Globalisation, Identity, and Nation: Australian and American Undergraduates Abroad

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Abstract

In this essay, I explore how two groups of undergraduates – Americans and Australians – participate in the reformulation of the "global imagination" through their experiences of studying abroad. Specifically, I question the assumption that the global imagination constitutes one shared, common experience that is the same across nations. In contrast, I demonstrate that though American and Australian students are certainly among the elite in global terms, their shared economic position does not necessarily correspond to a common global imagination. Instead, they have markedly different notions of both national and global identities. American students' strong national identity often prevents them from exploring the possibilities of global affiliation. Australian students' relatively weak national identity allows for a robust global sense of place, but is sometimes constrained by a limited tolerance for racial and ethnic diversity. In conclusion, I argue that the global imagination has not one, but numerous manifestations, which have the potential to both enable and constrain the enhancement of justice and democracy in a global context.

One of the most central features of contemporary patterns of globalisation is the simple movement of people. While human beings have been mobile (if not nomadic) for much of human history, mobility in the 21st century has new features, which generate different patterns from earlier ways of negotiating the earth. While the vast majority of people still experience restricted and limited mobility (Massey 1993), more privileged groups of people travel with unprecedented speed and frequency (Ong 1998, Iyer 2000), in the process remapping the way that they see and experience the world, and future patterns of human organisation.[1]

In this essay, I explore how two groups of undergraduates – Australians and Americans – participate in the reformulation of what Rizvi (2000) terms the "global

imagination" through their experiences of studying abroad (outside of one's home country).[2] While Rizvi develops the concept of the "global imagination" in the context of international students studying in Australia, it is clear that this concept requires greater scrutiny and definition in multiple contexts. Indeed, as Roman (2003) argues, such ideas (she specifically discusses "global citizenship") should be examined as contested, often contradictory terrain. In this essay, I extend Rizvi's work through questioning the commonsense assumption that the "global imagination" (or global citizenship) is one shared, common experience that is the same across nations. In contrast, I argue that though American and Australian students are certainly among the elite in global terms, their shared (relative) economic prosperity does not necessarily correspond to a similar experience – to a common global imagination. Instead, Australians and Americans understand the world, and their place in it, in markedly different ways. Specifically in this essay, I examine how American undergraduates studying abroad in Australia and Australian undergraduates studying abroad in the United States negotiate new understanding of both their national and global identities. As I elaborate, the Americans in this study have a strong national identity, which is constantly challenged and tested during their stay in Australia. They are consumed with attempting to understand their own national identity and the United States' place in the world. Thus, their sense of the "global imagination" is very limited. In contrast, Australians have a relatively weak sense of a national identity, but a robust and vibrant global identity, which allows them to move with relative ease through multiple contexts. This identity is not one that is detached from affiliation, but instead, allows for the possibility of multiple points of attachment, while still embracing Australia as a home and base. Despite this expansive sense of a global place, it is still constrained by a limited tolerance for racial and ethnic diversity

In the balance of this essay, I first briefly discuss study abroad in the Australian and American contexts and describe the research study. I then examine the theoretical literature on national and global identities, and, analysing qualitative data, interpret the differing experiences of Australian and American students as they reflect on their semesters studying abroad. In conclusion, I discuss the implications of this research for theorizing global identities, and for understanding our increasingly networked world (Castells 2000).

The Context of Study Abroad

Study abroad is only a small part of the larger picture of global movement at the beginning of the 21st century, and plays a significantly different role in the campus culture in the United States and Australia. With some limited exceptions, American students have relatively little cultural impetus to travel: while some students participate in the ritual tour of Europe after graduating college, there is no expectation

that American undergraduates will "see the world" before settling down, as for example, there is in New Zealand (Bell 2002). In fact, many American students are decidedly nervous about extending their travel beyond the usual semester limits of study abroad, as they are fearful of falling behind their classmates in the pursuit of jobs and graduate school.[3] Thus, in the American context, study abroad is one of the few available and acceptable options available for students to travel. Though the number of American students studying abroad is still limited, it has more than doubled from 71,154 in 1991/1992 to 160,920 in 2001/2002 (Institute of International Education 2003).

In contrast, many Australian students have stronger cultural support for international travel, and in many cases, familial bonds which provide opportunities for extended stays outside of Australia.[4] In addition, there are large numbers of Australians with British passports, and all Australian youth are eligible for short term working visas in the United Kingdom. Given these societal variations, it is not surprising that studying abroad has divergent meanings within the two countries, and is, in fact, promoted differently by study abroad offices. In the United States, it is common for study abroad offices to promote the experience as one that "broadens your worldview, and prepares you for your future."[5] In Australia, study abroad offices tend to promote the academic benefits of overseas study, with personal benefits such as a "broader outlook on life" less emphasised.[6]

The research on study abroad is limited. Within the American context, much of the research focuses on psychological, personal transformation, or the benefits of studying abroad for second language learning (Freed 1995, Whalen 1996, Akanda and Slawson 2000). Deutsch's (1952/1997) seminal essay on study abroad and national identity provides a backdrop for this study, though the context of both study abroad and "nation" have changed dramatically in the intervening fifty years. In Australia, research on study abroad tends to focus on its economic and career benefits (see Daly and Barker 2005). Little published research examines study abroad within the parameters of this study's approach, which is concerned with the cultural and social meanings of study abroad in global and national contexts. [7]

Data Collection and Methodology

This research study followed 46 Australian and American students before, during, and after their study abroad experiences in 2001. Both groups of students were interviewed in their home country before and after studying abroad, and were contacted via e-mail during their time abroad. Both groups of students attended universities throughout Australia and the United States, thus there is considerable geographic diversity in students' experiences. American students were more

consistent in their patterns of movement, and thus more American students than Australians completed the entire set of three interviews. In general, the American students studied abroad the second semester of their junior year, and returned to campus for their final year. One student moved out of state, and three more could not be contacted for a final interview. Of the original 26 American students interviewed, 22 completed the study. In contrast, Australian students went on study abroad at various times in their undergraduate education, for less uniform amounts of time, and often combined with extensive international travel, or semesters in London. In addition, a strong United States dollar and weak Australian dollar in 2000/2001 meant that while American students enthusiastically carried on with their plans to go to Australia, Australia students were more likely to drop out (some before the first interview), switch destinations, or delay travel, citing financial concerns. As a result of these various complications, there was a smaller pool of Australian students who met the study criteria, and only 15 of the original group of 20 Australians completed all three interviews, though one additional student completed his final interview via e-mail. 19 of the 22 American students who completed the interviews were white, as were 19 of the 20 original Australian students.

My analysis in this essay is qualitative and interpretive (Denzin 2000). Interview transcripts were read for themes and coded. I do not claim to measure or evaluate students' national and global identities before and after study abroad; such an approach is more appropriate to large-scale, quantitative analysis. Additionally, I do not attempt to generalize from this data to other students' (American or Australian) study abroad experiences. Certainly, the context of global movement is continually changing, and Americans and Australians studying abroad in 2004 may have significantly different experiences than the students I studied. My approach is to analyse students' own interpretations of their experiences, within a critical framework that is sociologically driven and contextual.[8]

The Contours of Global Identity

The interface between the global and the national has preoccupied scholars in the past decade amid observations that the "nation" as a political, economic, and cultural unit is weakening (Ohmae 1995) and is slowly being replaced by supranational organisations, and global corporations. While clearly the "death of the nation" is a vast overstatement, there is validity to the claim that patterns of affiliation (political, economic, familial, and cultural) are shifting. There are critical questions to be asked about how the nation shapes, constrains, and enables particular identities, the limits of national identity, and the possible configurations of identities that move above, below, and alongside its shadow (Levitt 2001, Ong 1998, Cheah and Robbins 1998, Hedetoft and Hjort 2002).[9]

All of the above developments have led scholars to question the significance of national identities: are they still relevant? should they be? Nussbaum (1996), for example, has advocated a cosmopolitan identity that is premised on a common human bond that transcends nation-states. However, others have suggested that such abstract ties are unobtainable. Gutmann (1996) responds to Nussbaum's call for a cosmopolitan identity by noting that there is no solid, definitive global polity to which people can promise allegiance. Such questions resonate differently in the two contexts under discussion in this essay, Australia and the United States. National identities in both countries are marked by long (and continuing) internal struggles for gender and racial equality, and by histories of colonialism and oppression. In the recent past, both countries have modified draconian immigration policies, and are destinations of choice for individuals, families, and communities fleeing economic hardship and political persecution.[10] Despite these similarities, Australia and the United States clearly occupy different positions in the world economy and the world stage. The United States, at the center of world politics and the economy, historically oscillates between interventionist and isolationist positions, but rarely sees itself as working in concert with other nations (Chomsky 2003). Such a position is well articulated in President George W. Bush's 2003 State of the Union address as he bluntly declared the United States' right to act alone in military matters, without consulting other states, "Yet the course of this nation does not depend on the decisions of others."[11] As I will demonstrate in this essay, conflicts over "ownership" of the United States and the ideals of America become quite troubling for American students in Australia, as they confront, for the first time, the image of the United States outside of its physical boundaries and the postnational realities of its place in the world.

Unlike their American counterparts, Australian students are well aware that their home is not as embroiled in world affairs and controversy as the United States, and thus they are less invested in protecting a closed sense of a national identity.[12] Australian national identity has been marked by controversies both internal – indigenous rights, immigration – and external – political, cultural, and economic ties to Britain, the United States, and nations in the Asia-Pacific region (Bennett 1998, Hage 1998, Stratton 1998). In the midst of these ongoing conversations about, and struggles over, "what it means to be an Australian", Australia is equally embroiled in the politics of globalisation and the increasing concern that Australia has diminishing sovereignty over its economy, environment, and culture (Castles 2000). Yet, the contours of what it means to have a "global identity," or to form "global citizenship" are not well articulated, nor should we necessarily assume that a "global" identity is inherently more inclusive, egalitarian, or just than a national one. For example, jet-setting elites may have identities that are global and detached from particularistic

national affiliations, but they are hardly concerned with issues of global justice and equality (see for example, Iyer 2000).

For the Australian and American students who participated in this research project, their national context is a significant factor in their expectations of the study abroad experience, how they understand and make sense of their time abroad, how it fits into the larger scheme of their lives and identities, and how they visually and experientially map the world and understand its possibilities. As I discuss, both groups of undergraduates demonstrate an emergent global imagination, yet in divergent ways. In the following sections, I turn to a discussion of the qualitative data and examine how Australian and American students negotiate between their global and national identities.

Who Owns America?

Prior to travelling to Australia, the vast majority of American undergraduates' travel was limited to short trips to Canada, Mexico (for spring break), and Europe. Most had little understanding of the way that their home country was perceived outside of its borders. Many of the students are troubled and puzzled by a remark made by an Australian student at their orientation session at the University of Midwest[13], who commented that "Australians hate Americans." While university staff tried to blunt the Australian student's observation, American students are alerted to the possibility that they may not be positively received. Like most of the students, Danielle is unable to make sense of this information, stating, "Because I live in America, I don't really understand how Americans are mean."

Once students arrive and settle into their temporary homes in Australia, they quickly find themselves marked as Americans, and many are decidedly uncomfortable with that situation. Claire was particularly upset by the treatment she received, commenting, "I think just being an American that you get a lot of crap. Like sepo, as in septic tank. I did not refer to any other culture as something as degrading as a septic tank, and they think it's funny." American students also discover that others – Australians and international students from throughout the world – know more about American politics and American foreign policy, than they do. Karen noted this with disappointment,

> I saw how much information that the rest of the world, or Australia specifically, gets about us. Because they actually get a lot of information about what's going on here, and I felt almost disappointed that I didn't know, it seemed like I didn't know as much stuff as some people knew about the United States.

Confronted with this reality on a regular basis, American students react in different ways. Firstly, some of them take a defensive posture, asserting their rights to an American identity, or, as Clifford (1985) argues, claim their identity as a property right. Students who assume this position begin to distance themselves from their new environment, instead aggressively insisting on the importance and centrality of America. Joe relates an incident in a bar that captures this position, "We had a big group of friends with us or whatever, that we had met there. And we were all singing songs and talking about different movies and stuff. And they (the Australians) were just offended and disgusted." In contrast, some students attempt to move away from positions that claim American identity as property that must be defended regardless of circumstances. Instead, these students begin to tentatively embrace a position that recognises the image and reality of the United States, and the contradictory nature of its relationship with the rest of the world. Linda encapsulates this position,

> I had no idea that people had this view of Americans, that we thought that we were just so great and we just dominate and are in charge. We're very snotty and rude and get our way. And that was kind of a shock to me. So the whole time I was there, I tried not to portray that image as much as I could because I think that's sort of terrible.

For American students studying in Australia, the study abroad experience is largely framed by and through an encounter with their own American identity**.** Though prior to travelling to Australia, few of the Americans students had focused on this aspect of their identity, "being American" becomes the lens through which they see and understand their experiences in Australia.[14] Some of the Americans begin quickly to bifurcate the world into "Americans" and "others." However, others attempt to explore the complications and contradictions of American identity, and become more open to exploring a less defensive sense of a national self.

The Land of Sun and Sea: Australians and the Global Imagination

While American students often found themselves in the position of having to either defend or disparage United States foreign policy, Australian students in the United States more typically dealt with American ignorance of Australia, as Beth reflects on some of the questions she was asked in the United States,

> The one that I found was the most hilarious, and I actually got asked more than once was not a question, but I got told my English was very good. And I'd be like, oh yeah, I've been learning it for twenty-four years, I'm really glad that you think it's good.

Australian students rarely found that their national identity was controversial, or even a factor, in their interactions with Americans. Most commonly, Americans desired to "listen to our accents" and hear about the mythic land of sun, sea, and kangaroos. Pete, who studied at a university on the East Coast, related this incident,

> *There was a girl at the gym who asked me about my accent, and I told her that I was a chaser. And she said, 'what's a chaser?' I said, I'm the guy who wakes up at 7 o'clock every morning and chases kangaroos off the freeway. And she said, 'oh really'? I said, 'yeah, that's why I come to the gym so often. I have to work out and keep fit because they're quite dangerous.' Some of the other people had grins on their faces, but she sincerely believed I was a kangaroo chaser.*

Australian students in the United States are so often confronted with narrow, airbrushed images of Australia that in some cases, they begin to internalise these one-dimensional snapshots of themselves, as Sara observes,

> *I played it for all it was worth. I started believing it, like all the Australians there, it's almost like saying, yeah, everyone's really laid back, everything's great, it's always sunny and everyone gets along, and it's so multicultural and all this other stuff. And I'm saying all these marvelous things, and kind of half believing them, and we all [the Australians on campus] found ourselves doing it.*

While Americans in Australia are forced to confront the position of their nation in the world, Australians' experiences in the United States underscore the mythic land of Australia in the popular imagination of the world. Indeed, many Australian students commented that they only learnt about Steve Erwin, the iconic crocodile hunter, while in the United States. Freed from a strong attachment to nation (though not to the sense of belonging or "home"), Australian students are more likely to embrace a global, or what I will term "networked" identity in their relationship to the world. Drawing on Castell's spatial metaphor, I assert that Australian students tend to view the world as a series of networked sites, through which they move with relative ease, selecting from each what is most useful or helpful. So, for example, Australian students tend to see the United States as a place to use and exploit for what it can offer their careers, London as a locale to absorb "culture" (and for many, though not all, their personal family history), and "exotic" locales in Southeast Asia as sites for relaxation and tourist activities. Such perspectives are reflected continually in my interviews, as I discuss with students their current and future travel plans, and where they anticipate their careers will take them.

Many Australian students had visited the United States previously, had family in the United States, and maintained continuous connections with the United States while travelling and/or working elsewhere. For example, Steve was studying at a university in the southern part of the United States, when he was offered a job in the Mediterranean. He abruptly cancelled his plans to return to the U.S. for a second semester so as to accept the six month reporting position. Another student, Ian, related his travel plans for the next year,

> *The plan is to get to Rio de Janeiro for Carnival, so I'll probably work from late November, early December to early February. If I get to Jackson Hole, I'll probably try to get to New York for a few days at least, then Rio, and then maybe work my way up to Columbia or something and have a look around there and then, to the Caribbean again, and then go to England and work there, and then travel Europe, and go home.*

Raj, an Australian of Indian descent, captured the essence of how Australian students visualise, negotiate, and experience the networked globe, as he reflects on the travelling he did before spending the semester at a university on the East Coast,

> *I think the world is a very big place now. I still dream about some places, and it's amazing how you can just still picture yourself on some particular corner in Venice or something, and then you just flick over to, um, Montreal, or something like that, and it's so, so different. You remember the weather there, you remember the people, the food, the smells, everything. I think that's one of the best things I got, that there are very few limits, as far as this world goes.*

For many of the Australian students, the role of the United States in this thicket of nodes is to provide a place to study, to learn about what is happening at the centre of their chosen fields, and perhaps a place to work in the future, at least for a year or two. Students consistently commented that what was most impressive and useful about their study abroad experience in the United States was the academic resources, the depth of knowledge and experience they acquired in their classes, and the professional connections that they made to enhance their career opportunities. One student, Alan, spent a semester in a decidedly dreary part of the industrial rustbelt of the United States, so that he could benefit from the expertise of perhaps the best faculty in the world for his narrow specialisation. Like other Australians, Alan was clear that he was not experiencing "America" in its entirety (nor was that the purpose of his trip), but that he was exploiting the opportunity to benefit professionally. Raj was particularly captivated by his experience visiting Harvard Business School, and the vast opportunities it provides to imagine oneself as a serious player in a global

field, "I was looking at this brochure [a survey distributed to current HBS students] which said, 'who did you enjoy, which guest speaker did you enjoy the most', and there's George Bush, Jack Welch, and Warren Buffett." For Raj, it is almost intoxicating to imagine himself as part of a milieu that routinely includes individuals of such global power and reach: an opportunity that is rarely available in Australia.

Unlike American students, Australians are aware that their future careers would require that they know how to live and even thrive in multiple environments around the world, and that while Australia might be, in Raj's words, a "a good place to retire" it may not provide sufficient challenges or opportunities for their professional ambitions. Chris, who is studying to be a chemical engineer, acknowledged that moving around the world is a central component of his future job description, "A lot of chemical engineers end up working overseas. And it's just basically a global workforce nowadays. If you work for a big company, it's usually going to be a global company, and you're bound to end up overseas." Additionally, many Australian students were particularly enthralled with New York, a decidedly global (not necessarily American), city, and felt a longing to return there.[15]

Less invested in the centrality of their nation than Americans, Australian students freely embrace the limits of their own country and the possibilities of the globe, while continually maintaining that Australia is home. Yet, because there is little knowledge of Australian politics and culture outside of Australia, Australian students do not confront the difficult realities and challenges that Americans must encounter. While Americans are forced to confront their nation's decidedly controversial position in the world, Australians are rarely, if ever, compelled to reflect on Australia's role in world politics, its racist past and continued struggles for racial equality, and its role in the unequal distribution of income and privilege in global terms. Thus, despite their greater awareness of the potentialities of the globe compared to American students, Australian undergraduates are not necessarily more prepared to meet and embrace the world's (and the United States') diversity. For example, white Australian students had few resources to draw on to be able to relate to, or form friendships with, Americans who were not white. African-Americans were sometimes viewed through a Hollywood lens, and stereotyped and feared as drug dealers or worse, even on elite college campuses. Latinos were equally misunderstood, as one Australian woman, Vicki, comments on her visit to New York City,

> *I was on the train and I was trying to get to the museums up north and I actually got on the express train to Harlem, and there were Hispanic people on the train and I just suddenly felt very uncomfortable because I didn't know how to deal with them or what their intentions were.*

What is particularly notable about this reflection is that Vicki is an extremely global person: she attended an international school in Southeast Asia, has lived or travelled throughout the world, and has a friendship network that is decidedly international. Yet, in a situation in which she is unfamiliar with the culture (both of the United States in general and Latinos in particular), and is surrounded by poor and working class people, Vicki finds herself uncomfortable and threatened. Her sense of globality has its limits: confined to elite schools and situations, where diversity reflects a Benetton commercial, instead of the rougher, less inviting diversity of the Harlem express train. Joanna, who spent her semester in decidedly multicultural and multilingual Florida, expressed similar discomfort with the gritty diversity of the United States,

> *When I first hit Miami airport, someone started speaking Spanish to me, telling me something. I said hello, I just got here from Australia, I don't speak Spanish. And it really annoyed me because I'd come to America to experience American culture, which I didn't assume would be any different.*

When I indicated to Joanna that many Americans speak Spanish, she became quite insistent that, no, "It wasn't the Americans that were speaking Spanish, it was foreigners." Of course, the line between "American" and "foreigner" is more complex than Joanna is aware of, though she seems determined to deny the multicultural, and multilingual, character of the United States.

I do not mean to imply that *all* Australian students displayed hostility or annoyance towards the diversity they encountered in the United States, or that all Australian students were unaware of the social conditions in which they found themselves. Mike, for example, chose to tour the United States by Greyhound bus, and embraced the opportunity to see, as he reflects, "the other side of America." He comments,

> *(It gave me the chance to) talk to harmless[16] people at bus shelters, and they were quite good to have a chat with, and you, know, there's always the, 'Can I have a cigarette?' at the end of it. You know, at least they made the effort, and I really enjoyed it.*

Mike was one of the few Australian students who was able to make connections between his experiences of multiculturalism in the United States and Australia's ongoing struggles with race and inequality,

> *(race) is not such an issue there, whereas I think Australia, being a younger country, and still really, we've got this horrible problem at the moment with the refugees and that highlights, I think, Australia's*

reluctance to multiculturalise itself too much. America did seem a lot more accepting.

Overall, Australian students had a markedly different spatial understanding of the world and its organisation than American students. The nodular, or networked (Castells 2000) worldview of Australian students allowed them to see more complexity in global relationships than the Americans and to step outside of a narrowly national self. Yet, at the same time, it is evident that "being global" does not necessarily imply that one is sensitive to issues of justice and equality or comfortable with individuals of all racial backgrounds. Race, and particularly class differences, are important factors that shape Australian students' interactions with a very diverse American landscape.

Conclusion: Globalization, Nation, and Identity

As Roman (2003) notes globalisation discourses tend to be reduced to two poles: the position of those "above" and the position of those "below." By doing so – by assuming that the "global imagination" (Rizvi 2000) or "global citizenship" (Roman 2003) can be so easily bifurcated, critical questions are ignored. As I have discussed in this essay, one of those questions is concerned with different ways of being "global" among those who are in the "above" position; here, Americans and Australians. It is true that in global terms, Australians and Americans are elites, certainly in economic terms. Yet as this research demonstrates, economic parity does not guarantee a similar worldview or perspective on mobility and national identity.[17] The American students had little sense of their global place, or the global position of the United States in the world. Thus, their "global imagination" was quite limited, and they tended to focus on negotiating and making sense of their American identity, to the exclusion of being able to truly experience and absorb others' perspectives and daily realities (see Feinberg 2002). In this sense, the American students' "global imagination" continued to center on the United States.[18] In contrast, the contours of the Australian students' "global imagination" are remarkably different. Unlike the Americans, Australians' national identity became largely irrelevant once they left Australia, and they were thus freer to move beyond a closed, national sense of self, and to see the world – and themselves – in looser, nodular terms. Despite this, Australian students' limited experiences with racial and ethnic diversity constrained their ability to fully benefit from the global opportunities that were available to them.

Despite the increasing intensity of global connections, the world is still plagued by what McCarthy, Giardina, Harewood, and Park (2003) term the "cultural illiteracy of the other." An illiteracy, they argue, "we cannot afford in a world context of deepening globalization and interdependence" (p. 462). Thus, we must realize that

travel or movement alone does not necessarily reduce this ignorance. However, educators must begin to understand the complexities of the new identities engendered by this movement. As Calhoun (2002) suggests, it is imperative to move beyond understanding national identity as either "thick" or "thin": exclusionary or non-existent. Similarly, it is important to examine the complexity of "global" identities: that not all elite identities are global in the same way, and that a "global" identity or outlook does not guarantee a concomitant concern for global justice. As this research suggests, the "global imagination" has not one, but numerous manifestations which have the potential to both enable and constrain the enhancement of justice and democracy in a global context.

Acknowledgments

Endnotes

[1] Of course, those who are less mobile also remap the world and patterns of human organisation.

[2] International exchange offices differentiate between "studying abroad" and "exchange". Typically, "exchange" involves studying at a university with which your home university has an agreement to exchange x number of students per year. Studying abroad typically refers to 1.) either enrolling directly in a program that your home university runs abroad; 2.) enrolling directly in a program run by another university abroad; or 3.) enrolling directly in a university abroad. While administratively important, these distinctions are not relevant for the analysis presented in this study.

[3] Over 90% of American students who study abroad do so for one semester or less.

[4] In the second semester of 2002, less than 2000 Australian students studied overseas (Hyam 2002). However, the number that have travelled and/or worked abroad for significant lengths of time may be substantially higher. Australian statistics are more difficult to find and assess, as IDP Education Australia only began tracking data on outgoing Australian students in 2001.

5 Office of International Education, Ohio State University. Retrieved at http://www.oie.ohio-state.edu/study_abroad/ on 13 February 2003.

6 For example, see the website of the University of Melbourne's "Melbourne Abroad" program: http://www.services.unimelb.edu.au/exchanges/, retrieved on 18 December 2003. See also Davis, Milne and Olsen (1999).

7 Space precludes a complete review of the study abroad literature. See Dolby (2004).

8 See, for example, Catherine Cornbleth (2003).

9 The globalization literature is vast, and a comprehensive review is beyond the scope of this essay. For example, see Appadurai 1996, Morley 2000, Burbules and Torres 2000, Castells 2000.

10 Certainly this modification has oscillated and is far from ideal. While Australia has modified its "White Australia" policy, and the U.S. has reformed the racist immigration laws of 1924 both nations still have extremely stringent (and arguably still racist) immigration policies. Despite these obstacles, both nations are still desirable destinations. For comparison of Australia and the United States' multicultural history and policies, see Stratton and Ang (1998).

11 George W. Bush, State of the Union Address. January 29, 2003.

12 Readers should note that this research study was completed before the bombings in Bali that took many Australian lives.

13 A pseudonym. All names are also pseudonyms.

14 As I discuss elsewhere (Dolby, 2004) the majority of American students in this study (19 of the 22 who completed the study) were white. Similarly, except for one student of Indian descent, all of the Australian participants in this study were white. Thus, they feel "other" in Australia because of national identity, not racial identity. Certainly American students' race affected their experience in Australia, as Australian students' race shaped their experiences in the United States.

15 See Saskia Sassen (2001).

16 Though Mike apparently did say "harmless" it is possible he meant "homeless," though clearly not all individuals on buses or at bus depots are homeless (or harmless, for that matter).

17 This should also be clear from the recent U.S. led invasion of Iraq. Certainly, not all wealthy countries supported the war, nor did poorer countries necessarily oppose it. The U.S.'s "Coalition of the Willing" was political, not solely economic, in its constitution.

18 Such perspectives are, of course, linked to larger discourses of the relationship between the United States and the rest of the world, in political, economic, and cultural terms. See Sardar and Davies (2002) and *Granta: The Magazine of New Writing: What We Think of America* (Spring 2002). I should emphasise that I am not implying that American, or Australian identities are static. Indeed, my current research with American students who were abroad in 2002 and 2003 reveals remarkably different patterns.

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