

ETHNIC AND RACIAL STUDIES

Books, Bodies and Bronzes

Comparing sites of global citizenship
creation

Edited by
Peggy Levitt and Pál Nyíri

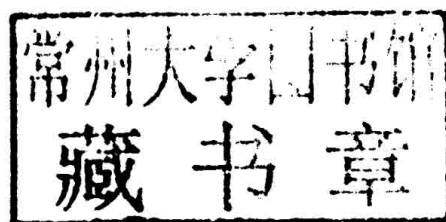


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Books, Bodies and Bronzes

One out of every seven people in the world today is on the move, voluntarily and involuntarily, within countries and between them. More and more people belong to several communities at once and yet the social contract between state and citizen is still bounded by questions of nationality. Where will the cultural building blocks come from with which we can imagine a different kind of nation, and different kinds of institutions, that better reflect this reality?

This book looks at the potential role of international music competitions, beauty magazines, elite social clubs, overseas university campuses, and religious movements, among others, as potential breeding grounds for the creation of global citizenship.

This book was originally published as a special issue of *Ethnic and Racial Studies*.

Peggy Levitt is Professor of Sociology at Wellesley College, Massachusetts, USA, and the Co-Director of The Transnational Studies Initiative at Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts, USA.

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Ethnic and Racial Studies

Series editors: Martin Bulmer, *University of Surrey, UK*, and
John Solomos, *University of Warwick, UK*

The journal *Ethnic and Racial Studies* was founded in 1978 by John Stone to provide an international forum for high quality research on race, ethnicity, nationalism and ethnic conflict. At the time the study of race and ethnicity was still a relatively marginal sub-field of sociology, anthropology and political science. In the intervening period the journal has provided a space for the discussion of core theoretical issues, key developments and trends, and for the dissemination of the latest empirical research.

It is now the leading journal in its field and has helped to shape the development of scholarly research agendas. *Ethnic and Racial Studies* attracts submissions from scholars in a diverse range of countries and fields of scholarship, and crosses disciplinary boundaries. It is now available in both printed and electronic form. From 2015 it will publish 15 issues per year, three of which will be dedicated to *Ethnic and Racial Studies Review* offering expert guidance to the latest research through the publication of book reviews, symposia and discussion pieces, including reviews of work in languages other than English.

The *Ethnic and Racial Studies* book series contains a wide range of the journal's special issues. These special issues are an important contribution to the work of the journal, where leading social science academics bring together articles on specific themes and issues that are linked to the broad intellectual concerns of *Ethnic and Racial Studies*. The series editors work closely with the guest editors of the special issues to ensure that they meet the highest quality standards possible. Through publishing these special issues as a series of books, we hope to allow a wider audience of both scholars and students from across the social science disciplines to engage with the work of *Ethnic and Racial Studies*.

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Vogue and the possibility of cosmopolitics: race, health and cosmopolitan engagement in the global beauty industry

Giselinde Kuipers, Yiu Fai Chow and Elise van der Laan

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Chapter 3

Shifting tides of world-making in the UNESCO World Heritage Convention: cosmopolitanisms colliding

Christoph Brumann

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Bruno Cousin and Sébastien Chauvin

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Pirate cosmopolitics and the transnational consciousness of the entertainment industry

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Chapter 7

Between global citizenship and Qatarization: negotiating Qatar's new knowledge economy within American branch campuses

Neha Vora

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Tuning in or turning off: performing emotion and building cosmopolitan solidarity in international music competitions

Lisa McCormick

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INTRODUCTION

Books, bodies, and bronzes: comparing sites of global citizenship creation

Peggy Levitt and Pál Nyíri

This volume explores music competitions, religious movements, fashion magazines, copyright policy and overseas university campuses, among others, as potential sites for the generation and spread of cosmopolitan ideas, competencies and projects. Our contributors focus on how and when that happens, in what combinations, and what difference it makes when aspects of cosmopolitanism are disseminated at music competitions, UNESCO World Heritage sites, or through membership in elite social clubs. They embed the production and dissemination of cosmopolitanism within cultural and institutional contexts, thereby bringing to light not just the classroom, editorial room and stage, but the complex, power-laden set of organizational arrangements that undergird them and the geopolitical context within which they take shape.

While preparing to write the introduction to this special volume, we accidentally stumbled on what was, to us, a new field of study that might be called 'global citizenship education studies'. Our literature review came up with numerous articles, written by education professionals, about how to prepare twenty-first-century students for the twenty-first-century global world (De Oliveira Andreotti, and de Souza 2012). And this research was not just about primary or secondary school students. Many studies focused on the need for university education to include mandatory study abroad programmes, foreign language courses offering more than just Romance languages, and student bodies made up of people from around the world. What drives all these developments is a sense that the world is changing and that everyone, from first graders to college graduates, needs to be prepared to participate in new ways. While the literature tends to focus on

North America, Europe and Australia, 'global citizenship education' is itself a global phenomenon (Lee and Leung 2006).

In the 1930s and 1940s USA in which Peggy Levitt's parents grew up, students took civic courses in which they learned about the workings of government and the importance of active democratic participation. In Eastern Europe, under late state socialism, where Pál Nyíri spent his school years, efforts to mint 'socialist citizens' were no longer much in evidence; rather, schools taught pupils what they had since the times of Rousseau: about the unique qualities of the nations where they were born. In short, an important piece of the curriculum was to teach students how to be good national citizens. And, it would seem, from the plethora of materials that we encountered, that this is still the case, but with a new twist. Now schools, to varying degrees and in different ways in different places, prepare students to be national citizens and competent cosmopolitans at the same time – to be active and loyal to their nations and to be part of the global community at large.

Perhaps educators have taken the lead because children are seen as more malleable than adults. But where do the rest of us learn how to be global citizens? How do people who have been brought up to identify with and perform the rituals of the nation also learn to belong to and feel responsible for the rest of the world?

In this volume, we go beyond schools to explore other potential sites of global citizenship creation. We are both doing research of our own on these topics. Levitt has completed a book about if and how museums around the world see themselves as creating citizens. She asks what it is about the history and culture of particular cities and nations that helps explain why some cultural institutions are so outward looking while others look barely beyond their doors (Levitt 2012, forthcoming). Nyíri is studying young journalists who report for mainland Chinese media from foreign locations. He wants to find out what stories these correspondents want to tell their audiences in China about the world, and whether a cosmopolitan shift is taking place in segments of the Chinese media, thanks to their efforts.

Through this work, we realized that while there is a great deal of research on the multiple meanings of cosmopolitanism, how and where people actually acquire the values and skills that enable them to engage with difference is little understood. In addition to museums and schools, there are multiple sites around the world where the work of creating global citizens may be under way. How that happens, who reaps the benefits and costs, and what difference it makes when cosmopolitan values are evoked at a music competition versus a UNESCO World Heritage site or in a *Vogue* magazine article is the subject of this volume. Our authors embed the dissemination of identities, ideologies and capabilities within institutional contexts. They not only allow us to see the classroom, editorial room and stage, but the complex, power-laden set of organizational

arrangements that undergird them and the geopolitical context within which they take shape.

There is a large body of literature on cosmopolitanism in which it has many faces, ranging from a sociocultural condition to a political orientation, set of skills and practices, or a philosophy or world view (Vertovec and Cohen 2002; Breckenridge et al. 2002). Individuals, organizations, nations and international frameworks and conventions acquire cosmopolitan properties or embody cosmopolitan values. But cosmopolitanism is far from neutral (Harvey 2000, 530). The possibility of cosmopolitanism, or the ability to go from aspiration to reality, gets muddled, writes Roxanne Euben (2006, 181), because we do not pay enough attention to 'how history, culture, and power inflect the very meaning and value of "openness" in ways that render it politically suspect or untenable, even to those whose mobility is extensive and exposures to difference multiple'. The universality of cosmopolitan is also under siege because, as Breckenridge and her colleagues write:

No true universalism can be constructed without recognizing that there is a diversity of universals on which analyses are based, and that these are often in fact quite particular – not universals at all, but rather interpretations devised for particular historical and conceptual situations. (Breckenridge et al. 2002)

But the sense underlying much of this work is that we need to keep trying. If Euro-American cosmopolitanism was born out of colonial, imperial and missionary experiences that brought home an awareness of worlds other than one's own, it does not monopolize the experience (van der Veer 2002). Today's world travellers and high-flying professionals may or may not repeat the same mistakes as their earlier counterparts who embarked upon 'the requisite European grand tour'. And as new networks of economic power emerge out of China, India and the Gulf and leave their footprints around the world, and as more and more mobile non-elites give rise to transnational middle and working classes, frictions and conflicts as well as cosmopolitan sensibilities will undoubtedly arise. While some individuals will cling consciously to Western versions of cosmopolitanism, others will articulate new combinations of the universal and the particular, of what is relative and what is an unconditional good. All, however, have the potential to turn away from the projects of economic domination from which they arise.

In fact, in today's global, interconnected world, many people argue that some kind of cosmopolitanism is a necessity not a choice (Beck 2006). But, warns Craig Calhoun (2008, 110): 'Cosmopolitan theories need to be supplemented by an emphasis on the material conditions and social institutions that make this sort of cosmopolitan inhabitation of the world possible – and much more likely for some than others.' We need to shift,

says Bruno Latour (2004, 457), away from the cosmopolitan to cosmopolitics: not just dreaming of a time when people recognize that they inhabit the same world but actually taking on the daunting task of seeing how that 'same world' can be created.

This is the jumping-off point for the contributions in this volume. Rather than resolving normative or definitional debates, our authors instead shed light on how and where the ideas, skills and politics from which cosmopolitanism is constituted get generated and acquired. They tackle this task by unpacking the various threads of the cosmopolitan project. In some cases, our authors describe how and where a set of cosmopolitanism ideas and values are produced. In others, they describe the articulation and spread of a set of practices and competences. They build upon work by Ulf Hannerz (1990, 239), for example, who wrote that cosmopolitanism is a matter of 'competence marked by a personal ability to make one's way into other cultures, through listening, looking, intuiting and reflecting as well as by a built-up skill of maneuvering through systems of meaning' (see also Gilroy 2005; Glick Schiller, Darieva, and Gruner-Domic 2011; Nowicka and Rovisco 2009). A third view of cosmopolitanism includes the next, difficult step of defining and working towards shared political projects. For Saito (2011), for example, the work does not stop at 'cultural omnivorousness' or the willingness to appreciate a wide variety of cultural objects or at 'ethnic tolerance' or the ability to embrace positive attitudes towards ethnic out-groups. Instead, we need to also take on 'cosmopolitics', or the collective task of creating a transnational public and debating global risks as citizens of the world.

Despite its breadth and depth, much of the research on cosmopolitanism does not shed sufficient light on the messy arenas where this kind of meaning making and negotiation actually take place – where the ethos and aspiration, skills and competencies, and political action projects get produced. What kinds of institutions allow people to create relationships with strangers and be open to difference? How do we go beyond ideas and values to create cosmopolitan sensibilities, skills or institutions? When and how do these get translated into political struggles and schemes? What difference does it make when these dynamics take shape in the context of the copyright regimes, religious social movements or overseas university campuses?

That is where bodies, books and bronzes come in.

Outline of the contributions

We see universities, global music festivals, religious communities and world heritage sites as just some potential sites for the creation of cosmopolitans and political projects. Our contributors take stock of the state of the art of this emerging field and allow us to compare how aspects

of cosmopolitanism are produced and disseminated in different sectors and institutional arenas.

Christoph Brumann's article on the politics of UNESCO's World Heritage list opens the issue. Adopted in 1972, the UNESCO Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage is one of the earliest, and on the face of it, one of the most successful, initiatives explicitly aimed at instilling a 'planetary consciousness' by affirming the existence of a 'shared heritage of humankind'. Whether or not World Heritage is succeeding among the world's population, Brumann argues that it has, at least, produced a body of – mostly Western – 'experts' committed to 'reforming World Heritage – and thus, indirectly, national heritage conceptions around the world – in a more universalist and inclusive way'. Yet, with the economic and political stakes of World Heritage on the rise since the 1990s, these experts have increasingly been overridden by diplomats who, while cosmopolitan in habitus, represent thoroughly national agendas and are more interested in the quid pro quo of negotiating what gets anointed as 'world heritage' than in rethinking concepts and methods of caring for national patrimony.

Bruno Cousin and Sébastien Chauvin study the production of transnational connections, cosmopolitanism and global class consciousness in elite social clubs in Paris. Even at these upper echelons, distinctions are clearly and resoundingly made – between pure social clubs and what get classified as international service clubs for the upper middle class like Rotary International – and between the types of international social capital and connections members gain access to by belonging to these institutions (some deemed more superficial and utilitarian than others). In fact, clubs disagree over the value of international ties per se, triggering a competing metric within the symbolic economy of social capital accumulation. The different cosmopolitanisms that they engender among their members result not only from their different levels of exposure and sensitivity to global interdependence but also from the dynamics of symbolic competition between class fractions. Besides nationality and economic capital, then, access to social capital is key in determining how well individuals can access global resources and status, and in shaping their cosmopolitan representations and practices.

Thijl Sunier takes up the question of whether religion can inspire cosmopolitanism. He studies *Hizmet*, an Islamic movement founded by Fethullah Gülen in Turkey in the 1960s, which has evolved from its initial focus on Turkish nationalism into a global network of chapters and schools promoting a 'civil Islam'. Its goal is to create a new generation of Muslims who live reflexively and responsibly in today's world – a global Islamic doctrine, argues Sunier, with explicitly cosmopolitan underpinnings.

While some have argued that there is a contradiction between the cosmopolitan inclusiveness and universality of Gülen's message and the strong hierarchical structures and the disciplining modes of teaching and

training within the movement, Sunier disagrees. These characteristics are two necessary sides of the same coin. Being a responsible Muslim and a responsible citizen in this world are similar qualities. Openness and inclusiveness on the one hand and strong internal discipline and exclusiveness on the other reinforce rather than contradict each other. To be part of the 'Golden Generation' one must successfully combine a virtuous life with an active this-worldly attitude. An analysis of Gülen's cosmopolitan theology and pedagogy and the ways that it is taught and reproduced, Sunier concludes, must take into account the complex relationship between the political-historical and theological roots of the movement, the vastly changing characteristics of the followers, and the particular pedagogies applied in all kinds of educational settings.

Neha Vora's work also looks at the education sector as a potential site of cosmopolitan creation. She studies one example of the growing number of offshore campuses established by US and European universities in Asia and the Middle East. Many of these schools, in fact, sell 'global citizenship creation', offering educational and life experiences designed to deliver on that promise. Critics, however, see them as tools of cultural imperialism which threaten academic freedom or educational compromises in pursuit of profit. In Education City, Qatar, Vora examines how students, particularly non-citizens, negotiate the apparent disjuncture between Qatarization, a policy that structurally favours citizens, and an American-style university system established to promote cosmopolitan 'global citizenship' based on a belief in individualism, meritocracy and multiculturalism. The structural inequalities inherent in the *kafala* system and Qatarization permeated students' daily lives even as they negotiated new forms of identity and citizenship made possible by liberal and neo-liberal educational models. As in the case of *Hizmet*, rather than a contradiction in terms, Qatari non-liberal state policies and American liberal higher education are intertwined and rely upon each other in ways that reveal much longer entanglements between these seemingly opposed logics of governance and belonging.

Giseline Kuipers, Elise van der Laan and Yiu Fai Chow look for the possibility of global citizenship in a seemingly unlikely but highly influential segment of the global media: high-end fashion magazines. They study how two moral issues – the promotion of racially diverse standards of beauty and healthy body types – are treated in *Vogue* in China, the Netherlands and the USA. Their analysis reveals that *Vogue* has the potential to contribute to greater openness to human diversity and to limited omnivorousness but that the extent to which it promoted cosmopolitics varied by country. This is in part, these authors say, because of each country's distinct role and location in the transnational cultural field and the different role that *Vogue* plays as an object and initiator of national public debate and civic engagement.