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ABSTRACT

College serves as a critical time in the lives of young adults in the formulation of their identification with citizenship, of their sense of belonging or affiliation. In an era of increasing globalization, this psychological dimension of citizenship requires further research and elaboration. This project seeks to determine if and how the academic and off-campus choices students make in college impact their worldview, their loyalties and sense of responsibility toward others. How far do students' allegiances extend and what experiences in college help to create these bonds and commitments? This study asks whether international experience via study abroad is a necessary ingredient for students to begin to re-imagine the boundaries of their social communities and their responsibilities as global citizens, or whether these processes can occur through more locally or nationally-oriented service learning, volunteer, or internship experiences.

This project combines several strands of scholarship including *cosmopolitanism* (particularly its more contemporary, relational extrapolations and usefulness to understanding the underpinnings of citizen responsibility today) and *political socialization* (focusing on the expansion of one's in-group and the formation of multiple loyalties), viewed through the lens of the *Millennial Generation*. The study involves a detailed survey of undergraduate upperclassmen enrolled at Syracuse University's Maxwell School and provides a model for cosmopolitan learning.

EXPERIENCING CITIZENSHIP IN A GLOBALIZING WORLD:
The impact of off-campus programs

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DISSERTATION

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the
Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Political Science in
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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION: CITIZENSHIP IN AN INTERCONNECTED WORLD

"Through cosmopolitan education, we learn more about ourselves. One of the greatest barriers to rational deliberation in politics is the unexamined feeling that one's current preferences and ways are neutral and natural. An education that takes national boundaries as morally salient too often reinforces this [perspective] … Our nation is appallingly ignorant of the rest of the world. I think that this means that it is also, in many crucial ways, ignorant of itself" (Nussbaum 1994: 4).

Do we live in a world of our choosing, or are we provided a world at birth and commanded to "live in it!"? Parents possess the power to plan a pregnancy, but where a child is born is merely an accident. Any of us could have come into the world in any given location, in any nation. A child can be born into a wealthy family on Manhattan's Upper East Side or into an impoverished family in a mountainside favela on the outskirts of Rio de Janeiro. With this geographic accident of life's beginning, the distinguishing features of a child's identity begin to shape. As we grow, we create and nurture bonds and affiliations with family, neighbors, and others in the community, all within a cultural and linguistic context in keeping with our location in space and time. Based on the social and intellectual connections we make as we navigate life, these bonds and affiliations naturally expand.

The posters in souvenir shops that show a distorted map of the world from a locational perspective are quite telling about human nature. For example, one entitled "how New Yorkers view the world" offers a detailed map of Manhattan and enlarged images of the Statue of Liberty and the Empire State Building, but the rest of the world recedes into the horizon. Indeed, how we view the world depends on *where we stand*. But it also depends on *what we know*. We cannot change where we are from, but we can learn about – and

engage with – geographies, peoples, and cultures beyond our borders. *Where we stand* and *what we know* can help form the basis of how we conceive of our responsibilities as citizens. This project investigates citizenship as a learning process in early adulthood. As global forces increasingly demonstrate the interconnectedness of our world, this research investigates millennial students' reactions to these ever changing forces around them. Do students remain more parochial in their views or do they become more global during college? If more global, how are they reimagining their understanding of citizenship and their responsibilities as citizens? What experiences in college, if any, provide the compass that leads to adopting a more cosmopolitan worldview?

RIVALRIES AND INTERCONNECTIONS

To help us consider these research questions, we must endeavor to understand the social nature of today's world. Individuals continue to be tethered by societal bonds to family, local community, ethnicity, and nation. And many places in the developing world look and feel much as they have for centuries, with small, rural villages where people might never experience what lies beyond a day's travel of the place they were born. Beyond these extremes, the world is changing rapidly and dramatically.

Forces of globalization and advances in technology increasingly draw the peoples of this planet together. Yet, there continue to be forces that cause us to retract, gaze inwardly, and retrench along familiar "us vs. them" lines. In order to scare us back into comfortable nationalistic sentiments, we need look no further than the waning power that many attribute

to the modern United States. However, as Fareed Zakaria (2008) argues in perhaps no less discomforting terms, it is not that the United States is in decline, but rather that other world powers are on the rise. China is the obvious example. It overtook Japan in the past year as the world's second largest economy, and it is on track (by some estimates) to become the number one world economy, in terms of gross GDP, within the next 4-6 years. And it's not just China's economy that might cause Western governments to lose sleep at night. *The Economist* (December 2011) predicts that China's defense spending will surpass that of the US by 2025, just a little over a decade away.[1]

And China is not alone in its rise. In the past couple of decades, millions have been lifted out of poverty in countries in every world region. Economic growth rates in places like Brazil and Turkey are staggering, and the G20, replacing the old, mostly Western European club of seven to eight, has become the new forum for a now increased number of powers to manage global economic affairs. While the United States may not be in decline, according to Zakaria, the world of the 21st century will be one in which the voices and interests of others will not be so easily discounted. In our changing world of rising and waning powers, to what degree should we still believe in the notion that the United States holds the political and economic model that every other country should emulate?

On January 19, 2012, Charlie Rose interviewed Jim O'Neill[2], Chairman of Goldman Sachs Asset Management and the creator of the acronym BRICS, standing for the following rising economic powers: Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa. Rose asked O'Neill

[1] http://www.economist.com/blogs/dailychart/2010/12/save_date

[2] http://www.charlierose.com/view/interview/12097

if he and the other top global hedge fund managers were to convene this year, what were the top three issues facing the world today that would highlight the meeting agenda. O'Neill said that 99% of hedge managers would quickly retort "Europe, Europe, Europe," reflecting the deep structural issues and challenges in the Euro Zone and the enormous potential impact on global markets. O'Neill's personal answer to the question was broader. He said "how can we find a more optimal global governance structure that accommodates these different ways of choosing to do things domestically." He went on to ask himself whether it would be conceivable to have a Chinese head of the IMF. He felt certain that in the next decade, someone from the BRICS countries would have more of a claim to that role than we in the West have previously imagined.

Sitting back to reflect on the weight of this conversation for a moment, we realize quickly we are no longer living in the same unipolar world that the dissolution of the Soviet Union left us two decades ago. It is not the "end of history," as Francis Fukuyama (1992) once famously proclaimed, but the beginning of a new world order in which the United States, for better or worse, will be but one of many powerful global players. And problems faced by one power will also be faced by all, from climate change to fiscal crises to health disasters and pandemics to grass-roots democratic movements and transitions, such as the Arab Spring.

In order to deal effectively on a cross-border basis with the common global issues faced by all inhabitants of the globe, Archibugi (2000: 143) advocates for "cosmopolitical democracy," referring to the "democratization of the international community, a process joining together states with different traditions, at varying levels of development." Joe Nye's

(2004) notion of soft power also molds into this new understanding of a networked, interconnected world. Military and economic coercion will continue to undergird power relations among state-to-state adversaries, but all actors on the global stage, from states to individuals, possess the potential power of attraction and emulation – getting others to want what you want. These softer ways of obtaining one's objectives might serve as the best hope of solving our long-term and seemingly intractable global dilemmas. Soft power might also get us closer to Jim O'Neill's ideal of establishing a more efficient, yet more pluralistic system of global governance or to Archibugi's ideal of cosmopolitical democracy. "Seduction is always more effective than coercion, and many values like democracy, human rights, and individual opportunities are deeply seductive" (Nye 2004: X).

Along these lines, this new multi-polarity and the undeniable and ever increasing interconnectivity of people, economies, and nations demand a re-imagining of our role as citizens. Various forces continue to draw the world closer together, but are these forces also impacting people's worldviews and notions of citizenship? How does the Millennial Generation, which is coming of age during this time of globalization, view its responsibility toward others? How far does this responsibility extend? Before attempting to answer these questions, we first need to come to a workable definition of citizenship.

DEFINING CITIZENSHIP

The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy claims citizenship, from a US perspective, possesses three dimensions: legal, political, and identity. Legally, each citizen is a "person

free to act according to the law and having the rights to claim the law's protection."[3] This dimension of citizenship is passive in that citizens do not have to participate in formulating laws, but each is accorded certain uniform rights, "privileges and immunities," as the US Constitution explains.[4] The political dimension of citizenship differs, in that it actively seeks citizens as agents to participate in the political process. These two dimensions, legal and political, can also be described as liberal or republican. In the republican (political) model, active participation in politics and decision-making is a pre-requisite for citizenship, what sets citizens apart from subjects (i.e., Aristotle, Rousseau). In the liberal (legal) model, citizens can express their freedoms in the private realm, but do not have an obligation to participate. Citizenship connotes protection under the law and the guarantee of common rights. Though the two dimensions seem opposed to one another, they could also be seen as the yin and the yang of citizenship, as "the security provided by the authorities cannot just be enjoyed; it must be secured, and sometimes against the authorities themselves. The passive enjoyment of citizenship requires, at least intermittently, the activist politics of citizens" (Walzer 1989: 217).

In the legal dimension, and in a constitutional democracy, the word "citizen" carries the connotation of equality. Our rights as citizens grant us equal rights under the law, regardless of gender, class, ethnic, or other differences separating us. In order to enjoy those rights, citizens also have obligations. "In a liberal tradition, rights are implicitly paired with obligations. The right to enjoy a trial by jury is mirrored by an obligation to serve on juries if

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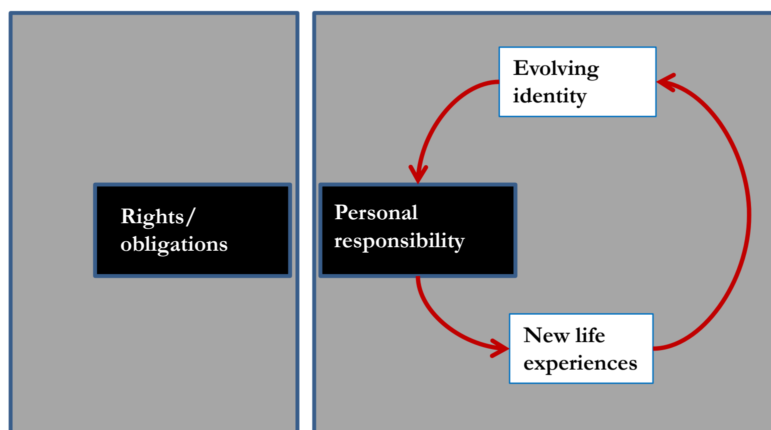
[3] http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/citizenship/

[4] US Constitution, IV.2.14.1.

called. The right to enjoy the protection of the state … is linked to an obligation to bear arms in its defense. The right to enjoy the benefits of government is linked to an obligation to be loyal and pay taxes to support it" (Kerber 1997: 835). Obligations are normally enforceable by law.

Rights and obligations take us so far and define the main relation between state and citizen, yet other elements enter into the equation that define us as people and add the third dimension of citizenship, identity. We will reserve the word "obligation" for the left side of the model (see chart below), to be understood as a duty we owe our state, such as voting, military service, taxes, etc. There is a different kind of obligation, however, that stems from one's own values and beliefs, namely "personal responsibility."

Chart 1.1: Dynamic model of citizenship



Occasionally, an obligation and a personal responsibility become one and the same. One might feel a personal responsibility to vote or to enlist in the military for what is believed to be a just cause (political dimension). By law, however, enlistment (in the form of the draft) could become a lawful obligation, regardless of one's beliefs. In many countries,

voting is mandatory, and failure to do so could result in a penalty. In the form of taxes, all citizens, regardless of their wishes, are obliged to contribute to their local, regional, and national communities. But many citizens feel a personal responsibility (right side of the model) to reach beyond their legal obligations and engage more deeply with their communities. This third dimension of citizenship, namely identity, or the psychological dimension (Carens 2000: 166), can be dynamic and subject to change and renewal under certain circumstances and based on the life trajectories of citizens.

All of the (left-side of the model) rights and obligations of citizenship root themselves within the limits of the nation-state (*where we stand*). But citizenship is not just about one's legal rights and duties to the state. It also touches on who we are as people. Based on our particular experiences in life (*what we know*), we develop individual identities that shape how we interact with others. Our identification with a local, regional, national, or even global community (family, religion, school, friends, neighbors, colleagues, etc.) drives our behavior. "A citizenship defined only by entitlement is not resilient; it does not build the social capital that sustains vibrant communities in which people understand justice to be done" (Kerber 1997: 852). This dimension of citizenship impacts our sense of belonging or membership to a particular community, however defined. A strong sense of belonging will increase social cohesion and integration. "One crucial test for any conception of citizenship is whether or not it can be said to contribute to social integration."[5] As our identities as social and political agents develop through life experiences, a dynamic feedback loop

[5] http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/citizenship/

emerges, linking our life experiences to our evolving identities, which may influence our sense of commitment to those within our circles of responsibility.

It is important to stress the word "personal" in the model above, as each individual approaches this dimension of citizenship differently. Beyond our legal obligations as citizens, each of us feels some kind of commitment to others that normally extends (but does not necessarily have to) beyond the familial unit. The extent of one's commitment depends on a wide variety of factors and can take the form of both active and passive engagement. In other words, we do not all need to be activists to demonstrate commitment. Many of us might feel committed to simply learn more about a particular cause or phenomenon without the express intent to actively and directly engage on its behalf. Learning, in and of itself, can be a personal commitment, as it possesses the power to inform our decision-making. In other words, citizenship is a learning process. New and renewed notions of personal responsibility can evolve through new life experiences. This more expansive concept of citizenship provides the starting point for this research.

COSMOPOLITANISM OR "GLOBAL CITIZENSHIP"

If our identity or the psychological dimension of citizenship then is defined, in part, by our knowledge and experiences, what will the next generation of citizens look like? What life experiences will they have? How will they conceive of the boundaries of citizenship? What kinds of identities will evolve? This more psychological dimension of citizenship is the heartbeat of any society. It ties people together through a sense of commitment and

responsibility, building social cohesion and inclusion. The question remains: where are the geographic limits of our responsibility? Do they begin and end within our local communities, or do they reach beyond national borders to other parts of the globe? This project is focused on the Millennial Generation to investigate the ways in which students are educated for citizenship. Of course, methods and motives vary, and many never truly receive formal citizenship education. "There is a growing gap between America's worldly business elite and cosmopolitan class, on the one hand, and the majority of the American people, on the other" (Zakaria 2008: 46).

Given these disparities, how should we educate the next generation of citizens? Colleges and universities across the country have begun to use the term "global citizen" in mission statements and strategic plans. For example, Southern Oregon University states as its mission that it is "dedicated to student success, intellectual growth, and responsible global citizenship."[6] Institutions of higher learning of all stripes have begun a process of engaging educators and students in a multidisciplinary conversation to explore its various meanings. Many universities now have programs of study dedicated to global citizenship, some even with the term embedded in the name.[7] Associations such as the American Council on

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[6] http://www.sou.edu/mission/global.html

[7] For example: Kennesaw State University's Institute for Global Initiatives, http://www.kennesaw.edu/globalinstitute/yearofprog.htm; Providence College's Global Studies Major, http://www.providence.edu/global-studies/Pages/default.aspx; Chapman University's Global Citizen Cluster, http://www.chapman.edu/academics/general-education/2007-ge-program/global-citizen.aspx; University of Kansas' Global Awareness Program, http://www.international.ku.edu/~oip/gap/; University of Tulsa's Global Scholars Program; Utah Valley State University's Global Spotlight Program, http://www.uvu.edu/international/engage/global_spotlight/; Lehigh University's Global Citizenship Program, http://www.lehigh.edu/~ingc/; University of Minnesota's Global Spotlight Program, http://global.umn.edu/spotlight/about.html; Gettysburg College's Global Leaders Program, http://www.gettysburg.edu/about/offices/provost/off_campus/glgc/; Tufts University's Institute for Global Leadership, http://www.tuftsgloballeadership.org/; University of Southern California's Global Scholars Program,

Education (ACE) and NAFSA publish models for global learning[8] and campus internationalization reports[9] to further promote the study of global citizenship on college campuses. Through these efforts and many others, undergraduate higher education is increasingly becoming intertwined with the formation of graduates who can leverage their knowledge and skills to be able to contribute meaningfully to a globalized world. The term global citizen likely reflects what Zakaria means by "cosmopolitan class," referenced earlier. In any case, whether we call it educating for global citizenship or cosmopolitan education, it is clear that institutions of higher learning are paying more and more attention to their role in educating students for success in an increasingly interconnected world. With this objective in mind, what kinds of learning experiences are necessary to equip students for citizenship in the 21st Century?

This expansion of citizenship, broadly conceived, extends beyond the classroom and reflects the social and professional realities of the world that future graduates will inherit. Then Candidate Barack Obama dedicated one of the speeches of his first presidential campaign to outlining his vision of global citizenship. In his 24 July 2008 speech at Berlin's *Siegesäule* (Victory Column) entitled *A World that Stands as One*, he declared "the burdens of global citizenship continue to bind us together." The speech plays on the symbolism of the

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http://www.usc.edu/programs/scholars/global/become_scholar.shtml; Villanova University's Global Citizens Program, http://www1.villanova.edu/villanova/vpaa/intlstudies/gcp.html; Webster University's Global Citizenship Program, http://www2.webster.edu/globalcitizenship/index.shtml, all accessed 10 February 2013.

[8] ACE Internationalization Toolkit, http://www.acenet.edu/news-room/Pages/Internationalization-Toolkit.aspx; Internationalization in Action, http://www.acenet.edu/news-room/Pages/Internationalization-in-Action.aspx; ACE Creating Global Citizens Project with Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs), Background Info, http://www.acenet.edu/news-room/Pages/Creating-Global-Citizens-Project-Closes.aspx; ACE Internationalization Publications, http://www.acenet.edu/news-room/Pages/CIGE-Publications.aspx, accessed 10 February 2013.

[9] http://www.nafsa.org/Explore_International_Education/Impact/Awards/Senator_Paul_Simon_Award/NAFSA_s_Internationalizing_the_Campus_Report/, accessed 10 February 2013.

Berlin Wall to further delineate how Obama appears to define the concept. He noted that while Germany's wall dividing East and West has been rendered dust, other walls continue to divide us. "The walls between old allies on either side of the Atlantic cannot stand. The walls between races and tribes; natives and immigrants; Christian and Muslim and Jew cannot stand. These are now the walls that must come down." He went on to outline the overarching problems that all nations and people of the world have in common: terror and extremism, nuclear proliferation, poverty, hunger, environmental degradation and global warming, human rights violations and others. One could conclude from the substance of Obama's speech that he views these issues of global importance to be within his personal responsibility as a citizen. Considering the aforementioned issues that impact the human race at large, the global citizen in the age of Obama would serve to build bridges between cultures and find commonalities among disparate national, ethnic, racial, religious or other groups. In other words, the more we interact, the more we will understand each other, and the more equipped we will become to solve the world's problems, which Obama indicated can *only* be solved together.

PROJECT OUTLINE

Considering the implications of what it might mean to educate citizens for the globalizing world that Obama's Berlin speech illustrates, and drawing on the definition of citizenship provided earlier, this research intends to further explore citizenship from the perspective of the third, more psychological dimension, namely identity, or sense of

belonging/membership. This project seeks to determine if and how the academic and extracurricular choices students make in college impact their worldview and their loyalties/sense of responsibility toward others. How far do students' allegiances extend and what experiences in college help to create these bonds and commitments? Is international experience via study abroad necessary for students to begin to re-imagine the boundaries of their social communities and their responsibilities as global citizens or cosmopolitans? Or can these processes occur through more locally or nationally-oriented service learning, volunteer, or internship experiences?

The next chapter combines several strands of scholarship to further explore the direction of this research. It delves into the notion of cosmopolitanism, from its historical roots in ancient Greece and Rome to its more contemporary extrapolations and usefulness to understanding the underpinnings of citizen responsibility today. It does so in the context of the literature on political socialization, focusing on the expansion of one's in-group and the formation of multiple loyalties. As we are discussing higher education, chapter two also outlines the qualities of the Millennial Generation in this era of globalization. Chapter three then discusses the methodology and research design of the project, namely the use of a focus group to pre-test elements of a survey then given undergraduate upperclassmen at Syracuse University. Chapter four follows with an analysis of participant demographics and the academic and experiential choices they made in college. Chapters five, six, and seven provide the results of the survey, focused on investigating the variability of student worldviews and which choices have formed the basis for their notions of citizen

responsibility. Chapter eight concludes the project with a model of cosmopolitan citizenship and suggestions for further research.

CHAPTER 2

THE SOCIALIZATION PROCESS, COSMOPOLITANISM, AND THE MILLENNIAL GENERATION

"Healing actions can grow only from a humble awareness of being deeply connected with and responsible to the rest of the human and nonhuman universe. Intellectual learning alone rarely fosters this type of solidarity. It seems to require direct, embodied contact that allows us to hear the cries of a distressed creation, to find ways to create local friendships, and to work, side by side, to provide local, modest, but intensely human lifelines. Ultimately, that is why we cross the boundaries of nation, culture, language, religion, and social class: to create what Harvard political scientist Robert Putnam calls "bridging capital" - acts of friendship and solidarity rooted in a common reverence for human dignity, local knowledge, and the moral good. Such acts express the firm hope that our shared humanity, beyond our real differences, provides the necessary foundation for finding common solutions to the threats facing the world today" (Slimbach 2010: 9-10).

Princeton philosopher Peter Singer (1997) writes of challenging his students to an ethical question. He tells the students that on the way to class one morning, they walk past a pond and see a drowning child. To save the child, it would require that they would miss class and get their clothes dirty. He asks whether they would save the child or merely walk by, as it appears others are doing. The students respond that the ethical decision is to save the child, and the rescue would be far more important than missing a class or getting one's clothes dirty. The students also interject that the fact that others are walking by presents no logical rationale for shirking their own responsibilities. Singer then slightly changes the scenario and asks whether it would make any difference in their decision-making if the child was in a different country, equally in a life or death situation, but not right in front of their eyes. He notes that the rescue of this child in another land would require little cost and no danger to

them. The students almost all agree that geography and nationality should play no role in this moral decision. The child should be saved.

In this piece, entitled "The Drowning Child and the Expanding Circle," Singer concludes "few students challenge the underlying ethics of the idea that we ought to save the lives of strangers when we can do so at relatively little cost to ourselves" (p. 1). He makes a reference to W.E.H. Lecky, who in 1878 wrote of "human concern as an expanding circle which begins with the individual, then embraces the family and 'soon the circle … includes first a class, then a nation, then a coalition of nations, then all humanity, and finally, its influence is felt in the dealings of man with the animal world'" (p. 1).

This image of the expanding circle takes us to the notion of transfer (Etzione 1968), discussed in more depth later in this chapter, or of multiple, overlapping allegiances. Is the type of loyalty we feel to a family member or to someone else close to us transferable to a larger, more abstract notion, i.e., to the nation or to all of humanity? It would appear that Singer's students have already decided that in terms of helping that child, being an ethical citizen carries global obligations. Perhaps the close to unanimous sentiment among Singer's students derived from the personal nature of Singer's question, namely framing it around the life of a child, a particular individual, unknown to the class though he may be. Given our own experiences as human beings, when we hear the word "child," our thoughts center on the children we know, on their innocence and on their possibility. Singer detaches any reference to nationality, race, or ethnicity. The simplicity of this ethical lesson resonates, and it evokes the humanity in each of us.

Although many would likely concur with Singer's students, that if we are able, we should aid the drowning child on the other side of the world, reality comes into play. Our planet does not look like the image from Saint-Exupéry's "The Little Prince," perfectly round with an oversized person (us) on one side, and on the other, this drowning child, just a few quick, simple steps around the tiny sphere. Natural, political, ethnic, economic, and linguistic boundaries impede the journey. Zooming out to a thirty thousand foot view, the drowning child metaphor could be synonymous with a suffering planet, whose problems are shared by all its inhabitants.

As inhabitants, we are all agents with varying levels of commitment to each other, informed by *where we stand* and *what we know* (as discussed in chapter one). Our location in time and space and our knowledge of the world dictate the contours of our in-groups or circles of responsibility. Peter Singer's students posit that they would indeed act as globally responsible citizens. Admittedly, this is a hypothetical and highly simplistic scenario, and we know nothing about the students' backgrounds or what academic or life experiences may have informed or impacted their worldviews. Yet we can consult research on the behaviors and idiosyncrasies of today's young adults and the ways in which they are dealing with an increasingly interconnected world. The final section of this chapter sketches some broad characteristics of the Millennial Generation, setting the stage for this age group as the focus of this study. Before doing so, this chapter engages several scholarly themes and endeavors to weave them together. Building on the metaphor of the expanding circle, this chapter first discusses the socialization process, bringing to light the impact of contact with others in forming one's worldview and expanding one's in-group. The literature contends that this

type of contact is particularly powerful during the impressionable years, ages 17-25, reflecting once again the Millennial Generation as the focus of this study. The chapter goes on to discuss the philosophical threads of cosmopolitanism, especially as they reflect and reinforce the establishment of multiple loyalties, the expanding circle.

THE SOCIALIZATION PROCESS

Returning to then Senator Obama's speech in Berlin (discussed in chapter one), if we are to build bridges and to find commonalities, how do we break down barriers that prevent cross-cultural collaboration from occurring? Many social psychologists would blame stereotypes for the narrow conceptions of the other that form both our individual and collective worldviews. Gordon Allport (1954) began a now well-established research area known today as "contact theory." In short, this theory posits that focused interaction among members of different groups will serve to dissolve stereotypes and lead to increased understanding and positive relations. Allport argued that for intergroup interaction to work out optimally, four conditions have to persist: equal status (group members must perceive the others to have similar status in their groups as they do), common goals (both groups must share the same situational objectives), intergroup cooperation (working non-competitively toward common goals or toward developing a mutually-beneficial relationship), and authority support (meaning socially sanctioned – which establishes norms of acceptance). This optimistic account of the benefits of intercultural interaction has been both supported and disputed in the literature. For example, H.D. Forbes (1997) argues that

cross-cultural interaction might also evoke negative effects that would serve only to strengthen mutually held negative stereotypes and increase ethnocentrism.

Under the premise of contact theory, increasing cross-border or intergroup interaction seems like the right solution, but we first need to be socially and politically motivated to do so. Why is President (then Candidate) Obama so motivated to create a new era of global citizenship? The tone and message of his speech in Berlin presented to the world a different face of America than the perception generated by President Bush's "you are either with us or against us" declaration. What about President Obama's background might have motivated him to set such a different tone?

Having established that motivation is a key ingredient in the development of the next generation of cosmopolitans, we need to understand how people can become motivated to engage with the world. Investigating the origins of our identities may provide some answers. What informs our social or political identities as individuals? Is it the substantive nature of what we learn in an educational setting? Is it what our parents teach us and demonstrate to us as we grow? Is it the professional experiences we collect as we go through life? Certainly, all of these elements contribute to forming us as individuals and to providing the broad strokes of our interests, desires, and characters.

Returning for a moment to the geographical accident of birth, one can imagine a child being raised in a variety of different socioeconomic contexts. Regardless of these distinctions, parents know well that certain things remain equal in all children. When children are born, the center of their universe revolves entirely around themselves. Their

immediate needs are paramount. This self-centered orientation expands as children grow older, learn more about their environment, and begin to socialize with a wider variety of individuals. Cognitive development theories (i.e., Gladstone, 1962; Piaget, 1965) posit that children start to realize that there are other people around them, and those people become increasingly important to them. The first circle is, of course, the nuclear family. Affiliations and loyalties develop from there, based on the familial and community connections present. In many cultures, the extended family is an immediate presence and potentially even lives within the same four walls. Eventually, children attend school, and new bonds are formed with friends in the neighborhood and teachers and other members of the community.

A child's world increasingly expands. Yet for many, this world remains inherently local. The bonds children form determine their loyalties. "This sense of loyalty builds through the socialization process, as people become less focused on themselves and learn to take into account the needs and interests of others" (Druckman 1994: 63). These bonds form naturally and are inextricably linked with the experiences of the family. Loyalty to family, friends, church, school, and community begin with the example of one's parents.

We are each the product of customized, and in many ways accidental, socialization experiences. "The prime sources of these experiences are family of origin and the milieu of learning encounters engendered by … location in time and space" (Beck and Jennings: 1975). Our identities are also molded by our backgrounds – religious, ethnic, and national and by the experiences we obtain as impressionable young adults. In adolescent years, one's peers play an important role in identity formation. In other words, our feelings of

attachment to various groups help piece together our individual identities, providing us with a sense of belonging.

While individuals long to belong and to feel part of a larger whole, at the same time, belonging to something necessarily means not belonging to something else. This process can become exclusionary and potentially hostile, as we embrace those in our in-group and critically assess those who are not. Group affiliations cause us to perceive who is and who is not like us (Volkan 1988). And this perception of ally and potential enemy contributes to building our identities, and to our own individual survival. Literature on ethnocentric conflict bears this out as well. Ross (1991: 177) discusses how "sociality promotes ethnocentric conflict, furnishing the critical building block for in-group amity and out-group hostility." For example, the ethnic strife in the Democratic Republic of the Congo provides a harrowing reminder of how children can become socialized into ethnic groupings in which a hostile perception of the out-group can incite unimaginable brutality and horror. The Congolese community in Syracuse recently produced a play entitled "Cry for Peace," in part to help diffuse the palpable tension within the community of expatriates. They hail from different clans that were responsible for committing the most horrific crimes against each other. In this post-conflict context, these clans are now coming together in an effort to expand their in-groups.

So far, the affiliations mentioned above deal with smaller groups, beginning with the family. As the circles expand, how far can loyalty extend? Is a nation like a family or a community? Or is the nation too abstract a notion to engender the same sentiments of

attachment? Scholars discuss the nation in similar terms to discussing smaller groups. Terhune (1964), DeLamater et al. (1969), Winter (1973), Stogdill (1974), McClelland (1975), and Bass (1981) discuss how a feeling of loyalty towards a nation can help fulfill the basic human needs of involvement, dealing with affect (the sentimental need to feel affiliated with something larger), goal orientation (when the objectives of a group line up with an individual's own sense of accomplishment), or ego (providing a sense of power or status for group members).

Yet in a chicken and egg context, does one type of loyalty have to develop before the other? Many social psychologists would suggest that individuals can develop feelings of national loyalty while simultaneously developing feelings of communal (or other smaller group) loyalty. One is not dependent on the other. Etzione (1968), however, disagrees. He argues that small group loyalty must develop first, and this loyalty can be transferred to a larger group. "This transfer may be facilitated by gradually enlarging the group that the individual perceives himself to represent and building in accountability to that bigger group" (Druckman, 1994).

Etzione's notion of one loyalty building upon another and transferring to larger and potentially more abstract groups causes one to question under which conditions this transfer can occur. Or is "transfer" really the correct way of describing this phenomenon? A transfer would lead one to believe that an individual shifts loyalty from a smaller to a larger group. Based on which loyalty is perceived as most salient at a given moment, such a transfer could conceivably occur. A soldier focused on his duty to country on the battlefield

might sense, in a life or death moment, a greater loyalty to country than to family, but that bond to family always remains. Instead of transfer, we might better describe the phenomenon as an expansion of one's in-group. That said, how do people decide among all possible loyalties? And at which point does an out-group become an in-group? A necessary precursor might be having positive feelings toward a particular group. Druckman (1994: 61) takes this discussion a step further and proposes the scaled model below to help determine when positive feelings can lead to identifying with a particular group.

(1) Motivated toward becoming a member

(2) Assuming the group's norms and values

(3) Using the group's standards for evaluating performance

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(4) Taking a positive orientation toward the group

(5) Understanding the group's norms and values

(6) Recognizing the group's existence

The dotted line between three and four represents the divide between positive feelings and becoming part of one's in-group, or as Druckman describes it, one's "reference group." "To the extent that the reference group meets the individual's needs or enhances his or her self-esteem more than, or at least in the same way as, current membership groups, negative feelings are reduced" (Druckman, 1994: 61).

This model adds some new context to contact theory, building the case that motivation is the key to expanding one's in-group. When do we feel motivated or willing to engage with out-groups? Research suggests that we tend to want to interact with groups that we perceive to be similar to us, facilitating the transition from out-group to reference group. As contact theory is based on the premise of interaction, not isolation, level (6) above, "recognizing the group's existence," seems a minimal requirement to even begin the process. Movement up the scale would be easier the more similar the out-group is to the in-group. Contact theory also portends that the contact has to occur between people of equal status in both groups, coupled with a willingness on behalf of those in both groups to learn about each other. This process helps us to understand how loyalties can be expanded, how we can begin to adopt the values and preferences of others. Druckman (1994: 62) talks about inculcating "what one holds dear or desires" through this phenomenon of moving up the scale. The question that remains, and is central to this research, is how do we alter "what one holds dear or desires?" Can we help students to expand their loyalties beyond the parochial or the national to become more global?

Literature on political socialization claims that we form our political identities between the ages of 17 and 25, our impressionable years. During the passage from adolescence into early adulthood, individuals are particularly susceptible to the influences of the external political world (e.g., Beck and Jennings 1991; Feldman and Newcomb 1994; Jennings 2002; Torney-Purta 2004). In these important years, individuals are likely to be away from home and their parents for the first time. Research demonstrates that if one does not have some life-altering, "transformative" (or just different from family, school, religion,

etc.) experience during these years, one's political identity as an adult will not differ dramatically from one's parents (Beck 1974).

Let us return to Obama for a moment. Fareed Zakaria, in an interesting piece in *Newsweek* several years ago, compares the qualifications of Hillary Clinton and Barack Obama to be President of the United States. While no one can argue that Clinton had, at the time, more professional experience, Zakaria draws on Obama's childhood and early adult background as testament to his readiness to handle the job and to make decisions using sound judgment. "He says his judgment was formed by his experience as a boy with a Kenyan father – and later an Indonesian stepfather – who spent years growing up in Indonesia, and who lived in the multicultural swirl of Hawaii" (Zakaria 2007). Obama's background, from childhood into adulthood, has been one that has allowed him to know what it feels like to be "the other," neither white nor fully black, one parental foot in Africa, the other in America. He goes from Occidental College, where he does not feel white enough, to Columbia, where he does not feel black enough. Zakaria uses this lens to look at himself and ask what makes him successful as a journalist and opinion leader covering international affairs. What makes him stand apart from others who have similar degrees from the best institutions in the country and who have had similar professional opportunities? Why does he feel he might be better able to understand and analyze world events? "It is that *I know what it means not to be an American* (emphasis original). I know intimately the attraction, the repulsion, the hopes, the disappointments that the other 95 percent of humanity feels when thinking about this country" (Zakaria 2007). He is drawing

on his experiences as a child born and raised in rural India and having been a foreign student in America.

As with Obama, Zakaria's background and experiences as a child and young adult have shaped his identity, and consequently his political worldview and ability to look at world events and phenomena through a variety of lenses. Can the benefits of such Obama or Zakaria world experiences be duplicated for other young adults? If so, will these experiences truly make a difference for them and guide their worldview? After all, the intellectual process of blurring national boundaries is not altogether easy – nor is it always rewarding. "Becoming a citizen of the world is often a lonely business. It is, in effect … a kind of exile … from the comfort of local truths, from the warm nesting feeling of patriotism, from the absorbing drama of pride in oneself and one's own. … Cosmopolitanism offers no such refuge; it offers only reason and the love of humanity, which may seem at times less colorful than other sources of belonging" (Nussbaum 1994: 7).

THE IMPACT OF STUDY ABROAD AND SERVICE LEARNING

Building on what we now know about contact theory and the literature on socialization, investigating the impact of study abroad and service learning (or experiential education, including internships) at the college level might provide some insight into the ways in which participants view the world and the degree to which they expand or contract their in-groups. As the literature concedes, contact does not always lead to an extension of the in-group. In practice, contact may either provoke sensitivities or lead to positive relations. Interaction

with members of an out-group can inflame the differences between the groups, which could result in calling "into question one's own identity. This may create anxieties and uncertainties, which are reduced by strengthened group identity and derogation of the out-group, leading to deteriorated relations" (Druckman 2006: 238).

To focus first on study abroad, and returning to Allport's conditions for optimal intergroup contact, study abroad might not satisfy them all. Participants and those they meet, whether host country students, host families, underprivileged community members, merchants, or professionals, may well be of equal status in particular developed country cultural contexts. Yet, if an American student is studying in a developing country, the status condition might require more scrutiny. It is also not clear whether those the participant might encounter will share common goals or see the exchange as cooperative and non-competitive. The participant might begin the program with the best of cooperative intentions, only to find those on the receiving end of the exchange to be prejudiced or hostile. The reverse, of course, could also be true. Under which conditions then does study abroad produce a positive relational impact and an expansion of one's in-group?

Pettigrew (1998) builds on Allport's hypothesis via focusing on the process involved in intergroup contact, concerned more with *how* and *why* a change might occur and less with *when*. He suggests four processes of change, namely: learning about the out-group, changing behavior, generating affective ties, and in-group reappraisal (p. 70). Whether or not all four conditions from Allport's model exist in any given study abroad experience, Pettigrew's four processes might well occur. Under this hypothesis, learning about the out-group through

contact can generate a modification of behavior, which can engender a change in attitude. "New situations require conforming to new expectations. If these expectations include acceptance of out-group members, this behavior has the potential to produce attitude change" (Pettigrew 1998: 71).

Keeping in mind that varying levels of emotion play a significant role in intergroup contact, anxiety is a crucial variable and can increase or diminish after an initial encounter with the out-group. According to Pettigrew, continued and repeated contact generally diminishes initial anxiety. In a study abroad example, I recall as a junior in college in France for the first time being corralled with my American classmates into the middle of a large room, with French host parents standing around us in a circle. Standing there with my two, new red suitcases and limited ability to say more than "bonjour" in French, names were called, and students were matched with host parents. Given the setting of the room with the families around the perimeter all looking at us, I felt encircled and extremely unsure of myself or of my decision to spend such a long time away from home. Certainly, at this point in my time abroad, I did not feel as if I had equal status with my French hosts (I couldn't even speak their language), nor did I feel as if we had common objectives or a cooperative environment. The anxiety in the room was thick and palpable. Yet Pettigrew was right – as time progressed, through the process of continued contact with my hosts, the initial anxiety dissipated, generating "affective ties" and developing (in my case) a deep lifetime friendship.

The fourth process, in-group reappraisal, follows in sequence from the generation of affective ties. Similar to Druckman's scaled model, in-group reappraisal occurs when less

time is spent with the in-group as a result of increased contact with the out-group. This dynamic fosters less bias toward the out-group (Pettigrew 1998; Wilder & Thompson 1980; Mullen et al. 1992), which can also be described as "sub-typing." "Optimal intergroup contact provides insight about in-groups as well as out-groups. In-group norms and customs turn out not to be the only ways to manage the social world" (Pettigrew 1998: 72). Applying this research to study abroad, optimal contact with members of another culture may eventually lead to, as Druckman (1994) would also say, an acceptance, and conceivably an adoption of, the norms and values of that culture. This acceptance, in turn, can generate a revised perspective (a reappraisal) of one's own culture and previous attitudes and conceptions, an expansion of the in-group. From this theoretical angle, study abroad appears to present an ideal framework to test the benefits of contact theory and of Beck and Jennings (1975) notion of socialization, "learning encounters engendered by … location in time and space" (p.84) during students' impressionable years.

Within the plentiful and diverse literature on education abroad, student assessment is a major and oft-repeated theme (i.e., Bochner et al. 1979, Carlson and Widaman 1988, Dwyer 2004, Gray et al. 2002). Faculty and study abroad administrators are clearly interested in the impact of study abroad on participants. Often due to their own personal experiences, many international educators are true believers in the academic and personal growth opportunities that education abroad can provide. But they often find it challenging to justify their mission to faculty and senior administrators on campus who might value international education less. This existential challenge has encouraged both believers and skeptics to write scholarly articles and books to attempt to prove or discredit the assumption that study

abroad leads to increased intercultural understanding and more open perspectives about the world. This notion can be further refined as "knowledge of and awareness about issues of national and international significance … sensibility to international issues, people, and culture" (Carlson and Widaman 1988: 2). For example, Carlson and Widamon and Bochner et al. (1979) both test whether contact with other cultures leads to a more developed international perspective. Their tests prove positive, but based on the design of their research and methodology used, neither is convinced that the students could not have exhibited similar outcomes had they stayed home. Bochner et al. (1979: 40) pose an important question; they ask whether study abroad professionals are merely "preaching to the converted." In other words, education abroad programs may be attracting only the students that are pre-wired for such experiences anyway. Are we doing enough at the college level to attract those without such a predisposition? Should we? Given when this article was published, it is interesting how much relevance this question still has today. Colleges and universities have certainly improved in their efforts to design programming of interest to diverse student populations, but there remain significant gaps to address in working towards a comprehensive vision for internationalization.

In assessing student learning outcomes, scholars distinguish between two broad categories of learning. Stier (2003) separates content knowledge (factual or substantive knowledge of the host culture, such as language, history, traditions) from "processual" skills (more cognitive - the ability to self-reflect, solve problems, change one's perspective). Content knowledge can be easily tested. Students can be given exams on their mastery of the target language or the history and customs of the host culture. It is easy to assess

whether students return from a study abroad experience with an improved facility for language and more knowledgeable about another culture. While vitally important, and perhaps reason enough to send students abroad in the first place, content knowledge only brings us part way up Druckman's (1994) scaled model, to "understanding the group's norms and values." Improved content knowledge does not, in and of itself, demonstrate an expansion of one's in-group. According to Stier, it remains somewhat more ambiguous, whether study abroad students return with higher-order processual skills, more self-reflective, tolerant, and respectful of others, the skills needed to engender in-group expansion. Martin (1987) questions whether the interpersonal (or processual) skills often attributable to a study abroad experience could be just correctly credited to the maturation process. She appears to agree with Bochner et al. and Carlson and Widaman that it is unclear whether study abroad students would have "matured" just as much by staying home. Would a student involved in the right mix of academic and extracurricular activities on campus not become just as self-reflective, open to new ideas and people, and tolerant as a student who decides to study abroad?

Maybe students who complete service learning programs or other types of experiential learning might become just as self-reflective, open, accepting, and tolerant as students who go abroad. In fact, there is a long tradition of integrating community service with education that dates back to Aristotle and Locke, who believed that service should be a pedagogical tool. More recently, John Dewey argued for students to engage collaboratively with others to solve real social problems, integrating the idea of service into teaching methodology (Rocheleau 2004, Saltmarsh 2011). In his 2008 National Service Plan,

presidential candidate Barack Obama called on all students to incorporate a service element into their education, with the objective of getting college students to pledge 100 hours per year. The plan emphasized that students with service learning achieve better academic results and "are likely to become active, engaged citizens" (National Service Plan Fact Sheet). This interest in service learning and in internship programs extends from the federal to institutional level, as colleges attempt to graduate students who are active participants in society and well-informed citizens (Wutzdorff and Giles 1997).

If college students are indeed having such experiences, they are engaging with "others" in various settings and are effectively dealing with Pettigrew's intergroup contact process much in the same way as study abroad students. For example, if a student decides to complete a service learning project working with a refugee community in downtown Syracuse, this student will engage in a deep learning process that requires the acquisition of knowledge of an out-group. Overcoming an initial period of anxiety about the refugees, never before having encountered any, this student might eventually generate affective ties and close bonds. This new closeness with the out-group might lead him to re-appraise his in-group, or rather to re-evaluate the original norms and values with which he went into this experience, generating a potential expansion of his in-group.

In fact, the literature on service learning offers comparable perspectives. Similar to one of Allport's conditions for contact theory, Burnett, Long, and Horn (2005) posit that successful service learning necessitates focusing on collaborative relationships that maintain non-hierarchical and equal-status for all involved. There is also an emphasis on the

importance of reflection, especially in drawing lessons between the more academic and the more experiential (Wang and Rodgers 2006). This reflection should engender a sense of enhanced civic responsibility (Bringle and Hatcher 1999) and should spark a process of critical analysis of social justice and policy (Kendall 1990). This critical analysis and reflection caused by an encounter with people of different backgrounds might encourage students to identify and eventually challenge their own negative predispositions and stereotypes (Strain 2005). Sheckley and Keeton (1997) argue that such changes in attitudes or beliefs are, in part, the result of students' depth of reflection and of conceptual processing. "By virtue of their continued experiential involvement in the service learning settings, as students 'learn' they concurrently develop more complex, more highly integrated, and more refined models of meaning that they use to make sense of their experiences in the world (p. 48).

Dreuth and Dreuth-Frewell (2002) describe a transformational model for service learning in a similar vein as Druckman's scaled model. They describe students going through stages, beginning with building rapport with those they are working with, understanding the existing system (separating fantasy from reality), becoming aware of the community and understanding its needs, and finding a meaningful integration between self and other. They concluded that students ended their service learning experiences having developed a more keen sense of social responsibility. Eyler and Giles (1999) survey research demonstrates a similar phenomenon, that service learning results in improved critical thinking, personal and interpersonal development (including less stereotyping), and an increased sense of citizenship. As can be seen, the literature on service learning evokes

similar themes to literature on contact theory and socialization. It also evokes the same attributes that are accorded to a defense of study abroad and international education. Both learning processes involve contact with an out-group and resulting processes of critical reflection and self-reappraisal.

Indeed, effective service learning or study abroad should involve much more than simple content knowledge acquisition, à la Stier (2003). Ideally, it involves a virtual anthropological exploration of the host community or culture and a thoughtful reflection of one's own culture or in-group. What do the French really think and why? Or what do refugees in downtown Syracuse think and why? How does this change the way I view the world? The ability of students to become that reflective in their experiences should be the aim of international or experiential education. In terms of this research, does this level of reflection engender changes in students' political and social views? Does it lead to an expansion of one's in-group and loyalties? Do study abroad students become more "American" or do service learning students become more parochial as a result of their experiences? Or do they become decidedly more cosmopolitan? Do these types of college experiences really matter? Does one of these experiences serve as a more effective vehicle in expanding students' in-groups and in encouraging a re-evaluation of citizen responsibility?

This project deals precisely with these questions. It entails an exploration of students' worldviews and their variability based on the academic and experiential choices they make during their time in college. American institutions of higher learning endeavor to educate students to be effective and responsible citizens in an increasingly globalizing world. As this

assumption sounds fairly generic and meaningless, this project attempts to more closely identify what this means and how best to achieve this objective. The next section of this chapter explores the concept of cosmopolitanism, which offers historical and philosophical underpinnings of the modern-day notion of global citizenship. Additionally, the following section attempts to connect cosmopolitanism with the socialization literature discussed above as well as with the research on study abroad and experiential/service learning.

COSMOPOLITANISM AND THE LIMITS OF LOYALTY

What is the first thing that comes to mind when we hear the word "cosmopolitan"? Many of us might first think of the red-colored cocktail in an upside-down cone-shaped glass with a bendy straw and a lime wedge. Others might reference the women's magazine filled with tips on fashion, men, relationships and how to live a modern, fulfilling, feminine existence. If we reflect some more on capturing our immediate stereotypes, we might imagine a cultivated, sophisticated young man who works at a transnational NGO, purposely shops at farmers' markets, speaks fluent French, drinks only fair-trade coffee, and spends vacation time building houses and schools for those less fortunate in the developing world.

In a more nuanced and thoughtful sense, however, we can dissect a bit more closely the conceivable "lifestyle" of our fictitious cosmopolitan. This individual currently lives in Manhattan, but he was raised by an American father and a French mother, hence the French language abilities. His father is an American diplomat, and the family moved to a different

embassy every two years, which required the son to change schools often and make friends with children from various national, ethnic, social, and (conceivably, although less assuredly) economic backgrounds. During high school, the family lived in Ecuador for a couple of years, where the son became interested in the cultivation of coffee in Latin America. His insistence on drinking only fair trade coffee stems from a strong sense of social justice, rather than a mere nouveau-riche, à-la-mode passing fancy. And his current work at an NGO takes him to far-flung locations in the developing world, where he continuously reminds himself of the cycle of poverty juxtaposed against notions of power and privilege – two worlds he has come to know well. Although this young man carries an American passport, he has grown up the product of multiple cultures. He might be a proud American, but he has no permanent attachment to a particular place and feels equally at ease across various geographies.

Examining this young man's family background, multicultural education, and professional life in greater detail, we may have come close to understanding the modern definition of a cosmopolitan. Yet, before we build further on this fictitious example, we need to turn to the history and debate surrounding cosmopolitanism. Instead of an exhaustive literature review, this section attempts to place cosmopolitanism within the framework of the socialization process discussed earlier. At the same time, we need to think about the nature of our interconnected and globalizing planet. How should we understand cosmopolitanism today? What level of personal responsibility should one feel toward others? How do these levels of responsibility or loyalty develop?

Cosmopolitanism and allegiance to humanity

In answering these questions, we first need to turn to the origins of the debate surrounding cosmopolitanism. Although the term evokes a contemporary sense of sophistication in everyday vernacular, its roots are anything but modern. In fact, we have to return all the way to ancient Greek philosophy to find its first reference. Cosmopolitanism comprises the Greek words for order, universe, and citizen. Both Socrates and Diogenes identified themselves as cosmopolitans, or citizens of the world (Nussbaum 1994, Schattle 2009). Socrates viewed cosmopolitanism non-politically, never denying his Athenian citizenship. That said, when asked where he was from, Socrates would never say Athens. He claimed instead to hail from the world (or the universe). His sense of citizenship went beyond political boundaries to posit a view of commonality with and connection to all humanity. He possessed "a fuller and wider imagination; he embraced the whole world as his city, and extended his acquaintance, his society, and his affections to all mankind" (Montaigne (Cohen) 1959: 63). In a social psychological sense, Socrates maintained an expansive notion of his in-group, while not necessarily discarding his Athenian roots.

A controversial figure at the time, Diogenes, one of the founders of Cynic philosophy, was exiled to Athens after defacing the currency in his home city of Sinope. In Athens, he declared himself to be a cosmopolitan (Navia 2005). Diogenes took the notion of cosmopolitanism in a more political direction than Socrates and used it as a direct affront to citizenship of the *polis*, interpreted as an exclusive connection to one's local political community. He proclaimed himself a citizen of the world to remove himself metaphorically from what he perceived to be a dishonest and hypocritical local citizenry (Heater 1996), in

effect rejecting his own in-group in favor of a larger loyalty to the unknown, more ambiguous notion of the world. The Stoics, following Diogenes' lead, argued that civic virtue and universal law are interrelated (Marcus Aurelius, Cicero, Seneca). In other words, we all reside in two communities, the one of our birth and a more universal human political commonwealth, "a vast and truly common state, which embraces alike gods and men, in which we look neither to this corner of earth nor to that, but measure the bounds of our citizenship by the path of the sun" (Seneca, cited in Heater 1996: 221). According to the Stoics, this second community should remain the source of our obligation to morality and humanity. Taking this line of thinking a step further, when confronting the issues we face every day, we should first view them as fundamental human issues in a particular space and time, and in effect, cast aside the lens of national identity. "Diogenes knew that the invitation to think as a world citizen was, in a sense, an invitation to be an exile from the comfort of patriotism and its easy sentiments, to see our own ways of life from the point of view of justice and good" (Nussbaum 1994, p. 3).

Despite Diogenes' intention to cast himself differently than his fellow Greeks, he and his Cynic contemporaries and Stoic successors did not advocate the disintegration or abolition of the polis. Rather, they espoused the radical idea that one's primary allegiance should be to the commonwealth of humanity, the community that belongs to us all. We can see the lack of this form of philosophy in current-day American politics, where political leaders appear to be stymied by partisan bickering, as opposed to empowered to find common ground on policies that would broadly benefit the citizens at large. Deliberation, in our political system, becomes gridlocked, even sabotaged, by conflicting local, ideological,

and partisan loyalties. Perhaps this is the very phenomenon Diogenes referred to so cynically in his home city of Sinope. "Only by making our fundamental allegiance that to the world community of justice and reason do we avoid these dangers" (Nussbaum 1994, p. 3).

Among later philosophers of the Enlightenment, cosmopolitanism retained much of its original meaning, but took on a new dimension. Immanuel Kant's essay *Perpetual Peace: A Philosophical Sketch* links cosmopolitanism with universal human rights. "The peoples of the earth have thus entered in varying degrees into a universal community, and it has developed to the point where a violation of rights in one part of the world is felt everywhere" (Kant 1991: 108). In other words, we can understand Kantianism to be a theory steeped in the cosmopolitan view that all people are members of a single moral community. "They can be called 'citizens' in this 'moral world' because they are conceived of as free and equal co-legislators of moral law and, as such, are analogous to citizens of a political state" (Kleingeld 2000: 314). In Kantian philosophy, as in Ancient Greece, the individual remains the primary agent, and his primary allegiance is to humanity. There is seemingly no "other," no out-group, but rather an infinitesimally expansive, all-inclusive in-group.

Cosmopolitanism and dual allegiance

To bring this discussion back around to the present, we can ask ourselves the same questions Socrates and Diogenes asked in Ancient Greece. Can those of us who consider ourselves proud citizens of a particular country also claim to be cosmopolitans? Does our love of country preclude a larger moral obligation to humanity? Or vice-versa? Where do our loyalties lie? To answer these questions, we need to take a closer look at nationalism and

patriotism, both concepts that connote love of country, yet in vastly different and often misunderstood directions. On the surface, they also appear to be incompatible with Kantian cosmopolitanism.

Political scientists conceive of patriotism in various ways. Beitz (1994) believes it to deal primarily with identity and self-conception. MacIntyre (1995) posits that patriotism is really about one's loyalty to a particular nation. Viroli (1995) writes that it should primarily be about one's affinity for political freedom and the institutions that support it. In fact, these various conceptions of patriotism do not seem mutually exclusive. MacIntyre's concept of loyalty could tie nicely into Viroli's affinity for political freedom and Beitz's notion of identity formation. In contemplating American patriotism, all three seem relevant, yet we might need to dig a bit deeper.

When I was in high school, my family hosted several German exchange students at various intervals. The first time we took them to a high school basketball game, the look of shock and disbelief on their faces during the ceremonial singing of the "Star Spangled Banner" was palpable. Never in Germany would a citizen stand, place a hand over the heart, and mouth the words to the German national anthem. Nor would any German student ever be asked in school to stand to pledge allegiance to the tri-colored German flag. Witnessing Americans for the first time up-close, these exchange students initially thought there was something inherently frightening and dangerous about this display of affection for a country. During the course of the year, as they came to better understand and appreciate American culture and history, they all began to realize their initial perceptions were misguided.

Although we Americans might conceive of our love of country in different ways, our devotion might not derive from a belief in our superiority as a national group. As the US is an immigrant nation, we all come from varying national groups. Our devotion might hail instead from our overarching and fundamental belief in social, political, and religious freedom. If the case, this form of love of country provides a clear example of patriotism. It is not dependent on national or ethnic identity, and it is a transferrable sentiment, not in contradiction to patterns of immigration. People who come to America from other parts of the world to make their life can become just as patriotic as Americans who are born here. Kleingeld (2000) might label this American form to be *civic patriotism*, "individuals who are united in the pursuit of a common good." (p. 317). Seemingly in agreement with Viroli, Kleingeld's *civic patriotism* "is the love of … shared political freedom and the institutions that sustain it" (p. 317). US patriotism is built on our equalizing notion of citizenship. We are all granted rights as citizens of which we are proud and for which we agree to carry out our respective obligations. One can bear witness to this phenomenon, perhaps in the most dramatic sense, when young men and women enlist in the military, many of whom willingly agree to be sent to war, even if they personally disagree with the cause.

Nationalism is quite different, as it focuses on one's "national group." What constitutes national group in this context could be any number or combination of different categories that deal with one's sense of belonging, i.e., common culture or religion, native language, or shared history or ancestry. Unlike patriotism described above in the American context, nationalism does not depend on a civic idea such as freedom. It relies only on

identification with a national group. In a profound depiction of nationalism, Isaiah Berlin posits that

> …one of the most compelling reasons, perhaps the most compelling, for holding a particular belief, pursuing a particular policy, serving a particular end, living a particular life, is that the ends, beliefs, policies, lives are *ours*. This is tantamount to saying that these rules or doctrines or principles should be followed not because they lead to virtue or happiness or justice or liberty … or are good and right in themselves … rather they are to be followed because these values are those of *my* group – for the nationalist, of *my* nation (Berlin 1981: 342-3).

Nationalism conjures up feelings of *us* versus *them*. It can be exclusionary and reflect negatively on out-groups or the other. In this country, the post-9/11 environment evoked nationalistic tendencies in the American people. The threat of radical Islam turned our civic patriotic values into a nationalistic battle of ideas with the other. In framing the events of 9/11 as an attack on America, rather than an attack on the free world, President Bush (perhaps understandably) succumbed to nationalistic temptation. "You are either with us or against us." One could argue that the Tea Party also represents the more nationalistic side of American sentiment. Nationalism and cosmopolitanism may not be compatible.

Important to this study, however, is whether one can be a patriot and a cosmopolitan at the same time. Can we maintain a dual allegiance? Scholars have explored additional ways to dissect patriotism and nationalism to create sub-categories that match particular circumstances. Nussbaum argues for globally-sensitive patriotism, meaning "when a nation pursues not only internal justice but the goal of global justice as well" (Nussbaum 2008: 93). Kleingeld paints a world of three patriotisms, civic (as referenced above), nationalist, and trait-based, in an attempt to determine whether patriotism and cosmopolitanism (à la Kant) are compatible. Her distinction between nationalism and nationalist patriotism appears

minimal, and trait-based patriotism nicely accounts for (i.e.) the French love of their language, geography, and culture without referring to them as nationalists. For in fact, a Frenchman who loves his country for those reasons is indeed a patriot, just as an American who loves those same qualities about France can be labeled a "Francophile" (Kleingeld 2000: 321).

Kleingeld's main contribution, however, is not the sub-categorization of various levels of patriotism, but rather the notion that patriotism and cosmopolitanism need not be, at least from a philosophical point of view, mutually-exclusive. To walk through this argument, we must first ask ourselves how it could be possible that patriotism would not overshadow the notion that all humans are equal and that we share a moral obligation to all, regardless of national citizenship. If we are patriotic, would we not first desire to help our fellow countrymen? Where do our loyalties ultimately lie? Where are our duties as citizens? Simplifying her argument substantially, Kleingeld argues that civic patriotism remains very much in keeping with cosmopolitan ideals. "Civic patriotism does not prohibit one from trying to promote just states elsewhere … But promoting justice elsewhere should not lead one to renounce one's civic duty toward the just and democratic country of which one is a citizen" (p. 329). In effect, Kleingeld's argument is a nuanced version of the Stoics' description of belonging to two communities, one a result of our birth and the other a result of our common humanity. Rhetorically, she finds a way to marry Kantian cosmopolitanism to our multi-state international system. Her argument "leads to a duty not toward compatriots but toward the just democratic state; and not toward the state simply because it is mine, but because it is an institution of justice, and an institution of a type that requires the

participation of its citizens in order to function" (p. 332). Interestingly, she then takes her argument one step further to declare that not only is civic patriotism not in contradiction to the maxims of Kantianism, it is even "desirable" that people around the world adopt this form of patriotism. "Civic patriotism is itself instrumental in leading to cosmopolitan justice … in striving to make my own state more just, I can also strive to make it more just toward other states and more respectful of human rights in its dealings with foreigners" (p. 334).

This mutually constitutive balancing act between patriotism and cosmopolitanism is of vital importance to this study, as it begins to outline a new type of cosmopolitanism more in line with modern day reality. The nation-state is not going away anytime soon, and any pragmatic notion of cosmopolitanism must be tempered by, and perhaps even embrace, that constraint. The question remains, however, why a Kleingeldian civic patriot would care about advancing justice and human rights in other parts of the world. If such a patriot maintains no connections to others outside of his own democracy, would he have an incentive to promote global justice? In other words, although patriotism is inherently compatible with cosmopolitanism, is it a sufficient enough condition to allow cosmopolitanism to flourish?

Cosmopolitanism and the possibility of multiple allegiances

Related to the discussion of nationalism and patriotism, much debate in the literature has surfaced around how exactly to define the new cosmopolitanism. Is it about the individual, the group or the whole? In the end, the answer remains at the intersection between the

individual and the whole, the particular and the universal. In line with Enlightenment philosophy, Kant was incredibly concerned with the freedom of the individual, in the liberal tradition. Yet, in order to secure that freedom, a universal framework for justice, for cosmopolitan right, is necessary. In the context of patriotism and nationalism, an additional category adds itself to the mix, namely that of pluralism. We live, after all, in a world of various cultures, both at the national and sub-national levels. How do the opposing notions of particularity, plurality, and universality jive in the discussion of modern-day cosmopolitanism?

Todd Gitlin (1995) would contend that cosmopolitanism needs to return to its Enlightenment roots of stressing human commonality over the particularity of race, gender, ethnicity, and nationality. Gitlin desires to steer away from the universality offered by global free markets and religion. He advocates that we attempt to move away from internally conceptualizing only the differences inherent in multiculturalism. Instead, we should "agree to limit the severity of their differences – even while pounding the table and claiming the uniqueness of their communities" (Gitlin 1995: 209). More broadly, we all have a choice in how to define ourselves, in how to conceive of our identity. Gitlin suggests, much as Kant would have, that we should endeavor to limit the part of our identity that separates us (while not forgetting entirely about it) and focus more meaningfully on the part of our common human identity that connects us. Only then can we "re-engage in a politics that hopes to address true conditions of injustice … throughout the world" (Deneen 2000: 7).

David Hollinger (1995) takes his concern about multiculturalism and its affinity to build identity around things that divide us (gender, race, ethnicity, nationality) a step further. He believes that we could be entering a cosmopolitan era of "post-ethnicity," and he distinguishes cosmopolitanism from both universalism and pluralism. It is worth noting the distinctions that he elaborates, as if he is offering three distinct models. Pluralists (or multiculturalists) seek to identify differences across groups. They tend to see people as part of a larger group, not as individuals. Universalists aim to establish unity for all, while viewing diversity as more of a "problem" and something to be overcome. Cosmopolitans, by contrast, view diversity as a fact of life. They appreciate it and aim to further explore these differences, yet they are committed to viewing people first as individuals in a world in which group identity continuously evolves. Cosmopolitanism can indeed be everything Hollinger wants it to be and still be universal. "While a cosmopolitan by Hollinger's lights can *appreciate* difference, even acknowledge that it is ineradicable at some level, he also maintains that such differences can always be transcended by an act of volition or will, by *choice*. Such is at base the fundamental assumption of liberal cosmopolitanism" (Deneen 2000: 9). In other words, cosmopolitanism is as much about the power of the individual to choose as it is about the ideal of equality and justice for all of humanity. In this liberal tradition of individual choice, what conditions are necessary for one to choose to embrace cosmopolitan values? How does one decide to be a cosmopolitan?

Martha Nussbaum (1994, 1996, and 1997) writes in the same vein and builds on the concept of human volition. She posits that humans are capable of having dual allegiances, as first advocated by the Stoics. One allegiance is to the place of one's birth, an arbitrary

accident of time and place. The next allegiance must be to the "community of human argument and aspiration" (Nussbaum 1996: 7). Our primary allegiance must be to this second group, as only then will we eliminate (or at least partially eliminate) limitations to our worldview and prejudice. We should "give our first allegiance to no mere form of government, no temporal power, but to the moral community made up by the humanity of all human beings" (Nussbaum 1996: 7). Nussbaum realizes that accepting universal humanity as our primary allegiance requires an act of will. It is not an automatic choice, but rather something that individuals must actively analyze and eventually accept. This logic appears to be much in line with Kant's cosmopolitan right and his faith in the individual to realize the importance of and our moral obligation to our shared humanity. Yet again here, Nussbaum fails to elaborate on the necessary ingredients for actively analyzing and eventually accepting this choice, and it is not clear that being cosmopolitan necessitates accepting this highly normative position.

In making that choice for universalism, Nussbaum speaks of not just dual, but multiple allegiances. She provides the image of concentric circles to describe individual obligations.

> The first [circle] is drawn around the self; the next takes in one's immediate family; then follows the extended family; then, in order, one's neighbors or local group, one's fellow city-dwellers, one's fellow countrymen … Beyond all these circles is the largest one, that of humanity as a whole. Our task as citizens of the world, and as educators who prepare people to be citizens of the world, will be to "draw the circles somehow toward the center," making all human beings like our fellow city dwellers. In other words, we need not give up our special affiliations and identifications, whether national or ethnic or religious; but we should work to make all human beings part of our community of dialogue and concern, showing respect for the human wherever it

> occurs, and allowing that respect to constrain our national and local politics (Nussbaum 1997: 60-61).

This passage provides a visual illustration of the various responsibilities and obligations that pull on the individual. It brings together elements of all the various strands of cosmopolitanism discussed in this section so far: universal morality, individual equality, and justice. Nussbaum agrees with Gitlin and Hollinger that cosmopolitans do not disavow pluralism, but rather study and learn to appreciate other cultures. Keeping our primary allegiance that of humanity will allow us to develop a sense of toleration for other cultures and practices, not automatically declaring the moral superiority of one's own. Also here, we are left to wonder what level of studying and learning about other cultures will lead to this toleration for and appreciation of plurality and the desire maintain our primary allegiance to the abstract notion of humanity.

Jeremy Waldron (2000) also touches on multiple allegiances in the context of a cosmopolitan worldview.

> The discipline of cosmopolitan right … is not that I must give up my intense and particularistic allegiances … It is rather that I should take the norms of my culture for what they are – not aspects of my 'identity' (or my cultural vanity), but solutions or purported solutions, which have been developed in one group over time and funded deeply by the distinctive experience of the members of this group, to problems and conflicts which we may possibly find ourselves sharing with others who have developed different (and rival) approaches funded by different experiences (Waldron 2000: 243).

Nussbaum and Waldron's view of cosmopolitanism appear to be in line with Kleingeld's. As we can have multiple allegiances, there is no reason we cannot strive to be citizens of both our own country and the world. We can be patriots while simultaneously serving as valued members of the global community. While advocating a "globally-sensitive

patriotism," Nussbaum states her "comprehensive ethical position" to be "an uneven dialectical oscillation within ourselves, as we accept the constraints of some strong duties to humanity, and then ask ourselves how far we are entitled to devote ourselves to the particular people and places whom we love" (Nussbaum 2008: 80). The internal "dialectical oscillation" illustrates the shifting weight of multiple allegiances and obligations.

Although as noted, neither provides a precise recipe for this process to occur, both Nussbaum and Waldron imply that cosmopolitanism is a learning process, which eventually leads to choosing humanity as the primary allegiance. Nussbaum even explicitly states this obligation, to "draw the circles somehow toward the center, making all human beings like our fellow city dwellers" (p. 81). According to Nussbaum and Waldron, a liberal education is the key to forming such perspectives and sentiments about the world and humanity. What aspects of a liberal education lead to the adoption of a cosmopolitan worldview? What college experiences engender a change in the way we draw these circles? How does the literature on socialization, study abroad, and service learning weave together with cosmopolitanism thinking?

Rooted cosmopolitanism, globalization, and contact theory

Boiled down to its ethical core, the discussion in the preceding section portrays cosmopolitanism as a liberal ideal heralding individual freedom and human volition. It urges universality over plurality, still while acknowledging the existence of a pluralist cultural landscape. Cosmopolitanism also engenders a confidence that liberal education can help to

form citizens around its central message of universal morality. It advocates for the idea that people can possess dual and even multiple loyalties, starting with the individual and reaching as far out as the world.

Yet, at the heart of all the noise surrounding cosmopolitanism, which emanates from various social science and legal traditions, rests the clear fact that it remains a philosophical ideal. The scholarship, from the Greeks and Romans and through the Enlightenment, does not attempt to devise a grand theory of how the world works, but rather imagines how the world *should* or *ought to* work. For this reason, it remains difficult to measure how much of human behavior can be explained by Kantian universality, for example, as opposed to Hobbesian self-interest. The material realities of our modern world, however, might have inadvertently strengthened cosmopolitanism's hand in this regard. Yet the traditional approach to cosmopolitanism does not provide a roadmap. It is bullish on philosophy, but bearish on practicality.

We may still reside in a state-based system where the accident of our birth dictates the passport we initially hold. But, in the words of Thomas Friedman, the world is becoming "flat," both in terms of economics and technology. Processes of globalization are vertically integrating our production chains across several countries. International travel has become more accessible and affordable to the middle class. And the information revolution has expanded our capacity to communicate with practically anyone, in any country, with the click of a button. This material fact of our modern world lends itself to revisiting Druckman's (1994) scaled model, discussed earlier. Perhaps technology has allowed us to climb through the various levels of his model faster than before. The increasing ease of international travel

certainly pushes us in the right direction, but travel in and of itself does not offer the type of sustained interaction necessary to meaningfully reduce negative feelings and stereotypes. Technological advances may not have changed the equation leading to an expansion of one's in-group, but they have made it more evident to more people that we live in an interconnected world.

In other words, the ethical and deeply philosophical arguments for cosmopolitanism made by the Cynics and Stoics and Enlightenment thinkers are now able to take root in the changing nature of our increasingly globalized world. Although adding the very real ingredient of globalization to the philosophical ideal of cosmopolitanism is not without controversy. "It matters that contemporary cosmopolitans are working in ideational and material conditions of globalization, and it matters that Kant was not" (Berry 2008: 16). Craig Berry and others might see this fact as a critique of modern cosmopolitans, that somehow scholars in this tradition have lost the ethical pizzazz of the Enlightenment crowd, that the "new cosmopolitanism" (in the words of Robert Fine) is disconnected to the strong moral purpose of the work of Kant. Simply put, contemporary scholars are now able (or at least feel they are able) to contextualize a theory that originally could not be contextualized. "Fine is not actually opposed to the universal rights ostensibly advocated by the new cosmopolitanism – rather he is opposed to the way that the notion of globalization is mobilized to justify the cosmopolitan project" (Berry 2008: 20). Fine's main contention remains that the new cosmopolitanism "understate[s] the ties that bind the present to the past and overstate[s] the ties that bind it to the future" (Fine and Chernilo 2004: 32).

All of this banter about the new cosmopolitanism not being pure enough, as it is not stripped away from historical context, seems not terribly relevant. The fact remains that the moment in time is important, and new cosmopolitan thinkers inevitably have to put their theories into the context and discourse of the day, namely globalization.

Globalization has caused many to turn to cosmopolitan ethics to begin to establish ways of responding to problems that affect us all, but politically and legally, the path becomes difficult. Cosmopolitans would neither wish for cultural homogenization nor a system of global governance with inherent democratic deficits. This challenge has been answered by *rooted* cosmopolitanism, also similarly written about as "republican" (Chung 2003), "anchored" (Dallmayr 2003), "vernacular" (Werbner 2006), "situated" (Baynes 2007), or "embedded" cosmopolitanism (Erskine 2008). Cosmopolitan philosophy can be critiqued for the unrealistic assertion that people are rootless, that nationalistic or patriotic sentiments must be cast aside. People are indeed always from somewhere and inhabit perspectives built on experiences generated across time and place. Mitchel Cohen (1992) first used the term "rooted cosmopolitan," which he claimed "rests on the legitimacy of plural loyalties of standing in many circles, but with common ground" (Cohen 1992: 483), harkening back to our earlier discussion of Nussbaum's (1997) metaphor of concentric circles used to describe multiple allegiances. Tarrow (2001) builds on this relational aspect of cosmopolitanism. He writes that previous notions of cosmopolitanism (i.e., moral) are more cognitive and do not explain how people actually relate to one another. "It is *rooted* cosmopolitans who grow out of local settings and draw on domestic resources who are the main actors in transnational contention. The special characteristic of these activists is not their *cognitive* cosmopolitanism,

but their *relational* links to their own societies, to other countries, and to international institutions" (Tarrow 2001: 2). Building this relational aspect into cosmopolitanism makes the philosophy come more alive and relevant. "Cosmopolitan identities are the product of social relations … it is through peoples' relations to significant others that cosmopolitan attitudes are shaped" (Tarrow 2001: 7-8). Are students embarking on study abroad and service learning opportunities establishing these relational links? Are they forming cosmopolitan identities?

This relational, or rooted, aspect of cosmopolitanism can be said to play itself out in what scholars term "lifestyle politics," meaning where one chooses to live, work and play. As this concept is based on choice, not accident (as in where one is born), it is not tied to traditional notions of state-based citizenship (Steenbergen 1994; Franck 1999; Falk 1994). As immigration patterns around the world constantly alter demographics, people behave as citizens in the place they choose to live. In fact, due to immigration, they may choose to live in one place, but feel "rooted" in more than one. Another expanding category of relational cosmopolitanism is what Scammell (2000) refers to as "citizen-consumers," who vote which products to support with their wallets. Informed citizens might decide to purchase a given product based on the social agenda of the manufacturer, the way it treats its employees, or the environmental practices they espouse. In a less direct but perhaps equally as impactful way, this kind of consumerism is also global activism or global civic engagement. Citizen-consumers are rooted in a particular place, but act on matters of global concern. This citizen behavior has sparked corporations to spawn divisions charged with corporate social

responsibility, a great example of the power of individuals to affect the way institutions interact with the world.

Increasingly, as Tarrow also discusses, individuals around the world are beginning to ban together in defense of what they feel to be important global issues. These activists might pressure multinational corporations to alter labor standards in developing countries to protect the welfare of child laborers, for example. Such efforts can be described as grassroots transnational activism. Global activists are considered a "cosmopolitan community of individuals" (Keck and Sikkink 1998: 213) who work across borders to improve the human condition. As Falk (1994) writes, a true wave of global citizenship is emerging, where allegiances are "no longer bounded by or centered upon the formal relationship that an individual has to his or her own territorial society as embodied in the form of a state. Traditional citizenship is being challenged and remolded by the important activism associated with this transnational political and social evolution" (Falk 1994: 138). Are study abroad and service learning students also challenging and remolding their notions of citizenship via relational associations and allegiances? While study abroad students are having these transnational experiences more directly, service learning students could be doing so within the confines of the nation-state – crossing societal boundaries and discovering the global closer to home.

Yet just as such an evolution might well be underway, these global activists also have to return home at some point. Turning back to Tarrow and to tie this section together, he soberly reminds us that we still live in an interstate system, not in a utopian world without

borders. He argues that many students of globalization lead themselves astray. "Conceiving of transnational activism as the product of something they long for and consequently construct – a global civil society – they sometimes forget that most people live in a world of states; that since states facilitated globalization, they are also the framework for resistance to it; and that those best placed to respond to the pressures of globalization are, therefore, not de-territorialized activists but … *rooted* cosmopolitans" (Tarrow 2001: 6). He goes on to say that rooted cosmopolitans are "people rooted in specific national contexts, but who engage in regular activities that require their involvement in transnational networks of contacts and conflicts" (Tarrow 2001: 8). An example of such an individual might be a Guatemalan immigrant living in Chicago involved in the production of fair trade coffee in Guatemala and its distribution in the United States. To be "rooted" means necessarily that one has roots. We are all rooted in a particular history or culture, yet as we go through life and make choices, we acquire new affiliations and allegiances. In our example, our Guatemalan immigrant can feel rooted in Central America, yet also feel a strong loyalty to the United States. And through his work on fair trade issues, he can also feel a strong ethical obligation to humanity writ large, to feel a sense of global citizenship, even in a state-centered world. This assertion helps to tie together the literature on cosmopolitanism with the literature on socialization in a compelling way. Tarrow offers a way to begin to respond to some of the unanswered questions posed throughout the preceding section. Namely, what combination of experiences is necessary for an individual to choose to adopt a cosmopolitan worldview? If Tarrow is correct that *relations* with others dictate this phenomenon, then contact theory might hold some promise in better understanding the process of becoming a cosmopolitan.

The example above of a Guatemalan immigrant living in Chicago makes perfect sense in this context, but what if we apply this concept to a student from a suburban community that arrives at college for the first time with no real connection to people in other countries? What experiences would he need to have in college that might engender a broadening of his in-group and worldview?

To help respond, we can return for a moment to Kant, who reminds us of man's "unsocial sociability," meaning that humans may demonstrate a curiosity about the lives, traditions, and cultures of others, yet we remain fundamentally reluctant to respect or to take alternative approaches seriously. We might assume that our first-year college student feels the same way. He has been brought up in a particular way and has been taught what is right and wrong. "Each of us – each individual or each society – takes his own moral thinking very seriously, and finds some terrible affront, some sort of obstacle of self-righteousness, in taking seriously the different moral thinking of others, especially when it leads to different conclusions … [this is] the key to Kant's political philosophy … [and] a crucial part of the problematic of cosmopolitan right" (Waldron 2000: 238).

In other words, humans exist in a natural state of conflict that revolves around alternative moralities or versions of what is right or just. We may show interest in other approaches, yet we are naturally predisposed into believing that our approaches are morally superior ("unsocial sociability"). That said, especially given the ascent of the republic as a form of state, Kant believed that well-intentioned citizens would eventually be able to construct a common framework built from compromise among various opposing cultural understandings. We live, after all, side by side, and the pure nature of this physical closeness

forces us to deal with one another and to come to a common moral understanding of justice and right. Kant's writings are inherently rational, in the tradition of Enlightenment thinkers, yet there remains a vein of utopian thinking that never fully explains how humans can move from "unsocial sociability" to good-natured citizens willing to compromise with others. The same can be said of our student. What academic and non-academic experiences will he need to be exposed to in college to overcome his unsocial sociability? Perhaps he will never come to a global moral understanding of justice and right. He will remain rooted, as we all do, but he might just build *contacts* and forge *relations* with others during his college years that seek to inform his worldview and expand his in-group, becoming a rooted cosmopolitan.

This project endeavors to understand what types of experiences provide the right environment for this type of socialization to occur. With that in mind, we must endeavor to understand the idiosyncrasies of the Millennial Generation, the age group at the heart of this research. Millennials represent the segment of the population that was born between 1980 and 2000, the age group that is currently attending college. As the literature on socialization and impressionable years would argue, it is precisely this group that should remain the focus of this project. The next section provides a window into the composition of this age group – how they think, their social and political views, and how they might serve as the most forward-leaning and potentially cosmopolitan of generations.

THE MILLENNIAL GENERATION AND WORLDVIEW

As times have changed, so too has the transition from adolescence to adulthood. Generations past typically married right out of high school or college, had children, and started careers, never straying far from hometowns and working for the same employer until retirement. As time has progressed, this transition period has grown longer. Young adults are marrying and having children much later. One's 20s have become an extended period of identity exploration, initially prioritizing career and life experiences over family, moving further away from home, and trying on various social and professional hats before finally settling down with a spouse, buying a home, and raising a family. What the Millennial Generation does with this extended period of transition remains an important question for this study. In fact, it is conceivable that the impressionable years may come at a slightly older age for today's youth or just last longer. In any case, how do this generation's life experiences mold its conceptions of the world? How do young people act on these conceptions? What behaviors do they exhibit? How are they reaching out globally or across societies?

Attempting to come to terms with the thoughts and impulses of twentysomethings today, scholars and opinion leaders have called this generation a lot of names. From more optimistic portrayals such as "the next great generation" (Strauss and Howe 2000) and Thomas Friedman's (2007) "The Quiet Americans" to less generous aliases such as "Generation Me" (Twenge 2006) and "the Dumbest Generation" (Bauerlein 2008). These last two designations reflect the notion that today's youth is self-centered, feels entitled and knows nothing about politics or history. How could they, when they are plugged into their

mobile devices tweeting 24-7 or constantly changing their Facebook status? "Increasingly disconnected from the "adult" world of tradition, culture, history, context and the ability to sit down for more than five minutes with a book, today's digital generation is becoming insulated in its own stultifying cocoon of bad spelling, civic illiteracy and endless postings that hopelessly confuse triviality with transcendence" (Drutman 2008).

Thomas Friedman (2007) coined the term "Generation Q" for "quiet." This piece in the *New York Times* was written before the election of Barack Obama, the recession, and the Arab Spring and Occupy movements. Yet his point still resonates, encapsulating both optimistic and concerning elements of the generation. He describes himself as being "both baffled and impressed" by today's youth. "I am impressed because they are so much more optimistic and idealistic than they should be. I am baffled because they are so much less radical and politically engaged than they need to be." For Friedman, this generation is so connected electronically that they feel activism can be accomplished in front of a screen and sitting on a desk chair. "America needs a jolt of idealism, activism and outrage (it must be in there) of Generation Q … to light a fire under the country. But they can't email it in, and an online petition for carbon neutrality won't cut it. They have to get organized in a way that will force politicians to pay attention rather than just patronize them … Virtual politics is just that – virtual."

In light of the recent uprisings in this country regarding economic inequality (i.e., Occupy Wall Street), has Friedman's point been discredited? The visible, attention grabbing, yet highly decentralized and somewhat anarchic movements might prove his point. Young people have used social media and technology as a tool to physically organize; yet they have

so far not been terribly capable of projecting a common message or promoting a specific policy agenda. How is this generation different? For a closer look, we can turn to some statistics that compare the Millennial Generation with older Americans. The February 2010 report conducted by the Pew Research Center entitled *Millennials: Confident, Connected, Open to Change*[10] provides some insight into the character and personality of this younger generation. The authors describe Millennials[11] as "confident, self-expressive, liberal, upbeat, and open to change" (p. 1). Painting in broad strokes, this under-30 group is more diverse, less religious, less likely to have served in the military, the most educated, and the most connected generation.

More diverse, open, and tolerant

Dubbed by Ronald Alsop (2008) as the "Benetton Generation," referring to the multiethnic advertisements that the fashion company ran several years ago, shifting demographics prove that Americans are increasingly darker. The December 2009 Current Population Survey (US Census) reports that 61% of those under 30 are white, compared to 70% of those over 30. This generation is not only more diverse, but also more accepting of diversity, in all its forms. In terms of family values, Millennials are more likely to accept women and men living together out of wedlock, single women having children, mothers working while parenting, and gay couples raising children than previous generations (p. 53-55). The under-

[10] http://www.pewsocialtrends.org/2010/02/24/millennials-confident-connected-open-to-change/, accessed 15 July 2011.

[11] Defined by Pew as individuals born after 1980.

30 crowd is also the most accepting of gay marriage, with 50% in favor, compared to 43% of Gen Xers and 32% of Boomers (p. 56-57).

Given the perspectives noted above on family values, not surprisingly, Pew also notes a slight generational attitude difference on inter-racial dating. 93% of Millennials agree that inter-racial dating is appropriate, whereas the percentage of older generations is still high, but slightly less, with 86% of Generation Xers, 83% of Baby Boomers, and 68% of the Silent Generation (p. 78) in agreement. This measure demonstrates an increased degree of openness to others compared to older cohorts.

Along these lines, Americans under 30 are more tolerant of immigrants than older generations. And as this group ages, the trend even improves, demonstrating further acceptance. They are also less inclined to support further immigration restrictions than older generations, 59% to 76%+ for older generations (p. 79).

Despite the darkening hew of Americans in this generation and the increased degree of tolerance for others and for alternative lifestyles, the data in the Pew report do not necessarily lead to drastically different attitudinal differences regarding affirmative action among the generations. Generally speaking, Millennials are more supportive than older generations of affirmative action, but it may not be as much a generational issue as one of age. Respondents were asked whether or not they agree that "we should make every possible effort to improve the position of blacks and minorities, even if it means giving them preferential treatment" (p. 77). As Millennials grow into adulthood, they agree less with this statement. In 2009, 45% agreed, in line with the percentage of Generation Xers that agreed in 1993. This result may be due to a variety of factors, but potentially, Millennials feel that

we should now be in a post-racial environment, where racial equality, in their eyes, never came into question. They never felt or witnessed the discrimination and prejudice their parents and grandparents did. Older generations fought those battles for them.

More Democratic, yet politically fickle

Anyone who happened to pay any attention at all to the 2008 presidential election remembers the throngs of young supporters of Barack Obama. Whether 2008 was a one-time event or a longer trend tying younger voters to Democrats remains to be seen, although the 2012 election results certainly do not deny this trend. Without a doubt, more people under 30 are Democrats or lean Democratic than any other age group. According to Pew, 57% of Millennials fit this description in 2009 (p. 3). Only 28% of the under-30 cohort self-describe as conservative, far less than older generations.

This leftward lean of Millennials might help explain their views on the role of government and national security. The under-30 group is the only generation with a majority (53%) that feels "government should do more to solve problems" (p. 3). And while Millennials feel government can do more domestically, they have less faith in government, through military might, to solve the world's problems. This younger generation in 2009 was the least hawkish when asked whether they agreed with the statement "the best way to ensure peace is through military strength," around 35% for Millennials to 52%+ for older generations (p. 79).

Interestingly, however, on both role of government and national security policy, this younger generation has proven to be quite fickle. While they agree more than other

generations that government has a "responsibility to help those in need" (p. 76), there was a precipitous decline in those that agree with this notion between 2007 and 2009. In keeping with the broader discussion of our national debt during that time frame, Millennials fall in line with older generations in being less willing to help the needy, if it means increasing our national debt. In terms of national security, a similar trend emerged during the 2007-09 period. In 2007, the under-30s were just as likely as Boomers and more likely than Gen Xers to support an assertive national security policy. In 2009, they were significantly less likely than older generations to do the same.

Not any more politically and socially engaged than older generations

Lots of emotions come to bear when considering politics. The support Candidate Obama received in November 2008 from young voters was historic. In part, it followed a turnout trend. The polarized presidential election of 2004 evoked a 9% increase in under-30 turnout over 2000 (p. 80), compared to a mere 3% increase in older generations. 2008 increased that number another 2% to a turnout of 51% of eligible voters under 30. The percentage was 49%, slightly less, in 2012.[12] The 2008 total represented the smallest gap in turnout among the generations since 18-year olds were accorded the right to vote in 1972. Millennials were already deeply engaged in fundamental matters of American citizenship. While this number is impressive in historical terms, it still seems rather disengaged, when considering that 67% of voters over 30 showed up at the polls in 2008 (p. 81). Still, undeniably, Obama tapped into the spirit and energy of this younger generation. For many, he appeared to represent

[12] http://www.civicyouth.org/youth-turnout-at-least-49-22-23-million-under-30-voted/, accessed 20 July 2011.

the more diverse, more tolerant America with which young people identify. The Obama campaign also made the most use of technology to engage younger, "connected" voters. In fact, Millennials created these social media organizing tools for the Obama campaigns of 2008 and 2012, and this younger generation remains highly involved in both the technology and the strategy behind Organizing for Action, the political action organization that sprang out of Obama's 2012 campaign operations.

Indeed, intervening events may have also played a role. As the recession has hit home for many, young voters' initial enthusiasm appeared to have eroded, leading many to believe that 2008 was the exception to the rule in terms of turnout and political engagement. In fact, only 10% of the voters in the gubernatorial elections in New Jersey and Virginia in 2009 were under 30[13], which is about half of the total of the same voters in those states that turned out to vote in 2008. The presidential elections of 2012 elevated the youth vote once again. However, looking at the evidence of the relative lack of political engagement of this younger generation, the percentage of Millennials that claim to "always or most always vote" is 16 points less than Gen Xers and 20 points less than Boomers (Pew, p. 82). The engagement gap also continues outside of merely voting. In terms of expressing one's political voice through signing petitions or contacting one's representative on Capitol Hill, Boomers are about 40% more likely to do so than Millennials (p. 83). However, these may well be old techniques. Citizens, and conceivably young citizens chief among them, are increasingly expressing their opinions on-line. The White House recently increased the

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[13] Center for Information and Research on Civic Learning and Engagement (CIRCLE), Tufts University

number of signatures required on petitions from 25,000 to 100,000 to generate a response from the Administration. It was originally 5,000 in 2011.[14]

Along these lines, and reverting back to Thomas Friedman's Generation Q, one could argue that today's youth has created its own insular bubble, not feeling the need to contact their member of Congress, sign a petition, or organize to push for reform, as their postmodern *virtual* world has truly become *real*. With just a dash of hyperbole, one could say that rarely do young people disconnect from their multiple screens long enough to realize life is happening around them. And increasingly, the world one chooses to see is one that re-affirms, rather than one that challenges one's worldview. Not only can we watch customized news that matches our political ideology 24 hours a day, but we can also tune into electronic content designed just for us that we consume and then resend to all our "friends" that share our perspective. Tom Hudson (2010)[15] writes that members of his own generation "lock and load our custom iTunes playlists, craft our Facebook profiles to self-satisfied perfection, and, armed with our gleefully ironic irreverence, bravely venture forth into life within glossy, opaque bubbles that reflect ourselves back to ourselves and safely protect us from jarring intrusions from the greater world beyond."

Despite this highly descriptive, yet surely overstated depiction, there is evidence that outside of the political process, young people are also engaged socially, yet not always more so than their older counterparts. When asked if they had volunteered in the past 12 months, a similar number of Millennials, Gen Xers, and Boomers said yes (Pew, p. 83). There also

[14] http://www.nbcnews.com/technology/technolog/white-house-raises-online-petition-threshold-100-000-1B8003970, accessed 21 July 2011.

[15] http://www.enlightennext.org/magazine/j42/voices-huston.asp, accessed 13 September 2011.

appears to be no significant difference when asked about political consumerism. A slightly higher percentage of Millennials than Gen Xers admitted to buying a product because they approved of the political or social values of a particular company ("boycotting" or "citizen consumerism," as discussed earlier in this chapter), 35% and 30% respectively, 27% and 18% for Boomers and the Silent Generation. And similar percentages (all within two points of each other) across the younger three generations also persisted when asked about the converse, namely boycotting certain companies due to the social or political positions or actions they espouse (p. 84). The Silent Generation was about 10 points lower here than the others.

Narcissistic and morally relative

As we can see from the Pew data, this generation is clearly more diverse and tolerant, but not necessarily more politically and socially engaged than older generations. Is this lacking engagement a reflection on what Friedman refers to as "the quiet Americans" or Bauerlein's "Dumbest Generation"? We can return to Huston (2010) for a moment. He retorts that his age group represents "the most *sophisticatedly narcissistic* generation".

> Next to our depth of self-obsession, the boomers' narcissism, with all its weirdly idealistic naïveté, can't even compare. And our older Gen-X friends and siblings, with their strange existential angst and cynicism, are clearly living in semitransparent bubbles that permit them to still react to a real world beyond themselves. But Gen-Y narcissism trumps it all. Liberated utterly from the chains of history, with our attention glued to a world of pure virtuality, we seem to be floating freely – within millions of bubbles of self-reflecting opacity – into the stratosphere of the twenty-first century … Many of my peers have attempted [to take to the streets], aspiring toward boomeresque idealism or raging against the machine and mimicking Gen-X cynicism. But it always seems strangely unconvincing, a put-on performance … this is because Gen-Y can't be deeply *engaged* with the state of the real world when we're cruising a thousand feet above it in our custom pimped-out mePods (Huston, 2010).

Huston is certainly cynical in the above passage about his own generation, yet this also mirrors what Smith et al. (2011) discuss in their book *Lost in Transition: The Dark Side of Emerging Adulthood*. The authors conducted in-depth interviews with 230 Millennials and asked them questions on moral issues and right and wrong. The results demonstrate that today's youth don't give much thought to morality, that they see ethical dilemmas as something personal, not something they feel in a position to judge. The study does not mean to conclude that Millennials are immoral, but that "they have not been given the resources – by schools, institutions, and families – to cultivate their moral intuitions, to think more broadly about moral obligations, to check behaviors that may be degrading" (Brooks, 2011). Huston's "pimped-out mePods" and "bubbles of self-reflecting opacity" speak right to the heart of the matter, a sense of moral individualism or relativism.

In James Davison Hunter's (2001) *The Death of Character: Moral Education in an Age without Good or Evil,* he argues that children are being taught that doing the right thing will make them feel better, connecting morals with feelings, as opposed to concrete concepts such as good and evil. As a result, we are losing the ability to instill "character" in our youth. There is now little connection to the meaning, authority, and enduring nature behind morality, the cultural and historical context. In philosophizing about this phenomenon, one might contemplate moral agency; perhaps the sources of morals have become disentangled from morals themselves.

Yet perhaps more cosmopolitan?

At first blush, when reading the rather cynical depiction of the Millennial Generation above, one could begin to lose faith in today's youth. Before giving up all hope, let's look closely at both what could be considered the good and the not-so-good. To summarize, and compared to earlier generations, American Millennials are more ethnically diverse, more socially and culturally tolerant, more secular, more politically liberal, and more technologically connected, all elements that fit together with a possible cosmopolitan worldview. At the same time, Millennials might also be considered more self-absorbed or narcissistic and morally relative. Setting self-absorption aside for a moment, the moral relativity, while potentially harmful, may just be a side effect of changing demographics and increased openness and tolerance of other peoples, religions, and lifestyles. Much like the President's recent embrace of gay marriage, the contours of morality and acceptability in our society are constantly "evolving." Perhaps due to the varying layers of diversity inherent in the make-up of Generation-Y, Millennials are merely less prone to pass judgment than those among us representing older generations might once have been.

There is no doubt this new generation is coming into adulthood at a pivotal juncture in world history. The question remains, how is this generation adapting to the changing nature of the world? Do young people today view themselves and their country any differently than older generations? It is always interesting in a presidential election year to hear various candidates speak of their own personal versions of American exceptionalism. Clearly, it remains popular in American political discourse to idealize the United States as a "shining city on a hill." While politicians boast of their patriotism and of the unique qualities

they feel make this country exceptional, there is new evidence that America's youth might well be tuning them out. The 2011 Pew Global Attitudes Project concludes that American and Western European views of their own country and culture are beginning to converge. The data in the report demonstrate that "the American public is coming closer to Europeans in not seeing their culture as superior to that of other nations. Today, only about half of Americans believe their culture is superior to others, compared with six-in-ten in 2002. And the polling finds younger Americans less apt than their elders to hold American exceptionalist attitudes" (p. 2).[16] There is, in fact, a marked difference, with 60% of respondents older than 50 agreeing that American culture is superior compared to 38% of those under 30. To what can we attribute these changing attitudes? Perhaps the change is merely a result of what is happening in the world, with a continuing war in Afghanistan and another wound down in Iraq, along with the recession that has especially impacted young people looking for jobs after graduation from college. It could also be, at least in part, the result of the choices Millennials are increasingly making with regard to service learning and international education. The results are in – many in this generation do store their iPhones and tablets long enough to live in the real world.

[16] http://www.pewglobal.org/files/2011/11/Pew-Global-Attitudes-Values-Report-FINAL-November-17-2011-10AM-EST.pdf, accessed 12 July 2011.

MILLENNIALS DESCENDING ON OTHER SHORES

Richard Slimbach (2010) opines optimistically that this generation is serious about making a difference. He talks about the "increased movement of students across borders to study, to serve, and to teach" (p. 28) and the expansion of global travel and tourism. Friedman (2007) concurs, noting that his fears of world travel ceasing to be as "carefree" and possible after 9/11 as it was for his generation have fortunately not been realized. And this generation is not just traveling, but also completing valuable service projects. "College students today are not only going abroad to study in record numbers, but they are also going abroad to build homes for the poor in El Salvador in record numbers or volunteering at AIDS clinics in record numbers. Not only has terrorism not deterred them from traveling, they are rolling up their sleeves and diving in deeper than ever."

According to *Open Doors 2011*, an annual report published by the Institute of International Education (IIE), we reached an all-time high of over 270,000 Americans participating in a study abroad experience during the 2009-2010 academic year, an almost 4% increase over the previous year. As a reference point, this number only signifies 1.4% of the total number of students involved in higher education. This figure increases substantially, though, when looking at the total number of US undergraduates who obtain a bachelor's degree. 14% of students in that group have participated in study abroad. 57% of this group that studied abroad enrolled in a short-duration program of eight weeks or less. Only 39% of this group spent a semester overseas, and only 4% spent an academic year. While colleges and universities are clearly emphasizing the importance of off-campus study, are students

spending enough time away to make a significant difference in their worldview? Or does duration of time abroad even matter?

Additionally, we should look at the type of student choosing to study abroad. *Open Doors 2011* reports that social sciences and business management majors represented the largest sub-segments of the student population that studied abroad in 2009-10. Typically, students in these majors have more room in their programs of study for an off-campus experience, and the curricula at study abroad sites best supports these groups. Together, these two academic areas accounted for 43% of the total, and the percentage of students in these areas continues to rise steadily each year. While it is good news that the numbers of students in these majors choosing to study abroad continues to increase, we should also look at other majors to gauge progress. Students studying education, life and natural sciences, engineering, fine arts, health professions, agriculture, and math/computer science continue to represent only small percentages of the whole, with each in the single digits.

Growth, however, in these major areas has proven impressive in the past year, especially in agriculture (+23%) and engineering (+27%). This positive trend is likely the result of new international academic programming designed for students in these more technical fields. Georgia Tech provides an excellent example through its International Plan, a four-year program and designation students obtain on their transcript, if they fulfill certain global curricular requirements in tandem with their academic field of study, including 26 weeks of overseas study, work, or research. The goal of the Plan is to produce "globally competent citizens." According to the website, "students in the program can expect to be better prepared for the global work environment, be more competitive on the job market, to

earn higher salaries in their careers, and to achieve higher overall job satisfaction."[17] Georgia Tech is clearly appealing to students' economic sense and linking global education to the success of their future careers. Marketing the benefits of this program on their website, Georgia Tech asserts that "companies are increasingly looking to hire graduates who are able to: recognize how their discipline is practiced in an international context; function effectively in multinational work environments; assimilate comfortably into different world cultures; and assimilate easily into diverse communities and work environments."[18] These qualities are vital to success in a globalizing world, regardless of your major or career direction.

Another positive development is the gradual changes in target countries for study. Although Europe still remains the number one destination for US students, interests are beginning to change. Although the standard European destinations are still the most popular, 14 of the top 25 destination countries are now outside Europe. The *Open Doors* report claims that the United Kingdom is still the number one favorite. Yet, as the chart below depicts, it has lost in popularity over the past 10 years. In 2000, 20% of the total number of students abroad selected a program in the UK. Since then, we have seen an 8-point drop to 12% in 2010. Spain, Italy, and France have largely held their percentages and maintained their top rankings. However, the past ten years have seen a marked increase in the number of students studying in China, currently right behind France in hosting 5% of US students abroad and moving up six positions in the rankings. The other additions include Argentina, South Africa, and India to the top 15. In fact, just in the past year, from

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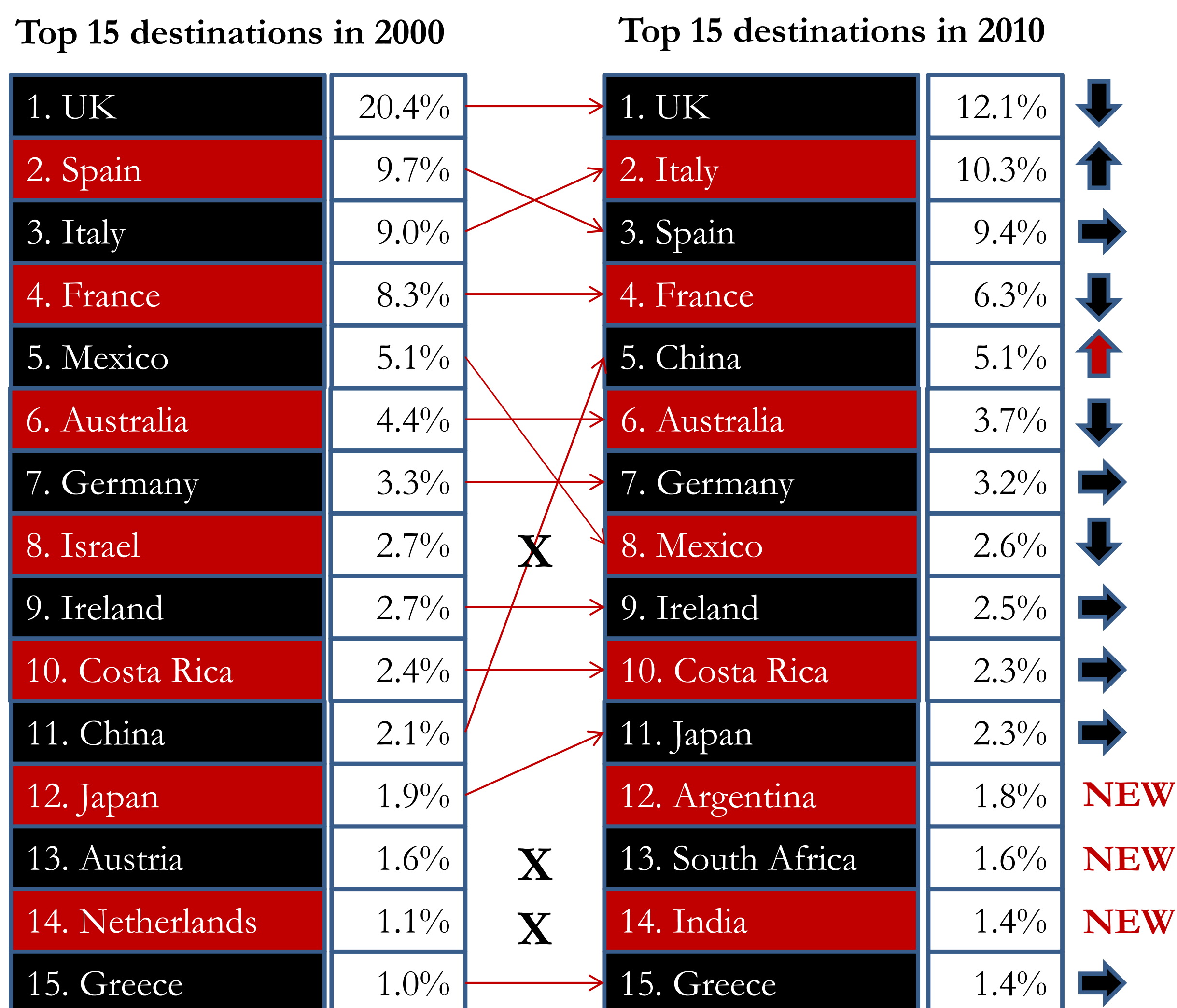
[17] http://www.internationalplan.gatech.edu/about-program/about-program, accessed 28 July 2011.

[18] http://www.internationalplan.gatech.edu/, accessed 28 July 2011.

2008-09 to 2009-10, participation in programs in India grew by 44%. Looking slightly beyond the top 15 to the top 25, *Open Doors 2011* also reports an increased interest in Brazil, growing by almost 12% in one year. If this trend continues, Brazil will easily make its way into the top 15 in coming years. Also, despite the ten-year drop in students going to Israel, the past year has shown a 61% increase in students studying there. In sum, the decreased interest in the UK, combined with growth in China, Brazil, and Israel, as well as the addition of Argentina, South Africa, and India to the top 15, demonstrates shifting student interests. Increased demand for programming in the BRICS countries may well be the result of the impressive economic growth rate of these countries and the student population selecting to go there, mostly business and social science majors. Overall, students are more prone to select programs in the developing world, in countries where English is not the native language, and where there might be brewing global tensions.

Chart 2.1: Change in top study abroad destinations 2000-2010



CONCLUSIONS: RE-CONCEPTUALIZING CITIZENSHIP IN A GLOBAL CONTEXT

Whether Millennials are just adjusting to the times or making a conscious effort to make a difference in the world, more young people now than ever before are going abroad, learning languages, and experiencing other cultures, or committing themselves to service projects,

internships, and experiencing aspects of the varied and interwoven societies within their own national borders. What do students learn about themselves and others through these exchanges? What changes in worldview do these overseas experiences or service learning opportunities engender, if any? Do students re-imagine their role as citizens when they return "home"? Does intergroup contact reinforce or expand students' in-groups? Considering study abroad or service learning as potential defining events or "transformative" experiences (Beck 1974), how might they be linked (if at all) to changing notions of citizenship at a global level? Tarrow's notion of rooted cosmopolitanism, combined with social psychological theories of inter-group contact and Beck's impressionable years hypothesis all provide the point of departure for this research.

Jacques Attali, former advisor to French President François Mitterrand, claims the final decline of the American empire will occur around 2035. In his 2006 book *Une brève histoire de l'avenir*,[19] he predicts a world in which the nation-state becomes increasingly irrelevant, and a process of "nomadization" will begin to occur, creating what he refers to as "hyperempire." "Hypernomads" will serve as the ruling class, and via the power of the internet, "virtual nomads," the scientists, engineers, managers, and technicians, will be part of a global network, but able to work for their corporations from anywhere.

While perhaps a little far-fetched (but maybe no more than a little), there is no doubt that the world is becoming smaller, both in terms of technology and sociology. Individuals, states, and global institutions will have to come to terms with these changes, and our

[19] Translated: *A Brief History of the Future*

political systems will have to begin to find ways to solve issues that have become too global, too important for the whole of humanity, to be solved at the national level. Critics of cosmopolitanism rightly claim that it cannot explain human behavior, although perhaps it never intended to. In this age of globalization, the future of the world could veer in several different directions. Our politics can remain several steps behind the sociopolitical changes in the world, or we can rise to find ways to tackle some of the most pressing global issues that face all of humanity. If the latter should become the chosen path, we need to pay special attention to education, to reinforcing the virtues of cosmopolitanism and the need for rising global citizens, for finding universal ground in a world of plurality, riddled with conflict. "It is important to simply live in the world and regard nothing human as alien" (Waldron 2000: 243). As unrealistic as it sounds to "regard nothing human as alien," perhaps such a process could begin in small ways. Referring back to the socialization literature and contact theory discussed earlier in this chapter, combined with the main tenets of cosmopolitanism, intergroup contact might enable young adults to extend their in-groups and begin to regard fewer and fewer humans as alien, or members of an out-group.

Returning for a moment to our fictitious cosmopolitan described earlier in this chapter, one could argue that intergroup contact may well have influenced his sense of responsibility as a citizen of the world. Growing up with parents from two cultures and moving to a different country every two years as the child of a diplomat instilled in him a sense of common humanity and a feeling of comfort and of belonging in most any part of the world. His career choices, purchasing habits, and volunteer activities in his free time have led to a truly cosmopolitan lifestyle. Although this type of person surely exists in the

world today, it is incredibly rare that one is blessed with such international experiences during childhood. The question then remains whether a cosmopolitan worldview and sense of responsibility can be inculcated in young adults that have not otherwise had such opportunities as children. As Nussbaum and Waldron advocate, a "liberal education" is key to developing cosmopolitan perspectives. Neither of them, however, necessarily illuminates what a liberal education means. What aspects of a liberal education instill cosmopolitan perspectives? Is it enough to sit in a classroom, read about and discuss other cultures and peoples? Or, as Beck might advocate, do young people in their impressionable years need more of a shock to their system, a "transformative" experience such as study abroad? Or as Allport, Druckman or Pettigrew might argue, do young people need sustained and meaningful intergroup contact to generate a more cosmopolitan worldview? It is also clear that the adoption of cosmopolitanism as a personal philosophy requires an act of will, of human volition. In this context, what aspects of a liberal education lead to the incubation of this cognitive and affective choice, of forming multiple allegiances, of enlarging one's in-group? How can we best educate citizens in an era of globalization? The following chapter will further discuss the contours of this project as well as the research design and methodologies employed.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

"The aim of a liberal education is to unsettle presumptions, to defamiliarize the familiar, to reveal what is going on beneath and behind appearances, to disorient young people and to help them to find ways to reorient themselves" (Harvard faculty committee report on the purpose of education, 2007).

This chapter defines the research design and methodologies used in this project. The first section explains the principal and supporting research questions, followed by a description of the population targeted for the data collection and analysis. This part of the chapter presents a rationale for the selection of the subgroups used in the research, which connects to a subsequent portrayal of the explanatory scope and limitations of the project. It also discusses the framework for and results from the pre-test completed in order to design the research. Finally, the chapter defines the mechanics of the research, the objectives, questions asked, flow and content as well as the rationale behind the methodology and coding.

THE RESEARCH QUESTION

As outlined in the previous chapter, the literature on socialization, impressionable years, intergroup contact, and cosmopolitanism (especially "rooted") exposes some common threads that must be re-examined as we discuss the research design. For purposes of this project, these common threads are listed below as four central arguments or assumptions:

1. Individual freedom and human volition (agency) have the power to promote ethical and just change;
2. Effective intergroup contact has the power to reduce differences and anxieties between groups; it bridges cultures and finds commonalities;
3. Transformational experiences for students aged 17-25 widen their sense of belonging and encourage an expansion of their in-groups;
4. Education has the power to form citizens around the message of cosmopolitan ethics in an era of globalization.

All of these assumptions are important in understanding cosmopolitanism. The final assumption, that education has the power to create global citizens, proves especially interesting in conceiving of the appropriate question for this research, and it pulls together the various strands of research on socialization and cosmopolitanism discussed in chapter one. At the college/university level in the United States, where a heavy emphasis is placed on the study of liberal arts during the undergraduate years, to what extent are we forming or informing students' notions of global citizenship? Under what conditions do students graduate from college with a firm understanding of and appreciation for the main arguments behind universal morality or cultural understanding and acceptance? In other words, can such an appreciation be gained by staying on campus and taking various courses across disciplines? Are US-based service learning opportunities or internship programs integral to this process? Or is some sort of international learning experience necessary? Does it take contact with and immersion into another culture to form a cosmopolitan perspective?

We learn about the world from a variety of different sources. Family, friends, church, culture (broadly defined), school, location in time and space, technology and new media all influence how and what we learn and help form our worldviews. As discussed in detail in chapter one, socialization research suggests that the time period between the age of 17 and 25 is crucial in the development of social and political views. Institutions of higher learning preside over a unique opportunity to help create critically thinking, open and engaged citizens. Young adults walk through the gates of colleges and universities precisely at the outset of the passage from adolescence to early adulthood. It is at this moment that young people live outside of the family home for the first time and are forced to make decisions without parental supervision. As a result, the curricular and programmatic options they select in college, whether imposed on or chosen by them, will serve to impact their views, both socially and politically. Research on the impressionable years discusses the importance of "defining events," which can serve to not only challenge one's perceptions and views, but also shape one's identity as distinct from that of one's family, church, peers, or teachers. While young adults may still choose what they had, defining events provide them with options. Without such events, they continue to reflect the environment of their upbringing.

The question remains, what kind of defining event impacts students' global perceptions, perhaps leads them to expand their in-groups, and increases their propensity for cosmopolitan thinking? Does a liberal arts education and living away from home for the first time constitute "defining"? Or is some other external shock to the system necessary? Most colleges and universities claim to offer students the opportunity to interact with a global community of educators and learners. Many students take full advantage of the

available options, either through their choice of coursework, their social networks or the opportunity to study abroad. Others do not. How can faculty gauge the impact of on and off-campus curricula designed to form and inform notions of global citizenship? This research project attempts to address the following main research question:

1. What experiences in college constitute a defining or transformational experience that lead students from a more parochial to a more global or cosmopolitan worldview?

Supporting research questions:

2. Do undergraduate worldviews, of students in their junior and senior years, conform to cosmopolitan ideals and beliefs?

3. Does international experience[20] help to shape one's cosmopolitan worldview, and thus one's motivation to engage with the world?

4. Does intergroup contact via study abroad make us more cosmopolitan or merely increase our sense of nationalism, difference, or cultural identity? In other words, does study abroad enable us to expand or contract our in-groups?

5. Is international experience necessary for young adults to adapt a cosmopolitan worldview? Or can students achieve the same results by selecting a particular major or by engaging in domestic service learning or internship opportunities?

[20] The research breaks down "international experience" into a typology of experiences from a family vacation to a weeklong faculty-led seminar to summer, semester, and full academic year abroad programs.

6. Which off-campus learning opportunities facilitate the broadest expansion of students' in-groups? Do service learning, internship programs, and/or study abroad serve to enhance a sense of personal responsibility that transcends borders or does our primary allegiance remain at the local or national level?

TARGET POPULATION

Syracuse University (SU) provides an ideal environment to examine questions at the heart of the study of cosmopolitanism. SU maintains an enrollment of slightly over 21,000 undergraduate and graduate students (as of the fall 2012 semester) and includes thirteen academic units hosting a wide diversity of academic disciplines. Students hail from all 50 states and 126 countries.[21] SU is also the home of SU Abroad, one of the leading university-based study abroad providers in the country, both in terms of quality and numbers.[22] It is ranked 25th in the country in the number of students it sends overseas each year, just over 1,600 students in AY 2010-11.[23] With this resource on campus, SU is able to send a significant percentage of its students (42%)[24] overseas and design programs for students in disciplines that would normally find it difficult to spend time away from campus.

[21] http://syr.edu/about/facts.html, accessed 20 February 2012

[22] http://colleges.usnews.rankingsandreviews.com/best-colleges/rankings/study-abroad-programs/spp+50, accessed March 1, 2013.

[23] http://www.iie.org/Research-and-Publications/Open-Doors/Data/US-Study-Abroad/Leading-Institutions-by-Institutional-Type/2010-11, accessed March 1, 2013.

[24] According to Director of Programs at SU Abroad, 26 February 2012.

As this project deals principally with the notion of cosmopolitan citizenship, Syracuse University's Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs (just by name alone) offers a unique laboratory to explore the various ways in which students are trained to become modern citizens. The School educates both graduate and undergraduate students in the social science fields as well as in cross-disciplinary studies, such as international relations and policy studies/public administration. This project, drawing on a subgroup of undergraduates, was designed to analyze students' worldviews and notions of citizenship. Below is a description and justification for the population targeted.

Maxwell undergraduate upperclassmen who have studied citizenship

This research targeted undergraduate upperclassmen at the Maxwell School, namely juniors and seniors majoring in international relations, political science, or policy studies. As such, students surveyed demonstrate an inherent interest in the study of public and global affairs and have all completed required coursework on citizenship. The remainder of this section explains the rationale behind the selection of this subpopulation and the additional filters needed for the research.

Why upperclassmen?

As this project endeavors to investigate students' worldviews and conceptions of citizenship, students toward the end of their degree program have gained exposure to and direct

knowledge of a wide variety of endeavors. This particular age group thus offers a more substantive vantage point to examine the impact of various academic and extra-curricular experiences. Surveying both juniors and seniors maximized the number of surveys collected.

Why international relations, political science, and policy studies majors?

The project focused on this particular population for analytic and control reasons. The students surveyed had to be comparable across a variety of dimensions. Certainly, students of any major at the University share similar characteristics: they are all approximately the same age, they attend the same university, they take many of the same core courses across various curricula, and they may live in the same residence halls and interact with each other in social settings. Yet fundamentally, a student majoring in engineering is less comparable to a student majoring in international relations than a student majoring in political science. The latter two will take more courses together and will be afforded many of the same, or similar, educational and experiential opportunities during their tenure at Syracuse. Students in these Maxwell majors are also typically more likely than students in most other disciplines to study abroad and to participate in off-campus service learning and internship opportunities, making them inherently more comparable.

To drill a bit deeper, students studying in a school with "citizenship" in its title offer an ideal population to study cosmopolitanism. As can be gleaned from its mission statement, the International Relations Program aims to "provide students with the analytic, cultural, and linguistic skills needed to understand major developments in contemporary

world affairs, to function effectively in a global environment, and to prepare for further academic or professional study and international career opportunities."[25] International relations majors are also required to either study abroad, for at least a summer, or spend a semester in Washington, D.C. as part of their degree program. The Political Science Department encourages "a critical understanding of government and politics which in turn supports active and informed citizenship."[26] The Public Affairs Program, which houses Maxwell's policy studies major, claims to have built a reputation for graduating students "with the goal of making the world a better place and the skills to actually do it."[27] As is clear from the missions of these majors, students are expected to graduate with the knowledge and skills to become thoughtful contributors to a global society.

Additionally, and most importantly to this study, all of the students within this population group, at some point during their college years, have academically exposed themselves to the notion of citizenship. For example, all International Relations majors must take either Global Encounters (ANT 185) or Global Community (MAX 132). Students majoring in Political Science must enroll in either Critical Issues for the United States: Coming to Public Judgment: an Obligation of Democratic Citizenship (MAX 123) or MAX 132. And the Public Affairs Program at Maxwell requires all Policy Studies majors to complete MAX 123. The MAX courses are unique to the Maxwell School and serve as signature undergraduate courses that bring students from across the social sciences together

[25] http://www.maxwell.syr.edu/ugir_BA-Req.aspx, accessed 22 February 2012

[26] http://www.maxwell.syr.edu/psc.aspx?id=425, accessed 20 February 2012

[27] http://www.maxwell.syr.edu/news.aspx?id=254, accessed 20 February 2012

to discuss broad, current issues in citizenship and public affairs. Part of a paragraph in the fall 2010 syllabus of MAX 123 bears repeating here, as it reflects on many of the issues evoked in this research and evidences the types of questions many of the surveyed students have engaged in academically.

> As we examine democratic citizenship and its obligations, public education in an era of new demands and increased disparities, health care access and outcomes, and the modern wave of immigration, the following questions will keep popping up: How do we sustain a decent and caring society in an increasingly pluralistic environment? How do we remain secure and prosperous in an increasingly borderless world? How do we advance democracy's prime values—equality and liberty—when these goals sometimes come into conflict? (MAX 123 fall 2010 syllabus).

MAX 132 also focuses on citizenship and democracy and, similar to MAX 123, states as its goal to enhance one's "ability to participate as a citizen in dealing with global and national public affairs" (MAX 132 fall 2010 syllabus), in part, by closely examining the varied dimensions and controversies surrounding globalization. With these courses and others as a backdrop, Maxwell works to prepare students enrolled in these majors to meaningfully reflect on the issues inherent in this research. As these students have had this type of academic preparation and have been forced to think about these issues, they also present a good test case for the utility of study abroad. If their classroom work exposes them already to important dimensions of global citizenship, is international experience or other forms of off-campus learning even necessary? Can coursework alone decrease students' ethnocentrism and expand their in-groups as budding cosmopolitans?

Prior to explaining the mechanics of the project, the pre-tests, and the research method, it is important to emphasize the need for the controls inherent in this research design. A careful reading of the sections above sheds light on the limited nature of this

project. One could approach the research questions in a variety of ways, and given the proper time and resources, this project could have been far more inclusive of various subpopulations and thus, more comprehensive in its scope. For example, why focus uniquely on Maxwell School students, who are arguably more inclined toward the study of citizenship than other majors at the University? In the end, this investigation can only aggregate, analyze, and attempt to explain data derived from of a subgroup of upperclassmen enrolled in one of the colleges of a large, private university in upstate New York. However, that limitation serves as an important control for the research in terms of self-selection. All the students in the target population, through the strictures of the Maxwell curriculum, demonstrate interest in and knowledge of the study of citizenship. They are, therefore, more comparable than students from other types of institutions or from different majors that are not exposed to a citizenship curriculum. This self-selection allows the study to focus more narrowly on the variables that differentiate this similarly trained and academically prepared group of students. Despite their self-selected similarities, how students perceive of citizenship and the limits of their responsibility as citizens will differ based on their own experiences and backgrounds. The socioeconomic, ethnic, academic, and experiential diversity within the group forms the basis for this research.

RESEARCH PRE-TEST

Before beginning the more quantitative and extensive survey research, a pre-test was performed. From the beginning, the principal objective of the project was to determine whether the off-campus experiential choices students make in college impact their worldview and their loyalties/sense of responsibility toward others. Is study abroad necessary for students to begin to re-imagine the boundaries of their social communities and their responsibilities as cosmopolitans? Or can these processes occur through more locally or nationally-oriented service learning, volunteer, or internship experiences? Before performing the survey research, a pre-test was conducted to study students' conceptions of citizenship responsibility without the taint of study abroad. The pre-test conducted consisted of a focus group with students in the target population, which was designed to see if the survey questions would work and how to structure the questionnaire.

Focus group with undergraduate students enrolled in the Washington Semester Program

The participants in this undergraduate focus group were enrolled in the spring 2010 Maxwell Washington Semester, an undergraduate off-campus program in Washington, DC. Students in this program complete fifteen credits of coursework in international relations, including nine credits on foreign policy and national security, three credits on international political economy, and an internship in one of Washington's government agencies, multilateral institutions, non-governmental organizations, think tanks, or private sector consultancies. They are competitively selected upperclassmen at Maxwell majoring in international

relations, political science or policy studies. As such, these students provided an ideal sample for developing questions for the survey. The Washington Semester students in that particular semester had mostly not studied abroad. Only four of the eighteen participants had spent significant time overseas (i.e., more than a family vacation). As mentioned above, the purpose of this second set of focus groups was to determine the variation of worldviews and notions of citizenship of students who had and had not studied abroad. As most had not studied abroad, they provided a workable basis to test the importance of study abroad as a variable for the survey research to come. Neither the biographical information nor the open-ended responses of the focus group participants were included in the survey data.

The hypotheses for this focus group: 1. the participants will have a solid understanding of the term citizenship, but will be somewhat divided in terms of their worldviews; 2. study abroad will emerge as the most important variable in determining the variation in beliefs and perspectives.

Given the above hypothesis that study abroad would surface in the conversation as the most important determinate of variations in worldview, the participants received instructions to divide into two separate groups, those who studied abroad and those who did not. The participants did not have any previous knowledge of the questions or the nature of the research. Meeting at separate times, each group answered the same, open-ended questions, and each participant completed a set of biographical questions on paper before beginning the exercise.

The participants responded to the following open-ended questions:

1. Describe an experience you have had during your time at SU that you feel has had a significant impact on your life.
    a. How do you feel it impacted you?
    b. What did you learn from that experience?
2. Have your political or social views changed in any way during your time at SU?
    a. If so, in which way?
    b. And if so, what factors influenced these changes (for example: faculty, your research, internships, service learning, or extracurricular experiences)?
3. What comes to mind when you think of the word "citizen" or "citizenship"?
4. As a citizen, how would you describe your personal responsibilities? To whom/to what do you feel responsible?
    a. Have your experiences as an undergraduate impacted or changed your sense of personal responsibility? If so, in what way?
5. What impact, if any, do you feel globalization will have on your life and career?
6. Do you feel you are a global citizen? If so, what does that mean to you? If not, why not?

These questions, asked in this particular order, focused the conversation meaningfully toward the objective of the research. The two subgroups produced starkly divergent responses, summarized below.

Pre-test focus group conclusions

This divided focus group served primarily to test and formulate the questions that would later be asked in the broader survey. Equally as important, this focus group provided a sneak preview of the ways in which students with similar majors and interests conceive of themselves, their allegiances, and notions of citizenship.

The table below provides an overview of the participants, organization, and objectives of this focus group.

Table 3.1: Pre-test focus group with Maxwell DC Semester students

Participants:	Undergraduate upperclassmen enrolled in the Maxwell Washington Semester Program, spring 2010
Number:	18, split into two separate groups: those who studied abroad (4) and those who did not (14)
Purpose:	To determine variations of worldview and notions of citizenship of students who had and had not studied abroad.
Result:	Tested the questions in the survey; began to identify self-conceptions, allegiances, notions of citizenship; helped conceive of ways to code survey responses

Given the diversity of responses, especially between the two focus groups, it became clear that study abroad may indeed be a central variable in how students perceive of the world around them and their role in it. Had both subgroups not been divided and questioned separately, it is doubtful whether the variation would have been as rich.

These two focus groups with undergraduates helped set the stage for the design of the survey, which follows in the next section of this chapter. For the students who had studied abroad, those overseas experiences unambiguously rose to the fore as having impacted them the most during the time they were in college. Among the students who had

not studied abroad, the most impactful experiences tended to be mentoring relationships with faculty, specific academic content that caused them to see issues from a different perspective, and experiential education that provided them with real-world skills or allowed them to understand the realities of less privileged populations through volunteering.

In terms of changes in political or social views, responses also proved telling across the two groups. The study abroad students did not claim to have become more liberal or conservative, but rather more tolerant and open to new ideas and perspectives. The non-study abroad students discussed two different notions, one in agreement with the study abroad group that their education had made them better informed/more nuanced in their views and another that claimed their education had reinforced, even strengthened, previously held ideologies, whether liberal or conservative.

Finally, looking at citizen responsibility, the overall tendency of the non-study abroad students was to think locally and certainly never beyond national boundaries. There was an aversion among the students, with only a couple of exceptions, to imagine themselves as global citizens. The group was inwardly focused, expressing the primary importance of family and community allegiances with citizen responsibility resting within these smaller circles. The study abroad group responded in precisely the opposite way, stressing their identities (using different terminology) as rooted cosmopolitans with strong and multiple loyalties to the United States and to places they have lived, studied, or traveled to. They spoke of their belief in a common humanity and a larger, more global sense of citizen responsibility.

The distinctions that arose in the focus group caused a slight alteration in the research design. Originally, the research intended to focus solely on the impact of study abroad. That fact that the non-study abroad participants in the focus group had been compellingly impacted by other variables, namely academics or service or experiential learning, generated an important question. Is study abroad a necessary variable? Could students just as well stay on campus, engage in other types of learning experiences, both on and off-campus, and generate cosmopolitan worldviews?

The analysis of the qualitative data in the survey that follows in subsequent chapters provides a more comprehensive measure of the findings above from the focus group. When considering a larger share of the target population in question, how closely do the worldviews of upperclassmen conform to cosmopolitan ideals, the notion of multiple loyalties, and the expansion of one's in-group? What college experiences are necessary to be considered defining or transformative?

MAIN RESEARCH DESIGN

Survey: Syracuse/Maxwell upperclassmen engaged in the study of citizenship

The research involved a survey of students in the target population at Maxwell. The objectives, hypotheses, and processes involved in the survey are described below. The contents of the survey emerged after analyzing the results of the pre-test focus group, which

tested a set of open-ended and biographical questions to be used in the creation of the survey.

In this main stage of the project, the survey aimed to reach a larger percentage of the target population, namely juniors and seniors at Syracuse University majoring in international relations, political science, or policy studies, all of which had received formal coursework in the study of citizenship.

Distribution and collection

As the first section of the survey was open-ended and thus somewhat time-consuming to complete, distribution and data collection had to be thoughtful and strategic. In the beginning, the target population was limited to international relations majors in their senior year. It subsequently became clear that this limitation would not yield an adequate number of subjects. As such, political science and public affairs majors were added, along with juniors across the three majors. In the final tally of 117 subjects, 79 (68%) of respondents were international relations majors, 30 (26%) political science, and 7 (6%) public affairs. Distribution and collection was conducted in the following way:

1. Students enrolled in the Washington Semester Program in the fall 2010 (17 responses) and spring 2011 (13 responses) semesters. The students surveyed represented all three majors. Collecting data for these two groups proved especially easy, given the author's affiliation with the DC Program.
2. Students enrolled in Professor G. Matthew Bonham's upper-division, on campus course on US Foreign Policy (34 responses). Professor Bonham was kind enough

to allow a few moments of class time to ask the students to complete the survey. The respondents were a mix of international relations and political science majors.

3. Senior international relations majors in the Sigma Iota Rho Honor Society and Model United Nations (11 responses). Professor Francine D'Amico advises both of these groups, and she was also kind enough to ask the students to participate in the survey.
4. Senior survey of international relations majors (42 responses). All international relations majors in their senior year received personalized invitations to participate in the online version of the survey via SurveyMonkey.com. After the initial invitation, students also received two reminders to complete the survey. In order to encourage maximum participation, the invitation offered participants an incentive, namely a gift card to Starbucks for the first twenty responses.

51% of international relations majors in their senior year completed the survey, including those in all the categories above.

Survey questions and rationale

As the questions used in the focus group served their purpose well, there was little need for adjustments to the questions asked in the survey. Participants responded to the same set of biographical questions, seeking data for the following fourteen variables: age, gender, majors and minors, length of time abroad, host country or countries, type of living arrangement while abroad, language proficiency, other off-campus program participation, service learning/volunteerism, ethnicity, family immigration, political views, geography, and wealth.

While age and gender need little justification, the other biographical variables should provide some explanatory power in sifting through the data.

In addition to the biographical questions, a similar version of the open-ended questions in the focus group was designed for the survey. Effectively, the questions generated responses for the following six variables (see table below for full questions):

Question 1: Most significant life impact in college

Question 2: Change in political/social views

Question 3: Definition of citizen/citizenship

Question 4: Personal responsibilities as a citizen

Question 5: Globalization – positive or negative impact on life/career

Question 6: Are you a global citizen?

Table 3.2: Open-ended survey questions

Question	Text
Question 1	Describe an experience you have had during your time at SU that you feel has had the most significant impact on your life (could be a course, an off-campus program, an internship, an extracurricular activity). How do you feel it impacted you? What did you learn from that experience?
Question 2	Have your political or social views changed in any way during your time at SU? If so, in which way? And if so, what factors served to influence these changes (faculty, your research, internships, service learning, extracurricular experiences)?
Question 3	What comes to mind when you think of the word "citizen" or "citizenship"?
Question 4	As a citizen, how would you describe your personal responsibilities? To whom/to what do you feel responsible? Have your experiences as an undergraduate impacted or changed your sense of personal responsibility? If so, in what way?
Question 5	What impact, if any, do you feel globalization will have on your life and career?
Question 6	Do you feel you are a global citizen? If so, what does that mean to you? If not, why not?

The survey listed the questions in the aforementioned order in order to elicit, to the extent possible, the most honest, unbiased responses. For example, the first question asks for the most significant life impact in college, which in no way would lead the participants to know what the research is testing. It is not until the fifth and sixth questions that the terms globalization and global citizen enter the equation. By then, participants largely built on the answers they provided for the first four questions.

Additionally, the questions were written to touch on elements of the themes of political socialization, globalization, and cosmopolitanism. For instance, the first two questions, which ask students to reflect on their most impactful college experience and how/if their political or social views have changed, tie into the socialization literature. The next two questions on citizenship and citizen responsibility attempt to bridge socialization and cosmopolitanism, as they reach into students' notions of loyalty and allegiance. The fifth question works globalization into the mix, and the final question tries to bring all of these themes together in asking students to react to the term global citizen.

The biographical questions, which ask more specifically the types of study abroad and off-campus programming students engaged in, follow the open-ended questions in the survey. The table below lists the biographical questions in the survey.

Table 3.3: Biographical survey questions

Age	1. Your age in years, (e.g., 21) __ __
Gender	2. Gender A. Female B. Male
Major/minor	3. List your major(s) and minor(s). A. Major 1 ____________________ B. Major 2 ____________________ (if applicable) C. Minor 1 ____________________ D. Minor 2 ____________________ (if applicable)
Study abroad	4. Have you traveled abroad or participated in a study abroad program? A. No – if no, skip to question 7 B. Yes, but only for travel/recreation C. Yes, for a short-term academic program (e.g., one or two weeks) D. Yes, for one summer semester E. Yes, for one regular semester F. Yes, for two or more semesters
Target countries	5. In which country or countries have you studied/lived? A. Country 1 ___________________ B. Country 2 ___________________ C. Country 3 ___________________
Living	6. If you studied abroad, where did you live?

arrangements	A. With a host family B. In an apartment or residence hall, mainly with other US students C. In an apartment or residence hall, mainly with students of other nationalities
Foreign languages spoken	7. Do you consider yourself proficient in languages other than English? A. No B. Yes, one other language C. Yes, two other languages D. Yes, more than two other languages
Washington program	8. Have you participated in the Washington, D.C. undergraduate International Relations Program? A. Yes B. No
Service learning	9. Have you participated in any another type of service learning, community engagement or internship program as part of your coursework? A. No B. Yes, for a short-term program (e.g., one or two weeks) C. Yes, for one summer semester D. Yes, for one regular semester E. Yes, for two or more semesters
Ethnicity	10. Select the one ethnic identity that best describes you: a. Multiple ethnicities b. African c. Asian d. European e. Hispanic/Latino f. Middle Eastern g. Native American h. Other ___________________________
Immigration	11. Did you and/or your parents immigrate to this country? a. Yes b. No
Political views	12. How would you describe your political views? A. Conservative B. Somewhat conservative C. Middle of the road D. Somewhat liberal E. Liberal F. Undecided or don't know
Geography	13. Which type of geography best describes where you grew up? A. Urban B. Suburban C. Rural
Level of wealth	14. How are you financing your studies at Syracuse? A. Parents are covering costs B. Merit scholarship

	C. Federal and State loans and grants D. Combination of A and B E. Combination of B and C F. Combination of A and C G. Other ___________________
Post-graduation service	15. Upon graduation, are you considering joining a. The Peace Corps? b. AmeriCorps? c. Completing a Fulbright Scholarship/Teaching Assistantship abroad? d. Completing a service project not listed here, namely ____ e. None of the above

Coding

After the data collection, the responses were coded to be able to analyze the data more closely and meaningfully. The coding involved a careful process of reading and re-reading responses to find compelling commonalities. The pre-test focus group provided some initial ideas regarding codes to use. For example, the focus group isolated variables such as study abroad, internships, and service learning as providing a significant impact (Question 1). It also gave some initial inclinations about shifting political perspectives as a result of college experiences (Question 2). Additionally, responses from the focus group evoked levels of loyalty (Question 4) as well as negative and positive sentiments on globalization (Question 5) and on global citizenship (Question 6).

The literature on political socialization and cosmopolitanism also influenced the coding. Questions 1 and 2 were designed from the principle themes of the "informative years" literature. What impacted students, and how do their views change as a result? The remaining questions and coding were developed, in part, in contextualizing the literature on

rooted cosmopolitanism, namely looking at students' limits of loyalty and citizen responsibility. How far does loyalty extend? Do the relational elements of off-campus experiences expand students' in-groups and worldviews?

In the end, the coding involved a lengthy process of first listing all responses, categorizing them, and collapsing them into broader groups that provided more meaningful data analysis. These broader categories fit meaningfully with initial determinations from the focus group and complement the literature.

Question 1

For the first question, which asks students which college experience most significantly impacted their lives, six main themes emerge: (1) study abroad, (2) internship experience (Maxwell-in-Washington), (3) academic coursework (in geography, anthropology, international relations, courses on citizenship, the honors seminar, and specific instructors), (4) living away from home for the first time (transition to college life, small high school to big university, living with a difficult roommate, learning community), (5) student leadership opportunities (band, drama club, writing for the *Daily Orange*, student government, serving as an orientation leader, athletics, membership in a fraternity or sorority), and (6) community service/volunteering activities (working with refugees, volunteering in a hospital, attending the Clinton Global Initiative, Habitat for Humanity, Relay for Life). Additionally, in terms of how these experiences impacted them, a second layer of coding reveals both inward and outward-looking perspectives. Inward-looking responses touch on a sense of independence, maturity, confidence, and the development of real-world or professional skills. Outward-

looking responses connect to experiences that were eye-opening, facilitated becoming more open-minded, or learning about others and the world.

Question 2

For question two, which asks whether participants' political and social views have changed during their time in college, responses were coded for: (1) no change, (2) a shift to the right, (3) a shift to the left, and (4) more open, tolerant, broad. For "no change," responses clearly state that their time in college had not altered their views at all. Under "a shift to the right" or "a shift to the left," students reference becoming more conservative or more liberal, respectively, during their time at SU. Those who referenced a shift to the right generally stated an aversion to the liberal lean of the college campus, holding even more firmly onto the conservative values and beliefs they brought with them to Syracuse University. The shift to the left students touted the influence of faculty, coursework, research, peers, not living with parents anymore, and study abroad on their changing political and social views.

The fourth category, namely "more open, tolerant, broad," reflect responses that did not reference a directional change, i.e., becoming more conservative or liberal, but rather discuss a broadening of perspective and a more open and accepting mind-set. Originally, the coding was meant to group everyone under the first three categories. However, it became evident that this fourth group was present. While at times it was challenging to differentiate between "a shift to the left" and "more open, tolerant, broad," the distinguishing characteristic emerged as one of openness to and an understanding for a variety of perspectives. Those who claim to have become more liberal do not necessarily express the

same level of openness or tolerance. Students in this subgroup voice several influential factors for the changes they witness in themselves, including faculty, coursework, peers, and study abroad.

Question 3

Question three invites students to define their notion of citizen or citizenship. The diversity of responses revealed three distinct categories, namely (1) those who identify citizenship with *group identity* (which included references to nationalism, patriotism, pride, loyalty, honor, and American culture); (2) those who consider a good citizen to be an *active participant* in society and service-oriented (which included references to contributing to the collective/public/overall good, community service, democracy, freedom, education, and the importance of being well-informed); (3) and those who feel a strong connection to *common humanity* and world citizenship (which included references to cooperation, peace, co-existence, bonds between peoples, desire for a borderless world, tolerance, and cosmopolitan values).

Question 4

Question four goes a bit further to ask how participants would describe their responsibilities as citizens. Allegiances and affiliations emerge from the written comments that break down by loyalty groupings, (1) self, family, friends, (2) local community, (3) country/nation, and (4) world/humanity. Under "self, family, friends," student responses focus on a narrow definition of responsibility, in some cases only claiming responsibility to themselves, and in

other cases, limiting responsibility to immediate family or friends. Students who express an allegiance with "local community" touch on the importance of being informed about one's direct surroundings, obeying local laws, voting in local elections, and paying local taxes. Another strain of responses in this category references more active participation, a need to both think and act locally (as opposed to nationally or globally), where one can make the biggest difference. Responses in the "country/nation" category seem to map closest to the language of group identity, meaning a discussion of the importance of upholding American values, patriotism, pride, and honor. In the last category, "world/humanity," students discuss the need to battle global injustices, the desire to come together and solve common world problems. Students in this category freely use the term "global citizen."

Question 5

To respond to question five, students provide input on their views of globalization as it relates to their future. Responses prove mostly dichotomous, uncovering either mostly positive or mostly negative sentiments. Repeated themes emerge, emphasizing positive or negative elements. Under positives, students reference: new jobs and opportunities, open markets; ability/desire to live/work abroad, increase in access to travel; learning about new cultures, languages, tolerance, and building cross-cultural relationships; technology/social media; global citizenship/cosmopolitanism; immigrant parents who brought promise and hope; and the spread of democracy, improvement of human rights, neo-liberalism. Under negatives, students list: problems related to the global commons – labor migration, resource depletion, disease, environmental degradation; political, economic, and social uncertainty;

too much competition in the workforce, negative impact on employment; lower quality of life for many – income disparities, poor labor conditions; cultural imperialism, forgetting the important things in life, and more foreigners in America.

Question 6

Finally, question six asks whether students feel they are global citizens. Two layers of coding proved necessary, the first revealing: (1) refutation of the concept, (2) support for global citizenship, but with a *weak* understanding, or (3) support combined with a *strong* understanding. The second layer recodes just the "no" responses, detailing whether or not they provide strong or weak refutations. Some refute the concept altogether, citing strong nationalistic loyalties, and others express interest in one day becoming a global citizen.

Student responses that led to coding them as "weak global citizens" describe being informed and aware of world news, emphasize the importance of travel and study abroad (i.e., because I studied and traveled abroad, I am a global citizen), and stress the need to think globally for professional reasons. "Strong global citizen" responses discussed a responsibility or loyalty to other people around the world, a desire for a better system of global governance, making the world a better place, and living peacefully with others.

Overview of biographical data

In order to provide some perspective on the overall numbers in the survey, the table below provides a brief overview of the various biographic and demographic splits among the subjects in this study. As can be seen graphically, there are more female subjects than male

(58%-42%) and more international relations majors than political science or public affairs (68% to 30% and 7%, respectively). Over the majority of the students surveyed (58%) are white, and 36% are first-generation Americans. 19% of subjects are conservative, compared to 59% liberal and 26% moderate or undecided. 34% fall into the highest category of wealth, 37% are moderately wealthy, and a further 26% are less wealthy. 48% of students surveyed intend to complete a post-graduation service experience, such as Peace Corps, Teach for America, or something similar. Additionally, 68% have studied abroad, 32% participated in the Washington, DC Program, and 64% have completed a service learning experience. The variations among the students, both demographically and experientially, provide adequate depth and context to study the questions inherent in this study.

Table 3.4: Overview of biographical data

Gender		
Female	68	58%
Male	49	42%
Major		
International relations	79	68%
Political science	30	26%
Public affairs	7	6%
Ethnicity		
White	68	58%
Non-white	49	42%
Immigration		
Yes	36	31%
No	81	69%
Political views		
Conservative	22	19%
Liberal	69	59%
Moderate/undecided	26	22%
Level of wealth		
Most wealthy	40	34%
Moderately wealthy	43	37%
Least wealthy	30	26%
Interest in post-graduation service opportunities		
Yes	56	48%
No	61	52%
Participation in study abroad		
Yes	79	68%
No	38	32%
Participation in Washington, DC Program		
Yes	37	32%
No	80	68%
Participation in service learning		
Yes	74	64%
No	42	36%

The following chapter provides an analysis of the biographical data outlined above, detailing the composition and diversity of the subjects in the study. The chapters that follow provide further analysis of the open-ended questions and responses.

CHAPTER 4

ANALYSIS OF BIOGRAPHICAL DATA

"A world in which communities are neatly hived off from one another seems no longer a serious option, if it ever was. And the way of segregation and seclusion has always been anomalous in our perpetually voyaging species. Cosmopolitanism isn't hard work; repudiating it is"
(Appiah 2006: xx).

This chapter provides an analysis of the biographical questions posed in the survey, helping to define the idiosyncrasies of the target population. Detailed results, analysis, and conclusions of the survey as well as possibilities for further research appear in the following chapters.

Responses to the fourteen biographical questions illuminate fundamental data regarding the 117 participants in the survey. As most were seniors at the time, the average age of the students surveyed for this study is 21. There is little age variation and only a few outliers, with the youngest student 19 and the oldest 28 years of age. Two students are 28, and both claim in the responses to be non-traditional students. One recently returned from multiple tours in Iraq and Afghanistan. The majority of the students (55%) are 21, and 93% of the students are between the ages of 20-22. Along gender lines, the survey produced a 64%/46% female to male split.

In terms of majors and minors, it remains somewhat complicated to differentiate accurately. Many students have double majors and minors, and in this particular group, there is a lot of cross-pollination. 17% of respondents major in at least two of the three

majors in question. Students who self-describe as international relations majors, even if they are also double-majoring in political science or policy studies, are counted under international relations. Students who are double-majoring in political science and policy studies, of which there are only two in the survey, are counted under policy studies. As such, 79 (68%) of respondents are international relations majors, 30 (26%) political science, and 7 (6%) policy studies.

Study abroad and duration

Of the 117 respondents, 20 (17%) have never left the United States. A further 16% have only been outside the country for short-term recreational or family travel. The remainder, 78 students (or 67%) have studied abroad in one form or another during their time at Syracuse University, a far higher percentage than the 42% for the University as a whole. An important gender distinction emerges in these numbers, pointing to significantly higher participation in study abroad programs by women than men. Where 81% of women in the survey studied abroad for a length of time, only 47% of men participated in an overseas program. The table below illustrates this distinction numerically and demonstrates its statistical significance.

Table 4.1: Does gender affect participation in study abroad?

Gender		Study abroad	No study abroad	Totals
Female	Observed	56	12	68
	Expected	48	20	
Male	Observed	26	23	49
	Expected	34	15	
Totals		82	35	117

Chi-square	11.7
Probability	0.0006
Significant	

The survey also asked students to delineate the type of study abroad experience they had, whether a short-term academic program of one-two weeks (9% of those that studied abroad), a summer program (12%), semester (56%), or more than a semester (18%). Drilling a bit deeper, 81% of international relations majors in the survey studied abroad, 63% for a semester or more. As it is a requirement in this major to spend at least a summer abroad or to participate in the Washington Program, the 19% of those majors who did not study abroad must have either been surveyed before they went abroad or during their off-campus semester in Washington. Only 33% of the political science majors studied abroad, 29% for a semester or more. And although the numbers of policy studies majors is too small to speak with any accuracy about the larger population, an arguably surprising 57% studied abroad for

a semester or more. Tests for significance (see table below) reveal the choice of major remains a key variable in participation in study abroad. However, for all who studied abroad, choice of major does not appear to significantly affect students' desire to stay abroad for shorter or longer periods of time.

Table 4.2: Does choice of major affect participation in study abroad?

Major		Study abroad	No study abroad	Totals
International Relations	Observed	65	14	68
	Expected	54	25	
Political Science/ Public Affairs	Observed	14	23	49
	Expected	25	12	
Totals		82	35	117

Chi-square	**22.9**
Probability	**0.000002**
Significant	

Looking at these data, it is interesting that the vast majority of those who studied abroad did so for a semester or more. This fact seems to run contrary to a trend in international education towards shorter-term study abroad and away from longer-term programs.[28] Potentially, the popularity of semester programs offered by SU Abroad has

[28] As noted in IIE's Open Doors.

influenced this dynamic. The duration of the overseas experience is an important variable in the research and one that will be discussed later in greater detail.

Host countries

Along with program duration, this study also investigates the potential impact of the type of host countries that welcomed the respondents. All in all, the 78 students in the survey that studied abroad participated in programs in 30 countries, from traditional favorites such as the United Kingdom and Spain to countries further afield such as Ethiopia and the Republic of Georgia. Europe remains the continent of choice for this group, which hosted 52% of those that studied abroad. Asia comes in second with 20%, followed by Latin America with 17%. A handful of students each studied in the Middle East and in Africa. One student studied in Canada, and another traditional favorite among US students, Australia, only hosted two students in the group. The range of programs offered by the University evidently drives student choice. SU maintains well-established European island programs in Florence, Madrid, London, and Strasbourg. These locations alone account for 45% of the group. In Asia, leading the pack is China (8% of students), where SU maintains an academic center on the campus of Tsinghua University in Beijing and another center at the City University of Hong Kong. And in Latin America, 13% of students have studied in Ecuador and Chile. Syracuse students study in each country as part of a semester-based program. They start in Ecuador in a language-immersion course and finish the rest of their studies at SU's center on the campus of the Universidad de Chile in Santiago.

Breaking down these data differently, it becomes evident that the majority of the students in this group (63%) chose to study in a developed country, which in addition to the countries of Western Europe, Australia, and Canada, includes Singapore, Korea, Japan, and Israel. If adjusting for developed Western countries only, the total decreases to 55%. Equally as interesting, and attributable in large measure to the expansion of programs and institutional partnerships outside Europe in recent years, 37% of respondents studied in the developing world. The relatively large percentages in each group will allow for a useful comparison in this study.

We can also look at the host countries by major, which yields some interesting differences. International relations majors chose to study abroad all over the globe, in both developed and developing countries. With only one exception, a student that ventured to China, political science students uniformly studied in western European countries. Results for policy studies majors are more nuanced, proving a slightly more adventuresome student population. Yet adding political science and policy studies students together to provide more measurable numbers, the statistical significance vanishes. There is also no significant difference between men and women. Neither major nor gender appear to affect students' choice of developed or developing countries.

Host country living arrangements

In the 30 countries where students studied, they had a variety of living arrangements, mostly determined by the requirements of the program in which they were enrolled. In 67% of

cases, students lived with host families. 27% of the students decided to live in residence halls or apartments with other American students. And 11% of students chose to room with international students.

Language proficiency

Regarding language proficiency, 32% of respondents do not claim proficiency in any foreign language, whereas 53% consider themselves proficient in at least one, and 16% in at least two foreign languages. By major, not surprisingly, the international relations students far outpace the others in terms of language skills. 82% of international relations majors report proficiency in at least one foreign language, where only 37% and 43%, respectively, of political science and policy studies majors claim proficiency. The percentage of students in each major that has studied abroad maps fairly closely to the percentage of those claiming proficiency in foreign language.

DC Semester Program, community service, and internships

As another important variable in investigating students' worldviews, we can look at the participation in the Maxwell-in-Washington Semester Program. 37 students (32%) in the survey decided to spend a semester in Washington. 8 (25%) of them only completed the DC Program and did not study abroad. However, 24 (75%) of these students also studied abroad, 59% for a semester or more. This is a healthy statistic, meaning participation in one

off-campus program may lead to participation in others. By major, 73% of the surveyed students that studied in Washington were international relations majors.

Capturing other types of service learning, community service or internship experiences outside of the Washington semester, 65% of those surveyed claimed to have participated in such a program, 43% for a semester or more. All of the policy studies students surveyed answered yes to this question, and an equal percentage (about 63%) of international relations and political science students claimed to have participated. In keeping with the assertion that students that participate in one off-campus activity are more likely to participate in another, 72% of those that were involved with non-DC based service learning also studied abroad. Additionally, 62% of those that studied in Washington also completed a service learning project or internship outside the confines of their time in the nation's capital. 19 students (16% of the total) completed all three, study abroad, the Washington Semester, and additional community service or internship programs. 14 students (12% of the total) did not participate in any of the three. Overall, the students surveyed are quite engaged in off-campus activities and have decided to pursue multiple programs and opportunities.

Tests for significance do not reveal any differences across the majors in terms of participating in the DC Program or in service learning opportunities. There is also no significant difference between men and women in terms of choosing to complete the DC Program. However, as the table below indicates, females tend to be more inclined than their male counterparts to complete a service learning experience.

Table 4.3: Does gender affect participation in service learning?

Service learning

Gender		Service learning	No service learning	Totals
Female	Observed	47	27	74
	Expected	43	31	
Male	Observed	20	22	42
	Expected	24	18	
Totals		67	49	116

Chi-square	**2.774**
Probability	**0.1**
Significant	

Ethnicity and immigration

Regarding ethnicity, the majority (59%) of those surveyed indicated they are of European descent. 12% and 11%, respectively, claimed to be Hispanic and Asian, and 4% of the students are of African heritage. Students of Middle Eastern (3%), Native American (1%), and those that claim mixed (7%) heritage comprise the remainder of the population. When looking at participation rates in service learning, the DC Program, or study abroad, no statistically significant differences can be reported between white and non-white students.

The students surveyed also proved to be diverse along immigration lines. 30% of the students claimed that either they or their parents immigrated to the United States. There is no statistical link between immigration and participation in the DC Program or in service learning. However, immigration becomes a particularly interesting variable when investigating study abroad and cosmopolitanism, as many of these students might be pre-disposed to a more global worldview without or before going abroad in college. The recent immigrants in the survey demonstrate a higher tendency to go abroad (77%) than their non-immigrant classmates (63%), which might indicate a built-in level of comfort in exploring foreign lands. The table below illustrates this possible statistical correlation.

Table 4.4: Does immigration affect study abroad?

Immigrant family		Study abroad: No	Study abroad: Yes	Totals
Yes	Observed	8	28	36
	Expected	12	24	
No	Observed	30	51	81
	Expected	26	55	
Totals		38	79	117

Chi-square	**2.5**
Probability	**0.1**
Significant	

Building on this data point, choice of major also appears quite telling. 83% of the recent immigrants in the study chose to major in international relations over political science or public affairs, revealing perhaps a desire deeply-rooted in their family experience to learn more about the world. The potential correlation between these two variables, demonstrated in the table below, emerges stronger than the link between immigration and study abroad.

Table 4.5: Does immigration affect choice of major?

Immigrant family		Choice of major: International Relations	Political Science/PA	Totals
Yes	Observed	30	6	36
	Expected	24	12	
No	Observed	49	32	81
	Expected	55	26	
Totals		79	38	117

Chi-square	5.9
Probability	0.02
Significant	

Political views

As one might expect, despite the generational and academic similarities of the students surveyed, a relatively healthy diversity of political perspectives exists. 18% of the group claims to be either somewhat conservative or conservative, with 9% in each sub-category. A further 15% professes to be middle of the road. A clear majority (59%) of students declare a liberal tendency, with 24% somewhat liberal and 35% liberal. The remaining 8% of students in the survey claims to be undecided.

Gender once again emerges as a significant variable, with female students more likely to express liberal political beliefs than their male classmates.

Table 4.6: Does gender affect political beliefs?

Gender		Political beliefs: Conservative	Liberal	Moderate/ undecided	Totals
Female	Observed	10	47	11	68
	Expected	13	40	15	
Male	Observed	12	22	15	49
	Expected	9	29	11	
Totals		22	69	26	117

Chi-square	7.0
Probability	0.03
Significant	

The female students surveyed are 24% more likely than males to be politically liberal. And the males are 9% more likely to be conservative. However, when controlling for those that studied abroad across the two genders, the relationship no longer holds and is rendered insignificant.

As discussed earlier, the students in the survey provide us with some genuine diversity in terms of ethnicity and immigration. These sub-groups can be examined a little more closely to determine whether either of these two variables might potentially impact students' political beliefs. Separating those that claimed to be of European descent (Caucasians) from all other ethnicities, there appears to be little variation, with the possible exception of Caucasians being more likely to have conservative views than students with other ethnic backgrounds. In terms of immigration, immigrant students or students with parents that immigrated to this country appear less likely to be conservative and more likely

to be moderate or undecided than their non-immigrant classmates. Both groups seem to be equally likely to be liberal. When tested statistically, however, political beliefs appear not to share a dependent relationship with ethnicity. However, the results do show a potential relationship between immigration and political beliefs.

Table 4.7: Does immigration affect political beliefs?

Immigrant family		Political beliefs: Conservative	Liberal	Moderate/ undecided	Totals
Yes	Observed	3	21	12	36
	Expected	7	21	8	
No	Observed	19	48	14	81
	Expected	15	48	18	
Totals		22	69	26	117

Chi-square	5.9
Probability	0.05
Significant	

Breaking these data down by major, a relatively equal percentage of both political science and policy studies majors placed themselves into each of the ideological categories, creating a fairly equal distribution. The results are much different for international relations majors. International relations majors that self-describe as either somewhat conservative or conservative only constitute 11% of the population. A further 11% falls into the middle of the road category, and an overwhelming majority, 67%, claims to be either somewhat liberal or liberal. Also, curiously, all but one of the undecided students majors in international relations.

Table 4.8: Does choice of major affect political beliefs?

Choice of major		Conservative	Liberal	Moderate/ undecided	Totals
International Relations	Observed	9	53	17	79
	Expected	15	47	18	
Political Science/ Public Affairs	Observed	13	16	9	38
	Expected	7	22	8	
Totals		22	69	26	117

(Column group: Political beliefs)

Chi-square	**9.9**
Probability	**0.01**
Significant	

As the table above demonstrates, there appears to be a significant relationship between choice of major and political views, yet when removing those that had studied abroad across the majors, the test no longer points to a correlation. Therefore, the fact that international relations majors tend to study abroad more than their classmates in political science or policy studies might help explain this discrepancy.

To study this discrepancy further, we can look at the range of extra-curricular or off-campus activities asked about in this survey, namely whether service learning, internships, the Washington Program, or study abroad have the potential to impact a student's political beliefs. Significance tests yield a relationship only for study abroad, depicted in the table below. None of the other variables tested prove correlative.

Table 4.9: Does participation in study abroad affect political beliefs (all respondents)?

Study abroad			Political beliefs: Conservative	Liberal	Moderate/ undecided	Totals
Study abroad	Study abroad	Observed	9	55	15	38
		Expected	15	47	18	
	No study abroad	Observed	13	14	11	79
		Expected	7	22	8	
Totals			22	69	26	117

Chi-square	**12.9**
Probability	**0.002**
Significant	

Table 4.10: Does study abroad affect political beliefs (excluding moderate and undecided respondents)?

Study abroad			Political beliefs: Conservative	Liberal	Totals
Study abroad	Study abroad	Observed	9	55	38
		Expected	15	49	
	No study abroad	Observed	13	14	79
		Expected	6	20	
Totals			22	69	117

Chi-square	**12.0**
Probability	**0.0005**
More pronounced	

As shown above, if we exclude the students that marked "moderate" or "undecided" on the survey and just include study abroad participants that expressed either liberal or conservative views, an even more significant relationship appears to exist.

Taking this analysis a step further, we can also begin to examine the possible impact of duration of time spent abroad on political views. In this survey 27% of the students who have never left the United States (not even for a family trip) claim to be left of center, where 63% declare right of center political beliefs. This trend begins to reverse itself, when adding international travel. For those who have taken a family (or other) vacation overseas, 54% describe themselves as politically conservative, with 36% liberal. Looking towards the opposite end of the study abroad spectrum, meaning those who have spent a semester overseas, the data trend even more heavily in the opposite direction, with only 15% of the students maintaining right of center beliefs and 56% left of center. Staying for a moment with the students who spent a semester overseas, another interesting phenomenon should be noted, namely that 29% of the group declared either moderate or undecided views. This percentage increases to 33% among those who have studied abroad for longer than a semester. The table below illustrates the relationship between the duration of time abroad and political beliefs. The p-value is 0.02[29], demonstrating the likelihood of a significant relationship. From the test performed on these data, there appears to be a connection between duration of time abroad and higher numbers of both liberal and moderate students.

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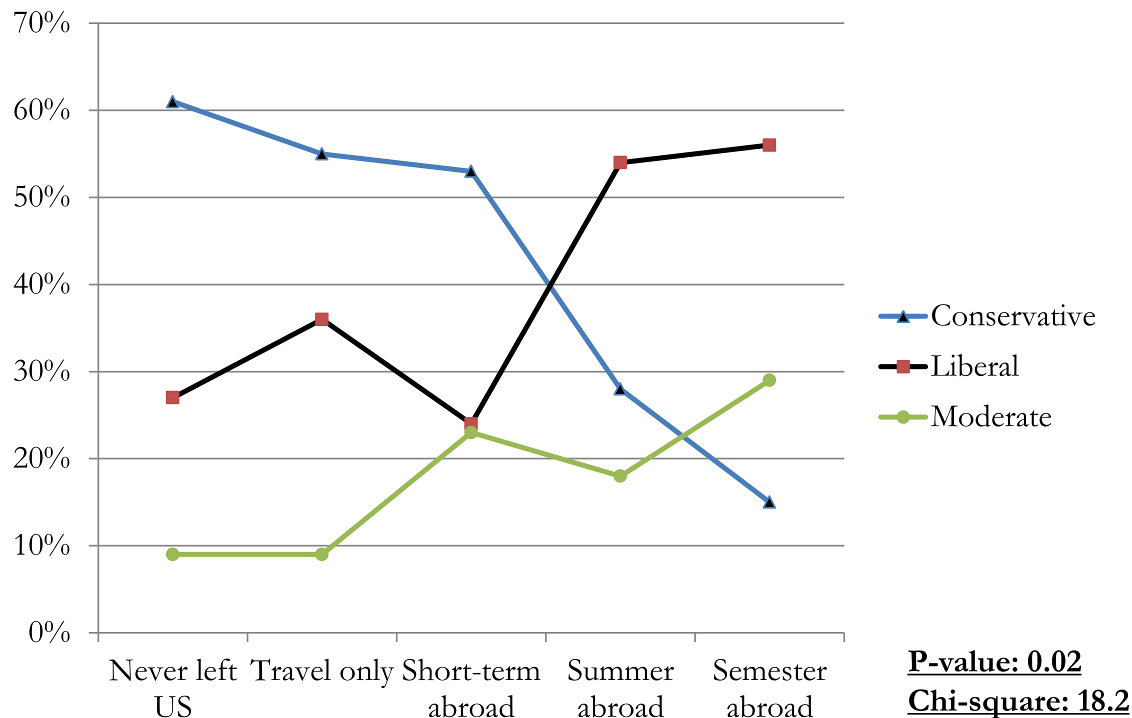
[29] Using a chi square test: this p-value excludes data pertaining to students that spent over a semester overseas, as the numbers are too small to be meaningful. Including those students, the p-value changes to 0.037, also pointing to a significant relationship.

Chart 4.1: Duration of study abroad and political beliefs



Having determined that students who have studied abroad tend to be more liberal, we can return to choice of major and its impact on political ideology. As discussed previously, many more international relations majors choose to study abroad than their counterparts in political science, 82% to 32%. If we analyze the data with all three variables, namely study abroad, major, and politics, it is interesting to note that the tendency across all three majors is to skew to the left, demonstrating more liberals and fewer conservatives. In the case of international relations majors, the percentage of liberals jumps by 12% when adding study abroad, while the percentage of moderates stays the same. For political science and policy studies majors (together), we see a 46% increase in the percentage of liberals when adding study abroad. In fact, the percentage of liberals among all three majors with

study abroad is roughly equivalent, between 69-71% of those in each major. From this view, study abroad might become a liberally equalizing force, creating more left-leaning results regardless of major. That said, statistically this cannot be proven significant in the case of international relations majors. Chi square tests do not prove that the relationship is due to anything more than random sampling. However, for political science and public affairs majors (see table below), there does appear to be a significant relationship. In other words, it may be possible that the international relations majors in the survey were predisposed to their more moderate to liberal-leaning beliefs before venturing overseas, while study abroad might well have impacted the political science/public affairs students more acutely.

Table 4.11: Does study abroad affect political beliefs (political science and public affairs majors only)

Political beliefs

Study abroad (Political Science and Public Affairs majors only)		Conservative	Liberal	Moderate/ undecided	Totals
Study abroad	Observed	3	10	1	14
	Expected	5	6	3	
No study abroad	Observed	10	6	8	24
	Expected	8	10	6	
Totals		13	16	9	38

Chi-square	8.2
Probability *	0.02

Significant

* Fisher Exact Probability Test

Geography and wealth

The results of the survey demonstrate a relatively diverse student population in terms of geography, namely whether students hail from an urban (30%), suburban (58%), or rural (12%) environment. Of the three groups, rural students are the most likely to have studied abroad, but percentages across the three types of geography prove to be within five points of each other, with 71% rural, 66% suburban and 69% urban. A healthy percentage of students in all three groups have studied abroad. In fact, statistical tests reveal that geography has no significant effect on the politics of the groups either. Although a slightly higher percentage of suburban students self-identify as conservative, about the same percentage in all three groups claims to be liberal, signifying varying percentages of students in the middle or undecided about politics across the three geographical groups.

If we add study abroad as a third variable to the mix, the percentages change somewhat. Among urban students that have not studied abroad, there is an equal percentage (27%) that leans left, right, or towards the middle. For those urban students that have studied abroad, the percentage of conservatives drops to 4%, rendering 79% liberal. This trend continues across the three geographic distinctions. Among suburban students that have not studied abroad, a slightly higher percentage (38%) considers itself conservative, with an equal percentage of liberals. Adding study abroad to the group, the conservatives drop to 16% of the total. The exact same phenomenon occurs among the rural students who have not studied abroad, with political beliefs remaining relatively equally distributed. Once study abroad is added, the numbers of conservatives decreases precipitously. For this group of students, study abroad appears to be a stronger variable on political beliefs than geographic origin.

Table 4.12: Do geography + study abroad affect political beliefs (urban students)?[30]

Study abroad (Students from urban backgrounds only) × Political beliefs

		Conservative	Liberal	Totals
Urban study abroad	Observed	1	19	20
	Expected	3	17	
Urban no study abroad	Observed	3	3	6
	Expected	1	5	
Totals		4	22	26

Fisher	0.03
Significant	

Table 4.13: Do geography + study abroad affect political beliefs (suburban students)?

Study abroad (Students from suburban backgrounds only) × Political beliefs

		Conservative	Liberal	Totals
Suburban study abroad	Observed	7	30	37
	Expected	11	26	
Suburban no study abroad	Observed	9	9	18
	Expected	5	13	
Totals		16	39	55

Chi square	5.7
Probability	0.02
Significant	

[30] Freeman-Halton Extension of the Fisher Exact Probability Test used for urban students, given small sample size. Test not performed for rural students, as numbers even lower.

In addition to determining the impact of geography, this study also asked students to identify their level of wealth. This question was posed somewhat indirectly, asking participants to disclose whether their parents are paying for their education, or whether they attend the University with the help of scholarships or student loans. While this question makes it somewhat challenging to be able to accurately determine wealth, responses fit generally into three groups, from most to moderately to least wealthy.[31] A relatively equal number of students can be placed into each category, with 35% most, 38% moderately, and 27% least wealthy. Although one might imagine that the wealthiest students would be most likely to have studied abroad, given that they have the most means, the opposite is the case. 60% of the wealthiest students in the group have studied abroad, compared to 70% of the latter two categories. However, statistical tests indicate that this difference cannot be attributed to anything more than random sampling. Both percentages are impressive, and it remains noteworthy that students of lesser means are finding their way overseas at a similar rate to students of greater means. Perhaps through intensive promotion of study abroad, major requirements, and scholarships, wealth is becoming less of an impediment to Maxwell students' choices to study off-campus.

Curiously, the same dynamic occurs when investigating the impact of wealth on participation in the DC Program or in service learning opportunities. No significant relationship exists, signifying level of wealth is neither an impediment to participation nor to desire to engage in such programs.

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[31] An explanation of the three categories: (W-1) Most wealthy = parents covering costs or combination of parents and merit scholarships; (W-2) Moderately wealthy = combination of parental support plus student loans and grants; (W-3) Least wealthy = either full scholarship or complete reliance on student loans and grants.

Wealth also does not impact a student's choice of major. The distribution of majors remains quite even across the three categories.

In terms of the impact of wealth on political ideology, there appears to be a similar percentage of conservative students (between 20-24%) in both the highest and lowest categories of wealth, with 10% fewer conservatives in the middle. Also, the percentage of moderates among all three categories hovers between 20-23%. The middle category of wealth maintains a slightly higher percentage of liberals at 65%, compared to 57-58% among the highest and lowest categories. Statistical tests, however, do not reveal any significant relationship between level of wealth and political beliefs.

Plans after college

Adding one final variable to the mix, students responded to a question inquiring about their plans after college. Specifically, the question asked whether they were considering completing a community service type project such as the Peace Corps, AmeriCorps, Fulbright, or another. Notably, nearly half of all participants (48%) were considering completing a service project or fellowship. What variables might play a role in influencing a student's inclination to do so? Gender plays an apparent role, as females are 19% more likely than their male classmates to express an interest in such experiences.

Table 4.14: Does gender affect desire to participate in service project/fellowships after graduation?

Desire to participate in service project/fellowship after graduation

Gender		Yes	No	Totals
Female	Observed	38	30	68
	Expected	33	35	
Male	Observed	18	31	49
	Expected	23	26	
Totals		56	61	117

Chi-square	4.2
Probability	0.04
Significant	

However, if we look only at the students that studied abroad, both male and female, and remove those who did not, this significance erodes completely.

On the surface, choice of major also appears to make a difference. International relations majors are also 19% more likely than their political science counterparts, and although the small number of policy studies majors in the survey makes it difficult to generalize, they are further 19% more likely than international relations students to claim interest in joining a community service type program after graduation. However, combining the political science and policy studies majors, statistical tests do not expose any significant relationship between the two variables. Had there been more policy studies majors in the sample, a significant relationship might well have been evoked, especially given the emphasis

placed on service learning by the requirements of the policy studies major. That said, if policy studies majors are removed from the sample, the two variables do appear to be correlated, showing international relations majors as more likely than political science majors to desire participation in such a service program.

Table 4.15: Does major affect desire to participate in service project/fellowships after graduation (international relations and political science only)?

Desire to participate in service project/fellowship after graduation

Major (international relations and political science only)			Yes	No	Totals
	International Relations	Observed	41	38	79
		Expected	37	42	
	Political Science	Observed	10	21	31
		Expected	14	17	
	Totals		51	59	110

Chi-square	3.5
Probability	0.06
Significant	

As with gender, however, this relationship is no longer statistically significant when removing the study abroad students across the majors from the table.

Political beliefs may also play a role in influencing participants' choices in this regard. The liberal-leaning students are 22% more likely than their conservative classmates to claim they wish to join a program, whether domestic or international, that fosters community service (see table below).

Table 4.16: Do political beliefs affect desire to participate in service project/fellowships after graduation?

Desire to participate in service project/fellowship after graduation

Political beliefs		Yes	No	Totals
Conservative	Observed	8	14	22
	Expected	11	11	
Liberal	Observed	40	29	69
	Expected	33	36	
Moderate/ undecided	Observed	8	18	26
	Expected	12	14	
Totals		56	61	117

Chi-square	7.0
Probability	0.03

Significant

In addition to political beliefs, wealth proves itself to be a significant variable. Across the three categories of wealth, the intent to participate in such a program increases significantly descending the wealth scale. 38% of the most wealthy students expressed interest, compared to 49% and 67% of students who are moderately and least wealthy, respectively. In other words, the least wealthy students are 29% more likely to engage in a community service program after they graduate than their most wealthy counterparts. The table below shows the statistical tests for wealth and the desire to engage in a community service program post-graduation.

Table 4.17: Does level of wealth affect desire to participate in service project/fellowships after graduation?

Wealth		Yes	No	Totals
		Desire to participate in service project/fellowship after graduation		
Most wealthy	Observed	16	26	42
	Expected	21	21	
Moderately wealthy	Observed	21	22	43
	Expected	21	22	
Least wealthy	Observed	20	10	30
	Expected	15	15	
Totals		57	58	115
			Chi-square	5.7
			Probability	0.06
			Significant	

Although these first tests for political beliefs and wealth suggest a correlative relationship between both variables, this significance vanishes altogether when removing those students that studied abroad.

Once again, this brings us back to the importance of the study abroad variable. If we consider just those who studied abroad, increased percentages of students from each category of wealth as well as each category of political ideology desire post-graduation community service type experiences.

Breaking the data down further, adding study abroad increases the number of students interested in post-graduation community service or service learning to 56%, compared with only 32% of their classmates who did not study abroad.

Table 4.18: Does study abroad affect desire to participate in service project/fellowships after graduation?

Desire to participate in service project/fellowship after graduation

Study abroad		Yes	No	Totals
Study abroad	Observed	44	35	79
	Expected	38	41	
No study abroad	Observed	12	26	38
	Expected	18	20	
Totals		56	61	117

Chi-square	**6.0**
Probability	**0.01**
Significant	

Similar tests for the service learning and DC Program variables return insignificant results. Especially in the case of service learning, it is noteworthy that no correlation can be made with desire to participate in a post-graduation service project or fellowship. However, we do find a significant relationship between first generation students and interest in completing a service project after graduation. Students from immigrant families are 19% more likely to express an intention to complete a service project after their senior year.

Table 4.19: Does immigration affect desire to participate in service project/fellowships after graduation?

Immigrant family		Desire to participate in service project/fellowship after graduation: Yes	No	Totals
Yes	Observed	22	14	36
	Expected	17	19	
No	Observed	34	47	81
	Expected	39	42	
Totals		56	61	117

Chi-square	**3.7**
Probability	**0.06**
Significant	

Both study abroad and immigration appear to play a vital role in shaping the type of opportunities students wish for and aspire to. Overriding other variables that tend to divide the group (being the child of an immigrant family is not changeable), study abroad emerges, at this early stage in the research, as a way to focus students' attention outwardly and toward a willingness to play a meaningful role in others' lives.

CONCLUSIONS

As we can see from the analysis of the biographical questions above, the participants in the survey represent a comparable group of students across several dimensions. They are all close in age, attend the same school at the same university, and have all been exposed to specialized coursework in the study of citizenship. The group also presents an interesting

level of variation across several other dimensions. Important distinctions begin to unfold when looking closely at gender, choice of major, wealth, participation in the Washington Program or service learning, immigration, political ideology, and plans after college.

Females are more likely to participate in both study abroad and service learning opportunities. They are also more likely to be politically liberal than their male classmates and more interested in post-graduation service programs (i.e., AmeriCorps, Teach for America, Peace Corps, etc.). However, the significance of this difference in gender dissolves when looking at only those men and women that studied abroad. Within this latter group, both genders are equally as likely to be politically liberal or moderate. They are also equally as likely to wish to engage in a service project after graduation.

Unsurprisingly, international relations majors are more likely to study abroad than those majoring in political science or policy studies. They are also more likely to be politically liberal and to desire a post-graduation service experience. Notably, just as with the females in this survey, this distinction becomes insignificant when removing those international relations majors who studied abroad from the equation.

According to the data, level of wealth does not impact participation in service learning, the DC Program, or study abroad. It also has no significant impact on political beliefs. Wealth does, however, form a relationship with desire to participate in a post-graduation service project. The least wealthy students are more likely than their moderately wealthy or most wealthy classmates to express interest in such programs. As with females and international relations majors in the study, however, this relationship no longer exists

when removing study abroad students across the levels of wealth. Notably, in this case, study abroad appears to encourage more students in the lower levels of wealth to be interested in giving back to society through a service program.

Additionally, the biographical data point to immigration as one of the strongest variables in the survey. The first-generation respondents are more likely to select international relations as a major, to study abroad, to express liberal political beliefs, and to desire completion of a service project after graduation.

All other biographical variables being equal, study abroad appears to possess the largest potential impact on political views, demonstrating that students who study abroad are either pre-disposed to liberal political beliefs or that study abroad inculcates a shift in perspective. The data cannot speak with any level of certainty about which one of these scenarios might be true. However, the relationship appears to exist and is important to note for this study. The possibility for the greatest shift in perspective might well be for students who study abroad for longer periods of time. Longer international experiences associate with fewer numbers of conservative students and higher numbers of both liberal and moderate students. Another more prominent shift in political perspective forms around choice of major. The data elucidate study abroad as having a greater possible impact on political beliefs among political science and policy studies majors, shifting their views to the left.

Additionally, students who have studied abroad are more inclined to be interested in completing community projects or service learning opportunities after graduation than

students who stayed on campus. Again, here, we cannot know for sure whether these students were already internally motivated to be engaged in this way before studying overseas. Through an exploration of the open-ended questions in the survey, the following chapters will help to shed additional light on students' worldviews and the impact of various demographic data and college experiences, including study abroad, internships (via the DC Program), and service learning.

CHAPTER 5

A DEFINING EXPERIENCE AND EVOLVING SOCIAL AND POLITICAL PERSPECTIVES

Cosmopolitan learning … demands a new way of learning about other cultures and intercultural exchange. It requires the development of intellectual skills to examine the ways in which we create knowledge about others and use it to engage with them. In this way, it highlights both the cognitive and ethical dimensions of intercultural learning. It suggests that learning about others requires learning about ourselves. It implies a dialectical mode of thinking, which conceives cultural differences as neither absolute nor necessarily antagonistic, but deeply interconnected and relationally defined. It underscores the importance of understanding others both in their terms as well as ours, as a way of comprehending how both our representations are socially constituted (Rivzi 2009: 265).

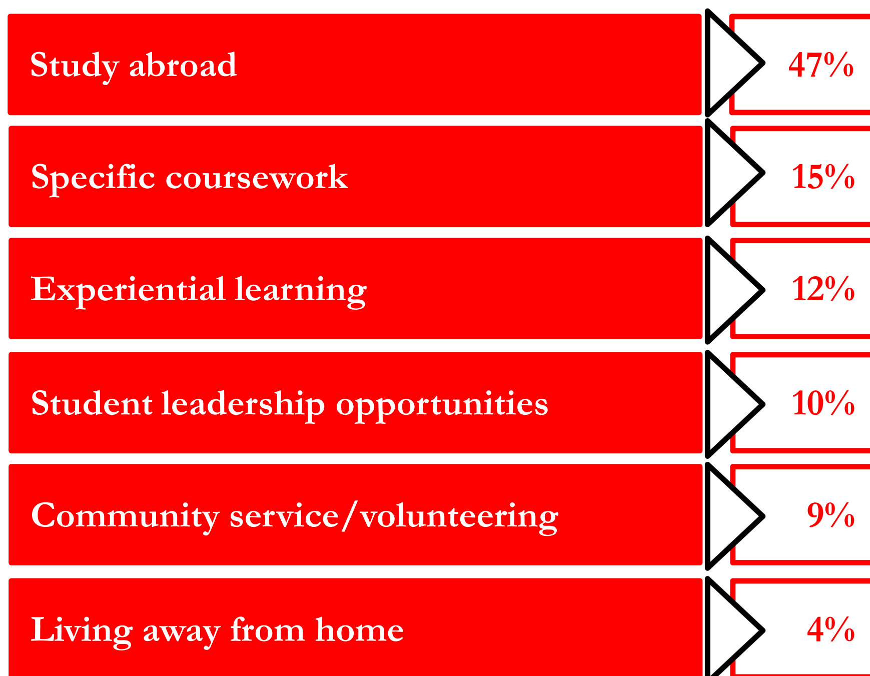
The next three chapters discuss the results of each of the six open-ended questions in the survey. The coding of the responses in each of these areas provides some insight into the way in which survey participants think about their experiences at SU, their social and political views, globalization, and their notions of citizenship, responsibility, and cosmopolitanism. As mentioned in chapter three discussing the research methodology, this section includes an analysis of student responses to six questions. Students discuss their most impactful experience in college, their political and social views, their definitions of citizenship, their responsibilities as a citizen, their views of globalization, and whether or not they consider themselves global citizens. All the while drawing together the students' open-ended responses and the biographical data discussed in chapter four, the results provide a context through which we can come closer to understanding the worldviews of this particular student population as well as the potential explanations for the variation.

This chapter looks specifically at the first two survey questions, which relate to a defining, or impactful, experience in college as well as changes in students' political and social views resulting from their time in college.

MOST SIGNIFICANT LIFE IMPACT IN COLLEGE

The survey asked the students to respond to the following first question: *Describe an experience you have had during your time at Syracuse University that you feel has had the most significant impact on your life (could be a course, an off-campus program, an internship, an extracurricular activity). How do you feel it impacted you? What did you learn from that experience?* To answer, students write about the impact of a wide range of college experiences. Among the responses, study abroad is by far the most common with 55 responses or 47% of the population. Other repeated responses include specific coursework (15%), experiential learning (12%), student leadership opportunities (10%), community service or volunteering (9%), and living away from home (4%). The figure below provides a breakdown of the responses.

Table 5.1: Most significant life impact in college



3% no answer, not discernible

This question serves a dual purpose. It asks students specifically *what* had the most significant life impact and *how* these experiences impacted them. What becomes interesting after reading through these responses is not necessarily that study abroad is the most common response, but rather the various explanations of how each experience impacts individual students. At first glance, one could take the high number of responses for study abroad and move on to the next question, but after a thorough reading, it appears that other college experiences might have a similar effect on students. Several themes emerge across the responses. Many students speak of the independence, courage, maturity, and self-confidence they gained as a result of various experiences. Others speak of the critical thinking, learning opportunities, and real-world skills they acquired. And others emphasize

the eye-opening nature of their experiences. Interestingly, for this question, students emphasized either an inward-looking answer (i.e., independence, maturity, self-confidence, real-world skills) or outward-looking (i.e., eye-opening, becoming more open-minded, learning about others and the world).

While some responses combine elements of all of these themes, a pattern emerges that serves to somewhat differentiate the responses. For example, students listing their transition to college life (leaving high school and home for the first time) or their campus leadership activities as having the greatest impact tended to focus on their self-confidence, independence, and maturity. Those that responded that their experiential learning impacted them the most outline the development of real-world skills. And students that answered study abroad or community service and volunteering emphasized the eye-opening nature of their experiences.

To go slightly into more depth, 70% of those that studied abroad list their time abroad as their most impactful college experience. This percentage is even higher among those that spent a semester or more overseas (73%). Given that responses tend to breakdown along either inward or outward looking lines, a second layer of coding reveals that about half of the population (49%) provides an inward-looking response, 26% outward-looking, and a further 19% combined inward and outward-looking. Adding together the latter two categories, in other words, all that respond in some way with an outward focus, 72% of these students answer that study abroad was the most impactful experience in college. The second largest group, with 13%, includes those that feel their community

service or volunteering activities had the largest impact. Under the categories "living away from home" and "student leadership opportunities," no one contributes an outward-looking statement. Investigating these data a little more closely, among those that respond with simultaneous inward and outward-looking comments, 83% studied abroad. The remaining 17% completed community service or volunteering activities. None of the other categories reveal participants that describe this dual phenomenon. The table below illustrates these results.

Chart 5.1: Inward or outward-looking

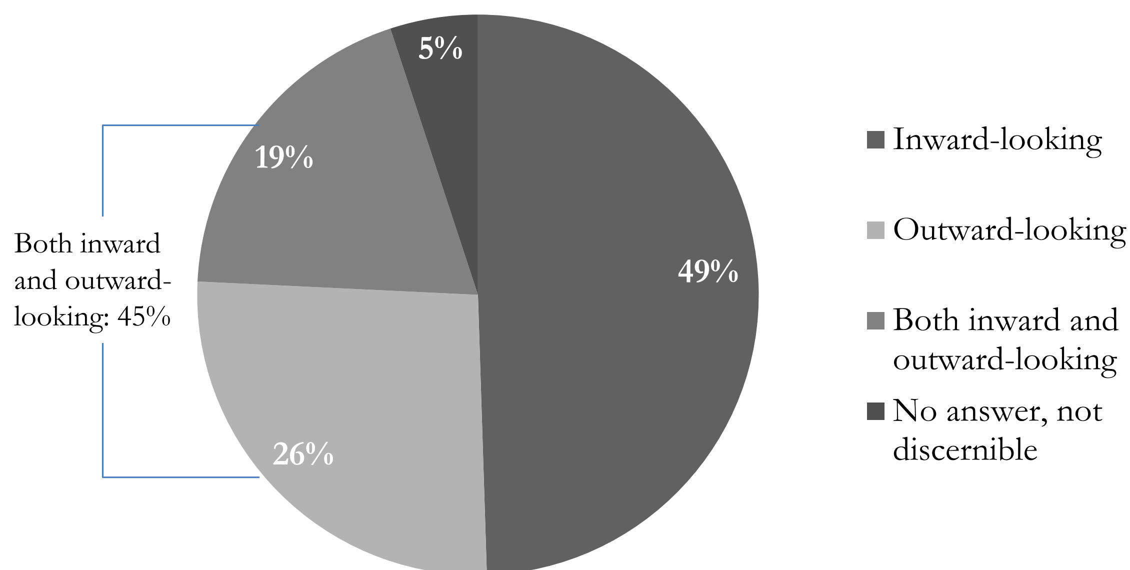


Table 5.2: Defining experiences and inward or outward-looking responses

Inward-looking: self-confidence, independence, maturity, real-world skills

Some students with inward-looking responses delineate a pride in overcoming a personal challenge or obstacle. One young woman speaks of her living situation when first arriving at SU. "I had an awful roommate freshman year. It definitely taught me how to stand up for myself. I have learned how to compromise and live with someone extremely different from myself." Expanding on this theme, another student writes that during her freshman year she learned to "believe in myself because not a lot of people get happy when I succeed. Culture shock … drove me to be really depressed and reconsider returning [to college]. My roommate [made] so many uncalled for racist comments toward my ethnicity and my physical appearance. But in the end, I found it in myself to keep going no matter what. I wasn't going to be the coward that couldn't handle it. SU changed me." This transition process to college, in and of itself, can indeed be a "culture shock" for students and can serve as a transformative personal experience, one that builds confidence, autonomy, and how to handle oneself in the face of adversity.

Students who claimed their on-campus leadership activities had the most significant impact largely responded in a similar vein, that they gained a degree of independence, maturity, and self-awareness. A young man that became president of his fraternity writes that "being in charge of eighty 18-22 year-olds is one of the hardest things I ever had to do. It aged me by five years." Another student reflecting on the front end of the fraternity experience acknowledges that pledging taught him that "sticking to something and owning it makes the experience worthwhile. Because of pledging, I stick to my gut more and will

always go down with the ship." A young man involved with First Year Players heralds his involvement as "the defining experience of my time at SU. No other experience taught me so much about both failure and success, about dealing with adversity and growing up."

While this notion of independence and maturity persists throughout many of the responses, another pattern comes to the fore among students that responded that their internships impacted them the most. These students emphasize, not surprisingly, the importance to them of real-world skills. One student writes that an internship he completed was most rewarding, as it "allowed for the application of my degree. I realized that everything I had learned was valuable." Another male student writes of his realization of the worth of his coursework at SU, through the application of academically acquired knowledge during his internship. "When I started my first internship after my sophomore year, I had only taken once class respective to my sector. When I started, I was given a lot of tasks and was expected to have a pretty deep understanding of the issues at hand. I used the knowledge from my classes and was able to contribute a great amount and impress my supervisors. It taught me first hand that the education I received at Syracuse was really useful and practical."

A young man majoring in public affairs illuminates that impact of one of his courses in his major. "The most significant experience I have had while at SU was taking PAF 410, Benchmarking. This class had students work together and author a community indicators report. My work and experience on this project helped me get an internship and brought to light research opportunities through the social sciences." This response is typical of many

(but not all) of the participants that listed coursework as having had the most significant impact on their lives during college. This sub-group of students tends to be focused on leveraging their academic knowledge in a practical way after graduation.

What weaves all of the responses in this section together is the notion that they are focused inwardly, whether on developing necessary academic and professional skills or on obtaining a higher level of independence and maturity. While 25% of inward-looking respondents credit study abroad as their defining experience, this percentage is far less than for outward-looking or both inward and outward-looking respondents. Additionally, many of the students that credit study abroad discuss their "Discovery" year in Italy, in which first-year students spend their first academic year at SU's center in Florence before studying on campus. It would be worth pursuing to see if these first-year students, given their younger age at the time, perceive of their experiences differently than a junior or senior. The other 75% of the students who offer a purely inwardly-focused response tend to be those that claim campus leadership opportunities(anything from fraternities to marching band to first year players), overall transition to college life, experiential learning, and coursework as having impacted them the most.

Outward-looking: eye-opening, becoming open minded, culturally aware

As the earlier table illustrates from the reverse direction, students in four of the six categories also reflect on their most impactful experiences in college in an outward-looking manner. For example, building on the conversation above regarding experiential learning, responses

also evoked the significance of the type of internship students completed. A student that worked for a law firm in Syracuse that specializes in labor and employment law writes that he "came away [from the internship] with a better perspective on the working class and the difficulty workers face." Another student that served as a research assistant on campus at the Institute for National Security and Counterterrorism expresses that "it was a good feeling to work on a project that people out in the field are working on, being part of something that will make an impact on the future of post-conflict states." These last two students speak of the eye-opening nature of their experiences, specific to the type of work they performed.

This eye-opening theme persists across many other responses. A young man who listed coursework as having the most significant impact writes that because of the wide range of classes he has taken at SU, his "scope of knowledge has drastically widened and my knowledge of [and concern for] the world has increased." Other students list specific courses and professors that have served to enhance their knowledge and cause them to think differently about various issues. One student hails MAX 132, Global Community, as having had an enormous impact on her thinking. "Before attending SU, I was not very internationally aware or interested in politics. MAX 132 made me want to watch the news every morning." Another student credits his course on human geography, which caused him to "critically analyze my surroundings in a profound way. [It helped] me to understand why things are the way they are because of where they are. I don't look at a homeless person anymore without thinking that park benches are designed to keep [him] off." An African

Studies professor that teaches a course on the politics of Africa opened another student's eyes "to a completely new perspective on international relations and the world as a whole."

Looking at the rest of the responses, we see the same theme emerge, and arguably to a greater extent, with students that describe their community service and volunteering experiences as the most significant. One writes that community service activities through his fraternity allowed him to "learn a lot about myself [and others] through interacting with young kids whose life circumstances were much different than mine." His comments emphasize the impact of learning about oneself through the eyes of others. Another student that worked in a local high school in the Syracuse City School District comments that "little things, little steps can go a long way in the process of helping others." One young woman was able to attend a conference of the Clinton Global Initiative, which exposed her "to issues and people I was previously unaware of."

In terms of students who feel study abroad impacted them the most, responses vary, and some detail a purely inward-looking perspective, i.e., "studying abroad in Italy taught me how to be more independent and how to take initiative, as well as how to be more outgoing and less shy." Another student continues along these same lines, commenting that study abroad "was tough and definitely taught me independence … there were times when we would arrive at 2 a.m. in a strange city with no hotel yet, and it really forces you to grow." While these themes of building courage and independence persist, they are more often than not combined with outward-looking viewpoints. For instance, "I think [study abroad] has really opened my eyes to how others think and process information and how things are

worded and said can affect others' opinions." One young woman sums up her experience in Chile by recounting what she witnessed first-hand and the impact on her views of the United States and on what she intends to pursue as a career.

> Without a doubt, studying abroad in Santiago, Chile has been the highlight of my SU experience. I had one too many reservations about going abroad before applying, and am so happy I did. Being here has taught me so much more than I could have ever learned in any classes. Considering Chile's complicated history, living in the country has made understanding it much more interesting. Witnessing the ways in which historical memory manifests itself in Chile has been the most powerful experience I've had here. My time in Chile has inspired me to research and work closer with the issues that surround human rights as well as its protection and preservation, and it has also opened my eyes to the conflicting stances the US has in the international realm.

The comments above reflect what many returned study abroad students offer in the survey, a circular description of learning about others through direct contact and interaction with various cultures, and as a result, learning more about themselves. This mind-broadening experience carries over into accepting new ideologies as well. For example, a student that studied in Japan for a year reports that this opportunity "changed the way I perceived the world. I learned to think outside the political ideology of liberal democracy." Similarly, a female student that spent a semester in the UK writes about how her time there caused her to re-evaluate her original perceptions of the world. "It changed my fully US-directed perspective on the world. I was forced to take a step back from what I had been taught and criticize our (US) politics and political system. Also, the British professors taught from a British/European perspective, which was exciting and new and has impacted my thinking."

A young woman who spent a semester in Strasbourg reminisces confidently about the challenge of the experience for her personally along with a new sense of perceiving the world around her. "Not only was I pushed outside my comfort zone, but I realized that I was perfectly comfortable there. It was also an excellent opportunity to understand not only what separates us from other countries, but what intrinsic qualities make us the same." These comments underlie a cosmopolitan sense of common humanity that she gained while studying overseas.

Returning for a moment to the students who highlighted their community service and volunteering experience as having the most significant impact, we can witness references to cosmopolitan thinking similar to those that write of study abroad as having provided the largest impact. One student writes of her involvement in the International Young Scholars Program sponsored by the SU Office of Engagement, which opened her eyes "to the cross-cultural similarities between me and a 15 year-old Somali refugee in the Syracuse community. This has seriously altered my world view of a shared humanity." Another student who worked with Somali refugees as part of Literacy Corps takes this theme to the next level, writing of the social and economic discrepancies present in the city of Syracuse. "I was exposed to students who … come from all kinds of experiences, backgrounds, cultures, and histories. It impacted me because it gave me a whole new perspective on Syracuse … I learned the difference between the prestige and privilege we experience on the campus and the struggle of inner-city students from Syracuse, especially those from abroad."

In order to gain an outward-looking perspective, this survey points to both study abroad and community service/volunteering as providing the most direct link. If obtaining an outward-looking viewpoint is a measure of becoming a cosmopolitan, one might conclude from this information that community service/volunteering provides the same benefit as study abroad. It is important to note, however, that well over the majority (70%) of the students that discuss their volunteering experience from an outward-looking angle have also studied abroad. Can we determine from the responses which activity followed the other, in other words, whether study abroad might have influenced these students to engage in community service projects with Somali refugees (for example) or whether working with refugees might have motivated the pursuit of study abroad? Statistical tests for independence render service learning, both with and without those who studied abroad, insignificant. However, study abroad, both with and without service learning, continues to offer an association. The tables below illustrate this phenomenon.

Table 5.3: Does study abroad impact inward or outward views?

Defining experience: inward/outward views

Study abroad		Inward	Outward	Both	Totals
Yes	Observed	29	26	22	77
	Expected	39	22	17	
No	Observed	27	5	2	34
	Expected	17	9	7	
Totals		56	31	24	111

Chi-square	**16.8**
Probability	**0.0002**

Significant

Table 5.4: Does study abroad impact inward or outward views (without service learning)?

Defining experience: inward/outward views

Study abroad		Inward	Outward	Both	Totals
Yes	Observed	6	10	8	24
	Expected	11	8	5	
No	Observed	10	2	0	12
	Expected	5	4	3	
Totals		16	12	8	36

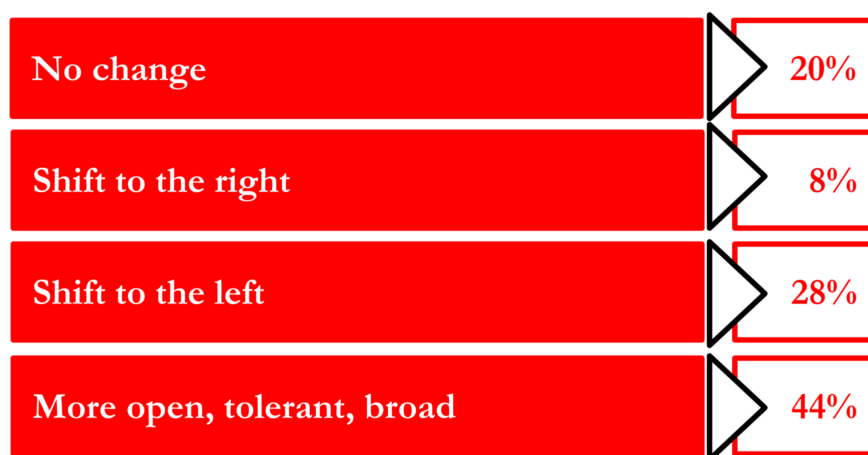
Chi-square	**11.6**
Probability	**0.003**
Fisher	**0.003**

Still significant

CHANGE IN POLITICAL OR SOCIAL VIEWS

Adding another layer of detail to this theme, the survey asked participants the following in question two: *Have your political or social views changed in any way during your time at SU? If so, in which way? And if so, what factors served to influence these changes (faculty, your research, internships, service learning, extracurricular experiences)?* Student responses can be broken down into four basic categories, namely "no change," "shift to the right," "shift to the left," and "more open, tolerant, broad." The chart below depicts the percentage of responses that fall into the four categories.

Table 5.5: Change in political/social views



No change

The most substantial coding challenge for this category emerged around those students that stated clearly that there had been no change in their views, but that their original views had been enhanced and better informed through their experiences at SU and through a broader understanding of other perspectives. In these circumstances, responses were marked as

"more open, tolerant, broad." Responses left in this category range from those that simply state "no change" or "not at all" to longer, more involved explanations illustrating ideologies mostly from all sides of the political spectrum. 32% of the responses in this category come from students that described themselves as conservative, 18% moderate, and 50% liberal.

The conservatives in this category offer the more detailed or strongly-worded responses, demonstrating pride in their political perspectives and resistance to what they consider a left-leaning bias on the University campus. One student comments that "faculty mostly lean to the left. I am a very strong conservative and have strengthened my conservative views while at SU." Another student adds to this sentiment, claiming that she "learned how conservative I am being surrounded by so many liberals." Along the same lines, one young man states simply that he is "still conservative, still Republican," and another participant equated his conservatism with his continued less-than-rosy worldview, stating that he is "still conservative and still pessimistic about life." Arguably the most interesting response in this category comes from a young man that feels he has to defend his views vociferously in the face of a political bias on the part of the faculty. "The overriding left-wing bias at Syracuse has been incredibly beneficial to improving the intellectual quality of my political thought. I know that my answers must always be well-supported because they will undoubtedly be attacked by my professors and peers." Instead of changing his political views, studying in an environment with people that think differently caused this young man to further entrench himself in his own worldview.

The liberals and moderates in this category agree that their political and social views had not changed, but they generally refrain from making defiant statements about their own views, with the possible exception of one statement. A self-described liberal expressed bewilderment at the lack of social and political engagement witnessed by her peers. "My own political views have not changed that much, [but] I was actually very surprised how apathetic and politically uninvolved most SU students are. It has made me more motivated to work harder and educate the public." Otherwise, several students posit that they came to college with an open-minded view of the world and that college reinforced their own perceptions. For example, one student wrote "I always considered myself to be an open-minded person, and I still am." Another student mentions that while his views have not changed, he has become more convinced of his convictions. "My views have stayed consistent, but have evolved with increasing complexity and sophistication."

Shift to the right

Only 8% of those surveyed describe their political and social views as having shifted to the right. Two sub-groups emerge in this context, the first pertaining to conservative-leaning students who claim they have become more conservative and liberal-leaning students who claim their views have moderated or become more conservative.

Among the already conservative crowd, one student expresses, "If anything, I have become more conservative, which is ironic since it's a very liberal campus. Sometimes the professors, specifically in political science, pushed their opinions so much that it really made

me go in the other direction." Another student concurs, stating that he has "become more conservative and anti-Obama because of his policies. Students blindly support him without facts." Internships, extracurricular activities, and other affiliations also influence this conservative-leaning crowd. One young man describes the impact of his legislative internship on his politics. "When interning this past summer in Albany for Minority Leader Bryan Colbs, my views shifted more to the right, and I found myself aligning more with Tea Party candidates in mid-term elections." Another participant's comments reinforce this sentiment more generally. "I have become more conservative since starting at SU. This was influenced by groups I am a part of and because of internships I had."

On the opposite side of the political spectrum, some liberal-leaning students illustrate the process of moderating or becoming slightly more conservative. "I think I entered SU as a staunch liberal, and I remain a liberal with a more pragmatic, centrist view on things." Another student describes the impact of college as becoming "less idealistic and less naïve and more realistic. I have become slightly more conservative, but overall I still hold the same major beliefs, many of which I consider liberal." One young woman surveyed depicts a similar moderating phenomenon derived from her studies and peers at the University. "I have come from a more naïve, liberal mindset into a more educated, knowledgeable, realistic view of the world. My political science courses as well as my free time and my friends [have influenced this change]." Also, some students separate political and social views, displaying a tendency to support a more liberal social agenda than a political one. For example, a participant expresses that she leans "a little more to the right in terms of political views, but

certainly not socially, where I still maintain moderate stances. Most of my peers and faculty served to influence this lean."

The students highlighted in the previous paragraph provide a notable counterpoint to the conservative students listed previously. Where some conservative students argue that the University environment is too liberal, these self-proclaimed originally liberal students argue that SU had somehow moderated them. This second sub-group proved to be somewhat of a challenge in terms of coding. These students directly discuss a shift to the right, but this shift largely appears to be due to learning about other perspectives and becoming more informed. Hence, they could have perhaps just as easily been grouped under the fourth category, "more open, tolerant, broad."

Shift to the left

28% of the students surveyed indicate a shift to the left in their political and social views since they began their college education. As could be expected, many factors can explain this shift, including faculty, coursework, research, peers, not living with parents anymore, and study abroad.

Among those that list faculty and coursework as the major influential factors, one student identifies his changed position on war and conflict. "I became more liberal and realized alternative means of conflict resolution, other than war/military … since my time at SU. I'd say my research, professors, and internship experience have all jointly influenced this

change, or magnification, of my political and social views." Another student mentions the impact of faculty and his own research on the theoretical benefits of socialism. "I'm very much a socialist (if socialism actually worked). Faculty members, my job as a tutor and the articles and books I have read have definitely influenced my perspective." Another participant discusses how taking several courses outside his major caused him to reflect on and reimagine his original perspectives. "Taking a variety of anthropology and sociology classes really changed my social views; they challenged a lot of preconceived notions I had." Along these lines, one young man illustrates what he considers to be a leftward turn in his views, based on what he learned in courses in his major. "I have become more turned to Eastern schools of thought and more supportive of cultural relativism. My Communication and Rhetorical Studies major has made me more appreciative of non-Western cultures."

In keeping with the responses above that tout the influence of new academic approaches or theories, a couple of young women mention the impact of feminism on their political and social views. "I am more aware of the feminist approach to politics. A professor has helped me decipher lenses through which I can assess politicians, institutions and experiences in general." And much in the same way, a second student discusses her transformation. "I didn't care much about feminism. But after taking Women's Studies 101 and International Organizations 353, I became a die-hard feminist. I plan on going into politics to advocate for women's rights."

While mentioning coursework, faculty, or individual research in their responses, another subgroup seems to emerge when discussing a shift to the left politically, namely

students that had grown up in small towns or in a more conservative familial environment. One young man states simply that he has become "more liberal during my time at SU. My teachers have definitely influenced me, as my family is conservative. I have become more open-minded." One of his female classmates concurs. "I was very conservative coming into SU. I think that had to do with my southern upbringing. However, my class work and research projects have opened my eyes and relaxed my political opinions." Another young man agrees with this perspective as well, discussing his family roots from a "very" small town in rural Pennsylvania. "Being exposed to the diversity of people and experiences at SU broadened my mind and forced me to think differently about things I thought were only black and white. I've found out that there are lots of gray areas in almost everything."

One of the students talks about how his studies have encouraged him to become more informed about what is happening in the world. He reads the newspaper now on a regular basis, where he was never terribly interested in high school. Yet for him, perhaps the biggest impact was not political, but social. He tends to view sexuality differently now than he did before coming to SU. "A major difference between high school and college is my level of sensitivity toward sexuality issues. In contrast to my friends back home, I don't use gay slurs anymore. Back then, it was fine. Now I feel dirty saying it. Plus, it's wrong in the first place."

Another young woman also depicts how her political and social views became more liberal, coming to Syracuse from a much smaller place. "I grew up in a rural Appalachian town, and I think my world view was very limited to that. At college, I became introduced

to new ways of thinking - some of which I accepted, and others that I didn't. I am thankful for this contrast though, because I feel like I understand the two most influential political and social viewpoints in the US. Most of the impact was through coursework and my trips abroad." As noted in the quotation above, this student's leftward shift had been shaped not only by coming to Syracuse University from Appalachia, but also by her time abroad. There are many others that fit into this latter category. One student states briefly that "after going abroad, I have adapted different social views after seeing the culture of another country." One young man admits to not having had any firm political or social views before coming to college, while discussing the formative impact of his time in France to shape his beliefs. "I did not possess any political views prior to Syracuse – a large part of it was due to the poor education I received in high school. I am now very liberal (socially), especially after having lived in Europe this past year. However, my experience in France has also pushed me to become economically, to some extent, conservative (i.e., trade policy)."

A transfer student who decided to study abroad after enrolling at SU also outlines the impact of her abroad experience in shifting her views to the left. Curiously, the impact for her seems to be the conservative nature of the culture she witnessed in Chile, comparing it to (what she considered to be) the more open, tolerant American society. "I think it's safe to say that I became more liberal after transferring to Syracuse, but I've also become even more liberal after studying in Chile. Living in such a conservative, homogenous country has made me appreciate liberalism significantly." Although the effect for this student (leftward shift in views) is the same as for the previous student that studied in France, the cause appears to be different. The student that studied in France began to appreciate the liberal social elements

of French society, contrasted by the more conservative nature of his hometown. Contrarily, the student that studied in Chile felt the impact of the conservative Chilean society against the more liberal, heterogeneous nature of life in the United States. International education can cause us to both appreciate another culture and value our own.

Lastly, along the same lines, one of the students surveyed writes that her views had become more extreme since studying at SU, and her time abroad had allowed her to see things that caused her to re-evaluate and refine her perspective, engendering deeper convictions about her beliefs and her role in the world. "I have become less moderate as a result of my time at SU. I've been able to witness personally some of the excesses, disparities around the world and within our own country. I've become sickened by the moderation that the wealth of information we have allows. Socially, I've started caring much more and now feel much more involved and connected."

More open, tolerant, broad

For this category, responses were coded that did not indicate a directional change in political or social views, but that clearly discussed a broadening of perspective. This fourth category was difficult to distinguish from the third, "a shift left," as responses from each demonstrate openness and an increased level of tolerance. That said, the students that ended up in this subgroup do not express whether they have become more liberal or conservative, but rather how they have become more balanced, thoughtful, and accepting. Participants provide

several reasons for the change they have witnessed in themselves, including faculty, coursework, peers, and study abroad.

Several survey participants write generally about becoming more balanced in their views. One student states briefly that she had "gained more tolerance and patience for certain things." One of her classmates adds more substantively that he had "developed a better understanding of differing viewpoints other than my own. This has broadened my perspective on many international issues and on domestic policy." Another student agrees, stating that "while at SU, I have become more understanding and open towards those with opposing political views. This was facilitated through more exposure to divergent views. Also, many students will associate themselves as liberal democrats because that's what the majority of other students are. These students tend to be misinformed and do not develop individual political ideologies." The latter part of the previous quotation is interesting, as while this student feels her views had become more open, she doesn't perceive the same from her classmates.

Others agree that exposure to various perspectives and interaction with peers and faculty had created an opening and broadening of their views. "I have come across some interesting people with interesting views that have caused me to question my own stances." One student expresses that her original views had really not been altered, but she has become more accepting of alternative ideas. "I've always been far left in my views. I can't say that my views have changed, but through faculty and peers, I now have a better understanding of the other side." Another student concurs, stating an original left-leaning

bias. "I have become much more objective in college. I came in liberal, but after taking most of my classes in my political science major, I have made major attempts to understand American government. I have learned why both sides truly think the way they do."

Several additional participants also express this balance, some in terms of evolving towards more pragmatic beliefs. For example, one student writes that he has become "more grounded and realistic … on political and social issues … more conservative in some ways and more liberal in others." Others delineate that this balance or increased openness came from realizing that issues are incredibly complex. "My personal research has taught me not to jump to conclusions and that the picture is always more complicated than it seems."

Building on this theme of understanding and embracing complexity, several students highlight the direct impact of faculty on encouraging them to seek additional insight and broaden their perspectives. For instance, one student explains that his political and social views have "expanded and grown exponentially at SU. I have taken challenging classes from professors who put forth views that differ from mine – they push me and inspire me to seek out information outside of the class." One participant claims he did not have well-defined views before coming to college, but that his pursuits at the University, including volunteering in downtown Syracuse, had inculcated fresh perspectives. "I came into SU without well-defined political beliefs, and thus I would have to say that my beliefs were formed as opposed to changed here. Through my many opportunities to learn, talk to the educated people around me, [and] volunteer downtown … I was able to formulate my political beliefs in what I found was always a varied and accepting environment." In a similar vein, another

student writes more generally, and poetically, about the power of education. "I have learned that education is truly the key to change. Education is first and foremost a tool that I, as an individual, must embrace in all subjects, regardless of where I choose to take my life. I realized that to really understand complex matters in both the sciences and politics, you must master history. You must also discuss, question, and re-assess what you hear. By learning to love education, you make learning a fun process that continues on eternally."

Also important to note in this section, one young man highlights his more open views on sexuality. "I am straight, but one day I saw a protestor against gay marriage. I realized I don't care who gets married because all that matters is the love. All that matters is why you believe what you believe." This quote depicts an increased level of tolerance of others, of alternative lifestyles, and indicates notions of moral relativism. Where this student might once have condemned homosexuality or gay marriage from his own moral standard, he has become more open and understanding to this way of life and non-judgmental.

Several participants express directly that their study abroad experiences had engendered a broadening of their views. One young woman states plainly that her "opinions and views [had been] directly altered … My extracurricular activities and my time spent abroad were probably the two experiences that were most influential on my political and social views." Taking this line of thought a step further, another student quite philosophically describes how she had become more cosmopolitan. "I am much more critical, and I think more in a world sense. I see humanity more as one entity rather than as

billions of individuals. For all we are with culture, language, and life, we are all human. My time abroad influenced these [thoughts] the most."

CONCLUSIONS – DEFINING MOMENT AND CHANGE IN VIEWS

This section demonstrates what students in the survey consider to be their most impactful experience in college. It also discusses whether students perceive their political or social views to have changed since they set foot on University Hill. Weeding through the varied responses to these two questions, study abroad becomes a principal theme. As such, it makes sense to look at this variable a bit more closely, especially from a statistical perspective. To what degree does study abroad provide the "defining" or transformational experience that researchers in the political socialization literature posit presents the option of moving beyond the perspectives of one's parents and peers? Do other experiences in college have a similar effect? As we can see above, study abroad is certainly not the only college experience mentioned when students are asked what has impacted them. And it is certainly not the only reason they mention as having altered their political and social views. Yet, if we look at not only *what* college experience proved the most impactful, but *how* it impacted them, students list a range of both inward and outward-looking attributes related to their experiences.

Considering the *how*, a defining experience should be one in which we not only become more self-confident, independent, and mature (inward-looking), but also one that opens our eyes to learn about others, one in which we become more culturally aware and

open-minded (outward-looking). Examining student responses, only two college experiences appear to have inculcated this dual phenomenon in students, namely study abroad (83% of respondents) and community service/volunteering (17%). And as demonstrated earlier, independence tests render study abroad the only significant variable offering a correlation with inward-outward reflections.

As immigration emerged as a strong variable in the biographical information presented in chapter four, it makes sense to check whether first-generation Americans are more likely to offer outward-looking responses. In this case, immigration does not provide a statistical link.

Taking the argument a step further, we can look at the change in political or social views. The impactful experience that students discuss seeps into the ways in which they respond to this question on their change in views. In line with chapter four, which discusses the leftward (or more moderate) lean of students who have studied abroad, this section reinforces that finding. Importantly, however, it asks students how their views have changed, which provides a different angle than looking at their views at one point in time. It also more closely answers one of the supporting research questions for this project, namely whether an international experience helps to shape one's views. Only 15% of those who had studied abroad responded that their views had not changed. 3% had become more conservative, 34% more liberal, and 47% more open, tolerant, or broad. Dissecting a bit further, 82% of the students who indicate a leftward turn in their political or social views studied abroad, 85% of which for a semester or more. Additionally, 71% of those who

indicate their political and social views had become more open, tolerant, or broad had studied overseas.

The tables below provide the results of several statistical tests for various academic and experiential variables in the survey, namely whether service learning, the DC Program, choice of major, or study abroad have the potential to impact a change in students' political or social views. All of these variables, with the exception of participation in the DC Program, associate with a change in views.

Table 5.6: Does service learning/volunteerism affect a change in political or social views?

Service learning		Change in views: Inward	Outward	Both	Both	Totals
Yes	Observed	10	6	25	32	73
	Expected	15	6	20	32	
No	Observed	13	3	7	19	42
	Expected	8	3	12	19	
Totals		23	9	32	51	115

Chi-square	7.0
Probability	0.03
Significant	

Table 5.7: Does choice of major affect a change in political or social views?

Major		Inward	Outward	Both	Both	Totals
International Relations	Observed	14	1	23	40	78
	Expected	15	6	22	34	
Political Science/ Public Affairs	Observed	9	8	10	11	38
	Expected	8	2	7	17	
Totals		23	9	33	51	116

Change in views

Chi-square	16.3
Probability	0.000004
Significant	

Table 5.8: Does study abroad affect a change in political or social views?

Study abroad		Inward	Outward	Both	Both	Totals
Yes	Observed	12	2	27	37	78
	Expected	15	7	24	34	
No	Observed	11	7	6	14	38
	Expected	8	3	11	17	
Totals		23	9	32	51	116

Change in views

Chi-square	14.5
Probability	0.001
Significant	

As mentioned above, the DC Program cannot be statistically proven to impact a change in views. However, study abroad, choice of major, and service learning all form significant relationships with change in views. Interestingly, if the students who studied abroad are removed from the formula, both choice of major and service learning then become independent of change in views. In terms of choice of major, this phenomenon could be explained by the fact that an outsized number of international relations majors in the survey studied abroad, compared to their counterparts in political science or public affairs.

Given the limited sample size when removing study abroad students from the formula, the results here could easily be challenged. Surely all of these college experiences, whether an academic choice of what to study, an opportunity to become involved in community service activities, or the chance to complete an internship program in Washington have the potential to influence a student's political or social views. Still, it remains notable that the only experience that appears statistically significant in its link to a change in views is study abroad. Considering the earlier result that study abroad is more likely than other college experiences to cause students to reflect both inwardly and outwardly, we might come closer to understanding why study abroad appears to impact change of views. Perhaps to engender such a change in perspective, one has to encounter and interact with others in a different setting outside one's culture or comfort zone. The following chapter takes this argument further discussing students' understandings of citizenship, citizen responsibility, and sentiments regarding globalization.

CHAPTER 6

CITIZENSHIP, PERSONAL RESPONSIBILITY, AND GLOBALIZATION

"That's what we're all asking for essentially, like it or not. If you don't think globally, you fail." (Political science major, Syracuse University)

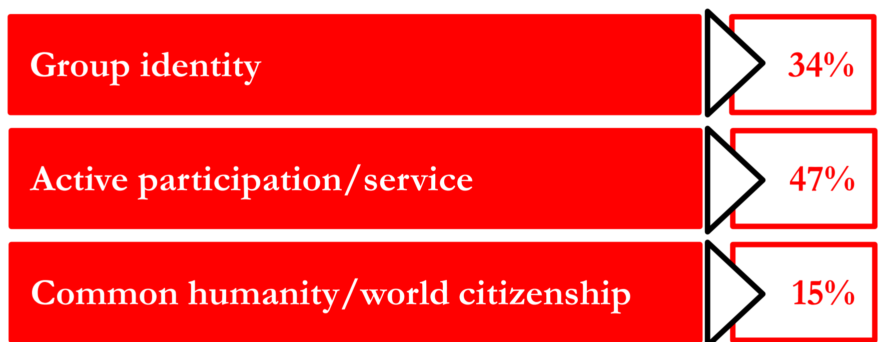
This chapter continues the analysis of the survey questions, focusing on students' self-definitions of citizenship, their sense of responsibility as citizens, and their thoughts on the impact of globalization on their future lives and careers. Responses reveal a wide degree of variation among participants. Despite a common level of coursework on the study of citizenship, students possess divergent understandings of what it means to be a citizen and to what/whom they feel responsible. They also hold diverse sentiments regarding the positives and negatives of globalization. It becomes clear from this analysis that students' personal experiences while in college color their beliefs and provide a rich context in which we can further dissect student worldviews.

DEFINING CITIZENSHIP

When asked to define "citizenship" or "citizen," participant responses allow several themes to emerge. The first category identifies citizenship with group identity, whether linked to a legal jurisdiction or to patriotism or nationalism. 34% of responses can be grouped under this heading. A second group feels citizenship should be more about active participation or

service to society (47%), and a third describes a propensity to connect the term with a sense of common humanity or world citizenship (15%). The figure below illustrates the breakdown of responses among the three categories.

Table 6.1: Defining citizenship



3% no answer, not discernible

Group identity

A couple of relatable perspectives are linked together within this category. Some respondents link citizenship to an individual's legal rights and duties as residents of a politically determined geography. One student described citizens as "people who are duty-bound by laws, for example to pay taxes." Another related citizenship to being "part of a community and having certain rights." Somewhat cynically, one young man declared that citizenship is "nothing more than an arbitrary label used for logistical purposes," but then goes on to say he is a proud American and a product of the American dream.

Along these lines, there is a sense among responses in this category that citizenship is limited, whether by physical boundaries or by more abstract notions of belonging. For example, many respondents link citizenship with a positive sense of connection to a national

or cultural group. One student simply writes "honoring your country." Others posit "nationality and pride" and "belonging to one's birth country" and "to be one with the culture of the country in which you live." Another student relates citizenship to a person's ethnicity. As evidenced here, some respondents in this category view identity quite differently, as either an attachment to one's country of origin or place of residence, culture or ethnic group. One young woman takes the description a bit further, declaring a citizen to be "a person that belongs to a geographic area or cultural group of people that share in common underlying things." Building on this theme and described somewhat more scientifically, another student contributes that citizenship is "most often correlated to being [part of] a whole group of individuals of similar national attributes." One young man feels that citizenship equates to duty to one's nation. "One cannot truly be a citizen without first having given to [one's] country in some direct way."

Interestingly, several of the students who link citizenship to identity picked up on a perceived sense that the term citizen is exclusionary in nature. "The word to me brings to mind patriotism and excluding others," one young man wrote. Another furthers this sentiment, "the word citizen makes me think of belonging, culture, and identity. Every citizen contributes to these entities. A person's citizenship creates barriers and often aggravates tensions." Although impossible to tell whether he feels positively or negatively about his assertion, one student wrote simply that citizenship is "anti-cosmopolitan."

Active participation/service

Responses in this category range from those that believe citizenship requires participation in the political process of one's country to those that feel the concept is even more profound and necessitates active community service and giving back to one's community.

A common theme among the responses is the notion that citizenship cannot be possible without a democratic polity. One student declares that citizens should preferably be "politically active and informed – and voting!" Another student describes the terminological distinction between belonging to a democracy or an autocracy. "Citizenship is using any political or social clout afforded to you to advance what you think is right in the aspects of life you can control. People in totalitarian regimes are not citizens – they are subjects and serfs." Participation in democracy evokes the notion of empowerment in other respondents. For example, one young woman writes, "citizenship … is about being … active participants in democracy … I think to be a true citizen requires more work than people realize." And perhaps most eloquently stated, one participant discusses the relationship between citizenship and agency. "A citizen, as opposed to a subject or a consumer, is someone [with] unalienable human rights, self-determination, and say in the political forces that impact his/her life."

Other students in this category describe citizenship not as a given, but as something that has to be earned. "Citizenship is a title [that] should only come to a person who is a productive participant of a society. You are not entitled to citizenship, but once you acquire it, there are certain obligations that should be fulfilled." This notion takes citizenship

beyond the mere relationship with democracy to new level of participation and responsibility. One student describes it as a "duty. A citizen has the responsibility to be active in the political culture of [his/her] state or risk losing the benefits of freedom." More specifically, a student writes that citizenship requires "working toward the collective good of the country, whether it is through community service, active voting, or running for office. I think the opposite of citizenship is a self-centered view of doing what's best for the individual, not the country as a whole." Simply stated, one young woman declares that being a citizen necessitates "giving up part of [oneself] to the benefit of the greater good."

Common humanity/world citizenship

It is important to note that the students who indicate a link between citizenship and a larger, global community had not yet been asked in the survey about anything international. As such, 15% of respondents make this early connection in the survey.

Several respondents provide fairly conceptual definitions, tying citizenship directly to universality or cosmopolitanism. One young man acknowledges that identity plays a large role, while pushing for an acceptance of something more overarching. "While identity is important, 'citizenship' should be universal." Furthering this discussion of identity, a student describes her multiple identities and how they relate to various levels or conceptions of citizenship. "I typically imagine citizens as a large group of people who can identify with each other on any different level (e.g., I am an American, a world citizen, and a citizen of Syracuse University)." Another student pushed for "world citizenship and a shared

humanity to lay the groundwork for shared, borderless citizenship." Along these same lines, a participant writes that "the word 'cosmopolitan' comes to mind when I think of citizenship". Another young woman describes citizenship as encompassing "more than just being [a] member of a society, but to me a bond between all people globally."

Beyond the conceptual, some students in this category connect citizenship with active participation at a global level. For instance, one student writes simply that she thinks of "active engagement and global community." Similarly, one young man defines a citizen as "a person who actively participates in the world around [him], be it a global citizen or a Syracuse citizen." This individual sees both a global and a local dimension of citizenship. Another student, building on this notion of community, ties the concept together with stretching beyond a nation's boundaries. "I think of living in a global community, being a part of something bigger than just the US."

Taking the concept of global community a logical step beyond participation to a sense of responsibility, one participant posits that citizenship entails "a responsibility not only to our country, but to other citizens around the world through service and aid." Another respondent further refines this responsibility, discussing the inequities inherent in the international system. "I think about the lives that are valued over others and what rights and privileges are [bestowed] on some, while others are robbed of the most basic things."

Conclusions – defining citizenship

We can further dissect the data to see if any conclusions could be drawn about the type of students that fall into the three broad categories discussed above. The two tables below depict a variety of demographic as well as academic and experiential variables, along with the percentages of each that can be matched with the categories. Appendix A provides the results of independence tests for each variable.

Chart 6.1: Demographic variables and definition of citizenship

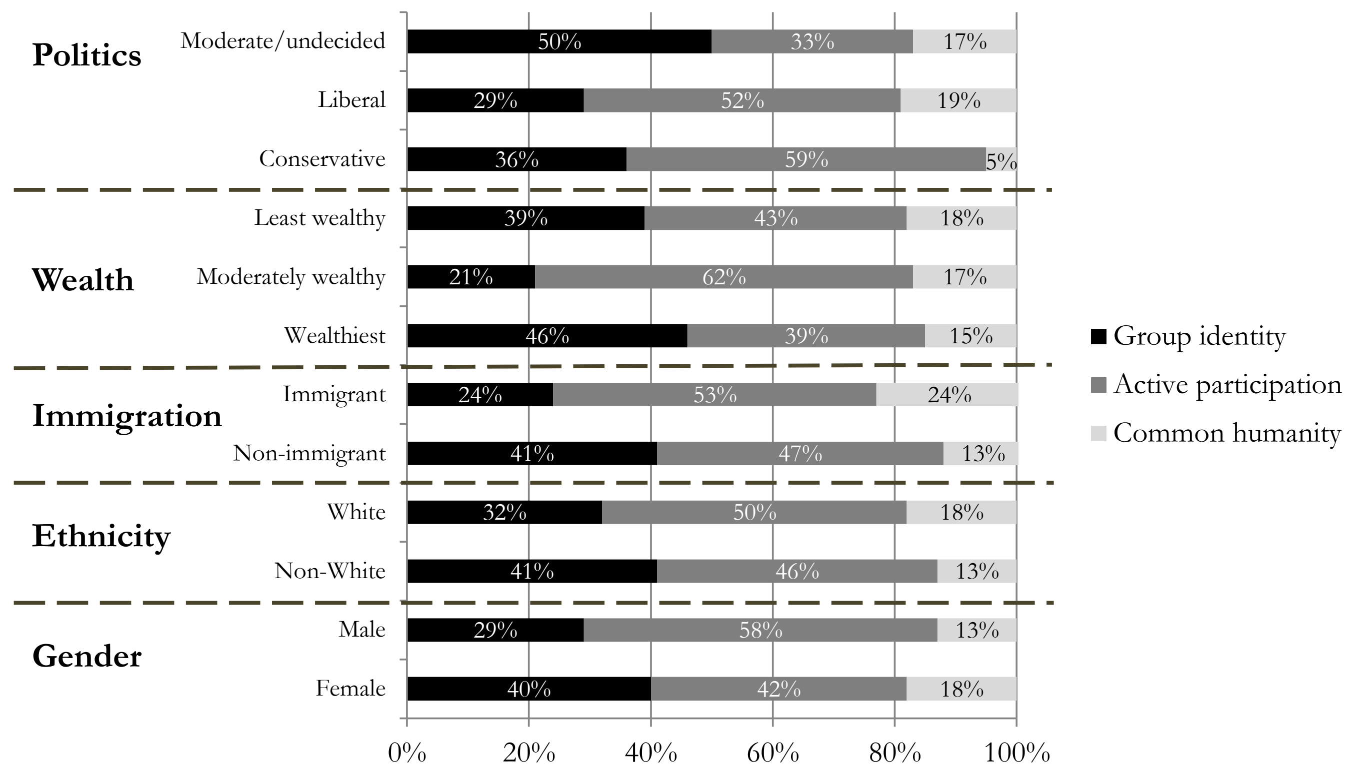
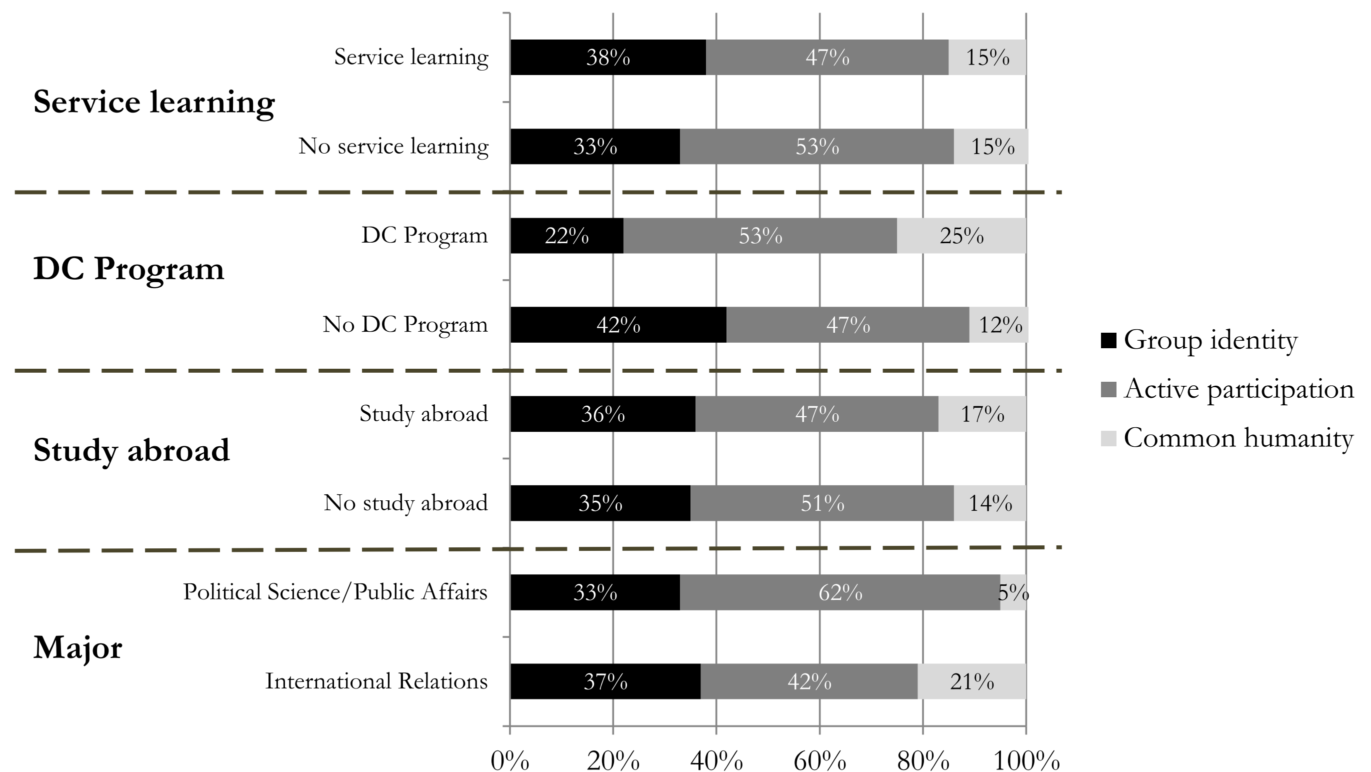


Chart 6.2: Academic and experiential variables and definition of citizenship



As can be gleaned from a close look at the above tables, variations exist across the variables. Clearly, the largest category across most all of the variables is active participation/service. At a basic level, one could conclude that citizenship education at the Maxwell School has had a positive effect on this population. Well over the majority of these students (62%), when asked to define citizenship, do so in a proactive way, either by reinforcing the need for citizenship participation to build stronger communities at home or by viewing humanity as a common entity and recognizing the need for citizens to work to help solve issues of global importance. Given the third category of students that already identify as global citizens in the survey, one might note that only 5% of political science and public affairs majors define citizenship in this way, compared to 21% of international

relations majors. Also, a similar phenomenon exists among conservative students, with only 5% falling into this latter category, compared to 19% of their liberal classmates.

Testing each of these variables statistically, we cannot reach many conclusions. For almost all variables, p-values do not yield potential dependent relationships. Choice of major and participation in the DC Program remain the exceptions, providing possible links to the way students define citizenship (see tables below). International relations majors are 20% less likely than their classmates in political science of public affairs to define citizenship as active participation in the service of country, whether merely via the political process or through more direct, grass-roots community service. On the other hand, international relations majors are 16% more likely to define citizenship in terms of giving back to the global community or tying citizenship to the concept of a common humanity. Students that participated in the DC Program are 20% less likely than their peers who did not to connect citizenship with group identity, a sense of patriotism or nationalism. They are also 13% more likely to define citizenship with a more global perspective. This distinction could also be more of a result of the overwhelming percentage (73%) of international relations majors surveyed that enrolled in the DC Program.

Table 6.2: Does choice of major affect how students define citizenship?

Defining citizenship

Major		Group identity	Active participation	Common humanity	Totals
International Relations	Observed	28	32	16	76
	Expected	27	37	12	
Political Science/ Public Affairs	Observed	12	23	2	37
	Expected	13	18	6	
Totals		40	55	18	113

Chi-square	6.0
Probability	0.05
Significant	

Table 6.3: Does participation in the DC Program affect how students define citizenship?

Defining citizenship

DC Program		Group identity	Active participation	Common humanity	Totals
Yes	Observed	8	19	9	36
	Expected	13	18	6	
No	Observed	32	36	9	77
	Expected	27	37	12	
Totals		40	55	18	113

Chi-square	5.5
Probability	0.06
Significant	

None of the other variables prove significant, including service learning and study abroad, precisely the experiential measures that one might imagine would impact the way students conceive of citizenship. Speculating why this might be the case, we could consider the order and phrasing of the question. From a close read of the responses, students tended to infer different meaning from the question itself. Some provided a dry dictionary-style definition, which did not allow them to describe their heartfelt sentiments, and others offered a more personal account. The survey question discussed in the next section directly addresses students' sense of responsibility, which should provide a more insightful understanding of how participants perceive of their role as citizens and, hopefully, allow for a more conclusive analysis.

CITIZEN RESPONSIBILITY

The fourth question in the survey asks respondents: *As a citizen, how would you describe your personal responsibilities? To whom/to what do you feel responsible? Have your experiences as an undergraduate impacted or changed your sense of personal responsibility? If so, in what way?* As would be expected, responses vary substantially across the survey population. Combing through the responses, several degrees of personal responsibility or allegiance emerge. Some students write of an allegiance to themselves, family, and friends. Others feel an allegiance to their local community. A third group describes an allegiance to country, whereby a fourth subset discusses a more inclusive allegiance to the world or to humanity. Many feel a natural and understandable primary allegiance to family. Despite this primary allegiance, many go on to

write of a responsibility for or commitment to a larger group. If some variation of "local community," "nation," or "world" appeared in the response, it was coded to account for the largest grouping mentioned. The figure below demonstrates the break-down of responses.

Table 6.4: Sense of personal responsibility/allegiance

3% no answer, not discernible

Allegiance to self, family, friends

In this category, participants discuss a range of sentiments, many directly mentioning themselves or their families and others more focused on the narrow definition of citizenship, around duties and obligations. Several students state that their sense of responsibility begins and ends with themselves. They do not even discuss any commitment to others, family or otherwise. For instance, one young woman asserts simply that she is "responsible for my own actions." Another participant writes, somewhat more emphatically, that he has "only come to feel more and more undeserved guilt [through experiences at college]. I have no responsibilities to anyone but myself and my values. I follow my rational self-interest and implore everyone to do the same."

Others that could conceivably be grouped into this self-centered category provide slightly more nuanced perspectives, yet much in keeping with the view of citizenship as an exchange of rights and obligations. "I feel responsible for obtaining proper permits and abiding by laws – mainly because I don't want to be punished." This response reflects a purely transactional view of one's obligations as a citizen. Another student writes similarly "as a citizen, it is my duty to go to jury duty. Though it is often deemed as boring and a waste of time, without it, [we] wouldn't be who we are. We have a right to a fair trial and impartial jury, and if people don't go to jury duty, then this right is lost." This response views personal responsibility as a duty or obligation to follow the law and to give back that, which is legally asked of us, nothing more. A couple of students expanded slightly on this minimalistic view of citizen responsibility to include not only legal obligation, but also participation in voting. "You have the responsibility to make use of the rights given to you, such as voting. I don't think my sense of personal responsibility has changed really [in college]." Another student extended mere participation into also being informed about the issues. "I feel as though my responsibility as a citizen is to vote in elections and be educated on the current issues that the country is experiencing … I don't have to do much as a citizen." This final line of this quote is telling of this young man's narrow conception of citizenship.

Other participants went beyond an inward-looking notion of personal responsibility to include family and friends. We can see the circle slowly expanding. For example, one student writes briefly, "I feel responsibility to my family, mostly." Another claims responsibility "for my family and [me]. College has shown me how to survive on my own

and make the right decisions for my present and my future." Another student extends his allegiance to his colleagues or business partners. "I feel responsible to myself. I feel responsible to the people I care about and the people who work with me in a business relationship. Beyond people, I feel a sense of duty to my own moral code, though that is largely an extension of my responsibility to myself." It seems the responses in this category, even if others are mentioned, the central message comes down to an inward focus on the self. As a final example, one young woman writes, "First of all, I have a responsibility to me. I also have the responsibility to be active in my outreach to others considering my passions. I must also be forward with my passions and desires." At first blush, one might construe "active in my outreach to others" to be feeling a sense of commitment to them, yet reading further, her involvement with others seems to be designed around pursuing a personal agenda.

Allegiance to a local community

With only 14% of the population stating an allegiance to local community, there are fewer meaningful quotations to highlight. As could be expected, responses in this category tend to differ from those in the previous section, in that the focus of attention shifts somewhat away from the self and toward others. For example, building on the notion discussed earlier that one's personal responsibility as a citizen obligates us to vote, one young man takes this argument a step further. "I think all citizens should take an active role in electing officials, voicing their opinions, and making strides to better their community." This student goes

beyond the mere obligation of participation in democracy to the personal commitment he feels toward his local community.

In a little more detail, another student writes that her personal responsibility as a citizen requires her to "be knowledgeable about my community or group of people. To fight for what I know and hold to be true. To actively engage with the people I belong to or community I live in." This comment evokes a need to be attached to a particular community as part of a personal identity, especially when considering the words "people I belong to." This student goes on to qualify her notion of belonging by claiming a "responsibility to family, friends, SU, [the] Newhouse community, and work." Another student also mentions an allegiance to the University community, especially to the students and staff he works with as an orientation leader. "I have a duty to respect others' interests, actions, rights, etc. I feel responsible to those that I have promised something to. So, for orientation, I feel a strong responsibility to recognize students, parents, my boss, and other orientation leaders." In this example, this student specifies a precise community within SU to which he feels a particular commitment.

Arguably, one of the most revealing comments in this category comes from a young woman who discusses how her sense of personal responsibility has diminished from national to local. "As a citizen, I feel responsible for improving my immediate community around me … Before coming to SU, I had a strong sense of duty and responsibility to my country, but I've since become much less concerned with national issues. I care more about what goes on in my community." This student had also been an orientation leader during her

sophomore year and had heralded this experience as the one that had impacted her the most during college. She has also been heavily involved with additional service learning projects at SU. Surely, these experiences influenced her inclination to think and act at the local level.

Allegiance to country

This category remains somewhat monolithic in terms of the rationale students provide. 28% of participants fall into this subgroup, and responses focus around a discussion of values and the importance of upholding these values as good Americans. Unlike in the previous section on local community, there is only a slight reference here to aligning personal responsibility to the service of others or the greater good. Two student comments reflect this emphasis. For example, one participant writes somewhat generally, "Being an American and living in this country is something I will never take for granted. I feel an obligation to the country to lead a life that will contribute to the greater good". Another student specifies a more particular commitment she intends to make. "I feel responsible to my family and my government. I have come to value the education I have received and am currently applying to Teach for America." Here, we can see a direct relationship to giving back to others in the service of country.

The remainder of the responses indicates a sense of pride, patriotism, as well as deference to and respect for American values, often left undefined. For example, "As a US citizen, I feel responsible to the values that our country stands for" or "I feel responsible to the founders of the nation and their ideals." One young man writes first of the obligation to

be an informed citizen in our American democracy and then goes on to discuss his experience in the military. "I feel the need to educate myself regarding policy issues to make better and more informed decisions regarding those who represent us in government. Not as an undergrad, but having served in the military GREATLY changed my sense of personal responsibility." Another young man also discusses a reason for his multiple allegiances. "I feel responsible for my family, community, university, and country. Being president of my fraternity helped me reinforce that feeling." In this response, he provides a nice image of the expanding circle, moving from self to family to community to nation.

Adding slightly more detail regarding American values, some participants emphasized the importance of individual rights and liberties. "I feel like I am personally responsible for standing up for my individual beliefs and rights as an American." Another student builds on this theme, claiming he had learned to appreciate the commitment behind citizenship at SU. "As a US citizen, I greatly appreciate and value the responsibility which comes with that privilege. As an undergrad at such a diverse university, you learn to appreciate our liberties as American citizens much more." Contrarily, one young man appears somewhat defiant, claiming the University community is too critical of the United States. "I am responsible to my family and the people of the USA. It is a good place for everybody. I feel some people at SU do not feel the same because they find what's wrong with America." A young woman in the survey takes this defiance and pride in country a step further, displaying the limits of her patience for criticism of her country. "As a citizen of the United States, I feel the responsibility to contribute to my government because that is a privilege many in the world do not share. I feel responsible to voice my discontent within my nation, but also to defend

its unpopular decisions to outsiders. Like a [protective] family member, I feel that although I can criticize my country, I have little tolerance for the criticisms of foreigners." She goes on to say in response to another question that she hopes to join the Peace Corps after graduation. If she follows through with that commitment, it would be interesting to see if her tolerance for criticisms of the US evolves.

Allegiance to world/humanity

With 32% of the survey population voicing some variation of allegiance to a greater world or to humanity, this category is the most popular (by four points over allegiance to country) and provides some meaningful insight into how these students view the world. Further breaking down the content of the responses, many in this category reference global injustice, whether economic or political. Others discuss issues that peoples of all nations have in common and the need for participation and action. Most of the participants link what they had learned at SU as having contributed to their worldviews. Notably, many students freely use the term "global citizenship" in their responses. Up to and including the wording of this question in the survey, there was no reference to anything global or international.

For those who discuss the responsibility to help others around the world who are less fortunate, one participant writes simply, "I feel responsible to populations in third world countries." Another states, "I wouldn't necessarily feel obligated to the government … I feel more responsibility to humanity, because at the end of the day, we have the same exact wants and needs." Other students pick up on elements of the conversation evident in earlier

categories of allegiance. For example, some students comment on the need to educate oneself on the important issues of the day, to participate in the electoral process, and to act to prevent injustices around the world. "As a citizen, I believe I am responsible for being informed about current news nationally and internationally, voting, and speaking up against injustices." Along these lines, one young man discusses his commitment to helping create change in the world and to help those less economically advantaged. "I have always felt responsible to create change where needed. Personal responsibilities: make the world a better place to live in, call out injustices, promise for those less fortunate." Another student answers the question by reflecting on her convictions and on the professional choice she is making at SU to become a journalist. "As a citizen, I want to use my career as a journalist to give voice to the voiceless and expose stories where there are citizens who do not have equal opportunities in education, health, social welfare, [and] employment."

Other students stress the impact of their undergraduate education on their perceptions and awareness of a global community. One respondent states briefly that she is "definitely more engaged with the world around me than I was before SU." Much in the same way, a young man in the survey first reiterates his responsibility as a citizen to remain informed and then goes on to credit his studies as opening him up to a greater world. "The undergraduate experience has impacted me in the sense that it has stressed to a great extent how important [it is] to be aware of the whole world, not just the US."

Additional participants take this sentiment a notch further, from being engaged and aware of the world to feeling connected and "responsible to every other human being" or

responsible "to anyone suffering from a lack of basic human dignity." Furnishing a greater level of detail, one young woman equates what she has learned studying global affairs to the expansion of her levels of responsibility. "As a citizen, I think that my personal responsibility is to help as many people as I possibly can. My experience as an international relations undergrad has shown me that my responsibility does not simply lie with those in my hometown, but with those of the global community. I will, hopefully, be able to reach as many people as I can through my future work." Similarly, one of the women in the survey heralded the power of a solid higher education to expand her sense of commitment to others around the world. "My experiences as an undergraduate and the ability of getting such an excellent education (I come from a working class family) have changed my views on responsibility, and [I] realize that above nation, we are human beings and should become global citizens." One of her classmates, a Muslim student with parents from Eritrea contributes, in a similar vein, that he feels "a personal responsibility to my country, my fellow man, and my religious brethren. My views of really believing that people have to see themselves as global citizens didn't develop until the second semester of my undergraduate education." In reading his responses to the other questions in the survey, it became clear that in this second semester, he was enrolled in MAX 132, Global Community, which he credits to teaching him to "be a bond between all people globally." After taking that course, he decided to study in Cairo for a semester, the experience that impacted him the most in college. It is also noteworthy here that this young man mentions his religion and feeling a borderless connection among people that share his faith.

The metaphor of the expanding circle of citizenship underpins many of the responses in this category. One student writes of living and leading by example. "Teach my children to be good citizens. You cannot change others by force, but rather by showing them by example how good life can be. I feel responsible to those both near and far from me (family, country, world)." Much in the same way, another participant states, "my job as a citizen is to educate myself and make informed decisions for the good of my fellow countrymen regardless of class, race, ethnicity, gender, etc. Also, [my personal responsibility is to] respect and provide for the general welfare of the rest of the world (as a global citizen)." One of his classmates focuses the discussion around global issues facing people all over the globe and tying us all together. "Americans [do not] deserve to have a sense of entitlement for our lifestyles. At Syracuse, I began to see what type of challenges [we] face to change national opinions on humanitarian and environmental issues. I once felt responsible to myself, but I think now I realize that collectively ideas can grow. I feel responsible to my generation and future generations." This young woman's education had expanded her circle, making her feel more committed to people around the globe.

Lastly, one student captures all of the themes of the entire section, and her comments are worth noting in their entirety.

> My personal responsibility is to act as a responsible citizen in every sense of the word. Not getting into legal troubles, maintaining social and political activity, and doing everything I can to ensure that my interests, along with those of my fellow citizens (especially those whose interests may be underrepresented), are being responded to. My undergrad years have undoubtedly changed my sense of personal responsibility. Before, I honestly thought that my opinion didn't count or wouldn't make a difference, but after four years of studying and living in a different country, I see that my opinion isn't only mine; that there are other people with my views, and that these

> views/opinions are important. One thing I've learned in China, for example, is that even if my personal human rights have not been violated, it's still my responsibility to defend those of other people, because we all share the same rights, and if one person's rights are abused, in some ways, all of our rights are being abused.

Further investigating her background, this young woman is Hispanic, and her parents immigrated to the United States. She claims studying abroad in Chile served as the college experience that impacted her the most. She does not reference any time in China in the rest of the survey, but given the response above about "four years of studying and living in another country" and "one thing I've learned in China," one might assume that her family has lived in other parts of the world. What bears further emphasis in her comments is her capacity to summon together the themes of most everyone's response to this question. She outlines what her classmates mention under "allegiance to self, family, friends" and "allegiance to country," namely pursuing her self-interest, abiding by the law, and participating in elections. Then, much in line with what her classmates posit under "allegiance to local community" and "allegiance to world/humanity," she highlights the importance of serving as a voice for the interests of underrepresented people and groups. And building on that notion, she discusses how her education at SU, and more pointedly her experience living and studying overseas, has made her realize that people around the world are interconnected and that we have a responsibility to each other to protect our shared, borderless rights and liberties.

Conclusions – limits of citizen responsibility

Looking at the various demographic, academic, and experiential variables in the survey, statistical tests reveal many to be insignificant. Gender, ethnicity, and immigration cannot be proven to impact how students responded to this question. Participation in the DC Program also does not appear to affect the type of allegiance participants proclaim. However, political beliefs, wealth, service learning, study abroad, and choice of major do all form significant relationships with citizen responsibility and allegiance. The table below illustrates these significant results. Appendix B runs through the independence tests for all variables.

Table 6.5: Citizen responsibility and group allegiance

Key: Code 1=allegiance to self, family, friends; Code 2= allegiance to local community; Code 3=allegiance to country/nation; Code 4=allegiance to world community

	Observed values					**Expected values**					
	Code 1	**Code 2**	**Code 3**	**Code 4**		**Code 1**	**Code 2**	**Code 3**	**Code 4**		
Major											
International relations	13	10	20	33	76	17	11	22	26	P-value	0.01
Political science/public affairs	13	6	13	5	37	9	5	11	12		
	26	16	33	38	113					**Significant** χ^2	11.0
Study abroad											
No	10	4	17	7	38	9	5	11	13	P-value	**0.02**
Yes	16	12	16	31	75	17	11	22	25		
	26	16	33	38	113					**Significant** χ^2	9.5
Service Learning											
No	9	3	19	10	41	10	6	12	14	P-value	0.02
Yes	17	13	14	27	71	16	10	21	23		
	26	16	33	37	112					**Significant** χ^2	10.0
Level of wealth											
Most wealthy	8	8	11	11	38	8	4	12	14	P-value	0.08
Moderately wealthy	24	10	22	30	86	18	10	26	32		
Least wealthy	12	6	30	36	84	18	10	25	31		
	44	24	63	77	208					**Significant** χ^2	11.1
Political beliefs											
Conservative	9	3	8	1	21	5	3	6	7	P-value	0.06
Liberal	13	9	18	29	69	16	10	20	23		
Moderate/undecided	4	4	7	8	23	5	3	7	8		
	26	16	33	38	113					**Significant** χ^2	12.1

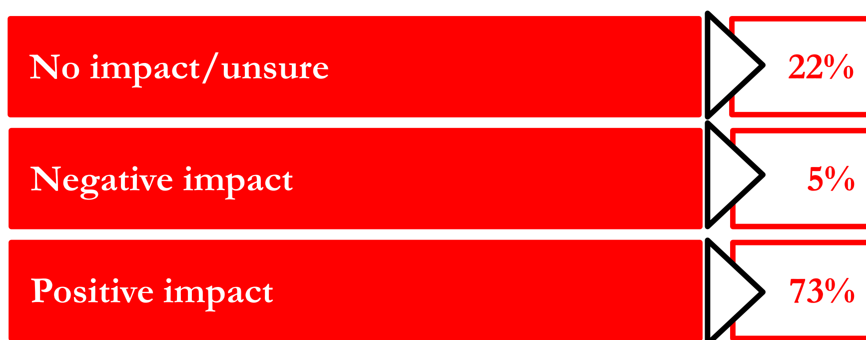
As becomes evident in the above table, students who are least wealthy or who hold liberal political beliefs tend to be more likely than their classmates to claim an allegiance to the world, to tend to feel a greater sense of commitment to others outside our borders. The same holds true for international relations majors and for those who have studied abroad or completed service learning experiences. Given the overlap of students in these categories, it becomes challenging to determine which variable might provide the most significant impact. A second layer of tests to control for the study abroad variable (removing study abroad students) renders wealth and political beliefs as well as service learning to be insignificant. Choice of major remains a significant variable.

The same statistical tests for the other variables were also completed, namely removing those that have completed a service learning experience and testing for the impact of study abroad and of choice of major, or removing those that major in international relations and testing for the impact of study abroad and service learning. Most all of these tests proved insignificant. In other words, study abroad and choice of major appear to be the only variables that can be shown to have a potentially dependent relationship to levels of allegiance. These results build on the inconclusiveness of the previous section regarding participants' self-definitions of citizenship. Clearly, both choice of major and study abroad continue to emerge as important variables when considering the development of student worldviews.

IMPACT OF GLOBALIZATION

To follow the questions on citizenship and personal responsibility, the survey then asked participants to respond to the following question on globalization: *What impact, if any, do you feel globalization will have on your life and career?* This question is the first in the survey that directly references anything global or international. Responses in this section initially divide well into three camps, those that do not indicate that their lives or careers will be impacted by globalization or are unsure, those that perceive the impact to be negative, and those that feel it to be positive. The figure below presents a brief delineation of participant responses to this question.

Table 6.6: Impact of globalization on life/career



Coding this section presented some challenges, as students describe their views on this issue in a nuanced way. Some clearly tout a positive perspective on globalization and others clearly a negative one. Yet many offer both positive and negative elements, often making it difficult to assess if their overall sentiment is for or against. In these cases, the response was coded as "no impact/unsure."

After this basic delineation of views into three categories, a subsequent analysis and coding of the responses provides a more detailed look at some of the broader themes of negatives and positives expressed by the students. There are seven positives and seven negatives (some grouped together broadly) that surface repeatedly in the responses, many of which might appear in one response. The figure below demonstrates these themes and the amount of references to them found in student answers.

Table 6.7: Positives and negatives of globalization/number of references

POSITIVES		NEGATIVES	
New jobs and opportunities, open markets	28	Global commons: labor migration, resource depletion, disease, environment	10
Ability/desire to live/work abroad, increase in access to travel	25	Uncertainty: political, economic, and social tension	5
Learning: new cultures, languages, well-rounded, tolerant, build relationships	23	Engendering competition – negative impact on jobs/employment	3
Technology/social media	10	Lower quality of life for many: income disparities, poor labor conditions	3
Global citizenship/cosmopolitanism	4	Cultural imperialism	3
Immigrant parents – brought promise and hope	3	Forgetting the important things in life	2
Spread of democracy, improvement of human rights, neo-liberalism	2	More foreigners in America	1

Positives of globalization

The above chart demonstrates that the students in this survey overwhelmingly feel positively toward globalization. There are 95 total positives versus 27 negatives. With only two exceptions (spread of democracy/human rights and global citizenship/cosmopolitanism), the positives appear to be more inward-looking, namely how globalization might personally

and directly impact the students. The negatives are all larger, more outward-looking societal issues that mostly have less to do with the individual. To be fair, however, the question specifically asked students to provide introspective responses.

The most cited positive attribute of globalization is the creation of new jobs and opportunities and the opening of markets. For example, one student claims, "Globalization will make [the] goals in my career easier to attain. Thanks to globalization, I will be able to work on any continent … at any time". Another writes simply that "globalization will help my life and career by opening up more opportunities and experiences for me." One young man excitedly states that his "coworkers at my internship … worked in Brussels. This was fascinating!"

Building on a similar sentiment to the young man with coworkers in Brussels, the second most cited positive attribute of globalization is the increased ability to live and work in another country and the improved access to opportunities to travel. One student contributes succinctly, "Hopefully, I will be travelling often." A classmate, in a similar fashion, writes that globalization "will probably allow and force me to travel and learn more languages – no complaints here." And another participant states more broadly that "travel has been made much easier and more affordable" as a result of globalization.

To take the travel discussion a step further, several students see themselves working and living overseas. "I want to live abroad (permanently) after graduation. I know I can do this because of globalization and the fact that I can get a job abroad that is relevant." A young woman surveyed concurs, speaking to how global forces have already impacted her

family. "I want to have a job that takes me around the world, so globalization will probably have a big impact. My brother works in Nicaragua. Globalization in business is everywhere around me." A political science major defiantly exclaims that he "will work all over the world and speak more than one language." Another young man hoping to become a broadcast journalist thinks globalization "will be my entire life and career. I plan on doing work in developing countries." There appears to be an underlying excitement in these responses, in anticipation of living and working on a globalized planet.

This eagerness carries over to the students who discuss how globalization will enable them to learn about other cultures, master languages, meet people around the world, and become more well-rounded and tolerant. "Globalization will undoubtedly put me face-to-face with people and cultures I know nothing about. I will have to step out of my comfort zone." Similarly, another student adds that globalization "will help me to become a well-rounded person. It will open my eyes to other cultures – learn to accept ideas I hadn't before." A young man in the survey expands this concept of learning, interjecting that to him, "globalization simply means more material to learn from; it opens up other dimensions within a specific field that were once limited by geography." Student responses in this category demonstrate a desire to learn more about the world and a belief that the forces of globalization will help facilitate such an acquisition of knowledge.

Several students interpret these forces to be, in part, related to advances in global communications, highlighting the impact of technology and social media on their young generation. "Information sharing about others around the world is going to greatly enhance

my life, [as] in an instant, I have the ability to gain information firsthand that my parents never had." Other students agree with this assessment, stating that "technology will [play] a major role in connecting the globe;" and "the internet has made communication to every part of the globe more accessible, faster, and affordable."

A group of participants connect their response to this question on globalization with the previous ones on citizenship and responsibility and unknowingly preempt the final question in the survey on global citizenship. "[Globalization] has a lot to do with my life. I don't really consider myself an American citizen, although I am [technically]." Another classmate also speaks to the same phenomenon. "I do not feel that I belong to any specific country." A young man studying public affairs comments that he needs "to be a global citizen and commit myself towards actions that are beneficial [to] the entire planet." Another young man studying international relations concurs. "I feel attracted to the idea of being a world citizen now, very much a part of the world and not just a nation … a cosmopolitan." Finally, a fellow international relations major agrees, explaining her thoughts in greater detail and connecting globalization with a broad feeling of acceptance of and the need to learn about others as well as a need to care for the environment. "Globalization will make it essential to accept people of all religions, creeds, socioeconomic statuses, ages, and sexualities. It will require people to learn multiple languages, delve into understanding new cultures, and embrace diversity. Growing globalization will [also] require people to co-exist peacefully with other people, as well as with the natural environment if we are to survive."

Instead of focusing on their future, a few children of immigrants in the survey feel compelled to discuss the impact of globalization on their families to date. "I feel like globalization is partly the reason I am in this country, because if my father did not get an education visa to study here, I would still be in my country of origin – Eritrea." A young man studying international relations whose family has relocated to various places around the world provides a compelling narrative of the impact moving and travel have had on his life to date. Globalization "has already had a massive impact. I left Mexico when I was 7 years old to Montevideo. Then four years later, my parents moved to Seoul, and 5 years later, we moved to New Delhi, where I finished high school and continued to live until my sophomore year in college. My life will most likely involve a lot of travelling because of globalization. Our societies are getting more and more integrated, meaning that my future career path will involve me traveling a lot."

One young woman surveyed has parents from Vietnam who immigrated originally to France. The mother later separated from the father, bringing the daughter with her to the United States. Having lived in both France and the United States, and understanding the Vietnamese culture and language has provided her with a unique perspective. "I am a product of globalization. It has affected my entire life. Without globalization, my parents would not be living in each of the developed countries they reside in today. My multicultural background, which I am very proud to have, would not exist without globalization." She remains very much a product of the parts of the world that have touched her life, from family left behind in Vietnam and France to a new family created in America.

Finally, a couple of students listed the spread of democracy and human rights as positive attributes of globalization. One asserts briefly that globalization "will bring more democratization [and] thus more peace." Another classmate feels that her career choice will be positively impacted by the forces of globalization, as "it will mean a further spread of neo-liberalism. As a (hopefully) future international human rights lawyer, this will greatly impact my career."

Negatives of globalization

On the negative side of the ledger, several students comment on the potential downside of globalization for the global commons, namely the natural and environmental effects of labor migration, resource use and depletion, the possibilities for disease, melting icecaps and climate change. Students also claim globalization can create uncertainty in the world through political, economic, and social angst. "It will serve as the source of great tension socially, politically, and economically, until the whole new globalized system is normalized." Although the gist of her comments on globalization was positive, the young woman mentioned in the previous section that aims to become a human rights lawyer also states that "globalization will have a domino effect. If one country's economy tanks, others will follow." Shedding light on the disparities inherent in the global system, one young man thinks "globalization has made many peoples' lives better (specifically the top 2% of our country's population), but it has also devastated billions more. A realistic answer is that globalization is not going to stop any time soon, but if our global leaders take the initiative to

regulate certain aspects so that human violations may end, many peoples' lives will be bettered." A young woman with a minor in global political economy agrees and feels strongly enough about such economic disequilibrium to make working to resolve it a center point of her professional life. "The disparity between the global north and south will be a focus in my career."

Several of the students that had either studied abroad or lived with their families in Asia, particularly in China, built on this theme, discussing income disparities and a lower quality of life for many in the developing world. "I see the jobs that leave the US and end up in Asia. The workers [there] who take on such jobs do not work in the best conditions, and as a future journalist, I'd like to cover these stories of Asian factory workers." Just as in the example above, this young woman sees herself as a voice for the underrepresented. Her experiences abroad and what she witnessed firsthand inspired her to find a way to use the education and privilege she has attained in the service of others. Many students in this category seemed genuinely grateful for the opportunities they have had and committed to working toward solutions to inequities and injustices around the world.

On the other side of the equation, fearful of the personal impact of globalization, only a few students comment that global forces have made it more difficult for them to find meaningful employment in an increasingly competitive world. A couple of them comment thoughtfully about the loss of precious things in life, such as time with family and children, through economic pressure, as we struggle to keep pace with competition from other parts of the planet. "I will be in a constant struggle to compete with more and more players. To

assure the same quality of life, I will need to spend more time and effort on my work and less on my children/family and what I like to do. It is likely I will never retire." Another student makes a similar argument, concerned that the pressure from working harder and harder will place undue strain on families and relationships. "The job market is going to be far more competitive. I worry that even with technology, maintaining meaningful relationships will be increasingly difficult with the amount of travel and instability in this generation."

Focusing once again more outwardly, a few students that had spent time in Asia discussed the potential negative impact of what they consider to be cultural imperialism in the developing world. A young woman who lived in Hong Kong and traveled extensively throughout China sees "how American culture has totally saturated Chinese society." Another student believes that globalization "will have a negative impact on other people, especially those of smaller countries in that their culture will start to disappear, and viewpoints of larger countries may be pushed onto them." Although harder to tell whether she perceives this phenomenon as positive or negative, a student wishing to become a diplomat feels that she is "a part of globalization. It could be Americanization or Westernization, but it will have a big impact on my life."

Only one student in the survey, a conservative-leaning political science major, comments on the link between globalization and immigration in America. In response to this question, he simply writes, "More foreigners in America." While impossible from this brief remark or from his responses to the other questions to tell precisely whether he feels

negatively or positively about this trend, it remains telling that his first reaction to a question on globalization revolves around more "foreigners" in his country.

CONCLUSIONS

To sum up this section, a young woman who studied abroad in Spain and majors in international relations and magazine journalism reflects creatively on the impact of globalization in her life.

> Obviously, globalization already impacts our lives in profound ways: I'm typing this on a keyboard that was made in Japan, in a room with students from all over the world, using an Internet connection that can connect me to any city in an instant. Globalization has allowed me access to products, services, experiences and people that I never would have experienced 40 or 50 years ago. As a journalist, globalization allows me access to news, sources and documents that can totally change the scope of a story, and through the web, it allows me to reach a much wider and more diverse audience. That's the obvious answer. I think globalization also, obviously, has a lot of more subtle impacts on my life. I heard on NPR this morning that some parasite was accidentally imported from South America to Hawaii, infecting most of the coco crop and driving up the price of hot chocolate – which I love to drink! Changes in global markets effect monetary and economic policy here, which trickle down to my life. Outsourcing means that I when I have problems with my Korean-made camera, I talk to an Indian sales rep, not an American one. Basically, globalization is changing, and has already changed, every aspect of my life and career.

Although responses to the impact of globalization appear in both positive and negative form, the citation above nicely represents that this particular population remains upbeat about the impact of globalization on their lives. Their positive reflections, as mentioned earlier, reflect an introspective sentiment that a flatter planet will afford them more opportunities to travel and work in other countries. They also feel the benefit of technology in their lives and the instantaneous contact they enjoy with people around the

world. This group is genuinely interested in learning new languages and bridging cultural divides. On the negative side of the debate, responses ranged from comments that bordered on xenophobia (yet to a very limited extent) to more outward-looking and concerned sentiments regarding the impact of globalization on the environment and the depletion of resources to political and economic tensions and strains in the labor market. Students also expressed a degree of angst that their careers will become increasingly demanding and competitive, rendering their lives ungrounded and devoid of the close, personal relationships that provide happiness.

Given the rich content of the responses and the combination of positive and negative as well as outward and inward-looking responses, it becomes challenging to draw generalizations about the type of student that responded in a particular way. Looking at the three academic and experiential variables, namely choice of major, service learning, participation in the DC Program, and study abroad, only choice of major and the DC Program reveal themselves to be significant (see tables below).

Table 6.8: Does choice of major affect how students feel about globalization?

Impact of globalization on lives/careers

Major		No impact	Negative impact	Positive impact	Totals
International Relations	Observed	20	0	59	79
	Expected	18	4	57	
Political Science / Public Affairs	Observed	6	6	26	38
	Expected	8	2	28	
Totals		26	6	85	117

Chi-square	**13.66**
Probability	**0.002**
Fisher	**0.001**
Significant	

None of the international relations majors in the survey listed anything negative about globalization in their responses, whereas 16% of political science and policy studies majors answered negatively. Students who completed the DC program emerge as 18% less likely than their classmates to feel globalization will have no impact on their futures and 8% more likely to feel globalization will have a positive impact on their lives.

Table 6.9: Does participation in the DC Program affect how students feel about globalization?

Impact of globalization on lives/careers

DC Program		No impact	Negative impact	Positive impact	Totals
Yes	Observed	4	3	30	37
	Expected	8	2	27	
No	Observed	22	3	55	80
	Expected	18	4	58	
Totals		26	6	85	117

Chi-square	**4.6**
Probability	**0.1**
Fisher	**0.08**
Significant	

In terms of the remaining demographic variables, none of them prove significant. That said, upon a thorough analysis of this question, it becomes evident that positive or negative responses reveal little about a cosmopolitan worldview. As some of the negative responses proved, in some cases, to be more thoughtful and outward-looking, they provided more of a perspective on the inequities in the world and the need to work together globally to find common solutions – quite cosmopolitan. However, given the phrasing of the question, which directly asked students to reflect on *their* futures and careers, responses do not provide a sufficient distribution of responses along these lines to be able to meaningfully generalize.

Overall, this chapter investigates students' conceptions of citizenship, citizen responsibility, and globalization. The analysis of these three survey questions provides revealing qualitative data on the way this student population imagines its role in and commitment to a globalizing world. Although the responses for defining citizenship and the impact of globalization do not allow for many statistically significant findings regarding the classification of students and their beliefs, they do provide a window into their thoughts and aspirations and the wide array of perspectives held by this particular population. They also both highlight that choice of major and participation in the DC Program remain important variables.

In terms of drawing statistical inferences, the largest number of significant relationships emerged from the question regarding citizen responsibility. Responses to this question unearthed various levels of allegiance the students feel as citizens, from family and friends to local community to nation and to the world. Possible dependent relationships exist between these levels of allegiance and the variables for wealth, political beliefs, choice of major, service learning, and study abroad. Just looking at the students who did not study abroad, however, all of the other variables, except choice of major, render themselves insignificant. As this notion of allegiance remains vital for a thorough understanding of cosmopolitanism, it is important to note that study abroad and major become the only significant variables. Developing a more cosmopolitan sense of citizen responsibility appears to rest on either having participated in study abroad or majoring in international relations. It becomes challenging, however, to determine which is the stronger variable, as

81% of international relations majors surveyed studied abroad, and 82% of study abroad participants are international relations majors.

The analysis of all three questions in this chapter provides a primer for the final question in the survey, discussed in detail in the following chapter on global citizenship.

CHAPTER 7

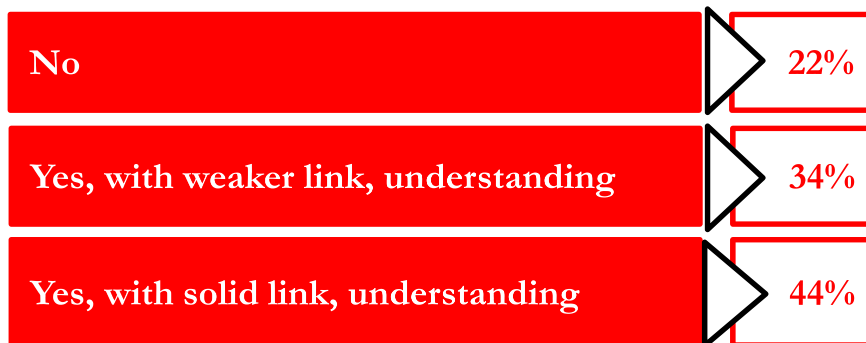
THE POTENTIAL FOR GLOBAL CITIZENSHIP

"I certainly feel I am a global citizen. As a Chinese student studying in the US, I have enjoyed learning about the cultural differences. There are things that I can bring home to Hong Kong that will be invaluable, but there are also fundamental Chinese values that should be kept always. It is striking this balance of bringing home what I learned here and applying it to a Chinese workplace that makes me feel like a global citizen." (International student, Syracuse University)

This chapter provides an analysis of students' understandings of and feelings towards the notion of global citizenship. Survey responses reveal quite differing accounts, both in terms of their sympathies and their level of comprehension of the concept. Some of the demographic variations in the group along with participants' experiences in college, whether academic or experiential, on-campus or off, appear to affect their beliefs.

The final question in the survey asks the students: *Do you feel you are a global citizen? If so, what does that mean to you? If not, why not?* An initial reading of responses to this questions revealed four categories: 1) those that state "no;" 2) those that believe they are global citizens, but provide a weaker level of understanding of the concept; and 3) those that believe they are global citizens and demonstrate a solid understanding of the concept. The table below presents the four categories and the corresponding percentage of students that fall into each.

Table 7.1: Do you consider yourself a global citizen?



As demonstrated in the chart above, a resounding 77% of participants identify in some way with the notion of global citizenship. Although this is indeed a strong percentage, less than half (44%) of the students in the survey demonstrate a solid understanding of the concept.

Not a global citizen

In this category, responses range from completely negative reactions to more nuanced positions expressing an interest in one day becoming a global citizen. Looking at the demographic information collected from participants, we can begin to see some differences. In terms of ethnicity, 25% of the Caucasian students in the survey responded that they are not global citizens, compared to a smaller percentage of 18% of their non-white classmates. Only three of the participants who responded no to this question immigrated or have parents that immigrated to the United States. Over the majority (55%) of the students who describe themselves as politically conservative and 25% of the students in the highest category of wealth fall into this sub-group. Gender also appears to play a role, with 33% of

men expressing that they are not global citizens, compared to only 15% of women. The table below displays the tests for dependency that proved significant for these demographic distinctions. The tests show only the binary relationship between non-global citizens and global citizens. No distinction is made at this point for weak or strong global citizens. At this point, only gender, immigration, and political beliefs demonstrate statistical significance (see below table).

Table 7.2: Non-global citizens – demographic measures

No=not a global citizen; Yes=global citizen (both weak and strong)

	Global citizen - yes or no						
	Observed values			**Expected values**			
Gender	**No**	**Yes**		**No**	**Yes**		
Female	10	58	68	15	53	P-value	0.02
Male	16	33	49	11	38	Chi square	5.3
	26	91	117			**Significant**	
Immigration	**No**	**Yes**		**No**	**Yes**		
No	23	58	81	17	64	P-value	0.01
Yes	3	39	42	9	33	Chi square	7.5
	26	97	123			**Significant**	
Political views	**No**	**Yes**		**No**	**Yes**		
Conservative	12	10	22	5	17	P-value	0.0001
Liberal	8	61	69	15	54	Chi square	17.8
Moderate/undecided	6	20	26	6	20		
	26	91	117			**Significant**	

We can also look at the academic and experiential variables in the survey to tease out any additional differences within this subgroup. Once again, choice of major offers additional insight into this group, for example, almost half (45%) of the students majoring in either political science or public affairs responded that they are not global citizens, compared to only 11% of their counterparts majoring in international relations. Looking at participation in the DC Semester Program or in service learning, neither variable shows statistical significance. However, only a small percentage (14%) of study abroad students

identify as non-global citizens, compared to 39% of those who did not study abroad. The table below demonstrates these statistical tests.

Table 7.3: Non-global citizens – academic and experiential measures

No=not a global citizen; Yes=global citizen (both weak and strong)

	Global citizen - yes or no						
	Observed values			Expected values			
Study abroad	**No**	**Yes**		**No**	**Yes**		
No	15	23	38	8	30	P-value	0.002
Yes	11	68	79	18	61	Chi square	10.0
	26	91	117			**Significant**	
Major	**No**	**Yes**		**No**	**Yes**		
International relations	9	70	79	19	60	P-value	0.0000002
Political science/public affairs	17	11	28	7	21	Chi square	27.3
	26	81	107			**Significant**	
Participation in the DC Program	**No**	**Yes**		**No**	**Yes**		
No	21	59	80	18	62	P-value	0.1
Yes	5	32	37	8	29	Chi square	2.4
	26	91	117			**Significant**	

Overall, from this preliminary exercise, non-global citizens in this population appear more likely to be male, non-immigrants, and politically conservative. They also seem more likely to be political science or public affairs majors, students who did not study abroad, or students who did not participate in the DC Program.

While this subgroup could surely be divided in a variety of ways, the responses seem to evoke two principal themes: (1) nationalistic loyalty; and (2) not sufficiently informed or prepared. Under nationalistic loyalty, students display at best a disinterest and some even a disgust at the notion of global citizenship. Under the last two themes, students remain somewhat open to the concept, but feel unprepared to embrace it fully.

Nationalistic loyalties

The participants who discuss nationalistic loyalties can also be further dissected into those who express a primary allegiance to the US, but who do not dismiss global citizenship and those who dismiss it entirely. In the first category, a female political science major who studied abroad for a year, a semester in Italy and another in the UK displays a somewhat pensive uncertainty. "I don't know if I'm a global citizen. I've spent a lot of time abroad, but the US will always be my home and my first priority." Her comments demonstrate nationalistic loyalties, but of a weaker nature than the responses that follow. A fellow political science major that spent a semester abroad in Australia concludes simply that he feels "more connected to country than to the world." Though unequivocal in stating his primary allegiance, he does not say that he feels no connection to the world.

Unlike the first two students in this category, others take their nationalism to another level. A male student studying public affairs who has not studied abroad contributes, "I don't feel like a global citizen at all. I feel that as a global citizen, countries and people lose their rights as citizens of that country." In much the same vein, another young man who has not been abroad and who majors in political science answers, "No, because I believe there is not such a thing. [One can] only can be a true citizen of one's [own] country."

Adding to this sentiment, a male participant majoring in international relations who studied in France for a semester states bluntly, "No. I am an American citizen by paper, with American ideals (what the country was founded on)." In this case, study abroad might well have reinforced this young man's primary allegiance to country. It makes some sense to

dwell for a moment on this student, as he appears to be somewhat of a contradiction. In response to the first question on what experience in college impacted him the most, he answers study abroad. "Living and traveling for 6 months over the course of a semester has changed me in ways I can't elucidate here. It opened my eyes to things (cultures, people, languages, etc.) [that] so many people will never have the experience to take part in. I learned how to better manage my time, express my values, and appreciate life." Yet, he claims that nothing at SU, only his own "introspection" has elucidated any change in his social or political views. He sees citizenship "as nothing more than an arbitrary label used for logistical purposes," going on to state that although he loves American values and the notion of the American dream, he could just as well be a citizen of Germany, in the sense of citizenship being an accident of birth. And regarding the personal responsibilities of citizenship, this young man is the one, who quoted in the previous chapter, states, "I have only come to feel more and more undeserved guilt. I have no responsibilities to anyone but myself and my values. I follow my rational self-interest and implore everyone to do the same." The nuance in this student's responses makes it challenging to code him properly and place him into a category. He claims to be undecided politically, but having taught him in class, it was clear that he is a proud and outspoken Libertarian. This political ideology might help explain many of his responses. In class discussion, always with an impish smile on his face, he prided himself on being both intellectually curious and contrarian, having positions on most anything that could easily be considered outliers. That said, he recently called and asked for a reference to complete a Fulbright Scholarship in Malaysia and to attend graduate school in international affairs. We had an interesting conversation, and it

was clear how much his experience in France as well as the Washington Semester Program had impacted him.

Also falling into the category of nationalistic loyalties and pride in American values, an older, 28 year-old male international relations student focused on national security studies and who has not been abroad claims firmly that he is not a global citizen. "I am an American that lives by American laws and American values. We, as a world, have not come nearly close enough to a uni-culture for me to feel as though I have anything more in common with someone from Nigeria (for example) than [merely] basic human behaviors." Even more defiantly, another male student majoring in political science who has also not studied abroad states unequivocally that he is not a global citizen. "I strongly refute the notion of a global citizen. I find this term to be irresponsible and harmful to American interests."

There appears to be a strong connection in this sub-category with political ideology. Of the students whose responses indicate strong nationalistic tendencies, they all self-identify as conservative.[32] And among all the students with both weak or strong nationalistic loyalties, only one claims to be "somewhat liberal," namely the young man that studied in Australia. The rest are conservative. Also, with the exception of the young woman that studied in Italy and the UK, all of the participants in this sub-group are men.

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[32] Including the young man that is a Libertarian.

Not sufficiently informed or prepared

In the second sub-category of those that responded in the negative to the notion of global citizenship, namely not feeling sufficiently informed or inspired, several themes come to the fore. Some participants sense that a global citizen needs to be well-read and educated about the world. Some also sense that being active in the world is a prerequisite that they do not fulfill. Several responses generate a more negative sentiment about the term, finding it to be vacuous and devoid of meaning, and others demonstrate more positive feelings and aspirations for one day becoming a global citizen.

On the more negative side, and providing a relatively in-depth response, a public affairs major who spent a semester in France declares that "a global citizen is someone who is educated and informed about current international issues and is acting, as best [he] can, to better the global community. I feel that very few people are actually global citizens, even though they may claim to be. I almost feel like the term 'global citizen' is an empty term with little meaning or importance. I think it is very difficult to reach this level. I stay up to date with some things going on in the world, but for the most part, I only concern myself with my local community. Perhaps I just haven't found something at the global level that has inspired me or captured me to the point where I want to make a difference and stay informed." Although she feels global citizenship is an empty term, she seems to understand the concept well and recognizes that she has not yet found the inspiration to involve herself more globally.

A young man who spent a semester in the UK agrees that global citizenship is an empty term. "[Global citizen is] not high up on the list of identity terms I would use to describe myself. Being a global citizen, in its purest form, probably means being a living member of the world. It doesn't really mean very much, kind of like a membership to a fan club or an honor society." He appears to feel as if global citizenship is an idealistic concept with no real basis in reality.

Although this next response is truly an outlier and difficult to categorize, one young woman, a conservative political science major who has not traveled abroad discusses not liking poor countries. "Nope, a global citizen is one enjoys [living] in other countries, more like nomadic people, which is not like me. I don't like to go to poor countries or underdeveloped places. I like the rich, well-established places." Also, in her response to globalization, she notes, "A lot of people will be going overseas to work in the future. However, it won't be me."

There are also a number of responses that discuss how students feel too uninformed about the world to identify with global citizenship. For instance, a female political science student who spent a semester in the UK writes, "In theory yes, in reality no. I feel that I do not keep up to date with international news, nor do I have a strong comprehension of the global arena to claim citizenship." Another young woman majoring in international relations who has not studied abroad partially equates global citizenship with having a license to travel. "No, I don't even have a passport, but I have learned a ton about other nations, the third world and developing countries [from my studies at SU]." So, even though she might

know something about other places in the world, she has not traveled to any and thus feels unable to stake a claim to world citizenship.

Similarly, a female political science student who has not studied abroad admits to not knowing "much about other countries ... I am not fortunate to travel often, but being at SU opened me up to many different people and cultures." A male classmate who has also not been abroad agrees, "I don't feel as though I am a global citizen yet. I only know one side of American society, and though I like to read and watch things that educate me about the world, I still need to experience the globe."

In the examples above, students demonstrate a willingness to learn about the world, but feel inadequately prepared. This sentiment carries forward in other comments as well, extending from feeling uninformed to not having personally experienced the world yet. For instance, a young man majoring in political science hopes his future abroad program will prepare him professionally and connect him globally. "I don't feel as if I am a global citizen yet. Next year, when I travel abroad and become a journalist, I will become connected to the rest of the world." He seems to have a sense that he needs to first experience the world before claiming to be a citizen of it.

A female political science student who spent a semester in Spain believes she does her best to be a citizen of the world, but does not feel that she is. "I try to be a global citizen; am I one … probably not. The term is so new and broad, and in my opinion of what a global citizen is – [some]one who helps the environment, donates globally, travels abroad … I don't fit this category." This young woman appears to be feeling as if she is not

sufficiently active in the global community to be a citizen of the world, yet she desires to sense that connection. Another female classmate who studied in France for a semester expresses a similar sentiment, "Not yet, I am involved at a small level that will soon increase." Another participant who spent a semester in France concurs, concluding that although she "would love to be a global citizen, I would not consider myself [one]. I believe that living abroad and having significant connections to that place like family, work, or legal status would make me a [global] citizen. It is sincerely one of my life goals to someday earn the distinction of global citizen." Several sub-themes emanate from the responses above, from not feeling sufficiently active globally to not having a family, professional, or legal status outside the United States. In all of these cases, however, there exists an ambition to become further plugged into the world.

Along the same lines, further participants appear to believe in the concept of global citizenship, but do not feel adequately prepared to make that jump. A male public affairs student who has not studied abroad responds, "Not quite. I still like to focus on domestic issues and injustices. It is hard to cope with global issues and problems when the US is facing hard times." These comments describe a young man who does not dismiss global problems, but feels overwhelmed by the issues encountered in his own country.

To conclude this section, an introspective and honest Asian-American student who has spent more than a year studying abroad in Japan, South Korea, and the United Kingdom provides the feedback of a potential convert to global citizenship. She first answers no, that she is not a global citizen, but she would like to be. "I feel like my material obsession, plus

the political ideology deeply embedded via 15 years of U.S education, would make me into one of those American internationalists who perpetuates the existing power hierarchy in the international system. I need to spend more time abroad." That fact that she seems to understand the dynamics of the global system and seems to indicate that they are inequitable might lead one to believe that she may eventually find her place. She is one of just three first generation students that responded "no" to this question.

Strong or weak opposition

As noted above, several of the statements that fall into this category spell out a degree of willingness to perhaps one day become a global citizen. These answers prove quite different in tone and in significance from earlier quotations in this category. For this reason, it makes sense to recode the responses for strength of conviction, which yields just 27% offering a strong rebuke of global citizenship. Within this smaller group, only one of the students is female, only one studied abroad, and all describe themselves politically as conservatives. This group only represents 6% of the survey population. Clearly an outright aversion to global citizenship is a minority position within this population of students.

Yes, global citizen with weaker link/understanding

Under this category, students express an inclination toward global citizenship, embracing the concept either directly or indirectly. Responses tend to offer a general desire to be included

under the global citizenship umbrella, but do not necessarily demonstrate a solid understanding of the term. This category provided coding challenges, as frequently student responses offer limited commentary, making it difficult to ascertain with certainty the depth of comprehension. Among the more indirect responses, participants discuss being somewhat apprehensive about the concept and tend to imagine themselves as something in-between. The remainder of the responses offers a more direct link, and many students relate to global citizenship by describing themselves as informed or aware. Others feel they have to be global citizens to excel in their future professions, and another subgroup believes that their travel and study abroad experiences have made them citizens of the world. While all of these sentiments are important, they remain somewhat shy of solid comprehension.

In terms of the demographics, this sub-group accounts for a higher percentage of the women in the survey (37%) than men (29%). Women are more than two times more likely to be weak global citizens than non-global citizens, where the opposite is true of men. Differences in ethnicity, immigration, and wealth become insignificant when tested. However, where non-global citizens tend to lean conservative in political orientation, weak global citizens tend to lean more liberal. The table below documents only the significant tests for dependency among these demographic measures.

Table 7.4: Differentiating a weak from a non-global citizen – demographic measures

No=not a global citizen; Weak=weak global citizen

Weak or non-global citizen							
	Observed values			Expected values			
Gender	**No**	**Weak**		**No**	**Weak**		
Female	10	25	35	14	21	P-value	0.04
Male	16	14	30	12	18	Chi square	4.0
	26	39	65			**Significant**	
Political views	**No**	**Weak**		**No**	**Weak**		
Conservative	12	7	19	8	11	P-value	0.03
Liberal	8	24	32	13	19	Chi square	7.3
Moderate/undecided	6	8	14	6	8		
	26	39	65			**Significant**	

Looking specifically at the academic and experiential measures, we can also find some telling differences. In terms of choice of major, international relations majors are three times as likely to be weak than to be non-global citizens. The opposite trend (although not as strong) is true of political science and public affairs majors, where 16% more of them declared themselves not to be global citizens. For students who did not study abroad, the number of students (15) remains the same in this category. Study abroad does not prove itself to be significant in this category, nor do participation in the DC Program or in service learning experiences.

Table 7.5: Differentiating a weak from a non-global citizen – academic and experiential measures

Weak or non-global citizen							
	Observed values			Expected values			
Study abroad	**No**	**Weak**		**No**	**Weak**		
No	15	15	30	12	18	P-value	0.13
Yes	11	24	35	14	21	Chi square	2.3
	26	39	65			**Significant**	
Major	**No**	**Weak**		**No**	**Weak**		
International relations	9	28	37	14.8	22.2	P-value	0.003
Political science/public affairs	17	11	28	11.2	16.8	Chi square	8.8
	26	39	65			**Significant**	
Service learning	**No**	**Weak**		**No**	**Weak**		
No	7	18	25	10	15	P-value	0.12
Yes	19	21	40	16	24	Chi square	2.4
	26	39	65			**Significant**	

Overall, weak global citizens are more likely to be female and politically liberal than non-global citizens. Weak global citizens also appear slightly more likely to be international relations majors, to have studied abroad, and to have participated in service learning opportunities.

Unsure, something in-between

Several students in this weaker category of global citizenship provide a more indirect or uncertain rationale for how they see themselves. One young man who has not been overseas discusses being straddled by both domestic and global concerns, yet admits to being more tuned into what is happening in this country. "I feel that I am global citizen in the sense that so much of the world is connected, but I focus more on domestic issues right now so I see myself as both." A female political science major takes the domestic/international divide a step further and discusses formal and informal notions of

citizenship. "In the technical aspects of a citizen, no [I am not a global citizen]. As citizens we exercise rights we are given in our own country. On a more philosophical level, I do to some extent because it's hard not to have a view on or want to help solve global issues."

Another student who spent a semester in Ecuador and Chile addresses his perceptions of the differences between global community and global citizenship. "I feel I'm a member of the global community, but not a citizen. I feel there is a distinction between the two, mostly that one has an obligation to interaction, which I feel doesn't exist yet [in my case]." This young man appears to have a solid understanding of the connection of participation and interaction to global citizenship, but doesn't feel that he is quite there yet. He offers an interesting distinction between membership in a global community and citizenship, elevating citizenship to a higher level of commitment. A female classmate of his that spent a semester in the UK expresses a similar sentiment, namely that it takes time and effort to become a true global citizen. "I'm getting there. In London, I lived with mostly US students, which wasn't a very "global" experience. Yet I tried to meet new people and travel around Europe during my time there. Becoming a learned global citizen takes time."

Informed and aware

Most of the participants who identify as weak global citizens discuss the importance of being informed and aware of what is happening in the world, a vital yet insufficient ingredient of global citizenship. A female student that spent a summer in the UK declares the inherent connection between domestic and foreign policy. For that reason, it is "necessary to be

aware of other cultures [and] governments". Another young woman who also studied in the UK believes global citizenship requires "staying aware and informed of local, national, global news - and forming strong, informed opinions". A male political science major discusses the speed of information and a citizen's obligation to keep up with what's happening. "It is our duty to be mindful and aware of what is going on all around us. It is too easy to be affected by world events now because everything travels so fast." A female classmate that completed a short-term program in Spain takes the conversation a small step forward, commenting that it is not only important to be informed, but to also understand the substance behind the headlines. "A global citizen means that you feel obligated to keep up with international news and how the world is changing. In other words, you not only know what is going on, but you are aware of WHY things are happening and what might happen in the future."

A few students focused more on awareness in terms of culture than on the consumption of information. For example, a male student who studied in China for a semester claims to be a global citizen because he is "aware of other cultures … I am conscious of the different cultures that exist. I am able to communicate and interact with different cultures." Another young man studying international relations that spent a year in Italy translates this cultural awareness into treating people of different backgrounds the same. "I am a global citizen in that I wouldn't treat anyone from a certain culture differently just because of their culture."

Travel/study abroad

Adding to this theme of awareness, some participants claim travel and study abroad have made them into global citizens. A male student majoring in international relations who has not studied abroad, but has traveled extensively, labels himself as a global citizen in the making. "I love to travel and have traveled well, so I believe I am in the process of becoming a global citizen." A classmate studying public affairs who spent a semester in Italy appears to agree, discussing how her time abroad has caused her to understand more fully the concept of global citizenship, which she links primarily to being able to communicate with others. "Yes [I am a global citizen], but only because I have had the opportunity to travel. I did not fully understand the meaning of global citizenship before leaving the country … I have a better understanding of the tools I need for effective global communication today." Another young woman who spent a semester in Italy ties her global citizenship to the maturation path she has followed, one that has pushed her into overseas study and internship experiences. "I think that as I have gotten older I have become more of a global citizen. The more that I take part in studying abroad or having an internship, the more global I become."

A young man of Mexican heritage who lived with his parents and studied during college in various parts of both the developing and developed world describes how these overseas living experiences have directly influenced his perspective. Global citizenship "means that I can see global affairs through various different lenses. I have been fortunate to have lived in five very different countries, and each has affected the way in which I have

studied economics and international relations. This quality of life has given me an advantage over my peers given that growing up overseas has allowed me to visit and meet people from countries most people have never heard of."

A male political science student who studied in the Czech Republic for a summer also discusses global citizenship in terms of his travels and study opportunities, principally through the lens of befriending people from various corners of the world. "I am knowledgeable about global issues, and I studied in France and the Czech Republic. I plan on getting a career abroad after I graduate. I have best friends from Canada, France, Bulgaria, Australia, and India. It's important to be a global citizen, although Anglo culture is dominant, it is not the best." This response evokes several themes, namely that his experiences abroad encouraged new friendships, a desire to return to an overseas setting to work professionally, and a sense that his own culture is far from singular.

Need to be global for professional reasons

The previous response connects nicely with others that portray global citizenship as necessary for career ambitions. A female student who completed a short-term program in Korea recounts that "there are pros and cons, but [global citizenship] definitely helps my future career in the arena of international relations." Another young woman that studied in Ecuador during the summer months contributes that she "somewhat" identifies with global citizenship. "I feel that my time abroad has contributed to this, and also my interest and plans to pursue a job related to international affairs. Also, my interactions with people from

all over the globe give me a feeling that I'm a global citizen, but I will always be a citizen of the USA first and foremost." As do many students in this section, even if they label themselves as global citizens, she still maintains her primary allegiance to nation.

Not nationalistic

On the other hand, several other students offer an opposing, or slightly nuanced perspective of nationalism. A male political science major who has not studied abroad posits that he is indeed a global citizen as he stays "informed about all world affairs and believe[s] in global values; [I'm] not very nationalistic." This response is a true outlier in the survey. It is rare to find a participant that has not been abroad with a weak stated connection to nation. Another student with bi-national roots discusses her competing, yet equal loyalties and how they impact her worldview. "I feel that yes in some ways I am [a global citizen] because I have dual citizenship (Polish/American). I look out for the well-being of both the US and Poland. Thinking about these two countries makes me think about the rest of the world." In a further example, a young woman who completed a semester program in China feels connected to others around the world regardless of their national or ethnic affiliations. "I identify with different countries and several ethnicities that I am not a citizen of or have ethnic ties to."

Taking that sentiment a step further, a female participant who spent a summer in Egypt agrees with the notion of global citizenship, but displays a slight hesitancy. "Yes, in a way, but I also feel that it could be detached." In fact, she has tapped into one of the

primary detracting characteristics of global citizenship, that it is detached from nation, from comfort. Despite this detachment, perhaps her classmate that studied in Latin America says it most succinctly, "being a global citizen is unavoidable."

Yes, global citizen with solid link/understanding

Responses in this category demonstrate a solid understanding of global citizenship and tend to be focused around several themes. Several students discuss an institutional dimension, describing their support for and the importance of global governance. Others discuss their notions of universal allegiance and loyalty. Similarly, many others describe their belief in a common humanity. A significant number of participants describe their definition of citizen responsibility and its connection with a larger, global community. Another group talks about the importance of consumer behaviors that reinforce this global responsibility, and additional students illustrate their sense of feeling at home wherever they are in the world.

Looking at this category demographically, the results fall much in line with the expectations derived from investigating the first two categories, those that do not identify as global citizens and those with a weaker link or understanding of the concept, with some notable differences. In comparing weak vs. strong global citizens, there does not appear to be a significant difference between the two genders or among levels of wealth. Ethnicity also continues to not be a factor. However, immigration and political views both all show significance. The table below demonstrates only the significant results.

Table 7.6: Strong and weak global citizens – demographic measures

Weak or strong global citizen							
Immigration	**Weak**	**Strong**		**Weak**	**Strong**		
No	29	29	58	23	35	P-value	0.02
Yes	10	29	39	16	23	Chi square	5.8
	39	58	97			**Significant**	
Wealth	**Weak**	**Strong**		**Weak**	**Strong**		
Most wealthy	19	11	30	13	17	P-value	0.02
Moderately wealthy	10	23	33	14	19	Chi square	8.3
Least wealthy	9	18	27	11	16		
	38	52	90			**Significant**	

Considering the academic and experiential variables, the narrative continues to unfold. Better than the majority of international relations majors (53%) falls into this higher level of global citizenship, representing double the percentage of political science and public affairs majors. However, when only compared against weak global citizens, choice of major does not appear significant. Among students that studied abroad, 56% are strong global citizens, compared to only 21% of those who did not. Interestingly, 62% of DC Program participants express strong global citizen beliefs, 26 points higher than their classmates who did not participate, making this variable significant once again. Service learning does not appear significant in this case. In differentiating strong from weak citizens, participation in either study abroad or in the DC Program offer the strongest correlation. The table below delineates these results.

Table 7.7: Strong vs. weak global citizens – academic and experiential measures

Weak or strong global citizen							
	Observed values			Expected values			
Study abroad	**Weak**	**Strong**		**Weak**	**Strong**		
No	15	8	23	10	13	P-value	0.01
Yes	24	44	68	29	39	Chi square	6.3
	39	52	91			**Significant**	
DC Program	**Weak**	**Strong**		**Weak**	**Strong**		
No	30	29	59	25	34	P-value	0.04
Yes	9	23	32	14	18	Chi square	4.4
	39	52	91			**Significant**	

Overall, strong global citizens tend to be children of immigrants and less wealthy. They are also more likely to have studied abroad and to have participated in the DC Program. The chapter conclusion highlights some additional statistical tests that compare all three categories.

Global governance/systemic level

Several students in this stronger category of global citizenship discussed the importance of international institutions. A male international relations student who completed a year abroad in Ethiopia provides a nuanced reflection of how his sense of global citizenship is limited by the state-based manner in which the world is governed. "While I do 'feel' like a global citizen, the realities that define our world limit the practice of this concept. This is not to say that I won't act upon this 'feeling' … but doing so might require significant transformations of international systems, which I guess, in [and of] itself, is a responsibility left to the global citizen." He seems to implicitly acknowledge the institutional limitations of the concept, but recognizes the obligation of private citizens to forge change. One of his

male classmates concurs, stating the same position much more succinctly. "I really want to work towards proper global governance and help other countries reach middle grounds."

A young woman who spent a summer in Lebanon continues along these lines, differentiating herself from people who do not share her enthusiasm for and belief in the global community. "I believe there is a global community, whereas others do not. It's simply a difference of opinion, and there are certainly those who would call that idealistic, but the world and institutions only change because of the people who see change as possible." She goes on to discuss her idealistic notion of the power of youth to make a difference. "As a youngster, I believe we are the force that changes the world, before we lose the energy to believe in optimism. That means that I believe in a global conversation about what is right, wrong, and up to interpretation. I do not believe forcing other countries to become democratic or change their economics is part of this, but instead, that holding countries accountable for their actions, stopping genocide and providing for refugees are all international ideals that are upheld by a global citizen. I also believe the UN is [experiencing] an imbalance of power and that the US abuses the UN, legitimizing and perpetuating its superpower role." This young woman adds significant detail to her conception of global citizenship, and especially at the end, demonstrates a clear contrast with her classmates in the non-global citizen category that generally speak more patriotically of the United States and its role in the world.

Also from a systemic perspective, a female student who studied abroad in Israel looks at global citizenship in what could be described as a Spencerian or structural functionalist

way, describing the world as a "fragile system" in which each part relies on the other. A "global citizen is an informed citizen who [leverages the necessary] communications and resources and realizes that we should be looking at the world (including policy) as a fragile system, and that we are all connected. One fails - the others do as well."

Allegiance and loyalty

Many students whose responses place them in this stronger category of global citizenship discuss their conceptions of allegiance and loyalty, leading to their attachment to a larger world. There is a sense from several of these students that there does not have to be any disconnect between allegiance to a local community and allegiance to something more global. A student majoring in international relations that studied in France describes how being a global citizen "means that I should not only show my loyalty to my local community, but to the greater [world] community, because we are getting ever so close. Although up until now, especially living in the US, we have been so divorced from other countries and their problems and successes. With environmental challenges and increased economic cooperation between nations this divorce will no longer be so. As a global citizen I recognize the close relations and impacts that my actions have on others ... I must be aware of those actions." This young woman clearly sees that global problems have local consequences, and vice-versa. One can be at once loyal to one and the other.

Similarly, in what could be considered a "rooted cosmopolitan" illustration, a male student completing a degree in international relations that did not study abroad formulates

his allegiance in a hub and spoke sort of way. "Primary allegiance should lie with the state you are a citizen of, but it is also the responsibility of a person to have a vested interest in the entire world and strive to make the whole world, not just one particular state, better." Using the same concept, yet delving deeper into her notions of identity, a young woman that completed a semester in the UK discusses her dual citizenship and ethnic heritage as the rationale behind her sense of loyalty to a larger world. "I am a global citizen in the sense of the word. I am a Canadian citizen, American citizen, and the descendant of Jamaican parentage. I believe global citizenship means being affiliated [with] and feeling a connection [to] various nations and states around the world."

The young woman of Vietnamese heritage, discussed in detail in the section on globalization in chapter seven, also provides a rooted cosmopolitan description of her conception of citizenship. With Vietnamese parents, one now remarried and living in Syracuse and the other living in France, she struggles with her sense of identity. When she studied in Washington, she had just returned from a year in Strasbourg, France, where she enrolled directly in courses taught in French at the Université Marc Bloch. Upon returning to the United States, she struggled at first to fit into American culture and create deep friendships with American students. She longed for philosophical discussions over coffee in a French café. Her identity was, at the time, extremely French. She felt somewhat disconnected from and misunderstood by the American students in the program as well as alienated from her Vietnamese mother, siblings, and step-father. Perhaps this loneliness is part of the process of becoming cosmopolitan.

This young woman completed the survey during the semester she was in Washington, and she favored her French and American roots. "I take my nationalities very seriously and … I believe that every citizen has a social obligation to his/her nation. However, my international background makes me feel as if I belong to the world. In short, I see myself as a French and American citizen before I see myself as a global citizen." Notably, she leaves out her Vietnamese heritage in the above response. After leaving Washington, she spent the summer in Brazil, which she claims helped her to understand another part of the world of which she previously had no knowledge. Also, living in a developing country, she began to consider other aspects of her identity, especially her familial ties to Vietnam and what her parents must have endured and sacrificed to leave that part of the world and move to Europe. In a subsequent email, she follows-up and provides a quite different response, worth quoting below.

> I used to criticize 2nd and 3rd generation immigrants for identifying themselves with origins that, to some varying degree, were no longer a part of their current culture [i.e., American or French] … I was wrong in making this assumption ... Most importantly, I made a mistake by allowing myself to believe that my identities needed to be linear, based upon political borders that were established by our European counterparts in the past. In fact, the concept of having political borders is still relatively new. It may seem if as such a system has always been in place because of our rigorous studies about world civilization (or should I say mainly European history). I should perhaps educate myself more about ancient HUMAN civilization, but my guess is that such a concept did not always exist for groups of people living in the Americas (before colonization) and Africa (which is now in political turmoil largely as a result of the creation of "states").
>
> [I have reminded myself] that my conglomeration of ALL my roots is indeed acceptable … I may not hold Vietnamese citizenship, but I am certainly Vietnamese by culture as it reflects my family background, history, and origins. What surprises me is why it took so long for me to finally see this part of my identity in this light. For obvious reasons, my Maxwell education, which focused on defining the meaning of citizenship, played a role in how I began to define myself … Maxwell has given me

> a well-rounded and unbiased education that has allowed me to think critically about my environment – and I am proud of it. I will always uphold my civic duties and proudly represent [the] core values that have allowed me to live so freely ... Culturally, however, I will always embrace my three … identities (American/French/Vietnamese) – [as well as] other cultural identities that I've picked up during my travels.
>
> Hello little cosmopolitan or global citizen!
>
> I always mixed up cultural identity and citizenship … they aren't necessarily the same ... Culture will always transcend international borders, even if foreign policy cannot (all the time, at least).

This student described a process of identity exploration that is particularly poignant given her family history. At various points during her time at SU, she attached herself to one or the other identity, as a means of comfort, to attach herself to something larger than herself. As her education progressed, and as she traveled more and studied overseas, she finally embraced all of her cultural identities at once, and as she comments, even "other cultural identities that I've picked up during my travels," feeling ever more comfortable wherever she goes. This exploration, acceptance, and embrace of oneself and of others did not happen for her by mere virtue of being multicultural. It occurred through education, travel, and overseas study.

Contributing to this line of thought, one of the female students in the survey grew up as the child of a US diplomat and never lived for long in one place. She describes herself as a global citizen and has a simple, impactful explanation for her feelings. "I have lived in nine countries in my life. To me, [global citizenship] means that simultaneous feeling of being at home and a visitor wherever you are." Similar to the student with Vietnamese heritage, this young woman reached a point in her overseas living where landing in a strange land no

longer seems strange, where one can feel at home in a place one never visited. On the flip side, however, there is a feeling of not having a fixed home, of being a permanent wanderer.

This personal side of global citizenship continues throughout many of the responses, as students mention the influences of their families, the languages they speak, and their abroad experiences. For example, a female student who studied in France, Georgia, and India talks mainly about her family. "As the first-generation born US citizen in my family, much of my family lives in another country. The constant straddle between the different countries allows me to feel somewhat connected to multiple sides." In a similar vein, a male classmate that has spent significant time abroad while at SU, including a semester in both Spain and China, talks about his family, but also about the impact of his international study opportunities. "I am the child of two immigrants, have studied in three countries, speak three languages and feel that I am not part of just one country but part of all of them." In a way, these comments seem to lead him away from the hub and spoke, rooted cosmopolitan model and toward a general feeling of affiliation to every part of the world.

Another child of immigrants tends to agree with this less rooted notion of global citizenship, using what could be described as a yin and yang dialectic to demonstrate her sentiments. "Yes, I believe I am a global citizen. To me this means being a student and teacher, or in other words, a receiver [of] and a contributor to the greater good. I do not consider myself to be solely Moldovan, because I was born in Moldova; nor do I consider myself solely an American, because I am an American citizen. I consider myself above all, a human being sharing an equal existence with all others. With this belief I strive to travel as

much as possible and learn as much as I can through interaction so that I can continue to expand my horizons throughout this entire world."

Moving from rooted to less rooted, there appears to be a third, more reversed level of loyalty. Similar to the way Socrates and Diogenes self-identified in ancient times, several students in this category feel a primary allegiance to the world, before country or any other smaller identity group. A male student majoring in international relations that studied in Israel concretely defines this loyalty to the world. "I have strong cosmopolitan views. I perceive myself as a global citizen first and an American citizen second. It means that I will try to look at issues objectively and do what is in the best interest of humanity as a whole." Another participant that nicely represents this sense of cosmopolitanism notes that "global citizenship is my primary citizenship identity. This translates to me treating and seeing others throughout the world with equal rights to their histories and stories and liberties. This also does not give me permission to treat [others] as if I know what's best for them/their culture, whether I agree with their social doctrine (with exceptions for human rights violations) is irrelevant. I do respect others and see the world population as a primary 'us'." The young woman quoted above had not yet studied abroad, but had interned at a non-profit organization in Washington called Vital Voices, which works to empower women around the world and was at the time of her comments enrolled to spend the following semester in Ghana completing a program with the School of International Training (SIT).

Common humanity

Those who define their primary identity as belonging to the world tend to believe in the notion of common humanity. Many students in this strong global citizen category discuss this belief. While all the responses are related and uphold the same value, the way in which the students conceive of common humanity offers some variation. For example, a student studying international relations and a member of the honor society Sigma Iota Rho describes global citizenship in terms of universal human rights. "To me a global citizen is a person who is culturally, religiously, and geographically conscientious. It is someone who believes that everyone, regardless of origin, is a human being entitled to equal human rights."

Other students discuss sharing common values with people around the world. "[Global citizenship] means that at some level, I share values, ideas, and interests with everyone. We're all human…so I start from there." One young man that spent a semester in Austria focuses on the value of human beings in general, and that each life should be considered just as valuable as another, regardless of geography. "I don't view my neighbor as having more value than a child in Somalia."

Several students in this category connect global citizenship with a common humanity that will encourage peace. For example, a female major in international relations who studied in Italy comments that "we all live on this world as human beings and must make the best of it by living peacefully."

The Muslim student with Eritrean heritage described in chapter seven contributes his thoughts on global citizenship. "I feel a connection with all mankind, first of all, but more

deeply [to] the general religious community I'm part of and my fellow countrymen of Eritrea, and the people of the developing world who are often neglected." In a way, this answer combines several themes. He first offers a less rooted response, claiming a primary connection "with all mankind," followed by a more culturally specific affiliation to his religious community and parental home of Eritrea, and finally a broadened notion of empathy for and understanding of "people of the developing world" that he seems to include under a nuanced umbrella of his own people.

A female political science major that studied abroad in Chile and Ecuador delineates a pragmatic approach to considering humanity as one. "No matter how different we all are … we share a common denominator of humanity, and based off of that, we should be able to forge some semblance of compromise on all (or most) of the major issues." She seems to be saying that if we just alter the lens through which we regard issues of global importance to consider all people as one, we will be better able to find the right solutions. The sentiment here is similar to then Candidate Obama's Berlin speech, where he declares "the burdens of global citizenship continue to bind us together," a pragmatic view of how people around the world are intricately interconnected and need each other to solve the biggest global issues of our time.

To wrap up this section, a male student who spent a semester in Ecuador and Chile rejects being a global citizen, declaring that he perhaps doesn't feel like a citizen of any country. "No, at least not as it stands. There is too much division, even in the US alone, to identify as an American citizen, much less a global one." That said, it was difficult to code

this response. He clearly responds here in the negative, but his answer was quite different from the others in this category. Reading the rest of his responses, it becomes clear that this young man understands cosmopolitanism better than most. For example, he believes globalization will have a positive impact on the world, providing "opportunities to work abroad and experience the world in an extraverted way as the world as a whole is much more interdependent." He also writes that his experiences in Latin America impacted him the most, proving to be truly "enlightening". He adds that studying abroad helped him to "see humanity more as one entity rather than [seven] billion individuals. For all we are [different] with culture, language, and life, we are all human." Complementing this response, when asked about his personal responsibilities as a citizen, he writes, somewhat poetically, that he has "an obligation to the collective good. No man is an island in this world and to live divided is a hard way to be … I have seen the interaction on campus compared to life in the city (NYC). The contrast is amazing. Simply being here has allowed me see the power of [collectivity] and the destitution of isolation." Complex as his thoughts prove to be, he appears to believe in the ideal of and power behind a common humanity.

Responsibility

Reverting to one of the earlier questions in the survey, students in this category also discuss their responsibility to others as the driving factor in identifying themselves as global citizens. Under this sub-heading, responses tend to be quite similar, emphasizing many of the elements already discussed, including loyalty to humanity at large, contributing to world

peace, and the borderless nature of many of the issues we face. In addition, students add a couple of other themes, namely being good stewards of the environment and behaving in a conscientious way as consumers.

In a response that connects common humanity and responsibility, a male student who spent a year in Spain states simply, "I view myself as a human on the globe and wish to provide for the general welfare of humans everywhere regardless of nationality." A female classmate expands on this notion, claiming that to her, global citizenship "means I am responsible for caring and helping others because we are all human beings striving to live, communicate, be happy, and prosper. I think of it as a duty everyone should have, to think about how their actions affect others." In a similar vein, a participant majoring in public affairs that spent a year abroad, including a semester in Spain and a semester in South Africa, recognizes that she is just one person, but that her actions have a larger impact and create a strong sense of responsibility for a larger, global community. "Yes, I do [consider myself a global citizen], because … at the end of the day, my actions, as small as they are, will have a ripple effect."

A couple of students link their responsibility as global citizens to their sense of helping to bring peace to the world and contributing to the general prosperity of humankind. One student states simply, "I have a responsibility to the world to behave in a way that contributes meaningfully and peacefully to the betterment of everyone." Adding to this same line of thinking, an international relations student that spent a semester in Ecuador and Chile describes her responsibility as helping to "bring peace and justice in the world. By

being a global citizen, it is about learning about world cultures and preserving indigenous cultures and traditions."

Several students describe their belief in the increasing irrelevance of political borders. A female student that studied in both China and the UK thinks "borders are beginning to be less relevant today. I feel a responsibility to the world." A male political science major agrees, stating that he feels "our commitment to international/national problems extends beyond my borders." Another male political science major who spent a year in the UK agrees, evoking the metaphor of the expanding circle. "My responsibility doesn't stop at my city, or state, or natural boundary, but as a member of the world, I play a role and am responsible." A female classmate who spent over a year abroad in France, Israel, and Ireland adds to this example. "Being a global citizen means taking responsibility for your actions (and your country) on a global scale as well as not limiting your point of view to simply that of your state or nation."

Important to note, a couple of students connect their responsibility as global citizens back to the environment and serving as good stewards of planet earth. A political science major who spent a semester in Italy feels that "we are all global citizens, as our well-being is connected to the survival of planet earth." A classmate of his that studied in South Africa concurs and adds a thought on globalization and the interconnectivity of the world. "I am a global citizen that has responsibilities to human rights as well as the rights of the earth (global warming issues). Globalization has made it so that every decision we make has a major impact somehow on the world economy."

One student describes his responsibility to the world (among other things) by detailing his sustainable consumer behaviors, even though he claims to not particularly care, rhetorically, for the label of global citizenship. "I think 'global citizen' is a kitschy sort of catchphrase, so I probably wouldn't declare it openly. But in the sense that I'm very concerned about global issues and events – often more concerned, in fact, than about US policy – I think I fall into this category. For me, being a global citizen means reading the international section of the New York Times every day, trying to uphold a certain minimum-harm ethical standard in my purchasing habits and energy use, and learning a second language. Granted, I haven't joined the Peace Corps or anything, but I think it's a start!" Yet, ironically, according to one of his subsequent responses in the survey, he intends to join the Peace Corps after graduation.

In a final example of a participant citing a responsibility to humanity writ large, a young woman studying international relations who spent a semester in SU's program in Chile delineates an honest and introspective view of global citizenship. She responds that she is not a global citizen, as she remains aware of the privilege she enjoys as an American with means. "I honestly feel like I am in the ivory tower. I feel like my education and standard of living separate me from the plight that most citizens experience globally. I think I am too concerned with seeing my life work out a certain way right now to be a global citizen. I do, however, think that my actions have global effects, and that I have a responsibility to humans everywhere to learn to live differently." She appears not only to understand her privilege, but also that she is currently operating in a self-centered mode, focused more on her future career and education than on others. Yet she maintains, at the

end of her comments, that she does realize her responsibility to others around the world. This type of person might in fact be most likely to exhibit qualities of global citizenship. She appears to understand the term as an ideal that she aspires to, all the while understanding the powers of privilege and the global disparities separating her from those less fortunate. This realization combined with the sense of responsibility that she describes may yet translate into some form of action.

CONCLUSIONS

This chapter discusses student attitudes regarding global citizenship and categorizes responses. While many students in the survey adamantly (or otherwise) express that they do not consider themselves global citizens, the overwhelming majority (78%) believe they are. As the sections above bear witness, however, students possess various interpretations, some demonstrating a more thorough understanding of the concept than others. The coding of the responses yields a high percentage of participants (44%) as strong global citizens, an overall important finding of this study. Responses from the three categories outlined above provide a varied and multi-layered context to examine student worldviews and analyze what factors might have contributed to shaping these perspectives.

In order to better understand these factors, this chapter also portrays the students across the categories along demographic, academic, and experiential measures. Upon closer investigation, when comparing across all three categories (non-global citizen, weak or strong global citizen), several of these variables become less relevant to understanding which type

of student might be inclined to answer in a particular way. Statistical tests for dependence yield geography (rural, urban or suburban) and ethnicity to be insignificant. Student participation in service learning also renders itself insignificant. However, a host of other measures remain significant and create possible dependent relationships with global citizenship. Demographically, gender, immigration, level of wealth, and political views appear to impact the way students responded to this question. Additionally, choice of major, study abroad, and participation in the DC Program also form potential dependencies with the three categories of global citizenship. The tables below depict these associations. Statistical test results for all variables can be found in Appendix C.

Table 7.8: Global citizenship: significant demographic variables

Gender										
	Observed values				**Expected values**					
	Non	**Weak**	**Strong**		**Non**	**Weak**	**Strong**			
Female	10	25	33	68	15	23	30	P-value		0.07
Male	16	14	19	49	11	16	22			
	26	39	52	117				**Significant**	χ^2	5.3
Immigration										
	Observed values				**Expected values**					
	Non	**Weak**	**Strong**		**Non**	**Weak**	**Strong**			
No	23	29	29	81	17	26	38	P-value		0.001
Yes	3	10	29	42	9	13	20			
	26	39	58	123				**Significant**	χ^2	13.6
Wealth										
	Observed values				**Expected values**					
	Non	**Weak**	**Strong**		**Non**	**Weak**	**Strong**			
Most wealthy	10	19	11	40	8	13	18	P-value		0.03
Moderately wealthy	10	10	23	43	9	14	20			
Least wealthy	3	9	18	30	6	10	14			
	23	38	52	113				**Significant**	χ^2	10.7
Political views										
	Observed values				**Expected values**					
	Non	**Weak**	**Strong**		**Non**	**Weak**	**Strong**			
Conservative	12	7	3	22	5	7	10	P-value		0.001
Liberal	8	24	37	69	15	23	31			
Moderate/undecided	6	8	12	26	6	9	12			
	26	39	52	117				**Significant**	χ^2	20.0

Table 7.9: Global citizenship: significant academic and experiential variables

Major										
	Observed values				**Expected values**					
	Non	**Weak**	**Strong**		**Non**	**Weak**	**Strong**			
International relations	9	28	42	79	18	26	35	P-value		0.0003
Political science/public affairs	17	11	10	38	8	13	17			
	26	39	52	117				**Significant**	χ^2	17.3
Study abroad										
	Observed values				**Expected values**					
	Non	**Weak**	**Strong**		**Non**	**Weak**	**Strong**			
No	15	15	8	38	8	13	17	P-value		0.001
Yes	11	24	44	79	18	26	35			
	26	39	52	117				**Signifcant**	χ^2	15.1
DC Program										
	Non	**Weak**	**Strong**		**Non**	**Weak**	**Strong**			
No	21	30	29	80	18	27	36	P-value		0.03
Yes	5	9	23	37	8	12	16			
	26	39	52	117				**Significant**	χ^2	7.0

As can be observed from a close look at the above tables, strong global citizens are more likely to be female, politically liberal or moderate, less wealthy and first-generation Americans. Strong global citizens are also more likely to have participated in the Washington Program, to have studied abroad, and/or to be majoring in international relations. Stepping back for a moment to reflect on these associations, some reinforce previous findings from this study and others present new information. For instance, choice of major remains a constant as a potential explanatory variable across most all of the survey questions. Earlier chapters note its relevance when matched with changing political and social views, on notions of citizen responsibility and group allegiance, and on globalization. Just as unsurprisingly, study abroad also unveils itself as having a strong potential impact on all of the variables that are shown to be significant, as it has in most other cases across the survey questions. Additionally, participation in the DC Program comes to the fore, as it has when looking at significant associations linked to student definitions of citizenship and feelings about globalization. It is also noteworthy that the demographic variables of gender, immigration, wealth, and political ideology appear to have an effect on the way students answered this question, offering more initial associations than for previous questions in the survey.

Given that all of these variables offer potential explanatory power, a layer of controls might help account for the overlap of students across all of these areas. Can we make a determination, for example, in considering a student majoring in international relations who has studied abroad? Which variables still point out potential dependent relationships when controlling for each other? The tables below present the results of this layer of statistical

controls, which excludes the dominant group within each variable. For example, as women, immigrants, liberals, and the least wealthy students are more likely to be strong global citizens, this layer of controls excludes them (table 7.10). Concerning the academic and experiential variables, it excludes international relations students, study abroad participants, and students who completed the DC Program (table 7.11).

Table 7.10: Overview of significant relationships with global citizenship, with first layer of controls

Demographic variables (see Appendix C for more detailed results)

	Without women	Without immigrants	Without IR majors	Without study abroad students	Without DC students	Without least wealthy	Without liberals
POLITICAL VIEWS χ^2: 20.0	P-value: 0.3 No	P-value: 0.005 χ^2: 15.0 Yes	P-value: 0.09 χ^2: 8.7 Yes	P-value: 0.05 χ^2: 8.9 Yes	P-value: 0.005 χ^2: 13.8 Yes	P-value: 0.02 χ^2: 11.9 Yes	
IMMIGRATION χ^2: 9.4	P-value: 0.003 χ^2: 11.8 Yes		P-value: 0.03 χ^2: 6.0 Yes	P-value: 0.03 χ^2: 6.7 Yes	P-value: 0.006 χ^2: 10.4 Yes	P-value: 0.05 χ^2: 6.0 Yes	P-value: 0.3 No
WEALTH χ^2: 10.7	P-value: 0.2 No	P-value: 0.2 No	P-value: 0.4 No	P-value: 0.4 No	P-value: 0.1 χ^2: 7.5 Borderline		P-value: 0.1 χ^2: 7.1 Borderline
GENDER χ^2: 5.3		P-value: 0.01 χ^2: 9.2 Yes	P-value: 0.7 No	P-value: 0.6 No	P-value: 0.1 χ^2: 4.0 Borderline	P-value: 0.04 χ^2: 6.6 Yes	P-value: 0.7 No

Table 7.11: Overview of significant relationships with global citizenship, with first layer of controls

Academic and experiential variables (see Appendix C for more detailed results)

	Without women	Without immigrants	Without IR majors	Without study abroad students	Without DC students	Without least wealthy	Without liberals
MAJOR χ^2: 17.3	P-value: 0.05 χ^2: 5.9 Yes	P-value: 0.0003 χ^2: 16.0 Yes		P-value: 0.04 χ^2: 6.4 Yes	P-value: 0.001 χ^2: 13.6 Yes	P-value: 0.002 χ^2: 12.0 Yes	P-value: 0.01 χ^2: 8.5 Yes
STUDY ABROAD χ^2: 15.1	P-value: 0.01 χ^2: 9.3 Yes	P-value: 0.002 χ^2: 12.8 Yes	P-value: 0.05 χ^2: 6.5 Yes		P-value: 0.004 χ^2: 10.9 Yes	P-value: 0.002 χ^2: 13.0 Yes	P-value: 0.07 χ^2: 4.7 Yes
DC PROGRAM χ^2: 7.0	P-value: 0.1 χ^2: 5.5 Borderline	P-value: 0.009 χ^2: 9.3 Yes	P-value: 0.2 No	P-value: 0.2 No		P-value: 0.05 χ^2: 5.8 Yes	P-value: 0.01 χ^2: 5.1 Yes

As the tables demonstrate, it remains challenging to posit any firm conclusions or isolate one variable in particular as possessing vastly greater associative power than another. Also, given the small numbers in the statistical control samples, many of the associations cannot be declared with much confidence. Choice of major and study abroad, however,

appear to surface as the only variables that form possible dependent relationships with global citizenship across every category of the control groups. Immigration and political views follow thereafter. Participation in the DC Program becomes relevant in only three of the five cases, gender only in two, and wealth renders itself inconclusive across all the control groups (two of the cases are borderline).

Reflecting on this new information, the addition of political views as a potentially influential factor in students' propensity to be strong global citizens seems understandable. Liberals are stereotypically more open and inclusive. It also seems entirely feasible that immigration would maintain some potency in this question. Immigrants to this country have had similar experiences to study abroad students, yet at an earlier age. It also makes perfect sense that choice of major and study abroad continue to emerge as important variables, given that both international relations majors and study abroad participants focus more intently on and are likely more open to notions of global citizenship. They are also largely self-reinforcing of each other. We can conclude, however generally, that political views, immigration, choice of major, and study abroad remain strong variables and all have the potential to impact student attitudes regarding global citizenship.

The following chapter will dissect this conversation further and offer some conclusions of the study along with a model for cosmopolitan learning. It will also discuss limitations of the research and offer steps for future research.

CHAPTER 8

COSMOPOLITAN LEARNING

Cosmopolitanism seeks to affect changes in cultural norms through the cultivation of self-awareness, identity, empowerment, and agency. Coupled with education, these powerful tools contribute to shaping a global society (Spisak 2009: 1).

I arrive in Istanbul eager to experience a completely new culture, far away from the strip malls, superhighways, fast food restaurants, and the seeming sameness of the northern Virginia suburbs of Washington, DC. Disembarking from the plane, I am surprised to find the modern, international arrival hall at Ataturk International Airport to look almost like a duplicate of the B Terminal at Dulles. All the signs are neatly written in English, the architecture shiny and indistinguishable. On the way into town in a cab on a brand new superhighway, we pass a Starbucks, several American-looking service stations, and a shopping mall with brand names one would find in any mall in northern Virginia. I wonder as I pass by these familiar things whether United Airlines tricked me into boarding a flight simulator instead of a real aircraft. Perhaps I am still somewhere in Fairfax County and never really arrived in a foreign land. I ask myself if culture has become monolithic and entirely imitable from place to place. Does it even matter anymore where we are in the world if progress and development suck away the distinctiveness of each national destination?

Instead of walking behind the donkey and plough, we mostly now walk with a cell phone affixed to the ear. We travel in planes and high-speed trains, watch cable TV, and connect to others via fiber optics and wireless networks. All over the planet, this is becoming increasingly the case. Given astronomical growth rates in places like China and Brazil, even the developing world has rendered itself much less developing. Buildings seemingly pop up overnight in cities like Shanghai, millions have been elevated out of poverty, and massive urbanization and emigration, despite all the inherent problems, have created a trans-regional and often a transnational existence for many of the world's most economically disadvantaged. Attachment to family and the sedentary, rural farming life of the past is transforming into an increasingly nomadic life of families spread across regional, national, and continental boundaries in search of a better existence. New lives are created in urban landscapes housing ethnicities and cultures from around the globe, all the while creating and recreating new loyalties and allegiances.

These cross-cultural flows of people, ideas, and technology provide an opening for agents of all stripes, whether individuals, organizations, or corporations, to spread their influence and capital as far as possible. As the wealthy always inherit the spoils, the West has so far benefited most from this process. One can hardly find a corner of the world that has not somehow been touched by American culture, whether McDonald's or Hollywood, or the ideational notion of the American dream. But as the hegemonic stability enjoyed by the United States in the 20th Century slowly dissolves into the multi-polar reality of the 21st, competing narratives and ideas emerge from distant shores and are gaining traction in the popular conscience of the world. Globalization might be pervasive, but it is also constantly

evolving into new forms, interpreted differently in various corners of the globe. "Globalization is not simply the name for a new epoch in the history of capital or in the biography of the nation-state, but is marked by a new role for imagination in social life" (Appadurai 1996: 11). This complex, multi-dimensional, and ever changing phenomenon calls for a modern approach to responsible citizenship. In this context, we can unearth and rediscover the timeworn, and often misunderstood, notion of cosmopolitanism.

COSMOPOLITANISM IN THE CONTEXT OF GLOBALIZATION

As discussed in chapter two, numerous contemporary scholars have written about cosmopolitanism, and the emphasis of their writing comes in various disciplinary strands, from philosophy to political theory to sociology. This renewed interest in a concept that began in ancient times stems largely from the context of globalization. As could be determined from the analysis of the survey responses for this project, young people might well be viewing globalization as a given in today's world, as much a part of the framework of modern society as air travel, smart phones, and the Internet, invariably all cogs in the wheel of globalization. Scholars view this changing contextual reality as a new phenomenon to explore. In an increasingly interdependent and interconnected world, the problems we face have become inherently global. People in every part of the world face the same afflictions of disease, poverty, hunger, and malnutrition. We all fear nuclear proliferation, transnational crime, terrorism, and cyber warfare, not to mention environmental degradation and climate change, just to name a few. Prosperity for some around the world has also translated into

economic hardship for many. Our global system is cracking and showing signs of wear. Our problems are common, yet our governance is parochial and ill-equipped to handle this intricately intertwined, yet anarchic web of our own making.

This new generation might well be the most "plugged in" and technically capable, but are young people learning how to become responsible citizens amidst these global cultural, political, and economic transformations? In order to do so, students need to experience an *individual* transformation as well. Fazal Rivzi (2009) advocates an approach to cosmopolitanism that does not interpret it "as a universal moral principle, nor as a prescription recommending a particular form of political configuration – nor indeed as a transnational lifestyle – but a mode of learning about, and ethically engaging with, new social formations" (Rivzi 2009: 53). How can we best encourage such engaged learning?

In order to prepare students for success in today's interconnected world, colleges and universities are increasingly touting global citizenship as a part of their mission, principally as an aspirational goal of the education provided for students. But what qualities build such a global citizen or cosmopolitan, and what kind of educational opportunities are necessary to meet such an objective?

This project presents an exploration of two traditions of scholarship, namely cosmopolitanism and political socialization, and the ways in which they could possibly intersect. It investigates a modern meaning of cosmopolitanism placed into the context of citizenship in a globalizing world. With this meaning in mind, this research explores how closely, if at all, student worldviews conform to cosmopolitan arguments, as presented by

this research, which boil down to (1) Individual freedom and human volition (agency) have the power to promote ethical and just change; (2) Effective intergroup contact has the power to reduce differences and anxieties between groups; it bridges cultures and finds commonalities; (3) Transformational experiences for students aged 17-25 widen their sense of belonging and encourage an expansion of their in-groups; and (4) Education has the power to form citizens around the message of cosmopolitan ethics in an era of globalization. Although presented in a sequential list, these beliefs effectively build on one another. To what degree can education form cosmopolitan citizens? What higher educational experiences are necessary to achieve this objective?

The positives associated with globalization may bring the people of the world closer together. There is a tendency to intellectually separate cosmopolitanism from globalization, and the separation makes logical sense. For instance, one could imagine that cosmopolitanism offers us a way to live with the reality of globalization. Rivzi discusses bringing together the *facts* and the *values* behind global connectivity. By facts, we can understand what the surveyed students appear to realize, that globalization is pervasive – pretty much everything imaginable flows across territorial boundaries. A discussion of values refers to how we can best engage with others in a morally and ethically productive fashion. "While the facts … can no longer be denied, it is less clear how particular communities and people experience and are affected by global connectivity, how they interpret its various expressions and how they utilize this understanding to forge their sense of belonging, and their social imagination" (Rivzi 2009: 258). In other words, globalization offers us the facts of our everyday reality, and cosmopolitanism can prepare us with the

requisite values. We can extract this notion even further to acknowledge that cosmopolitan learning needs to be empirically informed by globalization and normatively rooted with an ethical perspective and understanding of the new ways in which people and communities are converging and reimagining themselves.

While Rivzi clearly sees the connection between globalization and cosmopolitanism, we might forge a better understanding of the latter, if we consider that they might be intricately molded together as one. Globalization, as a form of progress, represents a core component of cosmopolitanism, part of the *cosmopolitan equation* that is explained in the following section. Philosophically, cosmopolitanism remains an agential concept. The first proposition of individual freedom and human volition offers the potential of change. As progress is also an ever-evolving phenomenon, individuals also possess the power to impact that reality. Facts and values are ultimately linked, yet the values have a dialectical relationship with the facts. Through the force of agency, which includes the impact of education, we can change the facts and recreate our own reality.

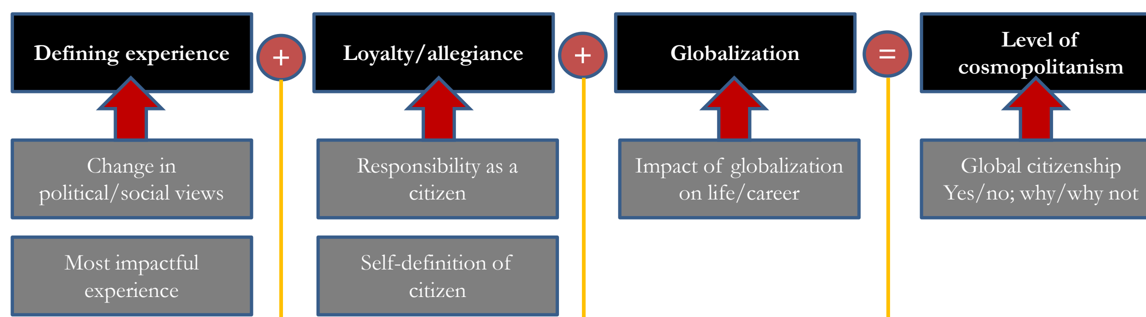
THE COSMOPOLITAN EQUATION

At the heart of this research lies the question of how and when young people begin to form their thoughts and perceptions of the world. Numerous influences exist and take root at a young age, the primary, of course, being family, but also school, church, peers, neighbors, etc. In terms of the potential impact of higher education, the literature on political socialization becomes especially interesting, as it claims that young people between the ages

of 17-25, precisely at this moment of increased independence, will likely adopt similar views to their family unless they experience something defining or transformative that offers them additional options. We can begin to ask ourselves then, what experiences in college constitute such a transformation? Through which experiences, if at all, do students move from the more parochial to the more global?

The various themes of this project can best be depicted in the table below, which connects the themes presented in the previous chapters and illustrates the path to cosmopolitanism as an equation.

Chart 8.1: The cosmopolitan equation

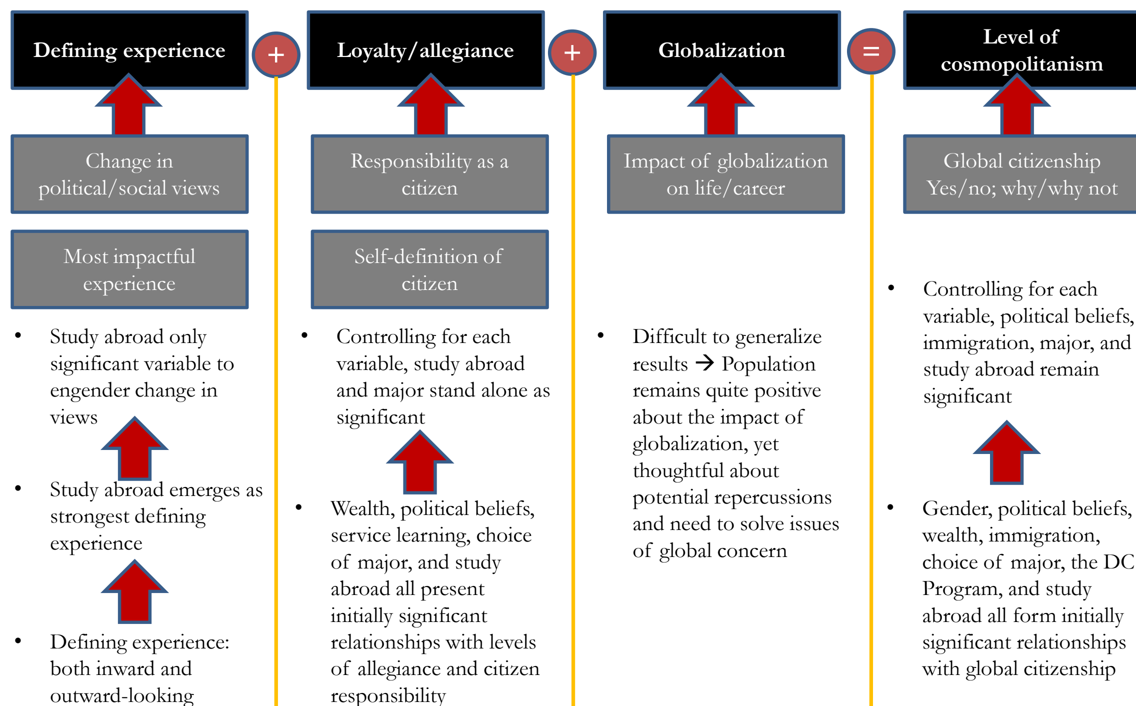


As shown above, the survey questions touch on elements of political socialization, citizenship, globalization, and cosmopolitanism. As an initial iteration in analyzing any potential outcomes of this study, this equation serves as a conceptual tool. The first two survey questions asked what experience in college had the most significant impact and whether/how students' political and social views had changed. This information can lead us to a better understanding of what students might consider to be a defining experience. The next two questions asked students to explain their self-definitions of citizenship and,

consequentially, their notions of responsibility as citizens. These questions indirectly encouraged students to discuss their loyalties, allegiances, and commitments to others. Then, bringing the word global into the survey for the first time, the following question asked how students believed globalization would impact their lives and careers. All of these elements laid the foundation for the final question on whether or not students believe they are global citizens. A careful review and analysis of the results shows the questions build on one another and form an equation of sorts, with defining experiences, loyalties/allegiances, and sense of globalization all adding up to various conceptions or refutations of cosmopolitanism.

After establishing this formula, we then turn to the combination of results that lead to various outcomes. The table below demonstrates some of the broad outcomes of the research.

Chart 8.2: The cosmopolitan equation: outcomes



The first survey question pressed students to describe their most impactful experience led participants to not only list the experience, but also describe how it impacted them. This dual-purpose question allowed for responses to undergo a second level of coding, which revealed inward-looking (self-confident, independent, and mature) and outward-looking (eye-opening, learning about others, becoming more culturally aware and open-minded) perspectives. If we consider that a defining experience should really lead us to both reflect inwardly and outwardly, study abroad emerges as the strongest variable in the survey to generate this phenomenon. It also becomes the only significant variable to associate with a change in political or social views. Service learning and choice of major also prove potentially dependent, but when controlled for students that did not study abroad, they are both rendered insignificant. In other words, study abroad forms the strongest

association with a defining experience, in terms of possibly influencing students to reflect both inwardly and outwardly and likely serving as the impetus behind a change in views.

The next set of two questions helped to refine students' definitions of citizenship and their responsibility as citizens. Although little can be generalized from the self-definitions, the question on responsibility revealed differences in the way students feel committed to various groups. Responses show a divide in loyalties and allegiances, and the expanding circle metaphor unfolds. Students express allegiances to everyone from themselves to family, community, nation, and world. Wealth and political beliefs along with choice of major, service learning, and study abroad surface as significant when analyzing participants' comments, yet when considering only students that did not study abroad, only major and study abroad remain significant. Reversing the control using the other two variables still leaves major and study abroad as the only significant associations with allegiance and citizen responsibility.

Given the strength of study abroad in these findings, one might expect it to be just as much a factor in its relationship with students' feelings on globalization. However, this does not prove to be the case. Students in the survey remain quite positive across all variables when considering the impact of globalization on their lives and careers. In fact, some of the negative references to globalization could almost be considered more cosmopolitan, as they reflect an outward-looking perspective and refer to issues of global concern such as resource depletion, labor migration, disease, environmental degradation, and social, economic, and political tensions. Although these negatives serve as the by-products of globalization, these

issues also require global action to mitigate and resolve. Potentially, globalization has become such an inevitable force that educated Millennials (or at least those studying at the Maxwell School) have grown to generally embrace, knowing that their futures will indeed depend on such an embrace.

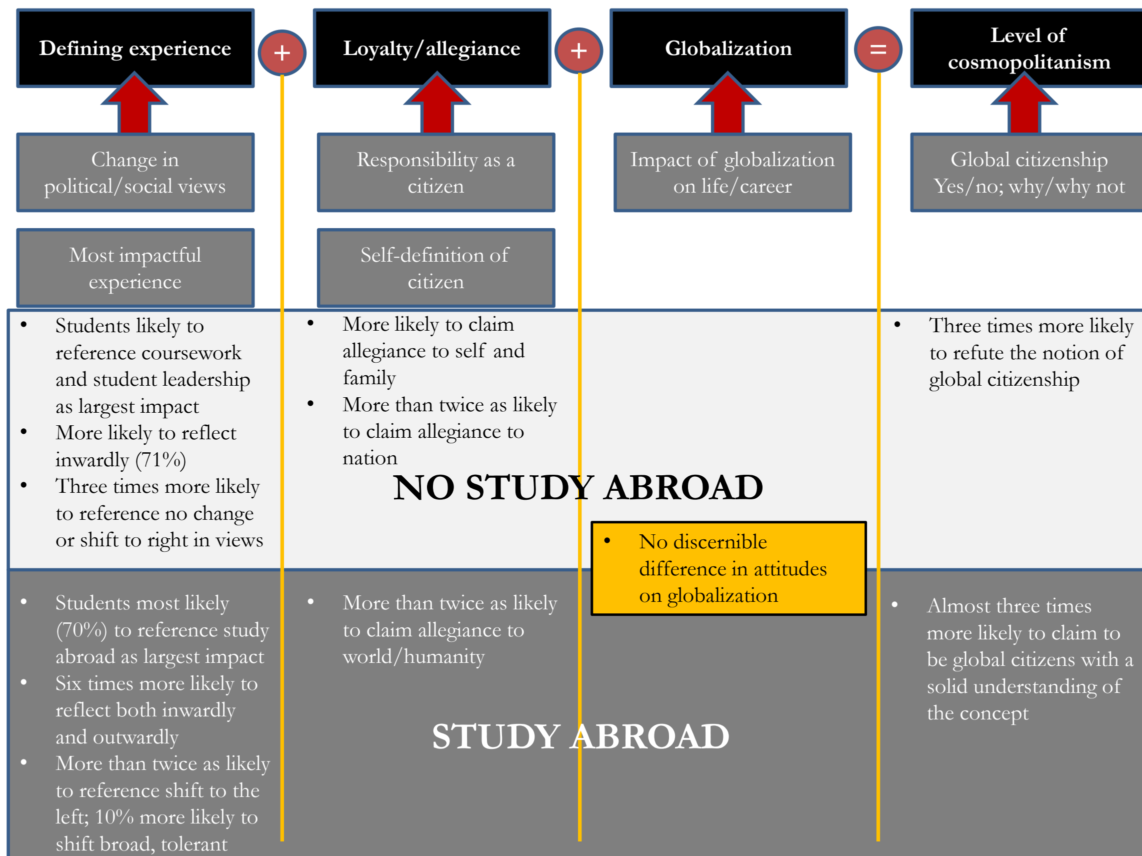
All of these elements add up to the final survey question on whether students feel they are global citizens. The yes or no responses become just as interesting as participants' rationale and understanding of the concept. While a surprisingly high 78% of the population stakes a claim to global citizenship, a much smaller (yet still impressive) 44% demonstrates a solid understanding of the term. Looking at the influence of the demographic, academic, and experiential variables in the survey, seven variables appear to be significant, namely gender immigration, wealth, political views, choice of major, participation in the DC Program, and study abroad. A series of control groups demonstrate that political views, immigration, choice of major, and study abroad remain the most significant of the seven.

As this project is principally interested in the impact of education on students' worldviews, we can momentarily set aside the impact of political beliefs and immigration. Immigration is an unchangeable variable that students bring with them to college and to life beyond. Political beliefs may have been changed in college, as evidenced by responses to the second question in the survey. However, they do not constitute a lever educators can pull. Choice of major and study abroad, however, are changeable and remain matters of choice for students during college. Unlike the analysis of the previous survey questions, responses did not isolate study abroad as the only significant variable. Yet, the results clearly

demonstrate that both study abroad participants and international relations majors (81% of whom have studied abroad), remain the two most likely groups to claim they are global citizens and to possess a solid understanding of the concept. Despite the overlap and duplicative nature of study abroad students and international relations majors, it might be useful to pull study abroad away from major just slightly, only as it would not be possible for all students to major in international relations. It might well be possible, however, for all (or at least most) students to have an international experience.

To summarize this section and the conclusions of this study, study abroad emerges as the variable with the most potential to serve as a defining (or transformational) experience, to cause a change in one's political or social views, to encourage an expansion of one's sense of loyalty and commitment to others, and (along with choice of major) to build a strong sense of global citizenship. As such, we can extrapolate from the data two separate paths across the survey questions, namely students who have and have not studied abroad. The table below offers this generalized distinction, arguably the clearest and most compelling of any of the distinctions that could be generated from the survey.

Chart 8.3: Study abroad vs. non-study abroad students and cosmopolitanism



Defining experience

In keeping with the conclusions from the pre-test focus groups, study abroad participants provide contrasting perspectives to students that did not study abroad. When asked which college experience impacted them the most, non-study abroad students were most likely to list coursework and student leadership opportunities. Well over the majority (71%) of their responses reflect an inward-looking perspective. This sub-group of students was three times more likely than their classmates who studied abroad to claim that their political and social views had either not changed or shifted to the right during college.

On the other hand, study abroad students overwhelmingly (70%) reference their overseas experiences as having provided the largest impact. They prove to be more than twice as likely to reflect outwardly and close to six times more likely to discuss both inward and outward-looking perspectives than their classmates who did not study abroad. Regarding political and social views, study abroad participants are more than twice as likely to reference a shift to the left and 30% more likely to claim to have become more open, tolerant, or broad.

Loyalty/allegiance

Students who had not studied abroad were more likely to state their allegiance to self or family and more than twice as likely as study abroad participants to state an allegiance to country or nation. Conversely, students who have spent time overseas are more than twice as likely to feel an allegiance to the world/humanity.

Globalization

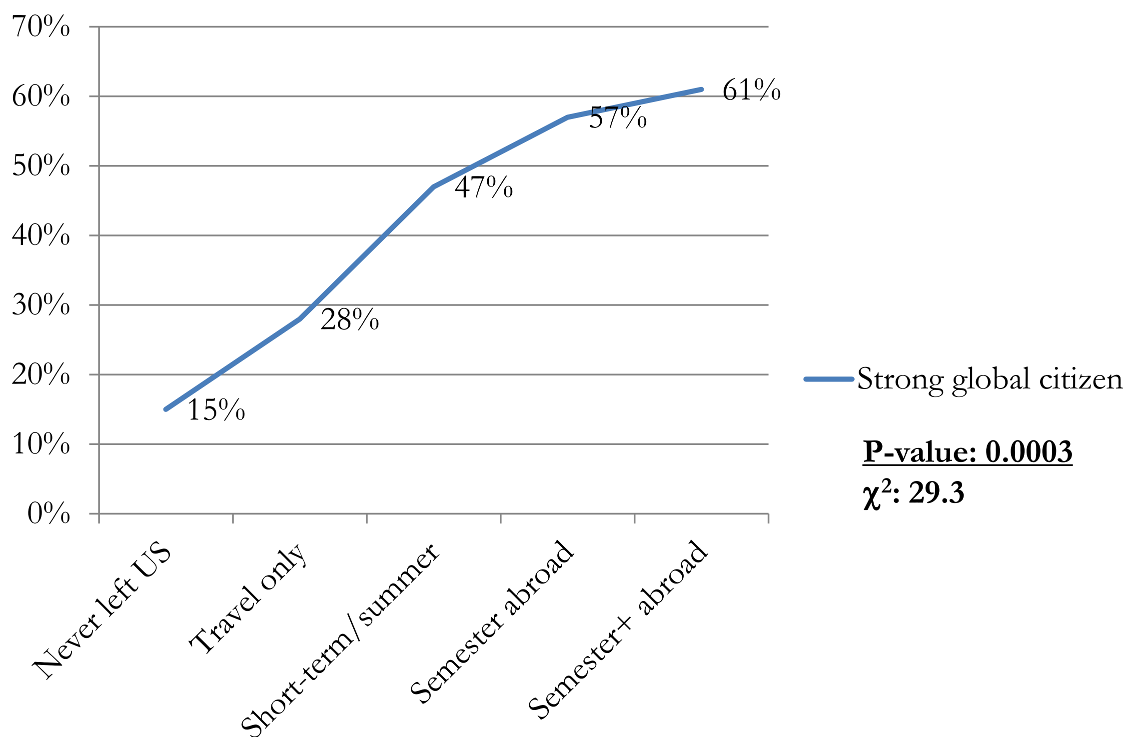
On this question, no discernible difference can be stated between the two groups regarding their feelings toward globalization. There is no statistical significance that can be extracted from the data. This phenomenon leads one to believe that students are increasingly taking globalization as a fact of life, yet separate it entirely from their feelings on group loyalty or their reaction to the concept of global citizenship.

Level of cosmopolitanism

In presenting their views on global citizenship, respondents that had not studied abroad are three times more likely to refute the notion altogether. An almost mirror image of this dynamic emerges among those surveyed that had studied abroad. This sub-group is almost three times more likely to be "strong" global citizens, meaning their responses offer a solid understanding of the concept. To further support this distinction and make an even stronger case, we can add immigration back into the mix. First-generation Americans and study abroad participants account for all but five of the respondents that fall into the highest level of global citizenship. In other words, those two variables offer possible explanations for 90% of this subgroup. Study abroad alone can be matched to 85% of strong global citizens. One can conclude that there appears to be a relationship between level of cosmopolitanism (or global citizenship) and overseas experience, whether acquired through family experience or by choice in college.

We can take this analysis one step further and look at the impact of duration of time overseas and its potential impact on level of global citizenship. The chart below illustrates this dynamic.

Chart 8.4: Impact of duration of study abroad on global citizenship

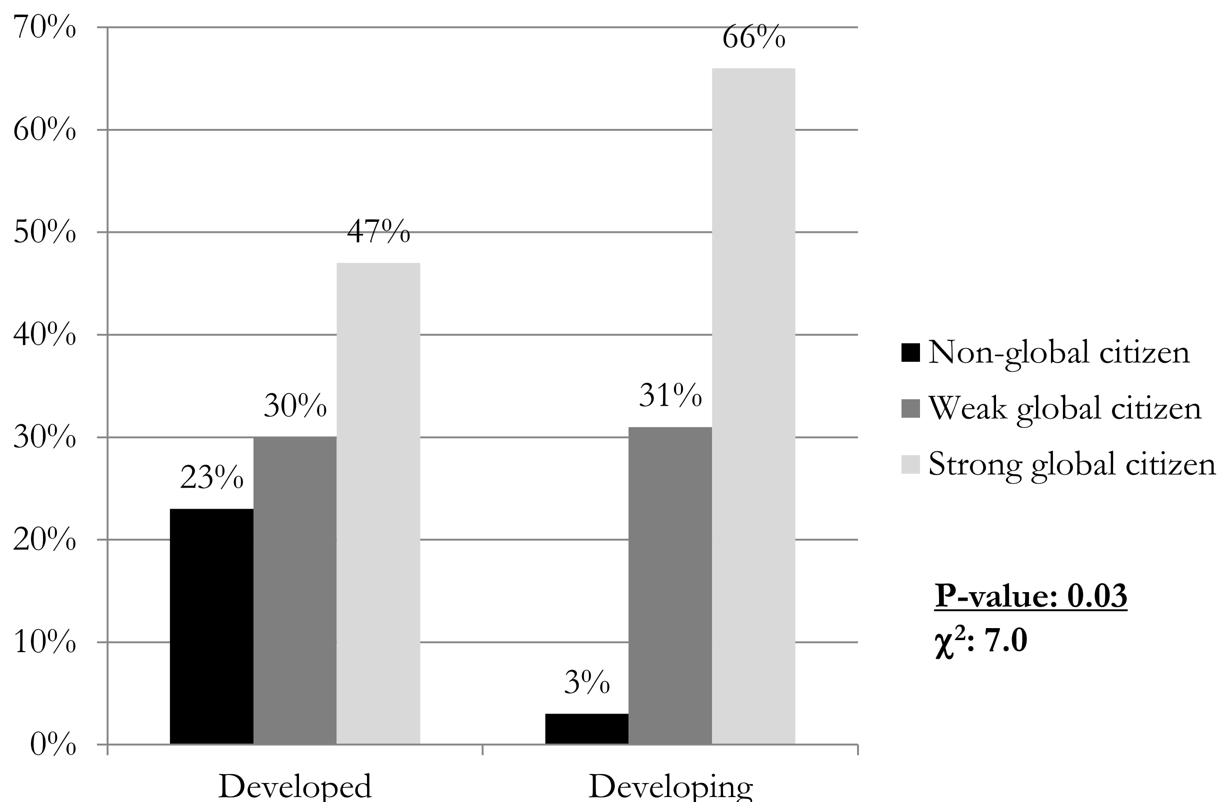


P-value: 0.0003
χ^2: 29.3

As can be seen above, length of time spent abroad appears to impact the level of global citizenship in a direct line, with only 15% of those who never left the US as strong global citizens vs. 61% of those who spent over a semester abroad as students. Each additional amount of time overseas increases the percentage of students who fit into this category.

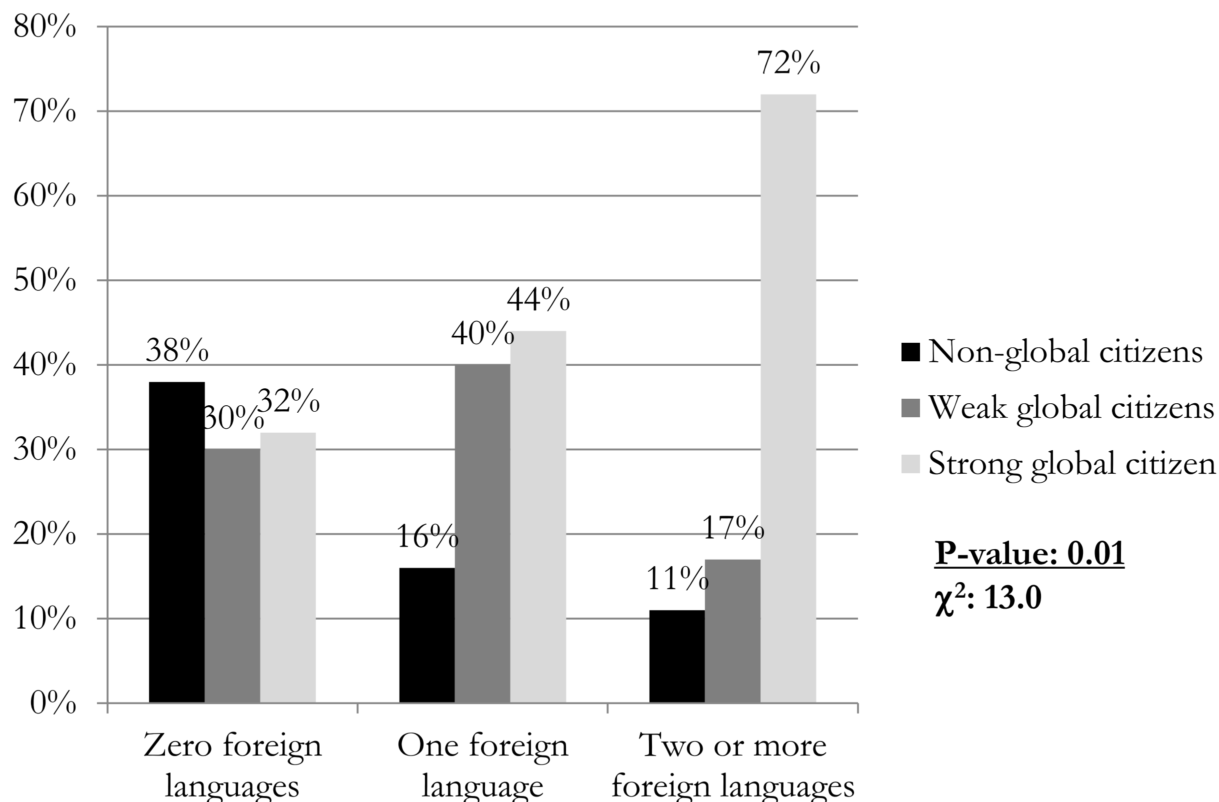
A student's choice of where to study abroad also forms a possible dependent relationship with level of cosmopolitanism or global citizenship. As can be seen below, students who study abroad in developing countries are far less likely to claim not to be global citizens than students who studied in developed countries. Additionally, students with experience in the developing world are more likely to be strong global citizens.

Chart 8.5: Impact of host country development on global citizenship



To back up these results from a different angle, we can also look at the number of foreign languages students claim to speak. Students able to speak one foreign language are more likely to identify with global citizenship than students who do not. Students able to speak two or more foreign languages are even more likely, especially to fall into the solid understanding, or strong global citizen category. This result insinuates that studying abroad in a non-English speaking country and acquiring language proficiency might well increase students' likelihood of becoming strong global citizens. The table below illustrates this significance test.

Chart 8.6: Impact of number of languages spoken on global citizenship



A similar test was performed looking at students that lived in host families against those that lived in apartments or residence halls with other Americans or with international students. Unlike students' choice of where to study abroad, no significant difference could be derived.

It should also be noted that significance tests were performed to compare non-immigrants who studied abroad with immigrants who did not study abroad. There might well be a self-selection bias among first generation Americans who study abroad, as their immigrant status might well be a motivating factor to go abroad as students. No conclusions, however, can be reached from this test, as only eight of the first generation

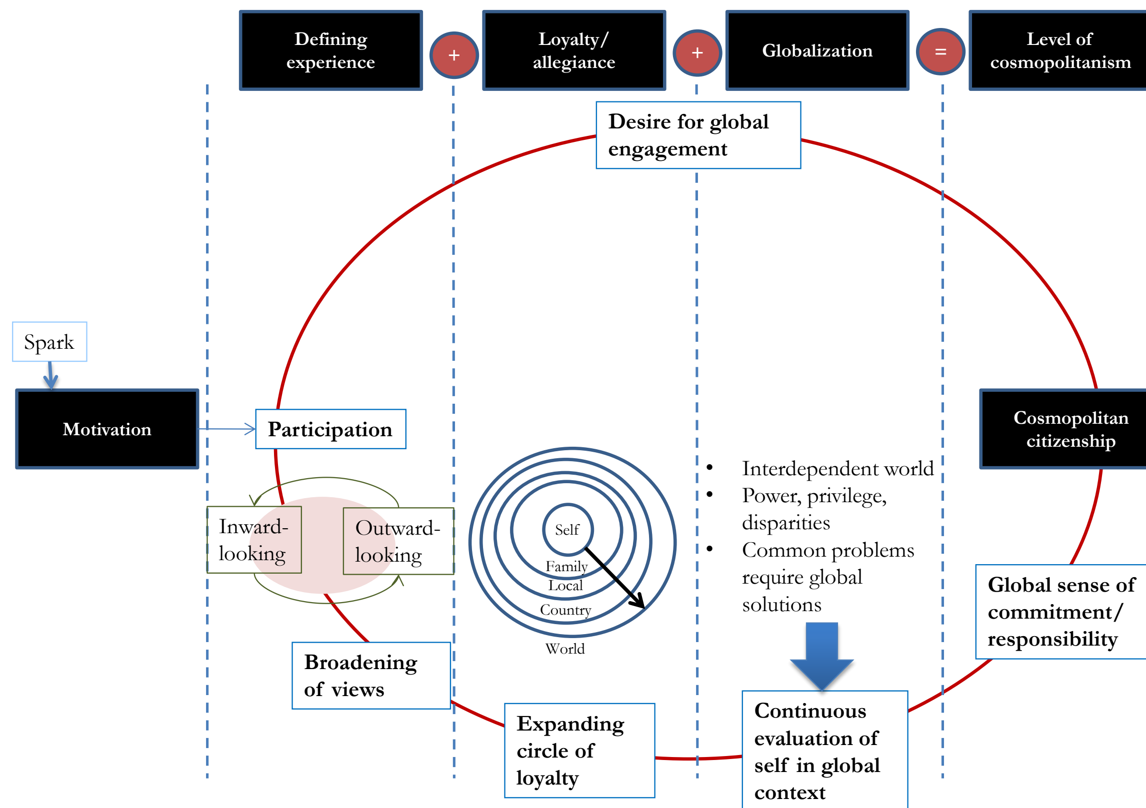
students in the survey did not study abroad. The numbers are too small to yield a meaningful statistical result.

To summarize, of all the variables and across all the questions in this survey, study abroad remains the most consistent in its potential explanatory power (with major a close second). Students that have returned from an overseas study experience are more likely than their classmates to exhibit a cosmopolitan worldview, namely someone who has had a transformative educational experience that has caused a change in political or social views, someone who feels a loyalty to and affiliation with people outside our national borders, and someone who identifies with and comprehends the notion of global citizenship. The length of time students spend abroad and whether they study in a developed or developing country appears to further influence this dynamic.

MODEL OF COSMOPOLITAN LEARNING

With these results in mind, a model for cosmopolitan learning can be charted for our target undergraduate population. The revised model below illustrates the lessons derived from this project as they relate to cosmopolitan citizenship.

Chart 8.7: Dynamic model of cosmopolitan learning



As demonstrated above, the model combines the main framework of the cosmopolitan equation discussed in the previous section with a circle model of citizenship. Individuals entering such a learning process must begin with a spark, with a sense of motivation to engage in an overseas experience. For the moment, we will discount all other academic and off-campus experiences (including choice of major) and focus on study abroad. Looking at cosmopolitan learning as a process ignited by new experiences overseas, a thorough investigation of the motivating factors behind student decisions to go abroad becomes important. Unfortunately, this project does not achieve such an investigation, retrospectively perhaps an oversight of the research. The undergraduate focus group and survey questions do not directly ask students to discuss their motivation, and the open-

ended responses also offer little random insight. The overall purpose of the project never intended to address motivation, in large part due to the objective design of the research, which genuinely set out to discover what variables lead to cosmopolitan learning, to becoming a global citizen. Now that study abroad has been legitimately isolated as the strongest association, a further study of motivation would prove beneficial.

The conclusions drawn from the research begin with participation. As discussed in an earlier section of this chapter, participation in a study abroad experience can lead to students having a defining or transformational experience. This experience may cause them to reflect both inwardly and outwardly, namely building self-confidence, independence, maturity, and real-world skills (inward) and also allowing them to become more open-minded, culturally aware, and wide-eyed (outward). These inward and outward reflections, in turn, may subconsciously encourage students to re-imagine their political and social views of the world, which potentially leads to a broadening of perspective. Although many returning study abroad students in the focus group and in the survey directly reference a shift in views to the left, a careful read of the responses reinforces that this shift is not necessarily about becoming more politically liberal (although it can have that effect), but rather about becoming more tolerant and even more willing to seek compromise.

This broadening of perspective and increased tolerance appears to promote a renewed look at one's loyalties and allegiances. Similar to Tarrow's (2001) notion of rooted cosmopolitanism or Nussbaum's (1997) notion of multiple allegiances, individuals position their loyalties somewhere along a continuum between self and humanity at large, in a series

of concentric circles. With the self at the core of the circles, returning study abroad participants demonstrate their allegiances indeed gravitate further from the local and closer to the global. This falls into line with Etzione's (1967) notion of a loyalty transfer, or perhaps more appropriately, an expansion of one's in-group, as illustrated by Druckman's (1994) scaled model. Many of these students are "assuming the group's norms and values" and are even "motivated toward becoming a member," rising to the top of Druckman's reference group ladder. These students do not appear to be discarding old loyalties, but they are indeed expanding into new ones.

This expansion of loyalty occurs within the context of globalization. Although the research cannot explain any generalizable differences within the population in terms of its feelings toward globalization, students' general sense of the inevitability of globalization and their thoughtful reactions to its impact lead one to believe that they are deeply aware of the globally interdependent world in which they live. Clearly, this particular group of students understands the fragile nature of the global system and appreciates the sense that the monumental issues we face all have a global dimension.

As an example of how study abroad participants, in particular, react to globalization, we can turn to a personal and somewhat controversial critique of US study abroad programs. She boarded the plane for her study abroad program to India, Nepal, and Tibet with eager anticipation, embarking on a journey to become a newly minted "global citizen" by the end of the semester. Reflecting on her experience upon return to the United States, Talya Zemach-Bersin, a 2007 graduate of Wesleyan College, claims in the *Chronicle of Higher*

Education that American students abroad, despite the rhetoric and better intentions of college faculty and administrators, have no hope of evolving into global citizens. She writes "as a first-world student, I literally purchased a third-world family for my own self-improvement as a global citizen." Contrary to the better intentions of the faculty at Wesleyan who advised her to blend in, immerse herself and "become a member of her host community," she explains that while her Tibetan host family struggled to carve out an existence, they did not treat her like a member of the family, but rather as a royal guest. "I always received five times more food than they served themselves, and I was never allowed to make my bed, step into the kitchen, or even turn on the bathroom light myself." This experience caused her to "question the relationship of global citizenship to power and privilege" (Zemach-Bersin: 2008). While she might discount her own claim to global citizenship based on her experiences as an outsider in Tibet, she certainly bore first-hand witness to some of the dynamics of globalization, namely power, privilege, and the economic disparities present in every corner of the world. Had she not experienced these dynamics personally, she never would have begun to ask herself these vital questions regarding her place in the world. In fact, this passage indicates that Zemach-Bersin indeed had a transformational experience, one that caused her to reflect both inwardly and outwardly and one that changed her views. Or as Rivzi might say, she was able to understand Tibetans both in *their* terms and in *hers*. She also directly engaged with the impact of globalization, and as a result, likely continuously evaluates herself in a global context, all based on her up-front encounter with the other. Again using Druckman's (1994) scaled model, surely her feelings toward Tibetans place her squarely somewhere above the dotted line, meaning she not only developed positive feelings

toward the group, but also began to incorporate Tibetans as part of her reference or in-group. She might even now find that she has more in common with someone living around the world in Tibet than with a random stranger that lives on the other side of her own American town.

Zemach-Bersin raises a pivotal point and brings the whole discussion of cosmopolitanism around full circle. She questions her own role in the world and appears to be peeling away the layers of rhetoric from the passport that study abroad promised her, entitling her to some pie-in-the-sky citizenship of the world. She may legitimately feel gipped after her experience, the passport never having arrived in her post-abroad mailbox. However, had she not had the experience in Tibet, she would never have been able to write such an article, and she likely would never have questioned the power and privilege that she feels guard the gates of true cultural understanding, of realizing her potential for global citizenship. Through this example, Zemach-Bersin embodies Tarrow's (2001) rooted cosmopolitanism. She may be right that *cognitive* cosmopolitanism, in its Kantian universal glory, is not possible and should never be promised to students studying abroad. However, her new *relational* links with her Tibetan hosts, friends, teachers, and mentors *root* her in a different part of the world, with a new identity and worldview, all the product of social relations.

Indeed to connect Zemach-Bersin to the students under the microscope of this research, her time in Tibet and her reflections in this article connect her to the final phase of the learning model. Reading her piece, it becomes evident that she feels a global sense of

responsibility and commitment to others, to breaking down these barriers of power and privilege. She falls neatly into the strong global citizen category. She has earned her passport after all, despite her assertions to the contrary. Yet as the model demonstrates, the learning process is not over. When students return, the feedback loop takes her back around the circle. That initial spark that caused her to eventually enroll in the study abroad program, which engendered such deep reflection, remains just the beginning of a life-long journey, just as with the students surveyed for this research, that will color her personal and professional choices and encourage further global engagement. It is precisely this notion of critical thinking and continuous development of personal identity that lies at the heart of higher education, especially as they relate to becoming good citizens in today's globalizing world.

PROJECT LIMITATIONS

The analysis, results, and conclusions in this project offer a nuanced understanding of the various worldviews of upperclassmen enrolled in programs at Syracuse University's Maxwell School. Although the explanatory power of this project might end with this quite narrow group of students, this particular population is likely representative of similar student bodies attending large, private universities and studying in the social sciences. The students in the pre-test focus group and survey all represent just three closely related majors within one school at one university. As such, and for the scale of this research, the rationale for selecting political science, policy studies, and international relations majors retrospectively continues to make sense. Students across these three majors focus their studies around the

social sciences and all receive specialized coursework in the study of citizenship. From that perspective, they share a similar base of knowledge and have spent time in the classroom contemplating modern notions of citizenship. Despite that commonality, and indeed this control for the research, both focus group respondents and survey participants provide a rich amount of diversity in their open-ended comments, sufficient variance to allow for some compelling conclusions. Yet, with hindsight, there remain some elements of the research that could have been performed differently and might have provided even further insight.

1. Additional focus groups. The results of the pre-test focus groups conducted with undergraduates enrolled in the DC Program offered a stark difference between those who had and had not studied abroad. This difference proved meaningful in moving forward with the survey. However, with only four students in one group and fourteen in the other, the participants were not evenly distributed, and this might have produced a more pronounced contrast. Also, while the fourteen students in the non-study abroad group might well have been representative, the four in the study abroad group were not. In fact, two of them were not American, a difference from the survey respondents, where international students were not included. One could also argue that the two Americans in the group do not represent the typical US undergraduate study abroad student. One of them was several years older than his classmates, having spent time in the military and living on his own in Taiwan, and the other a perhaps more adventuresome than most young woman who had traveled by herself to Burma. With these distinctions in

mind, it would have been beneficial to run several more focus groups in an attempt to even out the numbers in both groups and to find more "typical" US study abroad students. Also, it would have been useful to conduct these focus groups on campus as well, as all of the participants at the time were involved with the Washington Program, meaning they might not have been truly representative of additional elements of their target population. However, in the end, the survey bore out many of the same results of the focus groups, proving their usefulness. Also, the fourteen-person group of non-study abroad students provided a reasonable foundation to understand that sub-set of students.

2. Conduct a combined focus group. As the focus groups separated non-study abroad from study abroad participants, there was no opportunity to see how both groups might have reacted to the questions together. This combination might have yielded some interesting conclusions, either with increased disagreement and more differentiated content or with one side or the other feeling less free to speak its mind or falling into line behind the other. It might have been fruitful to conduct both separated and combined focus groups, with different groups of students.

3. Ensure more equal distribution of majors in the survey. International relations majors were disproportionately represented in the survey. 68% of respondents are international relations majors. This study would have benefitted from a more equal amount of political science and policy studies majors. In fact, given the limited amount of policy studies respondents (7 students or 6% of those surveyed), the analysis lumped them together with political science students. As such, this project

is unable to make any assertions about the potential differences in worldview between political science and policy studies majors.

4. Ensure more equal distribution regarding study abroad. Similar, though not entirely related, to international relations majors, 68% of those surveyed are returned study abroad participants. Although a healthy 32% of non-study abroad students remained, it would have been analytically useful to maintain the percentage at something closer to 50%. Likely, additional political science and policy studies majors would have improved the proportion of non-study abroad students as well.
5. Find an alternative way to measure "wealth." One demographic variable that appears impactful in various areas of this research is the measurement taken for wealth. In retrospect, this question might not have been composed in the most evident way. It asked students to define how they are financing their studies, whether via parental contributions, merit scholarships, student loans, or some combination of these three. While this might indeed provide some insight and was the most innocuous way to obtain relevant data, it might not be the best measure of a student's/family's level of wealth. Perhaps the question could have been asked in a more direct way, asking the students to identify a salary range that most closely links to their family income. Other demographic measures for the survey proved straightforward, including political views, immigration, ethnicity, and whether or not the student grew up in an urban, rural, or suburban environment.
6. Use different wording for first question on an impactful experience. Given the use of the words "defining" and "transformational" in the literature on political

socialization, the first question could have been worded differently. Instead of asking which experience in college provided the most significant impact, the question could have directly employed the word “transformational”. In other words, *do you feel you have had a transformational experience in college? If so, which particular experience impacted you in this way and why?* This phrasing might have evoked slightly different or more nuanced responses. That said, this is a minor point, as the responses to this question provide sufficiently varied and content rich data to analyze.

7. Revise or replace question on defining citizenship. Reading through the responses to this question, it becomes clear that this particular group of students possesses a fairly advanced comprehension of the term citizenship, yet they all interpret the notion differently. The wording of this question, however, seemed to evoke technical definitions from some and more personal definitions from others. Due to the way students answered the question, it was challenging to make any meaningful generalizations about the group surveyed. The question could have either been asked differently to seek a more personal reflection from students, or arguably better, the question could have been eliminated altogether in favor of a question asking students to discuss their feelings about patriotism or nationalism. This type of question might have generated even further data that would have led to the following question on citizen responsibility.
8. Revise the question on globalization. The question on globalization could also have potentially have been worded differently. Although students’ responses provide an

interesting patchwork of sentiments, this was another area where no distinct conclusions can be drawn. Hypothesizing about potential responses to this question, one could imagine that international relations majors or students that studied abroad would provide a more upbeat assessment on globalization. This hypothesis proves not to be the case, with most of the students, regardless of major or prior participation in overseas education programs, providing positive statements. Additionally, some of the more negative comments demonstrated that students were thinking critically about the phenomenon, not entirely disparaging it, but describing both potential benefits and detriments. As such, in an attempt to turn the data into something more generalizable, a second round of coding was conducted to analyze whether or not the student offers an inward or an outward-looking response toward globalization. This exercise proved fruitless, in part due to the wording of the question, which specifically asks respondents to describe how they feel globalization will affect *them*. Although many provided more outward-looking responses, the wording of the question precludes this type of meaningful second look. With this background in mind, had this question been asked differently, it might have evoked a higher level of variance across the demographic and academic/experiential variables. However, the fact that we cannot generalize the results of this question lead one to wonder whether students have indeed accepted globalization as the pervasive landscape of our contemporary reality, the empirical *facts* on the ground. If the case, then the remainder of the survey, more normatively addressing our *values* in a globalized world, becomes even more telling.

DIRECTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

Given the elements of the project discussed above that could have been done differently and might have evoked more generalizable results in a couple of areas of the research, it also makes sense to consider the impact of the project more broadly. To keep the project reasonable and doable, the scope remained inherently limited, involving students from just one age group and within one college at one university. One criticism that could easily be leveled at this research is that it is just not broad enough to be able to further generalize. Indeed, the focus group participants and the students surveyed are all attending a large, private university. They are all studying in the social sciences, and many of them come from well-to-do suburban families on the East Coast. From that perspective, not only is this project narrow in a larger, national sense, but it is also narrow within the population of the university. There are numerous ways to continue this type of research, adding both to the scope and the scale of this study.

1. Variability across schools, colleges, and majors. One way to seek additional data, while staying within the confines of Syracuse University would be to run focus groups and conduct a survey of different types of students. Students in the humanities, natural sciences, professional and technical fields at the University might offer different insight and express different worldviews than their classmates at the Maxwell School. Other students at the University are not required to enroll in a citizenship course and likely spend much less time and

energy thinking about these issues. Looking at these possible distinctions would be telling and might also serve to inform administrators at the Maxwell School of the student learning outcomes in the citizenship courses, looking at the differences between Maxwell and non-Maxwell majors. More importantly, this broader study would allow a more inclusive exploration of variability across majors regarding study abroad. Does study abroad impact, for instance, a biology student's worldview differently than a political science student? Or is the effect largely the same? To what degree do learning outcomes in on-campus curricula need to line up with what students are doing off-campus?

2. Variability across type of institution and geography. Another way to improve on this research would be to extend it to other types of institutions of higher learning. Would the results be different at a state university, a liberal arts college, a technical university, or a community college? It would be interesting to conduct the same survey at an institution representing each of these categories. As the variable for level of wealth became potentially significant in various parts of this research, for example, students at a state university (presumably less wealthy) might provide different worldviews than students at a selective liberal arts college or at a large private university. Along these same lines, some variability in the geographic location of the institution would also be interesting. All other variables being equal, are students in the Northeast more likely to exhibit cosmopolitan qualities than students in the Midwest? Are students at urban

universities more cosmopolitan than students at suburban or rural universities? To what degree do regional political differences factor into the analysis?

3. Longitudinal study. In addition to all the areas mentioned above, a longitudinal study of students at the University (or even better at various universities) would arguably be the most effective way to determine how and in what ways various extra-curricular or academic experiences in college help to shape one's worldview. Ideally, it would be most revealing to survey students entering college and then again when they leave. What were their political and social views as entering first-year students? How (if at all) do these views change during college? What defining experiences bring about such change? How do students conceive of citizenship and their responsibility as citizens before and after college? Do their loyalties change? Does their circle expand? How do they view globalization? Does their identification with and understanding of global citizenship change during their four years in college? Does study abroad still emerge as the most significant variable? Additionally, such a project could be carried forward to five years after they graduate. What kind of careers do they engage in? What kind of personal life do they lead? How have their views on citizenship changed? Although it is too late for the students surveyed in the project to go backwards in time, it is conceivable that the latter, future-oriented survey could be conducted with the same students. IES Abroad completed an extensive 50-year longitudinal study on the impact of study abroad, but one of the main flaws with the research

is the lack of a control group. There is no way to compare the findings against former students that did not study abroad.

4. Further testing of contact theory. Returning to Zemach-Bersin for a moment, one could also raise the question of whether or not she was thrown into the deep end without having had sufficient contact with the global before venturing to Tibet. As contact theory posits, the most successful experiences with the other involve contact between people representing groups of similar status. Assuming that Tibet was her first experience abroad as a student, she may not have been adequately prepared for what awaited her, not knowing how to handle the light being turned on for her in the bathroom by her guests, or the greater quantity of food that she was offered. The dilemma of how to design the optimal learning environment for study abroad participants appears intricately linked to this question. Do we throw students into the deep end and force them to swim, or do we methodically provide them with the tools they need to be successful before (and after) they go. Had Zemach-Bersin first completed an experience in a more equal-status culture, say in Western Europe, would her time in Tibet have eventually been less shocking? Contact theory might have us believe so. It would be interesting to test the impact of multiple (and the type of) sojourns abroad on the notion of cosmopolitanism and the development of multiple loyalties.
5. Motivation. As the model in an earlier section of this chapter depicts, this research is not able to address anything related to a student's motivation to engage in study abroad or any other academic experience. Unfortunately, none of the

open-ended questions address this key issue. Why do students decide to engage in an experience that they might later deem as defining or transformational? Why do some students decide against engagement? If, for instance, colleges and universities wish to encourage overseas study, what factors can influence students' behavior? In many ways, these questions can be directly linked to the previous argument for a longitudinal study. Questions regarding motivation can be asked before and after college to determine if students remained motivated, if they acted on their motivation, and if not, why they chose not to participate. An investigation of these questions would be directly relevant to a discussion of effective policies and approaches a university can take to encourage students to follow-through on their intentions. In a January 2008 study conducted by the College Board and the American Council on Education of college-bound students interests in pursuing study abroad, 55% responded that they were "absolutely certain or fairly certain" that they would study abroad in college.[33] A further 26% suggest that they want to, but do not think it will be possible, meaning a total of 81% of students entering college desire an overseas educational experience. If we reconcile this report with the most recent IIE Open Doors publication, we see that only roughly 2% of American college students actually complete a study abroad experience at any one time. If these data are to be believed, this presents a huge gap between original motivation before and student choices during college.

[33] http://www.acenet.edu/

6. Policy implications. This project focuses largely on the combination of relevant scholarship with both qualitative and quantitative data derived from survey research. While fulfilling an academic purpose, this study also hopes to add to the ongoing conversation around the further development of experiential and international education policy at institutions of higher learning, at Syracuse University in particular, and at the national level.
   a. At institutions of higher learning. While careful not to declare causality, several relationships between variables in this study point to factors that might benefit from further research and attention to policy at the institutional level. For instance, length of time abroad proves significant when tested with global citizenship, as does the number of languages spoken and location of study abroad (whether a developed or developing host country). These associations might encourage colleges and universities to veer away from the trend of sending more students abroad for abbreviated periods of time (short-term programs) to sending students for extended, more immersive sojourns (at least a semester), to environments where English is not the native language, and to developing countries removed from the Transatlantic, Western bubble.
   b. At Syracuse University. The results of this survey yield differences worthy of further investigation between international relations and political science majors. The international relations major at SU mandates an abroad (or off-campus) experience, while the political science major does not. This

difference may well help explain some of the variation in student responses between the two groups. Given the significance of service learning and experiential education, in the form of the Washington Program, across several of the survey questions, the political science department might consider adding such a requirement towards completion of the major. Public affairs majors are already required to complete a certain number of service hours. Additionally, in reading through the responses in previous chapters, student attitudes on citizenship and citizen responsibility, many of them quite eloquent, provide a window into the quality of their education to date. The commonality among all the subjects remains the citizenship coursework they took at the Maxwell School. Other schools and colleges at the University might consider adding some type of citizenship requirement to their curricula. Scientists, engineers, mathematicians, architects, and those involved in almost any other profession will likely find themselves engaged globally at some point in their careers. Other academic units at the University might deliberate identifying meaningful ways for students in majors outside the humanities and social sciences to reflect on the notion of citizenship and citizen responsibility as well as to participate in an international study experience. These types of opportunities should go hand-in-hand with regular curricula across the majors.

c. At the national level. Although this project did not address such matters directly, further research might delve into US policy on international education. For example, to what degree is the US investing enough resources into the Fulbright Program, or the Critical Language Scholarships, or Boren-style opportunities for US citizens? To what degree are we encouraging reciprocal programs for foreign nationals? If international experience, via direct and prolonged contact with other cultures and foreign nationals, offers the possibility to expand our in-groups and stimulates the development of a cosmopolitan worldview, the US government might consider increased funding of such programs to be a matter of competitive imperative. As the impressionable years hypothesis for the Millennial Generation may ring true well beyond the college years, institutions of higher learning and the US government should work cooperatively to invest in opportunities for young adults, both during and after college, to promote the international awareness and global perspective needed across professions and for effective citizenship in an interconnected world.

CONCLUSIONS

After arriving at the small hotel several blocks from the Blue Mosque, I could tell that I had definitely not been in a flight simulator. Across the street, older men were relaxing while

sharing a Turkish pipe, merchants were hustling Turkish kitsch, and several groups of Turkish women strolled by, some donning a hijab and more traditional attire and others tight-fitting Western clothing and designer accessories. With the trappings of global homogenization left behind on the superhighway, and now smack in the middle of this ancient city, it suddenly became clear that I had arrived in a place filled with the crosswinds of various cultural influences that together weave the fabric of a city forged at the intersection of two continents and proudly thriving somewhere between tradition and modernity.

The economic and technological forces of globalization have undoubtedly created a smaller, flatter planet. Yet, as this example of Istanbul attempts to illustrate, vast differences remain and should be celebrated with genuine openness and curiosity. While cosmopolitanism strives for a universal morality, it extols the diversity and plurality that stitch together the world's cultural landscape. Indeed, "what if there has been nothing but mélange all the way down? What if cultures have always been implicated with one another, through trade, war, curiosity, and other forms of inter-communal relation? What if the mingling of cultures is as immemorial as cultural roots themselves? What if purity and homogeneity have always been myths?" (Waldron 1996: 107). There is perhaps no better example than Istanbul of the inter-mingling of cultures, yet in no way does cosmopolitanism take anything away from national or ethnic differences. In fact, it seems strange to imagine a Kantian universal morality without acknowledging difference. "It would be impossible to recognize the common nature of humanity in the absence of any identifiable differences; the

'same' cannot be recognized without the 'other', the 'one' without the 'many'" (Palmer 2003: 10).

The study abroad students investigated in this project reach these very conclusions along their path toward becoming cosmopolitan citizens. While some critique moral universalism as utopian and inadequate to true comprehension of the complexity of today's global society, its principal tenets emerge as perhaps even more important today than ever before. Learning to become cosmopolitan, or to challenge parochialism, can best be understood as an in-depth conversation with others and with oneself, building relationships toward connectedness, rooting ourselves in multiple places built on the extension of our social relationships. Cosmopolitanism looks critically at the world that globalization has ushered in and seeks to reshape it in a better moral direction. It upholds a firm belief in progress and the power of human agency. It emphasizes the power of learning. "It suggests that learning about others requires learning about *ourselves*. It implies a dialectical mode of thinking, which conceives cultural differences as … deeply interconnected and relationally defined. It underscores the importance of understanding others both in *their* terms as well as *ours*, as a way of comprehending how both our representations are socially constructed" (Rivzi 2009: 266). This research isolates study abroad as the path to provide a transformational experience that yields a steadily increasing global sense of responsibility, an extension of one's in-group, and a commitment to continuous engagement with the world.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A:

Independence tests – defining citizenship

Key: Code 1=group identity; Code 2=active participation; Code 3=global citizenship/common humanity

	Observed values				Expected values				
	Code 1	Code 2	Code 3		Code 1	Code 2	Code 3		
Gender									
Female	26	27	12	65	23	32	10	P-value	0.21
Male	14	28	6	48	17	23	8		
	40	55	18	113				**Not significant**	
Ethnicity									
Non-white	19	21	6	46	16	22	7	P-value	0.54
White	21	33	12	66	24	32	11		
	40	54	18	112				**Not significant**	
Immigration									
No	32	37	10	79	28	38	13	P-value	0.14
Yes	8	18	8	34	12	17	5		
	40	55	18	113				**Not significant**	
Major									
International relations	28	32	16	76	27	37	12	P-value	0.05
Political science/public affairs	12	23	2	37	13	18	6		
	40	55	18	113				**Significant** χ^2	6
Study abroad									
No	13	19	5	37	13	18	6	P-value	0.87
Yes	27	36	13	76	27	37	12		
	40	55	18	113				**Not significant**	
Participation in DC									
No	32	36	9	77	27	37	12	P-value	0.06
Yes	8	19	9	36	13	18	6		
	40	55	18	113				**Significant** χ^2	5.5
Service learning									
No	13	21	6	40	14	20	6	P-value	0.85
Yes	27	34	11	72	26	35	11		
	40	55	17	112				**Not significant**	
Level of wealth									
Most wealthy	18	15	6	39	14	19	6	P-value	0.17
Moderately wealthy	9	26	7	42	15	20	7		
Least wealthy	11	12	5	28	10	14	5		
	38	53	18	109				**Not significant**	
Political beliefs									
Conservative	8	13	1	22	8	11	3	P-value	0.19
Liberal	20	35	13	68	24	33	11		
Moderate/undecided	12	8	4	24	8	12	4		
	40	56	18	114				**Not significant**	

APPENDIX B:

Independence tests – Citizen responsibility and group allegiance[34]

Key: Code 1=allegiance to self, family, friends; Code 2=allegiance to local community; Code 3=allegiance to country/nation; Code 4=allegiance to world community

	Observed values					Expected values						
	Code 1	Code 2	Code 3	Code 4		Code 1	Code 2	Code 3	Code 4			
Gender												
Female	13	9	16	27	65	15	9	19	22	P-value		0.21
Male	13	7	17	11	48	11	7	14	16			
	26	16	33	38	113					**Not significant**		
Ethnicity												
Non-white	8	7	12	18	45	10	6	13	15	P-value		0.50
White	18	9	21	19	67	16	10	20	22			
	26	16	33	37	112					**Not significant**		
Immigration												
No	21	11	22	24	78	18	11	23	26	P-value		0.50
Yes	5	5	11	14	35	8	5	10	12			
	26	16	33	38	113					**Not significant**		
Major												
International relations	13	10	20	33	76	17	11	22	26	P-value		0.01
Political science/public affairs	13	6	13	5	37	9	5	11	12			
	26	16	33	38	113					**Significant**	χ^2	11.0
Without study abroad students												
International relations	2	0	7	5	14	4	1	6	3	P-value		0.06
Political science/public affairs	8	4	10	2	24	6	3	11	4	Fisher		0.08
	10	4	17	7	38					**Significant**	χ^2	7.3
Without service learning students												
International relations	5	2	12	9	28	6	2	13	7	P-value		0.38
Political science/public affairs	4	1	7	1	13	3	1	6	3	Fisher		0.34
	9	3	19	10	41					**Not significant**		
Study abroad												
No	10	4	17	7	38	9	5	11	13	P-value		**0.02**
Yes	16	12	16	31	75	17	11	22	25			
	26	16	33	38	113					**Significant**	χ^2	9.5
Without service learning students												
No	4	1	10	4	19	4	1	9	5	P-value		0.82
Yes	5	2	9	7	23	5	2	10	6	Fisher		0.72
	9	3	19	11	42					**Not significant**		
Without international relations students												
No	8	4	10	2	24	8	4	8	3	P-value		0.52
Yes	5	2	3	3	13	5	2	5	2	Fisher		0.55
	13	6	13	5	37					**Not significant**		
Participation in DC Program												
No	18	11	25	23	77	18	11	22	26	P-value		0.59
Yes	8	5	8	15	36	8	5	11	12			
	26	16	33	38	113					**Not significant**		

[34] The Freeman-Halton extension of the Fisher exact probability test was used in instances when expected values were too small to use chi square test. These instances are marked "Fisher" in the table.

	Observed values					Expected values						
	Code 1	Code 2	Code 3	Code 4		Code 1	Code 2	Code 3	Code 4			
Service Learning												
No	9	3	19	10	41	10	6	12	14	P-value		0.02
Yes	17	13	14	27	71	16	10	21	23			
	26	16	33	37	112					**Significant**	χ^2	10.0
Without study abroad students												
No	4	1	10	3	18	5	2	8	3	P-value		0.59
Yes	6	3	7	3	19	5	2	9	3	Fisher		0.63
	10	4	17	6	37					**Not significant**		
Without international relations students												
No	9	5	6	4	24	8	4	8	3	P-value		0.32
Yes	4	1	7	1	13	5	2	5	2	Fisher		0.42
	13	6	13	5	37					**Not significant**		
Level of wealth												
Most wealthy	8	8	11	11	38	8	4	12	14	P-value		0.08
Moderately wealthy	24	10	22	30	86	18	10	26	32			
Least wealthy	12	6	30	36	84	18	10	25	31			
	44	24	63	77	208					**Significant**	χ^2	11.1
Without study abroad students												
Most wealthy	4	4	6	2	16	4	2	7	3	P-value		0.18
Moderately wealthy	5	0	5	2	12	3	1	5	2			
Least wealthy	1	0	5	3	9	2	1	4	2			
	10	4	16	7	37					**Not significant**		
Without international relations students												
Most wealthy	4	4	6	2	16	5	3	5	2	P-value		0.74
Moderately wealthy	7	1	4	2	14	5	2	5	2			
Least wealthy	1	1	2	1	5	2	1	2	1			
	12	6	12	5	35					**Not significant**		
Political beliefs												
Conservative	9	3	8	1	21	5	3	6	7	P-value		0.06
Liberal	13	9	18	29	69	16	10	20	23			
Moderate/undecided	4	4	7	8	23	5	3	7	8			
	26	16	33	38	113					**Significant**	χ^2	12.1
Without study abroad students												
Conservative	6	1	6	0	13	3	1	6	2	P-value		0.20
Liberal	2	1	6	5	14	4	1	6	3			
Moderate/undecided	2	2	5	2	11	3	1	5	2			
	10	4	17	7	38					**Not significant**		
Without international relations students												
Conservative	6	1	4	1	12	4	2	4	2	P-value		0.34
Liberal	5	2	5	4	16	6	3	6	2			
Moderate/undecided	2	3	4	0	9	3	1	3	1			
	13	6	13	5	37					**Not significant**		

APPENDIX C:

Independence tests with control groups – global citizenship[35]

Variables: gender, immigration, major, study abroad, participation in the DC Program, level of wealth, political beliefs

Key: Non=Not global citizen; Weak=weak global citizen; Strong=strong global citizen

[35] The Freeman-Halton extension of the Fisher exact probability test was used in instances when expected values were too small to use chi square test. These instances are marked "Fisher" in the table.

Gender										
	Observed values				Expected values					
	Non	Weak	Strong		Non	Weak	Strong			
Female	10	25	33	68	15	23	30	P-value		0.07
Male	16	14	19	49	11	16	22			
	26	39	52	117				**Significant**	χ^2	5.3
Without immigrants										
Female	7	19	20	46	13	16	16	P-value		0.01
Male	16	10	9	35	10	13	13			
	23	29	29	81				**Significant**	χ^2	9.2
Without study abroad students										
Female	3	6	3	12	5	5	3	P-value		0.5
Male	12	9	5	26	10	10	5	Fisher		0.6
	15	15	8	38				**Not significant**		
Without DC students										
Female	8	18	19	45	12	17	16	P-value		0.1
Male	13	12	10	35	9	13	13			
	21	30	29	80				**Significant**	χ^2	4.0
Without international relations students										
Female	5	5	4	14	6	4	4	P-value		0.7
Male	12	6	6	24	11	7	6	Fisher		0.7
	17	11	10	38				**Not significant**		
Without most wealthy										
Female	5	12	26	43	8	11	24	P-value		0.3
Male	8	7	15	30	5	8	17			
	13	19	41	73				**Not significant**		
Without least wealthy										
Female	6	18	21	45	11	16	18	P-value		0.04
Male	14	11	12	37	9	13	15			
	20	29	33	82				**Significant**	χ^2	6.6
Without moderately or least wealthy										
Female	3	12	7	22	6	10	6	P-value		0.2
Male	7	7	4	18	5	9	5	Fisher		0.2
	10	19	11	40				**Not significant**		
Without conservatives										
Female	4	22	32	58	9	20	30	P-value		0.02
Male	10	10	17	37	5	12	19			
	14	32	49	95				**Significant**	χ^2	7.4
Without liberals										
Female	7	6	7	20	7	7	6	P-value		0.7
Male	11	11	7	29	11	10	8			
	18	17	14	49				**Not significant**		
Without liberals or moderates										
Female	6	3	1	10	5	3	1	P-value		0.9
Male	6	4	2	12	7	4	2	Fisher		1.0
	12	7	3	22				**Not significant**		

Immigration	Observed values				Expected values					
	Non	Weak	Strong		Non	Weak	Strong			
No	23	29	29	81	17	26	38	P-value		0.001
Yes	3	10	29	42	9	13	20			
	26	39	58	123				Significant	χ^2	13.6
Without women										
No	16	10	9	35	11	10	14	P-value		0.003
Yes	0	4	10	14	5	4	5	Fisher		0.001
	16	14	19	49				Significant	χ^2	11.8
Without study abroad students										
No	15	10	5	30	12	12	6	P-value		0.04
Yes	0	5	3	8	3	3	2	Fisher		0.03
	15	15	8	38				Significant	χ^2	6.7
Without DC students										
No	18	24	14	56	15	21	20	P-value		0.005
Yes	3	6	15	24	6	9	9			
	21	30	29	80				Significant	χ^2	10.4
Without international relations students										
No	17	8	7	32	14	9	8	P-value		0.06
Yes	0	3	3	6	3	2	2	Fisher		0.03
	17	11	10	38				Significant	χ^2	6.0
Without most wealthy										
No	12	12	19	43	8	11	24	P-value		0.01
Yes	1	7	22	30	5	8	17			
	13	19	41	73				Significant	χ^2	8.8
Without least wealthy										
No	18	21	20	59	14	21	24	P-value		0.05
Yes	2	8	14	24	6	8	10			
	20	29	34	83				Significant	χ^2	6.0
Without moderately or least wealthy										
No	9	16	10	35	9	17	10	P-value		0.8
Yes	1	3	1	5	1	2	1	Fisher		1.0
	10	19	11	40				Not significant		
Without conservatives										
No	12	23	27	62	9	21	32	P-value		0.07
Yes	2	9	22	33	5	11	17			
	14	32	49	95				Significant	χ^2	5.4
Without liberals										
No	7	18	23	48	6	17	26	P-value		0.3
Yes	1	6	14	21	2	7	11			
	8	24	37	69				Not significant		
Without liberals or moderates										
No	11	6	2	19	10	6	3	P-value		0.5
Yes	1	1	1	3	2	1	0	Fisher		0.7
	12	7	3	22				Not significant		

Major	Observed values				Expected values				
	Non	Weak	Strong		Non	Weak	Strong		
International relations	9	28	42	79	18	26	35	P-value	0.0003
Political science/public affairs	17	11	10	38	8	13	17		
	26	39	52	117				Significant χ^2	17.3
Without women									
International relations	4	8	13	25	8	8	10	P-value	0.05
Political science/public affairs	11	7	6	24	7	7	9		
	15	15	19	49				Significant χ^2	5.9
Without study abroad students									
International relations	2	7	5	14	6	6	3	P-value	0.04
Political science/public affairs	13	8	3	24	9	9	5		
	15	15	8	38				Significant χ^2	6.4
Without DC students									
International relations	7	21	24	52	14	20	19	P-value	0.001
Political science/public affairs	14	9	5	28	7	11	10		
	21	30	29	80				Significant χ^2	13.6
Without immigrants									
International relations	6	21	22	49	14	18	18	P-value	0.0003
Political science/public affairs	17	8	7	32	9	11	11		
	23	29	29	81				Significant χ^2	16.0
Without most wealthy									
International relations	5	14	35	54	10	14	30	P-value	0.004
Political science/public affairs	8	5	6	19	3	5	11		
	13	19	41	73				Significant χ^2	11.3
Without least wealthy									
International relations	6	21	25	52	13	18	21	P-value	0.002
Political science/public affairs	14	8	9	31	7	11	13		
	20	29	34	83				Significant χ^2	12.0
Without moderately and least wealthy									
International relations	3	13	7	23	6	11	6	P-value	0.1
Political science/public affairs	7	6	4	17	4	8	5	Fisher	0.1
	10	19	11	40				Significant χ^2	4.2
Without conservatives									
International relations	5	25	40	70	10	24	36	P-value	0.002
Political science/public affairs	9	7	9	25	4	8	13		
	14	32	49	95				Significant χ^2	12.3
Without liberals									
International relations	3	21	29	53	6	18	28	P-value	0.01
Political science/public affairs	5	3	8	16	2	6	9		
	8	24	37	69				Significant χ^2	8.5
Without liberals and moderates									
International relations	4	3	2	9	5	3	1	P-value	0.6
Political science/public affairs	8	4	1	13	7	4	2	Fisher	0.7
	12	7	3	22				Not significant	

Study abroad										
	Observed values				Expected values					
	Non	Weak	Strong		Non	Weak	Strong			
No	15	15	8	38	8	13	17	P-value		0.001
Yes	11	24	44	79	18	26	35			
	26	39	52	117				Significant	χ^2	15.1
Without women										
No	4	5	14	23	8	7	9	P-value		0.01
Yes	12	9	5	26	8	7	10			
	16	14	19	49				Significant	χ^2	9.3
Without DC students										
No	12	13	4	29	8	11	11	P-value		0.004
Yes	9	17	25	51	13	19	18			
	21	30	29	80				Significant	χ^2	10.9
Without immigrants										
No	15	10	5	30	9	11	11	P-value		0.002
Yes	8	19	24	51	14	18	18			
	23	29	29	81				Significant	χ^2	12.8
Without international relations students										
No	13	8	3	24	11	7	6	P-value		0.04
Yes	4	3	7	14	6	4	4	Fisher		0.05
	17	11	10	38				Significant	χ^2	6.5
Without most wealthy										
No	9	7	5	21	4	5	12	P-value		0.0003
Yes	4	12	36	52	9	14	29			
	13	19	41	73				Significant	χ^2	16.5
Without least wealthy										
No	11	13	4	28	7	10	11	P-value		0.002
Yes	9	16	30	55	13	19	23			
	20	29	34	83				Significant	χ^2	13.0
Without moderately and least wealthy										
No	5	8	3	16	4	8	4	P-value		0.6
Yes	5	11	8	24	6	11	7	Fisher		0.5
	10	19	11	40				Not significant		
Without conservatives										
No	6	13	6	25	4	8	13	P-value		0.01
Yes	8	19	43	70	10	24	36			
	14	32	49	95				Significant	χ^2	10.4
Without liberals										
No	2	8	4	14	2	5	8	P-value		0.1
Yes	6	16	33	55	6	19	29	Fisher		0.07
	8	24	37	69				Significant	χ^2	4.7
Without liberals and moderates										
No	9	2	2	13	7	4	2	P-value		0.1
Yes	3	5	1	9	5	3	1	Fisher		0.1
	12	7	3	22				Significant	χ^2	4.0

DC Program										
	Non	Weak	Strong		Non	Weak	Strong			
No	21	30	29	80	18	27	36	P-value		0.03
Yes	5	9	23	37	8	12	16			
	26	39	52	117				**Significant**	χ^2	7
Without women										
No	13	12	10	35	11	10	14	P-value		0.07
Yes	3	2	9	14	5	4	5	Fisher		0.1
	16	14	19	49				**Significant**	χ^2	5.5
Without study abroad students										
No	12	13	4	29	11	11	6	P-value		0.1
Yes	3	2	4	9	4	4	2	Fisher		0.2
	15	15	8	38				**Not significant**		
Without immigrants										
No	18	24	14	56	16	20	20	P-value		0.01
Yes	5	5	15	25	7	9	9			
	23	29	29	81				**Significant**	χ^2	9.3
Without international relations students										
No	14	9	5	28	13	8	7	P-value		0.1
Yes	3	2	5	10	4	3	3	Fisher		0.2
	17	11	10	38				**Not significant**		
Without most wealthy										
No	10	15	23	48	9	12	27	P-value		0.1
Yes	3	4	18	25	4	7	14	Fisher		0.2
	13	19	41	73				**Not significant**		
Without least wealthy										
No	17	22	19	58	14	20	24	P-value		0.05
Yes	3	7	15	25	6	9	10			
	20	29	34	83				**Significant**	χ^2	5.8
Without moderately and least wealthy										
No	9	14	6	29	7	14	8	P-value		0.2
Yes	1	5	5	11	3	5	3	Fisher		0.2
	10	19	11	40				**Not significant**		
Without conservatives										
No	1	7	20	28	4	9	14	P-value		0.03
Yes	13	25	29	67	10	23	35			
	14	32	49	95				**Significant**	χ^2	7.3
Without liberals										
No	8	19	20	47	6	19	22	P-value		0.3
Yes	0	5	7	12	2	5	5			
	8	24	27	59				**Not significant**		
Without liberals and moderates										
No	8	5	0	13	7	4	2	P-value		0.08
Yes	4	2	3	9	5	3	1	Fisher		0.1
	12	7	3	22				**Significant**	χ^2	5.1

Wealth	Observed values				Expected values					
	Non	Weak	Strong		Non	Weak	Strong			
Most wealthy	10	19	11	40	8	13	18	P-value		0.03
Moderately wealthy	10	10	23	43	9	14	20			
Least wealthy	3	9	18	30	6	10	14			
	23	38	52	113				**Significant**	χ^2	10.7
Without women										
Most wealthy	7	7	4	18	6	5	7	P-value		0.2
Moderately wealthy	7	4	9	20	6	6	8	Fisher		0.2
Least wealthy	1	3	6	10	3	3	4			
	15	14	19	48				**Not significant**		
Without study abroad students										
Most wealthy	5	8	3	16	6	6	3	P-value		0.3
Moderately wealthy	6	5	1	12	5	5	3	Fisher		0.4
Least wealthy	3	2	4	9	3	4	2			
	14	15	8	37				**Not significant**		
Without DC students										
Most wealthy	9	14	6	29	7	11	11	P-value		0.1
Moderately wealthy	8	8	13	29	7	11	11			
Least wealthy	2	7	10	19	5	7	7			
	19	29	29	77				**Significant**	χ^2	7.5
Without immigrants										
Most wealthy	9	16	10	35	9	13	13	P-value		0.2
Moderately wealthy	9	5	10	24	6	9	9			
Least wealthy	3	7	9	19	5	7	7			
	21	28	29	78				**Not significant**		
Without international relations students										
Most wealthy	7	6	4	17	7	5	5	P-value		0.4
Moderately wealthy	7	2	5	14	6	4	4	Fisher		0.4
Least wealthy	1	3	1	5	2	2	1			
	15	11	10	36				**Not significant**		
Without conservatives										
Most wealthy	7	14	10	31	4	10	16	P-value		0.02
Moderately wealthy	6	10	22	38	5	13	20			
Least wealthy	0	7	17	24	3	8	13			
	13	31	49	93				**Significant**	χ^2	11.2
Without liberals										
Most wealthy	5	9	9	23	2	8	13	P-value		0.1
Moderately wealthy	2	8	18	28	3	10	15			
Least wealthy	0	7	10	17	2	6	9			
	7	24	37	68				**Significant**	χ^2	7.1
Without liberals and moderates										
Most wealthy	3	5	1	9	5	3	1	P-value		0.4
Moderately wealthy	4	0	1	5	3	2	1	Fisher		0.4
Least wealthy	3	2	1	6	3	2	1			
	10	7	3	20				**Not significant**		

Political views	Observed values				Expected values					
	Non	Weak	Strong		Non	Weak	Strong			
Conservative	12	7	3	22	5	7	10	P-value		0.001
Liberal	8	24	37	69	15	23	31			
Moderate/undecided	6	8	12	26	6	9	12			
	26	39	52	117				**Significant**	χ^2	20.0
Without women										
Conservative	6	4	2	12	4	3	5	P-value		0.3
Liberal	5	5	12	22	7	6	9	Fisher		0.3
Moderate/undecided	5	5	5	15	5	4	6			
	16	14	19	49				**Not significant**		
Without study abroad students										
Conservative	9	2	2	13	5	5	3	P-value		0.06
Liberal	2	8	4	14	6	6	3	Fisher		0.05
Moderate/undecided	4	5	2	11	4	4	2			
	15	15	8	38				**Significant**	χ^2	8.9
Without DC students										
Conservative	8	5	0	13	3	5	5	P-value		0.01
Liberal	8	19	20	47	12	18	17	Fisher		0.005
Moderate/undecided	5	6	9	20	5	8	7			
	21	30	29	80				**Significant**	χ^2	13.8
Without immigrants										
Conservative	11	6	2	19	5	7	7	P-value		0.005
Liberal	7	18	23	48	14	17	17			
Moderate/undecided	5	5	4	14	4	5	5			
	23	29	29	81				**Significant**	χ^2	15.0
Without international relations students										
Conservative	8	4	1	13	6	4	3	P-value		0.07
Liberal	5	3	8	16	7	5	4	Fisher		0.09
Moderate/undecided	4	4	1	9	4	3	2			
	17	11	10	38				**Significant**	χ^2	8.7
Without most wealthy										
Conservative	7	2	2	11	2	3	6	P-value		0.0001
Liberal	2	15	28	45	8	12	25	Fisher		0.0002
Moderate/undecided	4	2	11	17	3	4	10			
	13	19	41	73				**Significant**	χ^2	23.7
Without least wealthy										
Conservative	7	5	2	14	3	5	6	P-value		0.02
Liberal	7	17	27	51	12	18	21	Fisher		0.02
Moderate/undecided	6	7	5	18	4	6	7			
	20	29	34	83				**Significant**	χ^2	11.9
Without moderately and least wealthy										
Conservative	3	5	1	9	2	4	2	P-value		0.4
Liberal	5	9	9	23	6	11	6	Fisher		0.5
Moderate/undecided	2	5	1	8	2	4	2			

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Education

1/04-present **MAXWELL SCHOOL OF CITIZENSHIP AND PUBLIC AFFAIRS** **SYRACUSE, NY**
SYRACUSE UNIVERSITY
Candidate for PhD in Political Science (5/13). **ABD (11/07); Master of Arts in Political Science (5/07)**
Fields of study: International Relations and Comparative Politics
Research interests: cosmopolitanism & global citizenship, comparative foreign policy, political leadership
Coursework, examinations, and proposal defense (5/09) complete; dissertation defense (April 2013)
Dissertation title: *Experiencing Citizenship in a Globalizing World: The Impact of Off-Campus Experience*
Conference paper: "Using a Role-Playing Simulation to Bridge Theory and Practice in Graduate Professional Education" (with Matt Bonham), APSA Teaching & Learning Conference, 22-24 Feb. 2008, San Jose, CA

9/98-7/99 **INSTITUT SUPÉRIEUR DES AFFAIRES, MBA PROGRAM** **JOUY-EN-JOSAS, FRANCE**
HEC SCHOOL OF MANAGEMENT (bilingual program)
Master of Business Administration (MBA), Foci: Corporate Finance, Strategy, Business Development.

1/97-5/98 **THE FLETCHER SCHOOL OF LAW AND DIPLOMACY** **MEDFORD, MA**
TUFTS UNIVERSITY
Master of Arts in Law and Diplomacy (MALD)
Certificates: Strategic Management & International Consultancy; Leadership and Management
Fields of study: International Business Relations, International Negotiation & Conflict Resolution, and Europe.
Master's thesis: *Jenoptik Jena: Eradicating an Industrial Giant and Restructuring a New Order.*

9/95-6/96 **FULBRIGHT SCHOLAR** **ERFURT, GERMANY**
6/96-9/96 **FULBRIGHT ENTERPRISE SCHOLAR** **FRANKFURT, GERMANY**

9/91-5/95 **NAZARETH COLLEGE OF ROCHESTER** **ROCHESTER, NY**
Bachelor of Arts, Magna Cum Laude, in French and German
GPA: 3.87/4.0; International Business minor; Academic Scholarship recipient; Senior German and French Department Awards; President, Class of 1995; Resident Director, French House and Cultural Center.

Higher-Ed Experience

7/09-present **SYRACUSE UNIVERSITY, MAXWELL SCHOOL** **WASHINGTON, DC**
Director, Maxwell-in-Washington
- Lead 200 student/year off-campus academic center in Washington, DC with 16 faculty and 4 staff.
- Develop and review all aspects of the curriculum for year-round graduate and undergraduate programs.
- Prepare, oversee and review annual budget for the DC Program.
- Manage academic, administrative, and budgetary relationship with two partner institutions.
- Teach a six-credit Global Policy Seminar for the undergraduate program.
- Recruit and hire adjunct faculty; review performance, develop and assess learning outcomes.
- Direct and supervise all student internships and mentor students; provide career networking guidance.
- Oversee all administrative and logistic elements of the program, including management of University leased apartments for SU students in the program.
- Plan several DC alumni events per year, work closely with SU alumni and development personnel.
- Advise the Dean's Office and Maxwell faculty on opportunities and needs for professional training initiatives and program development in the Washington area.

7/03-6/09 **SYRACUSE UNIVERSITY, MAXWELL SCHOOL** **SYRACUSE, NY**
Associate Director of Graduate Studies, International Relations (IR) Program
- Act as primary academic adviser to 150+ IR graduate students in Syracuse and around the world.
- Direct global recruitment, marketing, and admissions activities for the program. Represent Maxwell at recruitment events around the world. Design, write, and produce program materials on-line and in print.
- Award scholarship & assistantship monies to students. Control the distribution of $800K in financial aid.
- Participate in development of new academic initiatives; coordinated curriculum committee meetings.
- Co-develop & implement new international programs & exchanges (IR supports 16 global programs).
- Directed IR Capstone (2007), a required graduate policy simulation exercise.
- Elected and served as Chair (2005-06) and Co-Chair (2004-05) of the Association of Professional School of International Affairs (APSIA).

9/02-7/03 **SYRACUSE UNIVERSITY** **SYRACUSE, NY**
Assistant Director, Division of International Programs Abroad (now SU Abroad)
- Co-managed eight-person admissions team for semester abroad programs.

- Provided leadership on recruitment and marketing strategies and participated in recruiting students on-campus and from around the country.
- Responsible for recruitment, advisement, admissions, pre-departure and retention activities for Syracuse Center in Strasbourg, France. Oversaw such activities for other program countries.
- Coordinated Syracuse Abroad publications oriented toward students, faculty, and parents.
- Controlled advertising budget for department. Designed ad copy for on-line and in-print publications.
- Awarded named scholarships and financial aid to students. Served as contact for financial donors.
- Spearheaded efforts to accommodate students with disabilities or with medical or psychological conditions in overseas centers. Served as emergency contact for overseas programs.
- Worked with University faculty and staff to develop new international initiatives/programs.
- Participated in regional and international NAFSA conferences.

1/02-6/02 **STATE UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK AT GENESEO** **GENESEO, NY**
Instructor of German
- Instructed two undergraduate German language courses: (1) a second semester course emphasizing elementary skills in speaking, reading, and writing; and (2) an upper-level course in contemporary German civilization focusing on the main aspects of modern life in Germany (institutions, society, way of life) through discussions based on the use of authentic documents, recordings, and interviews.

9/95-6/96 **STAATLICHE BERUFSBILDENDE SCHULE 5**, Technical College **ERFURT, GERMANY**
Fulbright Scholar / Instructor
- Taught English and French language and syntax, American culture, and business communication to students aged 15-25 involved in vocational training programs. Also taught English to students seeking their German university entrance certificate (Abitur) in professional fields such as landscape architecture.
- Instructed English and French language courses for adults at **VOLKSHOCHSCHULE ERFURT,** a community college, and English courses for business professionals at the **BERLITZ SCHOOL**.

Business Experience

9/99-9/01 **KPMG CORPORATE FINANCE** **BERLIN, GERMANY**
Senior Associate
- Managed M&A and IPO projects as part of a small team in e-commerce, real estate, logistics, and car rental sectors; acquired competencies in discounted cash flow as well as multiples analysis.
- Drafted business plans for IPO projects and extensive information memoranda for company disposals.
- Prepared research and business development models for the internet/e-commerce sector. Performed extensive industry and company research and analysis for technology, logistics, and infrastructure sectors.
- Generated deals as member of Transport & Logistics Team for domestic and cross-border M&A.

6/98-9/98 **EUROCONSULT GERMANY,** Cross-Border M&A Advisory Boutique **FRANKFURT, GERMANY**
Associate
- Researched, designed, and formulated in-depth German energy market "pitch book" for American client wishing to expand into Europe through acquisition.

5/97-9/97 **ALLIANCE CONSULTING GROUP,** Management/Strategy Consulting Firm **CAMBRIDGE, MA**
Associate
- Participated in strategic planning process for major software company in the Silicon Valley. Produced competitive and industry analyses; conducted extensive pricing study; researched and prepared presentation for sales force designed to encourage cooperation between client and retail channel.

9/96-12/96 **MORGAN STANLEY & CO.** **SAN FRANCISCO, CA**
Operations Department
- Executed daily trading, facilitated IPOs, and worked closely with brokers and sales assistants.

6/96-9/96 **MORGAN STANLEY BANK AG** **FRANKFURT, GERMANY**
Fulbright Scholar / Enterprise Intern, Investment Banking Division
- Compiled comparables and multiples analyses for merger and acquisition valuation purposes; completed company financial profiles; researched growth areas for strategic expansion of client's business activities.

6/95-9/95 **EUROCONSULT, INC.** **NEW YORK, NY**
Analyst
- Researched potential Western European and North American buyers and sellers in manufacturing sectors for M&A related projects; translated documents and financial material for client presentations.

Languages Fluent in French, German, and Spanish. Extensive experience living, studying, and working overseas.