-linked institutions outside of Ireland); and contributing to overseas development and participation in EU programs and multilateral initiatives such the Bologna Process. They recommend that institutions 'engage with international students in creative and positive ways…[and]…take advantage of the opportunities to enrich their students' experience' (Hunt, 2011, p. 82).

How can providers 'internationalize' higher education?

A key way to make this a practical reality is for pedagogical practitioners and program design teams to engage with the curriculum design process to embed internationalization initiatives. In this way, teams will be obliged to make explicit their plans for internationalizing a program. It is not a matter of one size fits all; it is a matter for the design team to consider and discuss, and make sound pedagogical decisions that include internationalization initiatives.

HETAC's sub-strands of role and insight are helpful for designing program learning outcomes. The National Leadership Council for Liberal Education and America's Promise (LEAP) recommends essential learning outcomes necessary to 'meet the challenges of the new global century' though liberal education which prepares graduates for 'work, life and citizenship.' The essential learning outcomes were formulated to support providers of higher education in designing programs that prepare graduates for a 'world that is being dramatically reshaped by scientific and technology innovations, global interdependence, cross cultural encounters, and changes in the balance of economic and political power' (LEAP, 2007, p. 2).

Leask views internationalization of the curriculum from both formal and informal perspectives. She defines the formal curriculum as 'the sequenced programme of teaching and learning activities and experiences organized around defined content areas' whereas the informal curriculum is defined as 'the various extracurricular activities that take place on campus: those optional activities that are not part of the formal requirements of the degree' (2009, p. 207). In a crude sense, these could be viewed as internationalization of the curriculum as well as an international or multicultural experience in higher education.

Internationalization should be explored as a concept and an approach under each component of program design. For example, when determining the award and National Framework of Qualifications (NFQ) level the program will address, the challenge outlined earlier of recognizing awards can be managed. Equally, issues of access in terms of RPL and RPEL groups of learners from international partner institutions need to be explored along with flexible modes of delivery, such as blended or online learning where tutors across institutions and borders share delivery of key concepts and lectures. Learning outcomes need to include international intentions and outcomes from the program, as do objectives. Teaching and learning strategies can include cross-institutional and border co-teaching or guest lecturing, which can be synchronized or asynchronized to create an 'orchestra in harmony.' Students can take advantage of 'flat-world' platforms to work in remote global groups with partner universities or colleges. Internationalizing the learning environment can include opportunities to create

a multicultural campus both in real terms and in remote terms. But these opportunities must be accompanied by learner supports.

In Conclusion

This paper is not suggesting these changes be made overnight: they can and should be incremental. The starting point should be a strategy for each program, included in program design and review processes, whereby internationalization plans are made explicit and worked towards as part of a program strategy. It may be messy; the unknown is, by its nature, messy and unclear. Writing it up as part of the program design/review process, and then commenting on it annually as part of the program review process will create momentum.

Most of us accept, in principle, the benefits of facilitating and nurturing global learners who can explore cultures, economies and life experiences that are different to their own world view, and accept that the aim of internationalizing higher education is to expose learners to an international learning experience that offers them multiple lenses through which they can interpret, appreciate, and solve problems they encounter in cultural, business and societal experience. We must be mindful of the challenges and responsibilities that come with embracing internationalization as providers of higher education.

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