

The Reproduction of Elite Mobilities in Washington D.C.

PhD thesis

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Abstract

In this thesis, I seek to analyse the reproduction of elite mobilities through participation in Study Internship Programmes (SIP) in Washington D.C. SIPs are programmes for both American as well as international students that come to Washington and participate in a programme that combines an academic track on specific topics with an internship. These programmes can be seen as exemplars of a specialised form of neoliberal education in which middle-class students attempt to acquire mobility capital in the hope of accelerating their future careers. With the help of in-depth interviews and ethnographic methods, I have gathered data about the SIPs which were analysed via textual analysis. I conducted interviews with SIP-alumni, with current SIP-students as well as stakeholders in these programmes. As a theoretical framework, I have utilised a mobilities perspective, along with ideas on individualisation and cosmopolitan capital to develop a framework for study-internship research. I argue that students go to Washington to acquire mobility and cosmopolitan capital, as this might offer a competitive edge. I explore how SIPs affect and transform its participants, their career paths and mobilities, as well as the city of Washington D.C itself as a place. My research showcases the layered identities of the participants through their mobilities, and how their mobilities are connected to the city of Washington D.C., and the key institutions involved. The research also demonstrates that SIPs are indicative of broader career patterns and mobility decision-making among young people in the West. Furthermore, my research indicates how integral the images of Washington D.C. and career-narratives are to the reproduction of elites and to Washington D.C.'s image of power for the SIP-participants to represent their success and aspirations.

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Statement of Originality

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of Edinburgh Napier University, for the award of Doctor of Philosophy.

I, Felix Malte Schubert, declare that this work has not previously been submitted for a degree or diploma, or professional qualification in any university. To the best of my knowledge and belief, the thesis contains no material previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made in the thesis itself. This thesis is the result of my own independent work (under the influence of my supervisory team).

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You can find this publication in Appendix 8 (p. 246).

February 20th, 2018

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'F. Schubert', with a long, sweeping underline that extends to the right.

Felix Schubert

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I dedicate this thesis to my Mom and Dad and thank them for their love and support – without them it would not have been possible.

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List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

AU American University

QDAS Qualitative data analysis software

SIP Study-Internship Programme

SIWP Semester in Washington Program of George Washington University

TWC The Washington Center

WSP Washington Semester Program at American University

1. Introduction

We are reaching a period when the commanding heights of American life are already dominated, with fewer and fewer exceptions, by former interns—senators and cabinet members started political life as DC interns, Wall Street’s “masters of the universe” cut their teeth during collegiate summers, cultural and intellectual elites broke in through cozy unpaid gigs, and on it goes (Perlin, 2011, p. xiii).

The importance of internships in today’s American society is indicated by Perlin in the above quotation. Internships have become quite important not only in the United States but also in Europe, and are seen as an additional added value in student’s resumés.

Similarly, the experience of having studied abroad or studied at multiple places is well sought-after on job markets in the Western Hemisphere. In Washington D.C., as well as in some other global cities, programmes have been developed that combine both: study with an internship.

This PhD thesis has an autobiographical inspiration as I took part in a study-internship programme (SIP) in Washington D.C. in Spring 2010. Having previously conducted research about student mobility (Schubert, 2014), my own experiences of studying abroad definitely shaped my perception of these movements and experiences and I started comparing. It was inevitable to consider what role my own mobility experience played in my career and travel biography. This PhD seeks to explore the benefits of being mobile as a student participating in a Washington D.C. study-internship programme. Then again, while putting an emphasis on those students who are able to take part in such a mobility programme, I would also like to shine a light on who is indirectly excluded from participation in such a programme. As Brooks & Waters explain, we should question why we value mobility and what the impacts of this are:

we must be equally critical of discourses of mobility embedded in the international student experience. Why should, we ask, mobility per se be valued? What cultural and particularly class-based beliefs undergird the valorization of international travel? (2011, p. 131).

This is not to say that we should not value student mobility, but we need to question what the imperative “to be mobile” means. Does it in fact mean that, as my supervisor Kevin Hannam suggested, “mobility and being mobile give meaning – if you do not participate you are almost excluded or disenfranchised from the 21st century” (Hannam, 2014, pers. comm.) Benchmarking and conducting a multi-layered analysis of SIP-mobility can aid in explaining the benefits and reproduction techniques of these SIPs.

Sennett argues that motions can be an end themselves (1994, pp. 263-4), this idea is key to understanding a mobilities perspective and therefore eventually student mobility. A mobilities perspective highlights and emphasises the process or act of movement, and thus of being mobile. As Urry asserts, “in the modern world [there is] an accumulation of movement that is analogous to the accumulation of capital – repetitive movement or circulation made possible by diverse, interdependent mobility-systems” (2007, p. 13). This accumulation of mobility capital has, for many individuals and in many career paths, become an essential success factor in their careers.

By gaining an in-depth look at the mobilities and career paths of young individuals who took part in Washington-based SIPs, the thesis will address a number of issues and ideas. Does participation in these SIPs really have such a strong and transformative impact (as their advertisements want participants to believe); and if so, in what ways are they transformative? What role does being mobile play: being, moving, and interacting in Washington D.C.? Based on the premise that studying and interning in Washington D.C. is a commodity and highly appreciated social capital, why is it appreciated? What competitive advantage can young students obtain in Washington D.C.? With these questions, “the role of cities in orchestrating resources and facilitating synchronisation of innovative individuals” (Urry, 2014) will be analysed, using Washington D.C. and students in Washington Semester programs as an example.

1.1. Thesis Rationale

Within the wider research field of higher education and educational mobilities, there is the small under-researched gap of SIPs. In this section, I set out to explain why I find research on these programmes relevant, and why I chose the example of the SIPs. In addition, I also point out what can be gained from researching them.

It is almost impossible to analyse student mobilities without framing them within the broader development of neoliberalisation of Higher Education. While hiding behind the almost overused term ‘neoliberalism’ can be problematic, this thesis is intended to showcase how neoliberal education transforms students and how these SIPs work to mobilise resources in this process. Beech (2015, p. 3) argues that neoliberal processes, such as the greater marketization and internationalisation of universities, as well as globalisation processes, have lowered the costs of travel and that these are, in fact, the two main reasons why overseas study is increasingly popular. A UNESCO report states

that between “1990 and 2009 there was an increase of 2 million international students worldwide, from 1.3 million to 3.4 million” (Chien & Kot, 2012). The neoliberal reforms that caused this significant growth in the number of international students were initially implemented under Reagan in the US and under Thatcher in the UK and spread globally, causing Higher Education Institutions (HEIs) to find sources of alternative funding (Beech, 2015, p. 3). Thus, the money gained by international students who have to pay higher fees than national students to generate revenue (Beech, 2015, p. 6) could be considered an ‘alternative source’ to increase the funds of Higher Education Institutions.

One way of how these neoliberal reforms have affected Higher Education Institutions is the commodification of the students. Students are being turned into customers and HEIs into corporations, as a result of which the public and the private have begun to blur (Beech, 2015, pp. 3-6). A recent example how the relationship between students and universities is changing could be observed at Oxford University, where a graduate recently sued the university for £1m as he found that the lack of teaching quality there had prevented him from having a successful career (Taylor & Sandeman, 2016). Beech (2015) argues that more young people study now than in the beginning of the 20th century resulting in increased competition. To many students, an undergraduate degree is just a ‘minimum-level’ qualification and they feel that additional qualifications and experiences need to be added in order to succeed in their career paths of choice (2015, p. 5). In the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS), the World Trade Organisation (WTO) has defined education as a tradable good, therefore tuition fees and students have become desired goods that shape revenue strategies of HEIs (Beech, 2015, p. 6). If universities and students see each other as providers and customers this may lead to expectations and demands, as the Oxford case shows. It should be discussed how this blurring boundary between the public and private affects Higher Education and the parties involved.

According to Radice (2015), neoliberal HE programmes serve a number of functions: (1) they provide individuals with higher-level work skills, (2) they develop formal educational frameworks and content; and, (3) they help produce cultural attitudes and beliefs which shape the practices of the ‘ruling class’ (2015, p. 411). This belief is based on a Bourdieuesque understanding of the reproduction of elites (cf. section 3.4, p. 64). So, from this perspective, the recipients of this form of neoliberalised higher education are crucial components in a system that tries to preserve the current mode of capitalism,

the neoliberal economy. Thus, neoliberal education is one of the components of elite reproduction for the neoliberal economy. Olssen & Peters (2007), Radice (2015) and Saunders (2010) provide a further and more in-depth discussion of neoliberal education and the consequences for universities and students. In the context of SIPs, they constitute a very specific form of neoliberal education combining educational aspects with applied training for the labour market. This intended production of elites should be critically questioned.

There are various factors that make student mobilities an interesting and relevant study subject. The Singaporean Ministry of Trade and Industry estimates that the “Global market for higher education (consumption abroad only) is around US\$30 billion” and adds that the “[t]otal number of foreign students enrolled in higher education was 1.6 million in 1996 with an annual average growth rate of 5% since 1970” (2016, p. 3). Not only due to the growing economic importance of student mobilities is it relevant to research mobile students. Brooks & Waters state that international student mobility “is a worthy subject of study – how they come to travel, how they travel, how often, and to what effect” (2011, p. 130). Studying international student mobilities and its power relations includes a variety of analytical levels “from the differential power of nation states to control and direct internationalization and international student flows, to the power of individual educational institutions to attract and retain large numbers of international students, to the power of individual students and their families to draw upon the sometimes vast resources necessary to make educational mobility happen” (Brooks & Waters, 2011, p. 130).

Discourses about students and elites are also related to place. Beech argues that our understanding of the relation of acquisition of capital with experiences overseas are not recent developments but actually products of an academic imperialism. (2015, p. 12). This thought is based on Edward Said’s imaginative geographies (Said, 2014) and describes the active construction of a dichotomy between the developed and educated West and the exotic uneducated East. This dichotomy served to establish Western hegemony, also in terms of education. In the case of SIPs, I have set out to analyse what role Washington’s image of power plays in students’ motivations to go to D.C., and therefore if it represents part of this ‘academic imperialism’. As Beech has analysed the role of institutions such as the British Council and Education UK in promoting the roles of British Higher Education, I shine light on the institutional powers that promote mobility to Washington.

My broad interests and the intricate interrelations of these different subjects made it interesting to use the mobilities paradigm perspective to connect these issues and analyse them simultaneously. At a conference where I gave a presentation of my early-stage PhD research I was asked why I viewed SIPs as such a negative development. I still find this an unfair assumption, I emphasise that I neither oppose student exchange nor the investments of individuals into their human capital. Nonetheless, we need to discuss issues of equal access and education justice, which directly relate to social justice. I have chosen to analyse the SIPs in my PhD partly due to my personal insights into these programmes. Moreover, I see them as very specialised student mobility programmes, which might be indicative of career patterns and mobility decision-making among young people. The SIPs are an example of neoliberal education and increasing commodification of Higher Education. Based on my own experiences, I felt that these SIPs can have significant effects on the personal and career development of young individuals, while simultaneously realising my own privilege.

Therefore, I felt like researching these SIPs, ‘benchmarking them’ and providing insights into their practices was needed. Portraying these privileged student mobilities and its participants serves to fill a gap within the literature of student mobilities. The SIPs bridge the gap between education and the labour market, which makes them relatively unique and relevant. One of the main assumptions that led to my research was the thought that increasing participation in SIPs (or similar specialised educational-experiences) leads to widening gaps in the labour market between those young individuals who can afford these educational experiences and prove their mobility and cosmopolitan capital and those who cannot. As I have experienced the benefits and disadvantages of education in Germany and can compare them to the Higher Education System in the UK and the USA, my perspective will always contrast these two systems.

1.2 Research Aim and Objectives

This PhD thesis seeks to analyse the making of mobilities in Washington D.C. as well as elite reproduction through participation in SIPs. Young elites seek to acquire cosmopolitan capital, as this might provide them with a “competitive edge in globalising social arenas” (Weenink, 2014, p. 112). This analysis of young elites, trained in the global city Washington D.C., will offer new perspectives on mobility biographies, career development and competition for jobs and influence.

In the mobilities paradigm places are not seen as fixed objects, they are perceived as mobile and as deeply connected to human performances. Places do not stand still but change and are constantly transformed through this array of movements. Furthermore, human and non-human agents (such as images, stories, objects such as souvenirs) make a place mobile (Urry, 2007, p. 269). Thus, Washington D.C. will be analysed as a mobile space. Young elites will be analysed who spend a temporary amount of time in the district and shape and affect the city. Why, among all those choices that young students have, did they decide to come to Washington D.C. and what are their hopes, career aspirations and intentions? How mobile have they been in the past, before coming to D.C., and afterwards? Does their stay in D.C. catalyse their careers or future mobilities?

In-depth interviews are utilised to analyse if participation in these Washington D.C. based semester programmes accelerates the careers of these young individuals. Focusing on these mobility biographies is meant to elucidate what agendas and ideas define the lives of these young elites. How do they shape their own careers and the social spaces in which they act? How are they reproduced? One of the key themes in the advertising and branding these SIPs is the transformative power that these programmes have. I wanted to focus this PhD on the effects of these programmes on their participants, as well as their impact on the city of Washington D.C. To structure this thesis, I focussed on the three elements of (1) the participants, (2) the city of Washington D.C. and (3) the SIPs, while seeing the SIPs as a means which bridges the first two elements and negotiates the relationships between them. My research aim will serve to fill the theoretical and empirical gaps in the mobilities literature by theorising study-internship mobilities literature and by portraying the study-internship landscape of Washington D.C. Because the research literature focussing on SIPs, and Washington in particular, is very limited, my research is exploratory my research is exploratory in addressing the main themes noted above.

The main research aim of this PhD is to

Explore how SIPs affect and transform their participants, their career paths and mobilities, as well as the city of Washington D.C.

To fulfil this research aim, addressing the following research objectives will further help in illuminating the study-internship landscape of Washington and in portraying its

participants from a mobilities paradigm perspective:

1. Review the literature and develop an analytical framework for study-internship programme mobility.
2. Analyse how and whether SIP mobilities are affected by (im)materialities.
3. Explore if and how the student-internship industry and SIP-participants have contributed to the changing landscape of Washington D.C.
4. Examine the reasons why the SIP-participants choose to take part in study-internship experience(s) in Washington D.C.
5. Determine if SIP-participants regard their mobility as elitist and see themselves as elites.
6. Identify what and whether specific competitive advantages and ‘transformative’ effects are gained by SIP-participants.
7. Develop a conceptual model of SIP mobility.

1.3 Theoretical Research Approach

The development of mobilities research is a reaction to the methodological and theoretical fixation on the nation-state in older associated fields of study, such as migration studies (Söderström and Randeria, 2013, p. XIV). A rather simple way to explain the concept of mobilities research (which derived from the idea of the mobilities paradigm) is to say that it is a way of making sense of globalization and the increasing movements of goods, people and indeed ideas (Adey, 2010, p. 1).

I highlight that, as the name already indicates, it is a paradigm and not a theory; the mobilities paradigm is a way of seeing and interpreting the world. According to Lincoln & Guba, a paradigm

may be viewed as a set of *basic beliefs* (or metaphysics) that deals with ultimates or first principles. It represents a *worldview* that defines, for its holder, the nature of the "world," the individual's place in it, and the range of possible relationships to that world and its parts, as, for example, cosmologies and theologies do. The beliefs are basic in the sense that they must be accepted simply on faith (however well argued); there is no way to establish their ultimate truthfulness (1994, p. 107).

A paradigm, or worldview, comes with its own methodology and its own set of rules and assumptions and is post-disciplinary. In contrast to a theory, there is more room for interpretation and various readings of a paradigm. As Urry explains, he decided to use the term paradigm because of Kuhn's publication on the structure of scientific revolutions (Kuhn, 1970 cited in Urry, 2007, p. 18). Kuhn argued that researchers are socialised into paradigms, and conduct their research in their understanding of these paradigms until there is a paradigm shift (Kuhn, 1970, pp. 11-12).

Urry emphasizes that the mobilities paradigm "brings to the fore theories, methods and exemplars of research that have been mostly subterranean, out of sight" and asserts that he uses the term mobilities to refer to "the broader project of establishing a movement-driven social science" (2007, p. 18). Urry's explanation of why it is called a paradigm, not a theory, is that the term paradigm indicates that it "is not just substantively different, in that it remedies the neglect and omissions of various movements of people, ideas and so on [b]ut it is transformative of social science, authorizing an alternative theoretical and methodological landscape as I detail" (2007, p. 18). While acknowledging that the 'subterranean' parts of research are not entirely new, he argues that they need to be set free from individual disciplinary thinking. This attempt to break free from disciplinary boundaries and to conduct post-disciplinary social scientific

research has its difficulties, as many scholars are thinking and acting in their old sets of mind and the frameworks they are used to.

Urry explains that the terms mobile and mobilities have four main meanings. Urry suggests that first, the term mobile is used to describe that something moves or has the capacity of moving (2007, p. 7). Second, there is also the idea of the mob, “a rabble or an unruly crowd [which is] (...) not fully fixed within boundaries and therefore needs to be tracked and socially regulated”. The third perspective is the mainstream sociological perspective on mobility as upward or downward social mobility, while Urry remarks that physical movements are directly interrelated to social mobility. The fourth main sense is an understanding of the terms in which horizontal mobility, being on the move, physical movements of people, are used to describe migration (usually semi-permanent movements of more than three months). While Urry emphasises that all four of these understandings of the terms contribute to mobilities research, he highlights that the connections between physical movements and social mobility are elementary to mobilities research. Urry emphasises the importance of exposing and visualising the underlying power structures which are the results of a dialectic of movements and moorings, is essential to his understanding of mobilities research (2007, pp. 7-9).

More traditional and older disciplines such as migration studies and transport studies have the tendency to focus on analysing movements of people and objects between nation-states. Thus, migrations studies’ inadequacies in describing more differentiated movements and the lack of focus on the process of moving itself have increasingly been revealed. Even a concept such as transnationalism, which aims to portray more elaborated patterns of movements and the connections in-between, from a migration perspective is strongly working with the idea of nation-states. Unfortunately, this perspective is often not precise enough to describing “the problematic nature and implications of the binary division between ‘receiving’ and ‘sending’ societies” (Söderström and Randeria, 2013, p. XIII). Söderström and Randeria add that one of the benefits of mobilities research is that it sees migration phenomena in a global context and not simply as coupled to a nation-state framework. Therefore, the authors argue that questioning the ideas and terminologies of migration research by mobilities research “is a welcome move towards a critique of the fixity of categories, which the mobilities paradigm calls for” (Söderström and Randeria, 2013, p. XIV). Hui tries to explain the lack of interest of migration researchers in the mobilities perspectives by asserting that due to their familiarity with the theoretical concept of transnationalism, the ideas of

mobilities research have seemed less interesting to many migration researchers (2016, p. 70). While relying on different ontological positions (cf. section 2.1., p. 22, migration studies and mobilities research are connected, and migration is seen as a subtype of the concept of mobilities (Hui, 2016, p. 71).

In academia, the rather recent announcement of the “mobilities paradigm” seems to have created some uncertainties as to what belongs to this field of study and why it constitutes a new post-disciplinary field of study. Hannam, Sheller & Urry state that “certain critics argue that there is no analytical purchase in bringing together so broad a field – encompassing studies of corporeal movement, transportation and communications infrastructures, capitalist spatial restructuring, migration and immigration, citizenship and transnationalism, and tourism and travel” (2006, p. 9-10). And even within the field of migration studies, King points out that “the wide scope of the mobilities research field, incorporating mobilities of many forms, scales, practices, and technologies, naturally means it has many antecedents” (2012, p. 143). Nonetheless, it should be clear that the mobilities paradigm is more than just an umbrella for previously independent fields of study. According to Urry, “mobilities have been a black box for the social sciences, generally regarded as a neutral set of processes permitting forms of economic, social and political life that are explicable by other more causally powerful processes” (2007, p. 12). And as “[t]ransport researchers, for example, take the ‘demands’ for transport as largely given” (Sheller & Urry, 2006, p. 212), one can argue that migration researchers have underestimated the movements and processes involved in moving and migrating. Büscher, Urry and Witchger criticise that the established disciplines of social science “are not enough to ‘explain’ complex, chaotic yet ordered social and material realities (...) [and emphasise that] it is not just about how people make knowledge of the world, but how they physically and socially make the world through the ways they move and mobilise people, objects, information and ideas” (2011, 14).

Adey highlights the importance of the theoretical concept of mobility which is as important but at the same time as contested as the concepts of “‘space’, ‘society’, ‘power’, ‘city’, ‘nature’ or ‘home’ ” (Adey, 2010, p. 13). The mobilities paradigm calls for a shift of focus, a more in-depth look at the process of mobility itself and the circumstances in which mobilities takes place, maybe constituting the most innovative component of the mobilities paradigm (Adey, 2010, p. 36-37). Nonetheless, such a paradigm shift does not happen overnight and by itself. Researchers need to adjust their

own perspectives and positionalities and free themselves of some of their disciplines' restrictions to conduct mobilities research (I address some of my own challenges in doing mobilities research in section 4.5, p. 102). This change is rather radical as the whole perspective of the mobilities paradigm is different from many assumptions that have fundamentally dominated social science.

Adey et al. state that mobility cultures can best be described by paying attention to "paths, flows, and connections" (2014, p. 21) and offer an overview of the various debates revolving around the nature and the impact of mobilities research. An essential idea to understanding the purpose of the mobilities paradigm is that mobility should be interpreted in more than just "its usual connotation – movement". Adey warns that talking about mobility simply as movements (mobility without meaning) is often a conscious political decision. As movements always take place within a framework and have multiple consequences, reducing their meaning to the sole act of moving from A to B is not adequate. Often mobility is just stripped off its meaning by interpreting it purely as the study of movements, therefore making it a more descriptive field of studies (Adey, 2010, pp. 34-35). Adey argues that "Mobility is movement imbued with meaning", therefore mobilities researchers are encouraged to pay attention to the meanings of movements.

Cresswell (1996, 1999, 2006) and Adey (2010), both point out that the meaning that is ascribed to mobilities depends on the researcher's background and his or her perspective. Adey states that mobility has no "pre-existing significance in and of itself (...) the way it is given meaning is dependent upon the context in which it occurs and who decides upon the significance it is given". Nonetheless, distinct places and societal contexts imbue meaning on mobilities that are able to bridge in-between different cultures (Adey, 2010, pp. 36-37). With the words of John Urry, to analyse complex global social relations means to generate theories and research data that focusses on mobilising social science (Urry, 2007, p. 6).

Canzler, Kaufman & Kesselring assert that global networks and a world or global city network are both connected to multiple mobilities (2008, p. 4). Therefore, in mobilities research, the connections between the mobilities of people, goods and ideas with the

infrastructures and (im)materialities¹ (cf. section 2.3, p. 34) that enable these mobilities are illuminated and analysed. Faulconbridge & Hui emphasise that the key contribution of the mobilities editorial (Hannam, Sheller & Urry, 2006) was that it called for a shift of attention to the processes of mobility without solely explaining them by existing theories (2016, p. 3).

There are many different general themes and strands within mobilities research. As the field of mobilities research is new, there is a certain vagueness and openness and space for new ideas. By vagueness, I mean that some concepts and methods are not entirely developed – and that many perspectives and ideas can still be added to the body of thought. I emphasise that there are several other dimensions and fields of application for the mobilities paradigm (for example bodily movements of people) which will not be utilised in this thesis because I did not consider them as beneficial to my analysis. Characteristic reasons for post-disciplinary mobilities research are that it offers a unique chance to portray the components that are constitutive of globalisation processes. Mobilities research attracts many researchers as it offers a new outlook on social scientific problems and ways of approaching them methodologically. Moreover, mobilities research intends to overcome the fixation on the nation-state and establish the importance of processes of movement in our current world.

¹ I use the term (im)materialities instead of writing materialities and immaterialities. Both, material as immaterial objects can be mobile, thus I decided to use the term (im)materialities, a term that is common in mobilities research (Adey, 2006).

1.4 Research Context

To provide an overview of the research context of this thesis I find it necessary to address why Washington is a globally relevant city and some facts about the city in section 1.4.1. In 1.4.2, I then provide a brief overview of Washington's Study-Internship Programme Landscape.

1.4.1 Global Relevance of Washington D.C.

For global city theorists, the importance of Washington D.C. and whether it should be considered a global city has been questioned (Hahn, 2014, p. 42), however, for me this debate is negligible. Whether the wider Washington D.C. metropolitan area fits a theoretical model such as Sassen's global city theory (1991) is often a matter of defining the data range that is basis of the definition. This has become quite difficult with huge metropolitan areas such as the wider Washington D.C. region. For my PhD analysis, it is not important to what percentage Washington is less or more of a global city than New York or London for example. I treat it as a global city, as I find the following factors indicative enough to consider Washington D.C. an important node of globalisation. Hyra emphasised that the transition from industrial to post-industrial society in the US catalysed and changed the perception of Washington D.C. as a global city (2017, p. 49). In order to show the various factors that make Washington D.C. a well-connected node of globalisation, issues of power, global connectivity, military-industrial complex, finance sector and federal outsourcing are presented.

Governmental Power and Institutions

Washington D.C. provides many of the governmental infrastructures of the American government. Obviously, the White House, the Capitol, and many government branches are located in the city. American embassies all over the world are coordinated from the State Department which is located in Washington as well (Hyra, 2017, p. 49). In advertisements, the SIPs often use experience reports and pictures from interns who had the most prestigious internships (Jordan, 2017a, Jordan, 2017b, Jordan, 2017c). Hyra asserts that the high-wage labour market is growing in Washington and that government-related enterprises and jobs made up 58% of D.C.'s job in 2010, usually with salaries of more than 75,000 US \$ (2017, p. 56). This contributes to the influence of government associated jobs and growing inequalities in Washington which I talk about later in this section.

Supranational Organisations and Global Connectivity

In a Western perception of space, the “centre of power and expertise is firmly located in the global North, despite widespread rhetoric and policies of decentralisation” (Baillie Smith & Laurie, 2011, p. 547). Washington is one of the centres of global development infrastructures. Almost two hundred governments have their embassies and offices in Washington (Hyra, 2017, p. 49). The World Bank, the International Monetary Fund (IMF), as well as about 8000 NGOs and 300 think tanks can be found in Washington D.C. (Hahn, 2014, p. 42).

In 2015, about 2 million international visitors came to Washington, along with about 19.3 million American visitors, making it the eighth most popular destination in the United States for international visitors (Destination DC, 2016). In my interviews with American SIP-participants, it seemed that the majority of participants had been to Washington D.C. before, often on a high school field trip. Washington’s exposure and presence in global media outlets ensures that people have vague ideas of the city which are mostly shaped by the news, movies and TV-series (for example *Burn after Reading*, *House of Cards*, *NCIS*, *Night at the Museum*, *The West Wing*, *The X-Files*).

Military-Industrial Complex

Key institutions of the governmental military-industrial infrastructures of the United States are based in and around Washington. The Department of Defense, the FBI and Homeland Security are located in Washington. The CIA headquarters in Langley, Virginia, and the NSA in Fort Meade, Maryland, are located in the wider metropolitan area. The impact of the multinational private defense firms in the wider metropolitan area of Washington D.C. was also a major factor in Washington’s development into a major global hub (Hyra, 2017, p. 50).

In 2011, the top five US defense contract firms Lockheed Martin, Boeing, General Dynamics, Northrop Grumman and Raytheon received 113.2 billion \$ in federal contracts. In 2008 135 billion US \$ of government spending on salaries, insurances and benefits were “doled out directly to the DC metropolitan region” of which “\$ 30 billion, was US Department of Defense procurements, awarded to private, multinational defense contract companies with extensive DC footprints” (Hyra, 2017, pp. 50-51).

Finance

While D.C. cannot compare to the economic importance of New York, London or Paris in terms of its stock markets, it is still relevant within global economy. The first reason for this is that “over \$ 9 trillion in private and public financial assets is managed there” and adds that in 2008 “DC’s worldwide financial value was around \$ 600 trillion, making its global finance share approximately 1.5%” (Hyra, 2017, p. 51). The second reason is that many domestic and international financial-oversight entities are located in Washington. Key D.C. Metropolitan Financial Institutions manage about 9.3 trillion US \$ in financial assets. Especially the Great Recession of 2007-09 showed the impact of D.C.’s financial institutions onto the domestic and international financial markets, proving its importance as a global financial centre (Hyra, 2017, pp. 55-53).

Reputation of the District of Columbia

The District of Columbia has manifold nicknames; the most prominent one nowadays is “Washington D.C.” which is used more than the officially correct term “District of Colombia”. The following ones have existed for a long time and are widely used (Wikipedia, 2016²; Gessler, 2013, p. 1):

- ‘The Capital of the World’
- ‘Chocolate City’ (Due to the African-American descent of many inhabitants (Bratman, 2011, p. 1548)
- ‘City of Magnificent Intentions’ (first coined by Charles Dickens)
- ‘Hollywood for Ugly People’ (=> aimed at D.C. politics and politicians and its comedic character)
- ‘Murder Capital of America’ (late 1980s to early 1990s)
- ‘Nation's Capital’
- ‘Capital City’—used by Pierre L’Enfant
- Washington D.C.—another name for the District of Columbia

² I decided to use Wikipedia as a Source for these Nicknames, because of it being a Creative Common Source, reflecting Nicknames that are actually used by people and have been used in the past.

Some of these names are quite telling in what they stand for and what they represent. Others need some more research in order to understand the context in which they developed. Associations of power, influence and pretentiousness can be attributed to as well as seen in these nicknames. The title “city of magnificent intentions” alludes to the ideas that Pierre L’Enfant envisioned with the design of the city, to express “the ideals of democracy, equality and opportunity upon which the nation was founded” (Bratman, 2011, p. 1546).

I have provided an overview of these different factors here to show the various aspects that define life in Washington, its global impact, and also to show how these factors impact on Washington’s image. The governmental institutions, the supranational organisations, the military-industrial complex, as well as the finance sector in Washington have both a national and international dimension. Moreover, knowing about these different industries and facets of Washington is integral to understanding its global impact and the mobilities that it orchestrates, including SIP mobilities.

1.4.2 An Overview of Washington’s SIPs

In Washington D.C., a number of SIPs were developed in the course of the last century. Initial research showed that there is a small industry with programmes that combine studying in Washington D.C. with an internship placement. The universities in Washington D.C. strategically advertise and promote the image that participation in their respective programmes leads to a number of benefits (cf. section 6.2, p. 149). The opportunity to gain access to restricted circles in Washington D.C.’s political landscape can be a significant pull factor for aspiring young students (cf. section 7.1, p. 168). An Internet search of the terms ‘semester in Washington DC’ comes up with close to 13.2 million results – showcasing the diversity of various programmes. There is no register for these programmes which makes it hard to differentiate between universities that have (physically) built off-branch campuses and those that just cooperate and affiliate with existing programmes. In order to get an idea of the scope and the material infrastructures of the “Washington Semester movement” (Pederson & Provizer 1995, p. 232), it does make sense to distinguish between the following:

a) Programmes that are located in Washington D.C.

Universities within the D.C. area that have a Semester in Washington programme are American University (founded in 1947) and George Washington University (founded in 1995). The WSP is claiming to have about 700 participants per year and more than 40.000 alumni since it was founded (American University, 2014, p. 2). These programs are open to both: American and international students. Georgetown, another internationally well-known University from Washington closed their programme in 2016. In an interview that I conducted with a Higher Executive of the programme in 2015, the spokesperson had already complained about pressures for Higher Education institutions in the US and about fewer applications but also emphasised that the programme still was profitable. This example shows the competitiveness of this branch and more generally Higher Education in the US quite well.

Getting admitted into George Washington University's programme can be a draw for students, even though the university still has the reputation of being one of the most expensive universities in the United States (in 2015-2016 the estimated tuition fees for beginning undergraduate students were \$50,435 (College Navigator, 2016)). The university has the advantage of being located in a very prestigious area, about five blocks from the White House. Their SIP helps students with finding internships and claims to have a placement rate of 100 % (George Washington University, 2016).

Two smaller SIPs are the SIP of the Wesley Theological Seminar that is designed for Seminarians from the US who want to spend a semester in D.C., and also the Lutheran College Washington Semester that was founded in 1986 and hosts about 40 to 50 students from Lutheran schools per semester. Another rather small SIP is the Washington Ireland Program for Service and Leadership (WIP), a six-month summer programme with work placements and leadership training (WIP, 2016). This programme is for full-time University students at Irish, Northern-Irish and British universities who identify with Irish Nationality and is sponsored by government partners as well as corporate sponsors.

b) Off-Branch Campus Programmes of Universities outside of Washington D.C.

In the last twenty years, there are increasingly more universities outside of Washington D.C. – for example the University of Georgia (Athens, Georgia) – that wanted to create a similar programme (US Fed News, 2007) for their

students instead of sending them to the older established programmes. In 1982, the University of California, Irvine set up the UCDC programme (claiming to have more than 10,000 alumni) which is “home to the University of California's Washington DC-based system-wide academic program as well as multi-campus research units (MRUs) and other business and operations offices of the University” (UCDC, 2016) and is cooperating with other international universities. Other examples of off-branch campuses in D.C. are Harvard and Stanford, who have set up their own programmes in Washington. Stanford University bought property in Northwest Washington in 1988 and consequently set up their own programme with about 1300 alumni to-date (Stanford in Washington, 2016).

c) Non-University-affiliated SIPs

The Fund for American Studies (TFAS) was established in 1967 and claims to be “a leader in educating young people from around the world in the fundamental principles of American democracy and our free market system” (DC Internships, 2016). There are also other funds, associations or organisations such as the Washington Center (founded in 1970), with “140 professional staff, associate faculty and Alumni in Residence, 1,600 interns plus several hundred seminar participants each year” and about 50,000 alumni (The Washington Center, 2016), the Washington Internship Institute (established in 1990, 2500 alumni) or the Council for Christian Colleges & Universities offer SIPs in Washington. Perlin describes the Washington Center as “an educational nonprofit that functions almost as an “internship university” in Washington D.C., charging hefty tuition to place over 1,500 students in internships each year, mostly unpaid (2011, p. 109). The White House Internship Programme has the same characteristics of a study-internship programme, as it offers seminars, guest speakers and so on alongside the internship. With about 6,000 applicants in 2009 (Politico, 2009) the White House Internship programme might be one of the most desired internships in Washington D.C.

In addition to all these programmes, there are Summer schools and internship placement programmes that operate with similar aims. In my research, only programmes with a longer duration were considered. Whether students receive credit for their participation in the programme or not depends on the home institutions of students. Students also receive a certificate for participation in the respective SIP. It is also important to

distinguish between SIPs that help students apply for internships (but do not guarantee internship placements), and those who place students in internships (students are often able to decide whether they accept the placement or not, otherwise the programmes keep on searching together with the students). In the case of my research participants, the first option was true. Only if a student has not found an internship after four to six weeks, the programmes will push harder and try to find internship sites for these students. The WSP and the internships sites do not have cooperation contracts but the connection exist on rather a loose basis, in form of a database managed by one staff person (Higher Executive of the WSP, 2015). The WSP tries to establish good relations with successful internship sites and also tries to let these organisations benefit from their cooperation by being able to advertise at summer fairs and other university events. It was also emphasised that the internship sites reach out to the programme in order to cooperate and to ensure that there is no shortage. In my interviews, many students expressed how much appreciation they had and how surprised they were that after a couple of weeks all of their classmates had secured internships, even the ones who had no idea where they wanted to intern when they arrived in Washington.

1.5 Structure of the Thesis

Introduction

This PhD thesis is divided into eight chapters. In this current chapter, I have focussed on introducing the theme of my research, its rationale, as well as my research aim and objectives, and in providing the necessary context for my research.

Chapter 2, Theoretical Chapter 1

In my thesis, there are two chapters on theory. This chapter is designed to provide a broader theoretical framework to why and how mobilities research is conducted, and how this field has developed. I specifically outline the importance of (im)materialities in mobilities research and also include two concepts that are related to mobilities research. These concepts are individualisation and cosmopolitanism.

Chapter 3, Theoretical Chapter 2

This second theory chapter is more specific in that it addresses theories that represent a starting point to the basically non-existent research on SIPs. In this chapter, I develop an

analytical framework for SIP research by building on insights from research on related themes, such as the research on student mobilities, internship mobilities, lifestyle mobilities, elite mobilities and volunteering mobilities.

Chapter 4, Methodology

Chapter four is the methodological chapter of this thesis. I present my methodological perspective which is routed in a poststructuralist tradition and more specifically in postmodernism. Moreover, I explain what qualitative research methods I have used. Moreover, I explain how I have conducted my data collection in Washington D.C. and how I have analysed this empirical data. Also, part of this chapter are introspective reflections on my subjectivities as a researcher, ethical considerations, as well as about a discussion of the limitations of my research methodology.

Chapter 5, Part 1 of my Analysis

This first of three analytical chapters is focussed on the ‘cosmopolitan’ destination Washington D.C. In this chapter I focus on why D.C. is a desirable destination for SIP-participants and how the city is presenting itself to students and how it is perceived. This chapter is designed to show how the SIPs and their participants are embedded into the city, how they affect the city and how the SIPs and SIP-participants fit into the changing landscape of Washington D.C.

Chapter 6, Part 2 of my Analysis

The second part of my analysis is presented in Chapter 6, which focusses on the research subject of the SIPs as institutional actors in Washington and in showing how they mobilise students to the city. I focus on how the SIPs have developed in Washington, on how the programmes (and likewise Washington) are marketed, and illustrate how the SIPs operate. Moreover, I outline how SIPs seek to provide access to elite spaces and people within Washington D.C.

Chapter 7, Part 3 of my Analysis

In this third analysis chapter, I address the SIP-participants and their mobilities. I analyse in depth how and why they decided to go to Washington, and theorise these assumptions in a model. Moreover, I address how they relate to elitism and whether participation in an SIP has a transformative effect.

Chapter 8, Conclusions

In this concluding chapter to my thesis, as a first step I evaluate and summarise my research findings and address how I have addressed my research objectives. Then I compare how my research findings align with an analytical framework for SIP research that I developed in chapter three. I outline what my contribution to knowledge is with this thesis, and elaborate what its policy implications are. Next, I explain which limitations this thesis has and how they can be addressed by future research. I then conclude with some personal reflections and final thoughts on the process of writing this thesis.

2. Mobilities and Individualisation in a Cosmopolitan World

In this chapter I outline the theoretical framework of this thesis that is used to analyse and frame the empirical findings. I present the theoretical underpinnings of this PhD thesis and set the scene for the next chapter (Chapter 3, p. 49), which takes more of an in-depth look at the theoretical underpinnings of study-internship programme mobilities. In this chapter, I lay the theoretical groundwork for this thesis from a broader perspective. The main theoretical assumptions that guide mobilities research are explained and I outline their benefits but also complement them with the concepts of individualisation and cosmopolitanisation.

First, I present how the idea of mobilities research became prominent. Second, I present the main assumptions that John Urry and others have developed for the mobilities paradigm. Third, I elaborate on the idea of places being mobile and how (im)materialities play a role in mobilities research. Then after these three sections that focus on mobilities paradigm perspectives, there are two sections that introduce two concepts that are also essential for my research, but do not explicitly fall into the category of mobilities research. I include works on cosmopolitanisation and individualisation to fill gaps in explaining behaviours of individuals and to provide a broader theoretical framework as an attempt to theoretically frame study-internship programme mobilities (cf. Chapter 3, p. 49).

2.1 The Theoretical Foundations of Mobilities Research

There were previous publications by various authors that pioneered and inspired the ideas of the mobilities paradigm. Authors such as Zygmunt Baumann (2002, 2013), earlier ideas of Urry (1990, 2000), Thrift (2004) or Castells (2010) paved the way for the mobilities paradigm. But the year 2006 is usually referred to as a common starting point, and especially two articles attracted major attention in this context: that is the article by Sheller & Urry (2006) in *Environment and Planning* as well as the editorial of the first issue of the journal *Mobilities*, in which Hannam, Sheller & Urry (2006) call for a paradigm change in social science - the mobility turn. Adey et al. conclude that different ideas and influences have impacted the development of the mobilities paradigm (2014, p. 7). In this section, I address the theoretical developments that led to the creation of mobilities research (cf. section 2.1.1, p. 23) and how these developments have shaped the core concepts of mobilities research. In section 2.1.2, I summarise the

influences of nomadic theory on mobilities research and in section 2.1.3, I elaborate on the ideas of non-representational theory.

2.1.1 Initial Influences on Mobilities Research

Urry and Sheller in their initial announcement of a new mobilities paradigm argue that these new research directions move beyond sedentarism and nomadism in their conceptualisation of movements (2006, p. 214), and add that mobilities research relies on six bodies of theory:

1. The first component is built on Simmel and his observations of the human “will to connection” (1997, p. 171) that helps humans to connect two places, for example with a bridge or a road (Sheller & Urry, 2006, p. 215). The connection between mobilities and materialities is an essential component of the mobilities paradigm (cf. section 2.3, p. 34). Adey et al. have provided various examples of such man-made connections, meaning physical infrastructures such as roads, railways, data connections or pipes and cables (2014, p. 183). Simmel’s descriptions of the “inextricable chaos” (Simmel, 1997 quoted in Sheller & Urry, 2006, p. 215) which requires human relationships to rely on structures and arrangements, can also be transferred to the chaotic nature of globalisation processes and how mobile systems are being realised by immobile platforms and moorings (Urry, 2007).
2. The second body of theory highlights “what we call the social is materially heterogenous: talk, bodies, texts, machines, architectures, all of these and many more are implicated in and perform the social” (Law, 1994, p. 2 quoted in Sheller & Urry, 2006, p. 215). These ‘hybrid geographies’ (Whatmore, 2002 cited in Sheller & Urry, 2006, p. 215), constitute mobilities and are based upon the interaction of human and non-human agents. Sheller & Urry emphasise how networks are coupled with assemblages of “peoples, objects, and technologies across multiple and distant spaces and times” (Law, 1994, p. 24 quoted in Sheller & Urry, 2006, p. 215). This body of theory builds on actor-network theory (Law & Hassard, 1999; Law, 2002; Latour, 2005), the idea of the assemblage (Deleuze et al., 1988; Deleuze & Parnet, 1989; Marcus & Saka, 2006), as well as on post-humanistic philosophy (Braidotti, 2013, 2013).
3. The third theoretical foundation of mobilities research is the mobilisation of the ‘spatial turn’ in the social sciences (Sheller & Urry, 2006, p. 215). Most

importantly, Sheller & Urry highlight, how “theorists of ‘relationality’ and circulation are able to track ‘partial connections’ (Strathern, 1991) that disturb bipolar logics of the local and the global, or the mobile and the immobile, and suggest the coconstitution of embodiments, landscapes, and system of local and global mobility” (2006, p. 216). The insight that binary categories such as the distinction between global and local can be misleading in describing partial connections represents an alternative concept to the established binary distinctions. Moreover, Sheller & Urry emphasise that the movements of people, goods and objects form and reform space (2006, p. 216); this increased attention to these processes is a main new concept that sets apart mobilities research from other research strands.

4. Another influence that has impacted mobilities research has been “the recentring of the corporeal body as an affective vehicle through which we sense place and movement, and construct emotional geographies”. This focuses on how humans experience mobilities and how these “complex sensuous geographies” connect “means of travel and the traveller” (Sheller & Urry, 2006, p. 216). Analyses of these embodied movements are also known as the qualities of movements; “[a] quality might be: a facet that constitutes the experience of mobility; an aspect of mobility that might frustrate analysis and prove tough to apprehend; a particular experience of time and distance; the curious pacing and qualitative rhythms mobilities seem to keep tempo to” (Adey et al, 2014, p. 103). This interest in the perceptions and experiences of movements has benefitted the creation of new ‘mobile’ research methodologies (Büscher et al., 2011) and more applied studies of movements (Adey, 2006; Bissell, 2009; Bissell, 2010).
5. A fifth factor that has influenced mobilities research are the topologies of networks, connections and mobility systems, especially looking at the patterns of weak ties within ‘small worlds’. The small worlds theory by Watts (1999), tries to develop “an explanation of the empirical finding supposedly demonstrated by various researchers that everybody on the planet, whatever their social location, is separated by only six degrees of separation” (Urry, 2004, 113). Urry combines the ideas of small worlds with Granovetter’s analysis of ‘weak ties’, who showed that loose connections between people proved to be essential to successful job searches (Granovetter, 1983 cited in Urry, 2004, p. 113). Urry suggests that, as the spread of technologies through globalisation has formed “small world connections ‘on the go’” (2004, p. 126); increasingly

people become more aware how people in different parts of the world live. This increasing number of weak ties affects and alters their mobilities. Moreover, Sheller & Urry emphasise that sometimes mobilities analyses need to be more creative and differentiated from the idea of networked mobilities. Thus, both ideas of chaos and structure are being used to address mobilities and to chart mobile topologies. Moreover, these theoretical considerations have stimulated new research “the concepts of co-presence, conversations, meetingness, travel and complex material worlds” (Urry, 2004, pp. 124-125).

6. The last theoretical influence, according to Sheller & Urry, involves “the analysis of complex systems that are neither perfectly ordered nor anarchic”, and they add that these dynamic systems, develop over long periods of time “so that national economies, corporations and households are locked into stable path-dependent’ practices” (2006, p. 217). What the authors mean by assessing that these systems are ‘neither perfectly ordered nor anarchic’ is that these systems are so elaborate and interlocked that even tiny changes can affect them. This perspective is also known as the complexity theory turn in the social sciences (cf. Sheller & Urry, 2016, pp. 12-13). Examples of the breakdown of mobility systems are 9/11, the SARS outbreak, the eruption of the icelandic volcano Eyjafjallajökull and its consequences for air travel (Sheller & Urry, 2006; Adey et al., 2014).

Apart from these theoretical underpinnings of mobilities research, Sheller & Urry have emphasised the importance of new methods for mobilities research (2006, p. 217). I address these methodological implications in Chapter 3.

In addition to the theoretical assumptions of the mobilities paradigm that were initially outlined by Sheller & Urry (2006), mobilities research developed under the influence of post-structuralist nomadic theory and have helped researchers to understand the importance of structures and materialities, as well as issues of post-colonialism and equality (Adey et al., 2014, p. 4). Thus, as Adey et al. explain, these different theories and research philosophies are being picked up in mobilities research and shape the theoretical foundations of the mobilities paradigm.

Mobilities research brings together influences from actor-network theory, particularly the notion that objects have agency as well, with post-structuralist approaches as the concept of assemblage by Deleuze et al. (1988, 1989). In combination with post-humanistic approaches (Braidotti, 1993, 2012, 2013) in the 2000nds, “there was a move

back towards that side of human creativity again, you get creative class thesis and get creativity that human beings actually can change things quite a lot, and how human beings interact with the environment in different ways” (Hannam, pers. comm.). Mobilities research combines all the aforementioned influences and emphasises the ideas “that human life is very embodied and emotional geographies, (...) with some (...) ideas of structure (...) and post-structure and analyses how the world and human beings are on the move and how that movement informs their identities as well and gives meaning to a lot of things we do” (Hannam, pers. comm., 2014). Along with the concepts and bodies of theory that Urry and Sheller have outlined (2006), I introduce the influences of nomadic theory (section 2.1.2, p. 26) and non-representational theory (section 2.1.3, p. 27) in the two following sections.

2.1.2 Nomadic Theory – Countering Sedentarist Social Science

As mentioned before, countering sedentarism and stasis in the social sciences is one of the main principles of mobilities research. Studies of nomadism and nomadic theory was a distinguishing feature of research in the 1980s and 90s, and “[e]vading the structures and strictures of political and social norms became a leitmotif of ‘nomadic theory’, just as post-colonial writings pushed attention towards the words of shifting perspectives out of colonial administration” (Adey et al. 2014, p. 7). Nomadic theory embraces an opposite position to sedentarism and attempts to transcend geographical borders and disciplinary boundaries (Sheller & Urry, 2006, p. 210-212). Sheller & Urry summarise how recent interest in nomadism can be “traced back to the critique of the colonial modes of ordering and knowing that informed many 20th-century human sciences [and was also picked up in] [s]tudies of migration, diasporas, and transnational citizenship [which] offered trenchant critiques of the bounded and static categories of nation, ethnicity, community, place, and state within much social science” (2006, p. 211). Many feminist theorists have criticised nomadic theory as romanticising mobility and being an elitist perspective of the few who enjoy privileged cosmopolitan mobilities. Sheller & Urry reject this notion and argue that both the processes of ‘homing’ and dwelling, but also dislocation, displacement are addressed in mobilities research (2006, p. 211). A similarly influential theoretical concept for the development of mobilities research is non-representational theory, which I explain in the next section.

2.1.3 Non-Representational Theory

Adey et al. summarise that the developments which led to the emergence of mobilities research started by “internal critiques within individual research fields concerning the continued prioritization of fixity and stasis” (2014, p. 3), and were followed by suggestions to analyse ‘the field’ as a set of relations as opposed to a location (Marcus, 1998). Moreover, Adey et al. explain, “[w]ithin Anthropology and Geography the mobile body even challenged assumptions about the a priori dominance of representations and symbolism, demanding theories and approaches that were more attuned to practice and performances” (2014, p. 3). This shift of heightened attention to practices and experiences of mobile life was picked up in mobilities research. Thrift described these practices in what he calls non-representational theory, which is intended to be “*the geography of what happens*” (2008, p. 2). Non-representational theory means paying attention to “practices, mundane everyday practices that shape the conduct of human beings towards others and themselves in particular sites” (Thrift, 1997, pp. 126-127).

This turn from text and representations to performance and embodied and bodily practices was “inspired by Benjamin and de Certeau and drawing together Foucault’s attention to the technologies of being, the emphasis on nonhuman agency and relational networks in actor network theory, and the language of heterogeneous fragments, flows, assemblages and linkages of Deleuze & Guattari, Thrift outlines the tenets of ‘non-representational theory’ ” (Nash, 2000, p. 655). Combining these post-structuralist influences into a theory which calls for a theoretical and methodological shift for increased attention to flow, process and performances is one theoretical foundation for mobilities research. Within mobilities research, Thrift’s ideas of going ‘beyond the representational’ have been picked up quite often and have led to various analyses. Faulconbridge and Hui provide a variety of examples of ‘process-, performance- and practice-oriented’ mobilities research which seek to highlight “not the functionality of moving from A to B but experiences and sociocultural constructions of mobilities” (2016, p. 4).

In this section, I have outlined the core concepts that impact mobilities research. Along with the influences that Urry and Sheller (2006) outlined initially, Thrift's idea of non-representational theory has informed a strand of literature that pays attention to practices and performances, and provided theoretical underpinnings for new methods to analyse movements. Actor-network theory, especially the notion that objects have agency, is the essential idea that has been picked up in mobilities research' interest in materialities and how they can be instrumental in global mobilities. Post-humanistic philosophy (Braidotti, 2013) and the combination of human and non-human actors to new forms and hybrids all constitute mobilities research. Nomadic theory, as an attempt to counter sedentarism is also a key notion for mobilities researchers. Within mobilities research, all these influences are being picked up and brought together. In the next section, I illustrate Urry's foundational ideas for mobilities research which suggest reshaping social science.

2.2 Thirteen Basic Assumptions of the Mobilities Paradigm

In this section I illustrate how radical Urry's ideas of mobilities are and how these assumptions define mobilities research. Core beliefs of mobilities research are establishing a motion driven social science (Büscher et al. 2011) and to channel and merge the various disciplines that have done research on the movements of (im)materialities and people from a new post-disciplinary perspective (Urry, 2007, p. 6). Thus, the ideas of the mobilities paradigm are "not just about how people make knowledge of the world, but how they physically and socially make the world through the ways they move and mobilise people, objects, information and ideas" (Büscher et al., 2011, 14). Sheller & Urry try to emphasise that the mobilities paradigm is not a call for "a new 'grand narrative' of mobility, fluidity, or liquidity" (2006, p. 210). Nonetheless, Urry suggests that all social scientists should analyse movements when trying to analyse social phenomena; and do it with a whole new perspective, not by merely adapting old research practices (2008, p. 13).

While on the one hand Sheller & Urry insist on the mobilities paradigm as a perspective; a 'set of questions, theories, and methodologies rather than a totalising or reductive description of the contemporary world" (2006, p. 2010), on the other hand this call for a revision of the ways in which social science is conducted (Urry, 2008, p. 13) seems radical, and almost patronising. Nevertheless, if one deems the main assumptions

of the mobilities paradigm correct, a wholesale revision is a logical consequence. One can still argue that it is hard to imagine watered down mobilities research, and to find a middle ground between existing ‘old disciplines’ and a mobilities perspective, at least from Urry’s theoretical perspective. Mobility research requires a reconfiguration of the researchers’ perspective – therefore, in the future, mobilities studies as its own subject of study will help to replace this step. It needs to be acknowledged that the national framework is still prominent in the plans of people, politicians, and generally some regions, countries and political decision-making processes; thus, conducting mobilities research without acknowledging these boundaries is almost impossible, or only with specific topics.

In my view, mobilities research as a discipline should focus on offering an alternate perspective to the traditional disciplines in social science. Increasing inclusion into the scholarly discourse will certainly develop the concept and add to its theoretical and methodological evolution. To understand the agenda of mobilities research, Urry’s thirteen elements of the mobilities paradigm help to narrow down possible directions of this field of studies. I do not necessarily agree with all of Urry’s assumptions; nonetheless, they provide a good starting point to understand the agenda of mobilities research, and to grasp mobilities research as a whole. Therefore, I repeat and comment on Urry’s thirteen elements (2008, pp. 13-18) of the mobilities paradigm:

1. The reduced importance of spatial propinquity: Urry explains that social relations are never stable but always in flux. Therefore, Urry states, with the technological advances of the 20th century social relations have become less bound to fixed places (2008, p.13). Hence, Urry asserts, mobilities research distances itself from the “metaphysics of presence” (2008, p. 13) that have dominated the discourse in social science. I think that the realisation that the importance of spatial distance for social relations has decreased is spreading in social science by now and cannot be reduced to mobilities research.
2. There are five interdependent mobilities that produce social life:
 - a. Corporeal travel of people
 - b. Physical movement of objects
 - c. Imaginative travel
 - d. Virtual travel
 - e. Communicative travel

These different mobilities are seen as a “complex assemblage” and therefore he calls for taking into account all of these different aspects as opposed to focussing on just one or two of these dimensions (Urry, 2008, p. 14). Jöns et al. criticise that Urry seems to neglect (mobile) knowledge and as an immaterial counterpart to mobile material objects and they suggest “adding a sixth dimension to Urry’s (2007) interdependent forms of mobility—circulating knowledge, concepts, and practices” (Jöns et al., 2017, pp. 3-4). I concur with this assessment, and address the implications of (im)materialities in mobilities research which includes ‘knowledge, concepts, and practices’ in section 2.3 (p. 34).

3. In some cases, people prefer face-to-face connections to other means of communication: Urry states there are five processes that generate face-to-face meetings:

- “Legal, economic and familial obligations to attend a relatively formal meeting”
- “Social obligations to meet and converse often involving strong expectations of presence and attention of the participants”
- “Obligations to be co-present with others to sign contracts, to work on or with objects, written or visual texts”
- “Obligations to be in and experience a place directly”
- “Obligations to experience a ‘live’ event that happens at a specific moment and place” (2008, p. 14)

I think this point can easily be underestimated. Even though there are means of virtual communication, face-to-face meetings oftentimes provide a different quality of communication and their importance should be considered in research mobilities.

4. Urry asserts that “the facts of distance raise massive problems for the sovereignty of modern states that from the eighteenth century onwards sought to effect ‘governmentality’ over their populations” (2008, p. 15). Urry seeks to explain how it has increasingly become difficult for nation states to track and exercise power over their subjects and populations with the rise of the mobilities turn. This increasingly mobile population challenges governments to exercise power over and to control their mobile populations. Moreover, debates over which populations are allowed to move freely have been strongly politicised.

For example, this problem is reflected in the debate around the concepts expats vs economic refugees (Cranston, 2017).

5. Social Life is embedded and connected to the material world: Therefore, the realms of ‘the social’ and the realms of ‘nature’ and ‘objects’ are seen as connected and not as intertwined as previously in social science (Urry, 2008, p. 15). Especially the importance of objects, and hence materialities is highlighted in the mobilities turn. Analysing the connections of movements and materialities can reveal interesting facets and connections between these worlds and serve to explain new patterns of mobility. Hence new insights into these assemblages and how they change time-space relations can be gained (Urry, 2008, p. 15). I specifically reflect on the implications of materialities in the next section.
6. For human societies mobility-systems are key in overcoming the boundaries of nature: In mankind’s history, the coupling of human beings with objects as mobility-systems has helped to overcome the limitations (in terms of higher spatial mobility) of nature. Each mobility system, such as the horse-system, the cycle-system, the pedestrian system, the rail-system, and aeromobility, has been co-evolving with others “so that some such systems expand and multiply while others shrink in terms of their range and impact” (Urry, 2008, p. 16). What is best illustrated by this point is the connection of societal development with means of mobility and transportation.
7. Mobility-systems influence on power: the wealthier a society, the more advanced are its mobility-systems: Urry highlights that the that “mobility-systems have the effect of producing substantial inequalities between places and between people in terms of their location and access to these mobility-systems” (Urry, 2008, p. 16). Moreover, Urry emphasises that free movement is the capacity to act and represents power. Moreover, to be able to move (or to be voluntarily able to stay still) is for individuals and groups a major source of advantage and conceptually independent of economic and cultural advantage” (Urry, 2008, p. 16). This catalyses the idea to emphasise mobility as a concept and lift it to the same level of importance such as economic and cultural factors.
8. Every society has its own dominant mobility-system that circulates people, objects and information at various spatial ranges and speeds (Urry, 2008, p. 16): Mobility systems are organised around these processes of circulation. In a mobilities perspective, special attention is paid to “the structured routeways through which people, objects and information are circulated ... [that] entail

different forms of circulation and different forms of mobility capital” (Urry, 2008, p. 16). It is important to note that the main interest of mobilities researchers here is not to analyse the objects that are needed for the mobility-systems but to examine how these objects are used within the respective mobility-systems and societies. Furthermore, the higher the motility the higher is its impact on the structuration of obligations; both in the case of opportunities to communicate and be mobile but also as a burden to be mobile and available for communication (Urry, 2008, p. 16).

9. Societies are defined and characterised by a variety of certain mobility-systems: mobility systems such as the car-system, but also the networked computer and mobile telephone system have the capacity to define large spatial scales and to define certain time periods. Moreover, “[p]hysical environments, social practices and economic entities” cohere and revolve around these systems (Urry, 2008, p. 17). There is a path dependency that results from each mobility system – as a consequence, societal developments adhere to the mobility systems (Urry, 2008, p. 17). For me, one consequence of this path-dependency is that to achieve mobile freedom, societies will be forced again and again to break free from their currently popular means of mobility.
10. Mobility-systems are based on expert forms of knowledge: Urry addresses the increasing importance and dependence upon (computer) technologised systems. Moreover, in less technologised-developed societies people are less dependent on technologised knowledge in order to repair their mobility systems in case they break down than in more technically-developed societies. Urry also adds that with high mobility capital, “social and economic practices increasingly depend upon such systems working out, being up-and-running so that personal, flexible and timetabled arrangements work out” (Urry, 2008, p. 17).
11. “Intersecting mobility systems permit connections between people at a distance” (Urry, 2008, p. 17): Worldwide, more people are connected than they used to be; there are “surprisingly limited connections linking people across the world” (Urry, 2008, p. 17). These connections are often rather based on weak ties than on strong friendships. As people are physically more mobile they establish new networks that link people worldwide. These weak ties are often more important from the career networking perspective than more intense connections such as friendships and family connections. Mobilities researchers should keep this

aspect in mind, as oftentimes friends and family connections might be overestimated.

12. As people develop their individual life projects they leave digital traces: As people are mobile there will be traces of these mobility systems in the digital world. Both voluntary and non-voluntary. Urry asserts that “individuals increasingly exist beyond their private bodies” (Urry, 2008, p. 18). One effect of this development can be that additional mobility obstacles are developed as some individuals will not be allowed into certain countries due to their digital footprint.
13. “There is no linear increase in fluidity without extensive systems of immobility” (Urry, 2008, p. 18): Without the increasing growth of an immobile infrastructure today’s increased mobility would not be possible. Urry calls these immobile platforms (such as “transmitters, roads, garages, stations, aeriels, airports, docks” (Urry, 2008, p. 18)) moorings, which serve to structure mobility experiences. For mobilities researchers, portraying these materialities and immobile infrastructures is essential because they enable individuals and objects to be mobile.

Urry summarises that all these main features constitute the mobilities paradigm, and it is also possible to explain his understanding of mobilities research as an attempt to conceptualise, theorise and explain distance and, to take it one step further, to find ways to overcome and compensate distance to improve our economic, social and cultural relations (Urry, 2008, p. 19).

I chose to provide an overview of Urry’s assumptions of the mobilities paradigm, as they are quite radical (for example the way that he assumes they will reshape social science). Moreover, they build the theoretical foundations of the mobilities paradigm. In the next section, I look at the (im)materialities that are needed to overcome distance; the infrastructures that mobilise places, goods, people and ideas.

2.3 Mobile Places and (Im)materialities

This section explains and plays on the idea that places can also be mobile. In combination with the first two sections it helps to provide a better understanding of the theoretical scope and reach of the mobilities paradigm. Moreover, I explain how important materialities and infrastructures are in mobilities research for catalysing mobilities. These two theoretical components, the idea of mobile places, as well as the (im)materialities that enforce mobilities, are crucial to my later analysis of study-internship mobilities to Washington D.C.

In the editorial to the first issue of the *Mobilities* journal, Hannam, Sheller & Urry elaborated on three questions that should be addressed by mobilities studies scholars:

[1.] How do we frame questions and what methods are appropriate to social research in a context in which durable ‘entities’ of many kinds are shifting, morphing and mobile? [2.] Is there, or should there be, a new relation between ‘materialities’ and ‘mobilities’ in the social sciences? [3.] And how are our modes of ‘knowing’ being transformed by the very processes that we wish to study (2006, p. 10)?

As this quote suggests, the mobilities paradigm addresses the question of whether there is a new relation of materialities and mobilities in a way that social sciences have previously neglected. Another conclusion of the quote is that places and spaces consisting of both materialities and immaterialities are mobile. Sheller & Urry expressed this relation by stating that “material ‘stuff’ makes up places, and such stuff is always in motion, being assembled and reassembled in changing configurations” (2006, p. 216). They add that this approach is attempting to mobilise the ‘spatial turn’ but that its proponents seek “a more relational approach to the classic problem of agency and structure [which] brings to the fore the movements implicit in identifications, grammars, economies, intensities, and orientations; as people, capital, and things move they form and reform space itself (as well as the subjectivities through which individuals inhabit spaces) through their attachments and detachments their slippages and ‘stickiness’” (Ahmed, 2004 cited in Sheller & Urry, 2006, p. 216). The authors add that in this theoretical perspective, a bipolar logic of global and local is replaced by a focus on the systems and materialities which ‘coconstitute’ and connect the global and the local (Sheller & Urry, 2006, p. 216).

It becomes difficult to talk about mobile places without addressing the (im)materialities involved in mobilising them. Urry best explains this perception and the interplay between places, individuals and movements:

Places and performances are bound up with each other. Places are not fixed and unchanging but depend upon what gets bodily performed within them by 'hosts' and especially by 'guests'. (...) Thus places are economically, politically and culturally produced through the multiple mobilities of people, but also of capital, objects, signs and information moving at rapid yet uneven speed across many borders, only contingently forming stable places of spectacle (...) Places travel within networks of human and we show non-human agents, of photographs, sand, cameras, cars, souvenirs, paintings, surfboards and so on. These objects extend what humans are able to do, what performances of place are possible. And the resulting networks swirl around, increasingly fluid-like, changing the fixing of place and bringing unexpected new places 'into' play (Urry, 2007, p. 269).

This means that the entire dimensions that places have are constantly remade and reconstructed by the movements of people, objects and the movement of information, thus making places themselves mobile and not stable. A city is constantly remade by the inhabitants of the area, by business visitors and tourists. Their movements alter and change the materialities of the city (especially from a long-term perspective). These individuals as well as their financial spending and investments (or a lack of them) have an impact on the development of the city. The interest and indifference to cultural offers in a city define the ways in which a city defines itself. The variety of opinions and interests, and the information spread about a city, all define consequential movements of people and goods. The various global connections of people, goods and information hence make the respective city a mobile place that extends its reach beyond the mere physical boundaries of the city.

As Urry recognises, some places on the global stage are more connected than others to the processes of globalisation. In the case of the globally known places, even the visit to these places can give their visitors the reputation of being cosmopolitan". Consultancy firms have increasingly been working on finding the right niches for each place brand (Urry. 2007, p. 265-266). This means that within global competition among places, each place tries to emphasise how it distinguishes itself from others and how it is unique. This can either be done by highlighting existing patterns or by developing and creating new ones and to brand the place accordingly. Sheller & Urry assert that within the mobilities paradigm all places seem to be connected, leaving no unconnected islands; thus "calling into question scalar logics such as local/global as descriptors of regional extent" (2006, p. 209).

Urry, uses the theoretical concept of the 'assemblage' to connect the various concepts he is using. As spaces are "viewed as comprised of various materials, of objects and

environments that are intermittently in motion” these “materials are assembled and reassembled in changing configurations and rearticulated meanings” (Urry, 2007, p. 34). Thus, these assemblages of materials in motion are essential in how spaces are constituted and in flux. The idea of places being mobile is one of the key components of the mobilities paradigm and distinguishes mobilities research from migration studies. Hui emphasised these ontological differences between mobilities research and migration research, and how the focus on human and non-human actors and materialities is one of the mobilities paradigm’s major contributions to the social sciences (2016, p. 71). While migration researchers have sometimes addressed materialities such as “monetary or object remittances, of communications, of ideas and imaginings – these are not often treated as units or actors of equal importance” (Hui, 2016, p. 71).

shifting the attention to mobilities, instead of sedentarism, is a means of adequately representing global movements and to better capture specific results of globalisation for societies and the social sciences. While critics argue that mobilities research is focussing too strongly on mobilities and those who benefit from globalisation and various mobility systems (Baumann, 2000), Hannam, Sheller & Urry have introduced the concept of moorings and made it clear the uneven mobilities and motilities need to be highlighted (2006, p. 15) and addressed in mobilities research (2006, p. 3).

Mobilities researchers have highlighted the importance of temporalities in analysing the mobilities of materialities and places. Peter Adey has used the example of the airport to show how places and materialities are relatively mobile (2006, p. 76). Hui (2016, pp. 76-77), has addressed how various temporalities and timeframes are important to showcasing the connections of human movements and materialities. Adey’s argument requires temporalities and a relational understanding of mobilities and immobilities. Adey also warns that it is important not to reduce everything to the importance of ‘the material’; for example, the movements of a passenger within an airport are not only guided by the materialities of the airport (the structures, walls and floors), but also by “societal norms of behaviour and, of course, other forces such as airport bylaws” (2006, p 87).

These elaborations by Adey are just an example of mobilities that result from materialities such as the walls and floor within an airport, and the immaterialities such as laws and societal norms that shape mobilities. Likewise, these examples can be transferred to other forms of movement; societal norms, laws and infrastructures which order mobilities within a city, a country or regions. To explain his understandings of the

relations of mobilities and (im)mobilities, Adey harks back to a strand of literature which is called the 'politics of mobility' (2006, p. 83). This is different to the understanding of mobilities within the mobilities paradigm, while partly dealing with the same subject. Theoretically, this body of work is built on the works of Cresswell (1996, 1999, 2001) and Massey (1991). Adey summarises that the politics of mobility consists of two main ideas, "[f]irst that movement is differentiated" and "second, that it is related in different ways, it means different things, to different people, in differing social circumstances" (Adey, 2006, p. 83). Adey suggests that "there is not an innate or essentialist meaning to movement (...) Mobility instead gains meaning through its embeddedness within societies, culture, politics, histories" (2006, p. 83).

These insights about the relational and differentiated nature of mobilities are essential to understanding how places and materialities can be mobile. In addition, only by comparison to other mobilities and moorings is it possible to uncover the power relations that shape movements and how they are interpreted among societies. For example, one could think of different perceptions of the mobilities of refugees, business travellers and tourists and their differential motilities. For example, Gogia (2006) has published an interesting comparative analysis of the different perceptions, motilities and the physical consequences of Canadian backpacker mobilities to Mexico and Mexican temporary labour migrants to Canada. What is true for comparing human mobilities is also true for materialities and spaces, only in relation to the relative stasis of a rural village can we talk about the mobility of a city. In other words, the local can hardly exist without the global and vice versa (Massey, 1991).

Thus, only in relation to the mobilities of others we can substantially analyse a distinctive form of mobility. Moreover, Adey emphasised

how the world could be imagined in-flux: as it is continually made and re-made anew. Objects, things, buildings, landscapes and, in this instance, the airport, are not viewed as merely static and fixed. They are made up of thousands, millions, billions of movements that interact with one another in many different ways. To be sure, process rules. Space is never still, it can never just be – because mobilities compose material processes and becomings. (...) [nonetheless,] while things are always on the move, they can appear in a fixed and stable manner because mobilities are all different, and we relate to them in different ways. I presented the argument for a relational politics of (im)mobilities that takes into account not only the differences between movement, but their contingent relatedness (Adey, 2006, p. 90).

Here, Adey describes best how the perception of materialities in motion or in stasis is rooted in temporality (the timeframe that is taken to observe the materiality) (Adey, 2006, pp. 81-82). Whether materialities can be described as mobile or rather fixed lies within the perceptions of the observants. Thus, Adey's main conclusions are to consider the relations and differences of various (im)mobilities, as well as to "realis[e] that if we explore mobility in everything and fail to examine the differences and relations between them, it becomes not meaningless, but, there is a danger in mobilising the world into a transient, yet featureless, homogeneity" (Adey, 2006, p. 91). This warning not to claim that everything is mobile is a recommendation to conduct relational mobility studies, as only by relating mobilities to other mobilities and immobilities the underlying power structures are to be revealed.

In this section, I have highlighted how (im)materialities are important in mobilities research, especially to an understanding of mobile places. This interplay of factors - the mobile dimension and reach of a place, as well as the implications of (im)materialities in the mobilisation, - is well captured by the mobilities paradigm, and can be applied to their effects on spaces and places. In the next section I elaborate on how individual's will to individualise characterises western societies.

2.4 Individualisation: The Defining Concept for Western Lives

I would like to introduce the concept of individualisation as I find it to be one of the most important concepts in the social sciences to explain decision-making processes of humans, especially in Western Societies. Along with the ideas of the mobilities paradigm, individualisation is a guiding theme in much of the literature about students, internship, lifestyle and youth mobilities (cf. sections 3.1 - 3.5, p. 49). Beck & Beck-Gernsheim (2002, 2006, 2007, 2008) have published quite extensively on individualisation. To avoid misunderstandings, they emphasise that they do not use the term in an understanding as economists do with the neoliberal idea of the free-market individual and an economic understanding of individualisation. They use the term individualisation "in this sociological sense of institutionalized individualism [where] [c]entral institutions of modern society (...) are geared to the individual and not to the

group” and argue that “the spiral of individualization³ destroys the given foundations of social coexistence” (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 2002, pp. xxi-xxii). I take a more in-depth look at these dynamics later in this section, but first I would like to explain more about the underlying assumptions of individualisation in more detail.

Beck argues that in ‘the West’ the desire of individuals for ‘a life of your own’ is the distinguishing characteristic. Beck describes the desire for “individual self-fulfilment and achievement [a]s the most powerful current in modern [western] society” (2002, p. 22) and comments on the relation between these efforts of individualisation and a lack of communal feeling of society (no matter how and on what scale of analysis). Moreover, the author asserts that the shared feeling of struggle and of the increasing costs and risks of individualisation might be one of the last communal feelings that binds Western societies. Beck & Beck-Gernsheim argue that these increasing efforts to individualise and to distinguish oneself from others undermine the welfare state because individuals are ‘freed’ from any sense of mutual obligations (2002, p. xxi). Moreover, individualisation also undermines individual success as “everyday experience in (and sociological studies of) the worlds of work, family and local community which show that the individual is not a nomad but is self-*insufficient* and increasingly tied to others, including at the level of worldwide networks and institutions” (ibid, p. xxi).

It is important to note how Beck connects the description of modern Western societies with a neoliberal critique and the argument that any attempt “to create a new sense of social cohesion has to start from the recognition that individualism, diversity and scepticism are written into Western culture” (Beck, 2002, p. 23). Bauman summarises individualisation in more abstract terms as a process that is “transforming human ‘identity’ from a ‘given’ into a ‘task’ -- and charging the actors with the responsibility for performing that task and for the consequences (also the side-effects) of their performance” (2002, p. xv). Bauman also elaborates that social standing has become a (lifelong) task based on achievements and is no longer given to individuals by the virtue of being born into the right families. Therefore, the individual is charged with a lot of responsibility.

³ Beck & Beck-Gernsheim use the American spelling of individualisation while I use British spelling

As Bauman highlights, performing a role has become essential in the second modernity. Second modernity, according to Beck, is a description of our current society, a transformed version of the first modernity which has faced the obstacles of individualisation, globalisation, structural under- and unemployment, as well as ecological crisis (2002, p. 206). No longer are these roles pre-determined as they were in first modernity; in second modernity the individual lives in Beck's risk society (Risikogesellschaft) are in flux and are associated with constant pressures:

Let there be no mistake: now, as before, individualization is a fate, not a choice; in the land of individual freedom of choice, the option to escape individualization and to refuse participation in the individualizing game is emphatically not on the agenda (Bauman, 2002, p. xvi).

Bauman also suggests that individual freedom might be as big as ever. Individuals are free to choose their desired career paths and futures. Nonetheless, they need to deal with the consequences of their choices, and he suggests that the struggle for self-assertion and dealing with this struggle might best be tackled collectively (Bauman, 2002, p. xviii-xix).

An issue that seems elementary to Bauman in his understanding of Beck's individualisation thesis is the declining role of the citizen and the resulting shift from the public to the private (2002, p. xviii). Bauman argues that everything that used to be public is "colonized by the 'private'" (2002, p. xviii), and contrasts individualisation and citizenship. What Bauman describes and refers to is a shift that has taken place since the 1980s and in the peak years of neoliberal economic policies, and that has disintegrated the rights of the public citizen and has shifted various powers and rights to the individual. These changes have changed the perception of the relations of 'the private' as well as 'the public sphere' and what these constitute. With Bauman's perception, it seems almost ironic to use these terms; because the way that Bauman describes the 'colonialization of the public by the private' (2002, p. xviii) only leaves the assumption that the terms of the private and public have become interchangeable. This discourse does not stop in the (previously) public realm, but also affects individuals on a personal level.

As individualisation supposedly corrodes citizenship, privatisation and individualisation go hand in hand. This relationship between privatisation and individualisation is the key to Beck's explanation of the transfer from first to second modernity and makes several observations (Lash, 2002, p. xi). The main observation is that globalisation and

individualisation parallel each other, and are both constitutive features of the second modernity. As many governance institutions are in crisis in the second modernity, or have become obsolete, the functions that were taken on by these institutions have become transferred to individuals, thus shifting these power relations and pressures onto the individual (Lash, 2002, p. xi).

Beck & Beck-Gernsheim assert that individualisation and the 'do-it-yourself-biography' is associated with many risks such as "the wrong choice of career or just the wrong field, compounded by the downward spiral of private misfortune, divorce, illness, the repossessed home -- all this is merely called bad luck" (2002, p. 3). Beck makes it clear that individualisation has become compulsory; it is a requirement of today's labour market to be flexible, able to adapt quickly, enhance one's own human capital, and it has become the task of the individual to actively contribute to this process of constant change (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 2002, p. 4).

This pressure for individualisation, to be an individual that sets itself apart from others and in this process gains freedom, seems like a big contradiction. These pressures that are part of second modernity are produced by a society and a labour market which requires individuals with the following characteristics:

individuals must be able to plan for the long term and adapt to change; they must organize and improvise, set goals, recognize obstacles, accept defeats and attempt new starts. They need initiative, tenacity, flexibility and tolerance of frustration. (...) The consequences -- opportunities and burdens alike -- are shifted onto individuals who, naturally, in face of the complexity of social interconnections, are often unable to take the necessary decisions in a properly founded way, by considering interests, morality and consequences (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 2002, p. 4).

In this quotation, Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, while highlighting the importance of flexibility and persistence for the modern individual, also emphasise the shift of both risk and rewards, from the public sphere to the individual. As Beck & Beck-Gernsheim call into question whether the concept of class is still adequate in the second modernity, they warn that social inequalities might be on the rise due to the spread of individualisation (2002, xxiv). Beck uses the term 'zombie-category' to indicate categories that have become outdated and still shape the assumptions of researchers, while common "people are more aware of the new realities than the institutions are" (Urry, 2003, p. 203). Moreover, Beck & Beck-Gernsheim warn that in global modernity, collectivity has been lost and we should consider how individualisation can

be overcome and modern forms of collectivity can be formed (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 2002, p. xxiv).

Critics have attacked these assumptions about individualisation by Beck & Beck-Gernsheim and especially the questioning of the idea of class and Beck's term of the 'zombie-category' (Atkinson, 2007; Roberts, 2010). Atkinson questions the assumption of referring to class as a 'zombie-category' and suggests that Beck's individualisation theory might be more applicable to the middle-class than to others (2007, pp. 361-362). As Beck explains, class-less capitalism means more inequality because "individualization or to be more precise atomization (...) creat[e] institutional circumstances under which individuals are cut off from traditional securities, while at the same time losing access to the basic rights and resources of modernity". Moreover, Beck emphasises that the transition from first to second modernity occurs in different countries and regions of the world at different speeds, thus causing more conflicts between these areas (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 2002, pp. 206-207).

In this section, I have provided an overview of the concept of individualisation. Beck & Beck-Gernsheim's concept connects individuals and institutions, as individualisation is a characteristic process within modern Western societies. Individualisation shifts responsibilities from the state to individuals. And it seems that individuals in Western societies have accepted this concept, and now see it as their task to individualise their resumes. This concept has become deeply embedded in modern Western societies and creates pressures that impact individual decision-making. This is the main connection to mobilities research. Individualisation affects mobility decisions and can play a role in the creation of mobility pressures. Moreover, Beck's elaboration on class-less capitalism (2002, p. 207) and class as a zombie-category, and Beck's call for new social science which has refined its methods and collaborates with other disciplines (2002, p. xx), is basically a call for mobilities research. The next section shows how individualisation and ideas related to cosmopolitan ideals are interrelated.

2.5 Cosmopolitanisation, Cosmopolitanism, and Cosmopolitan Capital

Lash comments that individualisation is not just about ‘the global’ but also about the individual and affects all scales of societal interactions. Moreover, he argues that “[c]osmopolitanism is in fact as much a property of the individual as it is of the global system” (2002, p. x). By exemplifying Becks’ concepts of individualisation and cosmopolitanism I emphasise how these concepts are linked and how mobilities research can benefit from understanding them. As Beck & Beck-Gernsheim argue, cosmopolitanism is produced by both individuals (in their individualisation efforts) and the global system. Thus, these dynamics elaborately link the global and the very local.

In this section, I address the ideas of cosmopolitanisation and cosmopolitanism, as well as the idea of cosmopolitan capital. This section is intended to clarify what these terms mean, especially in the understanding of Ulrich Beck. First, I address the term cosmopolitanisation in section 2.5.1. Second, I explain cosmopolitanism and what the difference to cosmopolitanisation is in section 2.5.2. Third, in section 2.5.3, I introduce the concept of cosmopolitan capital and how this concept has been addressed in academic literature.

2.5.1 Cosmopolitanisation

Beck explains that “cosmopolitanization means internal globalization, globalization from within the national societies [and that it] (...) transforms everyday consciousness and identities significantly [while] [i]ssues of global concern are becoming part of the everyday local experiences and the ‘moral life-worlds’ of the people (2002, p. 17).

Hence, one could describe cosmopolitanisation as both active and passive participation and inclusion of groups and individuals in the process of globalization. This process is the conscious and unconscious transformation of identities into cosmopolitan identities. Beck associates the following three main principles with cosmopolitanisation.

Beck’s first observation about cosmopolitanisation is that “social structures are becoming cosmopolitan” and there is an “emergence of an increasing ‘cosmopolitan interdependence’, that is, a second-order level of self-destructive civilization that transcends the nation-state and infiltrates our innermost thoughts and feelings, experiences and expectations” (2006, p. 73).

Beck’s second assumption about cosmopolitanisation is that it is a “long-term and ultimately and *irreversible* process”. Beck elaborates and predicts and explains that “the

tragedies of our time are all global in origin and scope creates a global horizon of experience and expectation” and asserts that the “imagined world of national structures clearly demarcated from one another is being falsified by the experience of global crises of interdependence” (2006, p. 73). Beck mostly relates this to the example of the terror attacks of 9/11, but these words have grown stronger and even more appropriate with years and the very recent experiences of the ‘refugee crisis’ in Europe as well as other global developments have shown.

Beck’s last observation is that “we are confronted with a fundamental *ambivalence* and a *dialectic* whose outcome is open” (2006, p. 73). Beck refers to “the contradiction between the cosmopolitanisation of reality and the categories in terms of which we understand reality that take the nation-state as the norm is emerging with increasing intensity” (2006, p. 73). He goes on to explain how both opponents and proponents of globalisation and cosmopolitanisation should accept certain realities (a term that Beck intentionally uses to provoke) of global developments, such as using similar global communications media. Beck explains that some opponents of cosmopolitanisation try to restore and emphasize the importance of the nation state(s) (for a broad variety of reasons) but concludes that a regulation of globalization can only be successful if it takes place on a global level with global measures. These assumptions seem utterly up-to-date in times where the conflicts between supporters of nation-states and supporters of multilateral and multicultural societies have affected the Western Hemisphere strongly.

According to Weenink, the processes of cosmopolitanisation result “in competing translations of the global into the local and vice versa, both at the level of societies and within the minds of individuals” (Delanty 2006, p. 44 cited in Weenink, 2008, p. 1091). The dynamics between the global and the local have the capacity to change both individuals and societies and make internationalization almost inevitable. Weenink goes on by giving the example of “Merton’s study of patterns of influence in a provincial US town in the 1940s ... [in which] Merton observed that local leaders with knowledge of cosmopolitan culture acted as brokers: they provided people living in the periphery with the opportunity to come into contact with the centre” (2008, p. 1092). And while this study is rather old by now, its general assumptions still work, only with the reservation that due to the influences of globalization more people and means of communication have increased the number of people and things that can act as brokers between the global and the local.

2.5.2 Cosmopolitanism

It is important to distinguish between cosmopolitanisation and cosmopolitanism, as the latter is “a consciously constructed, normative, moral and political ideal of world citizenship” and the former “comprises a relative autonomous social force, which emerges from interdependencies ... [with the result] that people cannot escape from the consequences of being connected to that global web of interdependencies” (Weenink, 2008, p. 1091). While cosmopolitanisation is a process, cosmopolitanism is an ideal, a status that individuals want to acquire. In this process of cosmopolitanisation the ambiguity of the global and the local become evident in the fact that individuals, while being “part of a particular, locally and historically grounded place or situation” (Weenink, 2008, p. 1091), can hardly escape the interdependencies of global developments. Cohen emphasizes that personal identity “in late modernity has become a reflexive project that is interpreted or understood in terms of one’s biography or capacity to maintain a particular narrative or story about oneself” (Giddens, 1991 cited in Cohen, 2010, p. 291). Thus, a cosmopolitan identity is a construction of the mind that is repeated and kept alive by storytelling.

Alongside cosmopolitanisation comes an urge to “individual self-fulfilment and achievement” which Beck describes as “the most powerful current in modern society” (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 2002, p. 22). The “globalization of biography”, Beck emphasizes, sets the individuals free from sedentarism but it “is a travelling life, both literally and metaphorically, a nomadic life, a life spent in cars, aeroplanes and trains, on the telephone or the internet, supported by the mass media, a transnational life stretching across frontiers” (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 2002, p. 25). This globalisation of biography is part of cosmopolitanisation, but as Colic-Peisker explains, “mobility is neither a necessary nor a sufficient condition of cosmopolitanism” (2010, p. 485). Beck & Beck-Gernsheim assert that this “globalization of biography means place polygamy” and they emphasize the various links of the individual to a multitude of places and call place polygamy one of the characteristics of the transition from first to second modernity (2002, p. 25). Thus, in cosmopolitanism, the individual is connected to several places and tries to express its cosmopolitanism by emphasising this connectedness.

Colic-Peisker conducted a study about what she calls transnational knowledge workers, defined as “people who have lived and worked in at least three countries, including their

country of origin, for at least a year, with a year implying residency rather than a visit” (2010, p. 467). She makes a case for these knowledge worker’s mobilities “as a new conceptual quality of rising *beyond* rather than stretching *across* national borders” and identifies them as “relatively privileged, sought-after movers generally outside the host nation’s nomenclature of (potentially problematic) foreigners/immigrants versus local/citizens”. Colic-Peisker points out that among these knowledge workers, cosmopolitan attitudes are understood as the norm and she observes clear tendencies among these individuals to distance themselves from their own cultures. In addition, Colic-Peisker asserts that these knowledge workers professions, and their careers seemed to anchor their identities and assumed that for knowledge workers their careers “serve as substitutes for sedentarist fixities and sources of identity, anchoring and continuity”. She adds that often better-educated individuals show cosmopolitan attitudes (2010, pp. 482-485).

2.5.3 Cosmopolitan Capital

Concepts that use the notion of capital (such as cosmopolitan capital, transnational capital, mobility capital among others) usually build on Bourdieu’s concepts of social and cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986) and can be understood as subcategories of human capital. After all, the decision of which exact term a researcher uses probably tells more about the position he proposes than about the theoretical differences between these concepts. Weenink explains that cosmopolitan capital is:

a propensity to engage in globalizing social arenas (...) People accumulate, deploy and display cosmopolitan capital while living abroad for some time, visit and host friends from different nationalities, attend meetings frequently for an international audience, maintain a globally dispersed circle of friends or relatives, read books, magazines, and journals that reach a global audience and possess a near-native mastery of English and at least one other language (Weenink, 2008, p. 1092).

While cosmopolitanism is a term that dates to ideas of “ancient Greek philosophy (Diogenes) as well as to the Enlightenment (Kant, among many others) (Beck et al., 2003, p. 16) it seems to be a concept that does not age. Likewise, the acquisition of cosmopolitan capital is very relevant today. With specific regards to this PhD thesis, research phenomena that might be of interest regarding the mobility of young ‘cosmopolitan’ elites and their acquisition of cosmopolitan capital are: global nomads (Kannisto, 2014) and lifestyle travellers (Cohen, 2010) (cf. section 3.3, p. 60). These concepts describe individuals who substitute a sedentary life with a life defined through

travel and mobility and become embedded in and internalise this lifestyle. Aspects of this commitment to mobility might be interesting for the analysis of elite mobility –in this case with phases of sedentarism in nodes of global economy. Weenink explains that the mobilities of global elites have been called numerous names, from world class, transnational capitalist class to international business elite (2008, p. 1092). A look at literature around elite mobilities is taken in section 3.4. What these different groups have in common is that they are highly mobile and emphasise their cosmopolitan capital as integral parts of their identities. Cosmopolitan capital brings together the ideas of movement to gain capital and the concept of cosmopolitanisation, active participation and involvement of individuals in the process of globalisation (Beck, 2002, p. 17).

2.6 Chapter Summary

In this section, I have explained what makes mobilities research attractive: It is an entirely new post-disciplinary research paradigm that offers a lot of freedom for researchers to realise research projects analysing the complex entanglements of global movements. Moreover, I have situated the development of mobilities research within the many research strands that have preceded it – only understanding the epistemology of mobilities research makes it possible to further its theoretical development. John Urry's assumptions to mobilities research serve as a toolkit to mobilities research and provide an indication of how to apply it. They also serve as a point of reference as to what the original mobilities paradigm assumptions were. In quickly developing research areas such as mobilities, some moorings (and careful revisions of these) are needed. In section 2.3, I highlighted how (im)materialities and mobile places are one of the key components of this strand of research, and how this perspective makes mobilities research unique within social science and embed the movements of people, goods and ideas in a broader framework.

The sections on individualisation (section 2.4) and on cosmopolitan issues (section 2.5) complement the assumptions of mobilities research, by adding more characteristics and assumptions about the modern man. As much of the literature about elites and about mobile youth uses terms associated with cosmopolitanism, it is important to establish what these terms entail. The term of cosmopolitanisation describes the irreversible process of inclusion into globalisation. In contrast, cosmopolitanism is a social construct, an ideal of being a global, conscious, reflected, intellectual citizen. These two

ideas are combined in the idea of cosmopolitan capital, the idea that citizens can acquire the values of cosmopolitanism in certain places and interactions, probably the more they are exposed to processes of cosmopolitanisation.

By establishing the theoretical pillars of mobilities research I have laid the groundwork for the next chapter, in which I illustrate how mobilities research can be applied to the mobilities of students. As mobilities research offers the chance to implement inputs from other works, and as the research by Urry, Bauman and Beck influenced each other, I included the works about individualisation and cosmopolitanisation as a preparation to frame study-internship programme mobilities. The next chapter provides an overview of student and other youth mobilities and harks back to the (im)materialities, places and the movements of individuals that could be involved in study-internship programme mobilities.

3. Assembling a Framework for Study-Internship Programme Mobility Research

This chapter specifically addresses and reviews literature on student, volunteering, lifestyle, elite and internship mobilities, all of which are characteristic of Western youth mobilities. As there is hardly any literature on SIPs and the corresponding mobility, I chose to highlight key elements that could best characterise this form of mobility. There only are a few articles which address the semester programmes as an experiential learning method (Domask, 2007; Sosland & Lowenthal, 2014; Pederson & Provizer, 1995) or talk more about internship opportunities in Washington (Perlin, 2011). My first research objective is to review the literature and develop an analytical framework for study-internship programme mobilities - which I do in this chapter.

To assemble an analytical framework for study-internship programme research, each of the following research subjects that I present has some aspects related to study-internship mobility. I also need to emphasise that the differences between these various forms of mobilities are not always clear-cut. In these sections, I provide examples of perspectives and frameworks that have been used in research on related topics, and the related ideas and theories. In section 3.1, I summarise how student mobilities literature is a theoretical perspective that can be used as a lens or a theoretical framework to guide or direct SIP research. In section 3.3, lifestyle mobilities are addressed and differences and similarities are emphasised. Section 3.4 focusses on elite mobilities and uneven mobilities, before addressing global volunteering cultures and mobilities in section 3.5. In section 3.6, I conclude my findings from the previous sections and summarise an analytical framework for SIP research.

3.1 Student Mobilities and SIPs

To set the scene for a conceptualisation of SIPs I provide an overview of student mobilities research. Various researchers have claimed that student migration and student mobilities are under-researched phenomena (Findlay, 2011; King, 2002; King & Raghuram, 2013; Prazeres, 2013). While there may have been more truth to these claims by the beginnings of the 2000nds, about fifteen years later it is hard to assert that the movements of students have not been adequately addressed in academic literature. However, while there are studies that deal with student mobilities from numerous perspectives (cf. Byram & Dervin, 2008; Frändberg, 2014; Murphy-Lejeune, 2008;

Waters, 2006), there is a lack of analyses about the mobility in the context of SIPs. Higher education researchers, mobilities researchers, migration researchers, anthropologists and sociologists have all conducted research on mobile students. In order to conceptualise and theorise student mobility, in this section I only focus on works that have addressed mobile students from a theoretical angle and exclude works that portray trends & patterns in international student mobility and come from a quantitative perspective.

I hope to contribute to integrating the works and insights of student migration studies into a mobilities paradigm perspective and do not neglect this knowledge. Both migration and mobility research perspectives have influenced one another substantially, when even more traditional migration researchers, such as King & Raghuram argue that researchers “need to move away from the simplistic image of the international student as a privileged individual from a relatively well-heeled background” (2013, p. 134). Their remarks are conceptually not too different from the calls of mobilities researchers for the “dismantling of fixed borders, boundaries and conceptualizations underlying standard definitions of migration is a welcome move towards a critique of the fixity of categories, which the mobilities paradigm calls for” (Söderström & Randeria, 2013, p. XIV).

To structure my review of the student mobilities literature, I have broken down the literature into different topics which I consider helpful for further theorisation of SIP mobilities in Washington D.C. I provide an overview of various differentiations in the field in 3.1.1, then address various student motivations for their mobilities in 3.1.2 before I address the identity-constructs of these mobile students in 3.1.3. In 3.1.4 I draw conclusions from these overviews about the literature on student mobilities.

3.1.1 Differentiations within the Field

One issue that needs to be discussed is the many differentiations and dichotomies that define the research on mobile students. Within the literature that focusses on the mobility of students, there is literature from the perspective of the mobilities paradigm, usually using the terms student mobilities or student mobility (cf. Brodersen, 2014; Beech, 2014, Frändberg, 2014; Hannam & Guerenó-Omil, 2015; Ploner, 2015; Prazeres, 2016; Shove, 2002; Van Mol & Michielsen, 2015;). Then there is literature from a more classical migration theory perspective, talking about student migration (Gérard & Uebelmesser, 2015; Raghuram, 2013; Verwiebe, 2008). And then there is

literature that is also from more of a migration theory perspective but uses the term of student mobility without applying a mobilities paradigm perspective, but in order to highlight the temporality of the stay (Holloway & Jöns, 2012; Jöns & Hoyler, 2013; Madge, Raghuram & Noxolo 2014; Mosnega, 2013; Murphy-Lejeune, 2003; Waters, 2006). An example of the latter perspective would be King and Raghuram's assertion that European researchers recently have tended to rely on the term mobility to indicate a shorter-time frame of the movement and a higher likelihood of the student's return to his home country (2013, p. 129).

These different research strands showcase the variety of literature on the topic of mobile students, but also indicate some confusion and vagueness associated with the terms of migration and mobility, which makes it difficult for outsiders to navigate between them. King suggested (2002, p. 91) that the study of student mobilities has too many dichotomies and called for a deconstruction of these dichotomies that he only considers to be helpful for newcomers to the field of studies. Thus, King called these dichotomies that have dominated migration research into question (2002, p. 101), and added that old certainties such as 'voluntary, illegal, temporary, internal and international migration' (King, 2002, p. 94) seem to increasingly vanish.

Another dichotomy in the field is one between student mobility and student exchange mobility. Student mobility is a far more general term and is also more permanent than student exchange mobility, because degree mobile students often tend to stay in their study countries. Furthermore, it is possible to distinguish between organised student mobility and spontaneous student mobility (Van Mol, 2012). There are authors who operate with the classical sociological concepts of horizontal and vertical mobility. In this perspective, horizontal mobility is a move on a similar academic level, while vertical mobilities are associated with a gain in status and recognition (Rivza & Teichler, 2007, p. 1). Scholars also distinguish between credit and degree mobility. Brooks & Waters explain that "it is important to distinguish between what has been termed 'diploma mobility' (i.e. the movement of those who wish to pursue the whole of an undergraduate or postgraduate degree, often outside of any formally-organized scheme), 'credit mobility' (i.e. movement to study part of a degree course in another European country, typically as part of an organized programme such as Erasmus) and other voluntary moves" (2011, p. 77).

3.1.2 Motivations for Student Mobilities

Analysing the motives and motivations of mobile students is quite prominent in the literature, and has been contextualised from various perspectives. Murphy-Lejeune suggests that travelling can, for many young individuals, be formative in identity-construction and is often regarded as an imperative (2002, p. 77). Clearly, the motivations for a study-period abroad vary: students from some countries might seek better education elsewhere, others may go to a country to follow personal wishes that are not necessarily career-related (Brooks & Waters, 2011, p. 85). Brodersen asserts that her study-participants “insist on the individuality and the authenticity of their own motivations for mobility, namely curiosity, (self-)discovery, the wish to widen their horizons and the ‘adventure’ of confronting oneself with some form of ‘other’”, and they reject the idea of being motivated by mobility discourses and the idea of mobility capital (2013, p. 106).

Murphy-Lejeune suggests breaking up active, latent and resulting components as presented in Figure 1 (p. 53). The latent components represent long-term predispositions that have shaped the mobility decision, active components are more recent motivations and the resulting components are results of the mobility experience. According to Murphy-Lejeune, these are all connected and often come up as clusters during interviews about student mobility motivations (2003, pp. 78-79). In her study, Murphy-Lejeune identified three key patterns or motivation clusters; “[language, work] (studying and professional experience together) and [personal enrichment], often the wish for something other than routine, whether meeting new people or experiencing something new” (2003, p. 80). Beech also elaborates on the importance of language skills in student mobilities as she explains that for many, “studying overseas can provide access to the English language skills needed to become a part of this elite” (2015, p. 11). Study abroad often prepares participants to be in the best position for future jobs, with English being a lingua franca as well as the language of most academic publications. Brodersen also comments on the importance of previous international mobility in obtaining one of these prestigious internship positions (2014, p. 96), thus also questioning reproduction practices of elites.

The importance of previous mobility experiences that may impact the likelihood of students participating in study abroad have also been assessed by Brooks & Waters

(2010); Brodersen (2013), and Carlson (2013, pp. 171-173). When talking about motivations of these mobilities, one should also consider the motivations of other actors beside the students: governments, institutions, departments as well as their home countries and its regulatory frameworks (Bryła & Domański, 2014). For example, there are scholars who state that student mobility such as Erasmus mobility only amplifies “the growing cleavage between ‘locals’ and ‘cosmopolitans’” (Recchi, 2006 qtd. in Brooks & Waters, 2011, p. 87), as the programme only wants to create a European elite that shapes EU-policy making and provides “leaders of the future”, as was originally intended with Erasmus (Brooks & Waters, 2011, p. 73). Erasmus mobility can also be described as a first-step mobility, that catalyses future mobility (Schubert, 2014, pp. 42-43). Moreover, within Europe the Erasmus Programme is the most well-known student exchange programme.

Carlson asserted that the respondents in his study often referred to family members, friends and other influences as sources of inspiration for their own mobility experiences. This makes it difficult for researchers and the research participants themselves to

<p><u><i>Latent components:</i></u></p> <p>Dreams, initial representations, images: mental landscape</p> <p>Desires and needs: psychological landscape</p> <p>Personality, predispositions to action: personal landscape</p> <p><u><i>Active components:</i></u></p> <p>Influences on decision making</p> <p>Motivations: set of forces presiding over a decision or a course of action</p> <p>Expectations, speculation or hopes regarding a reality which gets closer</p> <p>Objectives: specific directions of a course of action</p> <p>Anxiety, fears and preparation as action gets closer</p> <p><u><i>Resulting components:</i></u></p> <p>Evaluation of outcomes, advice to candidates</p> <p>Further wishes arising from action</p> <p>Ambitions for the future</p>

Figure 1: Student Mobility Motivations (Murphy-Lejeune, 2003, p. 79).

indicate which factors caused the student mobility (2013, p. 173). VFR (Visiting Friends and Relatives) connections (Boyne et al., 2002) have been contextualised in many fields of research such as tourism and play a role in student mobilities as well. Brooks & Waters (2010) have also discussed the influence of siblings, friends, other students and of foreign partners and relationships for the decision to study abroad. Carlson summarises that social embeddedness also means that all factors in the student's networks can act as obstacles to their mobilities and hinder them of becoming more mobile (Carlson, 2013, p. 176).

3.1.3 Mobile Student Identities

Kenway & Fahey compare the 'cosmopolitan Euro student traveller' (2008: 168) with Bauman's tourist and assert that "Educational tourists might in part be thought of as having spatial emancipation that allows them to accumulate the European educational credentials and experiences that further enhance their education and class privileges in the labour markets of Europe and beyond (2008, p.169). Thus, Kenway & Fahey (2008) emphasise how this educational tourism contributes to class reproduction and social differentiation. The authors assert that while tourists combine leisure and travel, mobile students combine education and travel in order to gain unique and authentic experiences (2008, p. 169). Thus, Kenway & Fahey primarily define this educational mobility in a cultural context. More elaborations on the production of experiences can be found in section 3.3 about Lifestyle Mobilitites (p. 60).

Along with these tendencies, it can be highlighted that students sometimes fashion themselves as different from other forms of mobility, specifically that of the tourist. As Brodersen explains, student mobility is "underpinned by the rejection of what is identified as self-interested, conformist or exaggerated mobility" and students often position themselves in contrast to these "inauthentic, incomplete or immoral types of mobility" (2013, p. 104). This distinction between the tourist and the 'authentic' student and how various discourses shape students' perceptions of 'good' and 'bad' mobilities (Brodersen, 2013) are interesting starting points for analyses of study-internship mobilities.

Another interesting observation by Kenway & Fahey (2008) is the increasing commodification of the student experience. They argue that in many student cities, there is "the emergence of a set of student lifestyle industries that are growing up alongside the university system – the night clubs, the bars, the partying and the consumer goods

that go with them [and that] [m]arketing student mobility and lifestyle is becoming intertwined with marketing place” (2008, p. 169). This connection of the marketing of places and student mobilities should be kept in mind when analysing student mobilities. It could also be suitable to analyse the commodified forms and materialisations of these mobilities to assess their character. Kenway & Fahey conclude that it can be “suggested that one of the defining characteristics of student tourists is their relationship to the commodification of mobility, knowledge and experience” (2008, pp. 169-170). These remarks align with Adey’s assertion that “mobility is movement imbued with meaning” (2010, p. 34). Put differently, with regard to the educational tourists, their consumption and production practices produce, (re)organise and reshape space and the ‘educational tourists’ or students become commodified. According to Kenway & Fahey (2008), it makes sense to not only look at the practices of these educational tourists but also at the places they inhabit and how those two interact with and utilise each other.

3.1.4 Summary

When analysing student mobilities, several considerations need to be made, as the literature within the field suggests. As discussed in this section, we need to be aware of the various terminologies, concepts and terms that are being used, and we must acknowledge the dichotomies and inconsistencies within this area of research. Moreover, analyses of motivations for student mobilities need to be provided with context. There is a need for analyses of the role of practices of governments, Higher Education Institutions (Findlay, 2011, p. 183), but also cities (and other stakeholders), in the production of student mobilities. As indicated by research of Brooks & Waters (2010) and Carlson (2013), VFR mobility can also be a factor in the production of student mobilities. All these components are elementary to understanding these movements and how they affect space and relations of structure(s) and agency. As Findlay (2011) has pointed out, not only the students are a relevant factor when analysing student mobilities, but also the materialities mobilising them.

The model of student mobility motivations by Murphy-Lejeune (2003) is a good starting point for the analysis and conceptualisation of student mobility motivations and might be applicable to SIP students. Furthermore, it is very important to remind ourselves of the fact that increasing privatisation, internationalisation and everything that came with neoliberal Higher Education politics affects student mobilities. What Kenway & Fahey (2008) refer to as the commodification of the student experience is an

important factor in the mobilisation of students. Narratives of internationalisation, the imperative and importance of mobilities and forms of educational tourism have all contributed to the physical and immaterial infrastructures that catalyse and enforce student mobilities. I follow Brooks & Waters who suggest considering power relations and hierarchies, and propose that one should question how privileged these mobilities are, as well as including the materialities involved in the mobilities of students (2011, p. 130).

3.2 Student and Internship Mobilities as a Human Capital Investment

According to Williams, researchers have mostly considered the transfer of skills separately from the transfer of knowledge (2009, p. 310). When researchers have addressed the relations of human capital and migration, these have mostly been considered in relation to long-term movements and not short-term mobilities (Williams 2009, p. 311). Consequently, analyses that portray study (abroad) or internships as human capital investments are needed. Human capital theories concentrate on the decision-making of individuals where decisions are interpreted as “investment decisions based on returns to human capital in different places [where] [p]otential lifetime economic returns are balanced against the known and unknown costs and risks of migration” (Williams, 2009, p. 310). In this section, I portray how academics have described both student and internship mobilities as a human capital investment, and explain what mobility capital is.

3.2.1 The Concept of Mobility Capital

In this section I summarise various perspectives on how the term of mobility capital is used within the academic literature. Murphy-Lejeune, building on Becker, Bourdieu and Weber’s concepts of human, social and cultural capital, developed the term of ‘mobility capital’, which she describes as a “sub-component of human capital, enabling individuals to enhance their skills because of the richness of the international experience gained by living abroad’ (2003: 51). In his analysis of German students studying abroad, Carlson highlights the embodied nature of mobility capital (as part of the person’s habitus) and adds that this perspective helps us to understand why many students emphasise previous mobility experiences (2013, p. 172). The term and the understanding of student mobility as mobility capital is well established in literature on

mobile students. Study at a prestigious university and study abroad have both been framed as an investment in one's human capital.

Brodersen analysed Erasmus students and EU-Commission-interns' perception and narratives of their mobility experiences and confirmed that they perceive mobility as a form of capital to be acquired to enhance their mobility capital. According to Brodersen, mobility can be regarded as an imperative in dominant discourses that students and interns from academic backgrounds are often exposed to (2013, pp. 93-93), and which contribute to the value of mobility as capital. Moreover, Brodersen explains that students are specifically exposed to the processes of internationalisation and valorisations of mobilities (2013, p. 96). Students, being in a transient life stage, are often less settled and more willing to see study abroad as an investment in their future careers by acquiring international experience. Brodersen also highlights the processual character of mobility capital:

it seems important to also insist on the more processual and cumulative (Bourdieu 1997) character of the capacity to be mobile – mobility capital: it is through a learning process whilst being 'on the move' that individuals acquire the competences for consecutive mobilities. (...) As previous mobilities can facilitate future forms of mobility, mobility capital constitutes the condition of its own growth (Brodersen, 2013, p. 99).

Thus, Brodersen argues that the long-term consequences of mobilities and the importance of initial mobility experiences need to be considered and valued; these are notions that the concept of motility is lacking. This acknowledgement adds a temporal dimension to the concept of mobility capital and might make the concept more applicable than motility. Moreover, a processual understanding of mobility capital also allows social differentiation based on mobilities; having experienced student mobility allows students to set themselves apart from others (Brodersen, 2013, pp. 99-105). Mobility capital also includes the idea of cosmopolitan capital (2.5.3), as evidencing one's mobility will often be interpreted as increased cosmopolitanism.

3.2.2 Internships as a Labour Market Signal

From an economist's perspective, internships are often framed within a human capital perspective. In 1964, Gary Becker, a young and very popular economist of the Chicago School, set out to coin the term of human capital to represent investments into people (Perlin, 2011, p. 127). Perlin summarises that the concept was initially used to describe "human capital 'returns' that came in the form of higher wages, earned by college

graduates from their tuition ‘investment’ (only several hundred dollars per year at the time) and the types of training that employers offered to their workers” (2011, p. 127). Today the use of the term has become more flexible, and it has become applicable to situations in which investments by humans set the stage for future benefits (2011, p. 128).

Ronald Reagan justified decreased spending on government services, social services and increasing neoliberalisation by human capital talk, arguing that individuals would invest in these by themselves if they had to. This connection between the investments that people try to make with the goal of long-term benefits, and the neoliberalisation of higher education and training, shows how state actors have played an increasingly smaller role in individual education and were substituted by individual (foremost financial) efforts. Especially with a closer look at the relation of human capital theory and internships, Perlin states that “students and their families may feel compelled to invest heavily in education and skills-building” in order to be rewarded in the future for this investment (2011, p. 128-30). Nonetheless, Perlin also adds that, in his opinion, it has never been proven that an internship will lead to ‘future economic payoff’ and asserts that it is always a risk to neglect paid work for an unpaid internship, because for many interns the promises of future rewards do not materialise (2011, p. 132).

Perlin, uses the concept of signalling, which was coined by the economist Michael Spence (1973) to explain recruiting mechanism on the labour market and to highlight shortcomings of the idea that human capital acquisition automatically equals future rewards. To summarise the idea of signalling, a signal can be a qualification of an individual that is being used as an indicator for the employer; the mentioned feedback loop addresses the declining or increasing interest of employers as a signal’s importance is constantly re-evaluated. For example, the grade point average (GPA) is a signal: if an employer is dissatisfied with employees that he hired due to their high GPA, the signal of the GPA as a recruitment mechanism will lose value and the employer will look for new signals among job applicants (Perlin, 2011, p. 130).

There is always the danger of systematic overinvestment in signals, meaning if all job applicants invest in the same signal as qualification, the signal loses relevance (Spence, 1973). A different consequence can be that if people with a strong labour market signal take a job for which they are (over)qualified, this can push the wages for people with an average labour market signal (Holmes & Mayhew, 2016, p. 484). Roshchin & Rudakov analysed to what degree work alongside studies was perceived as a labour market signal

and conclude that even work experience in a field not related to the specific job “indicate[s] that the graduate has the basic skills of business communications, is responsible and able to perform certain job tasks” (2016, p. 216). They also hypothesise that students who are more optimistic about their job chances are less likely to combine study and work (same might be applicable for study and internships in combination) (2016, p. 327).

Perlin warns parents who invest in the future careers of their children that their investment can be risky, as there is not guarantee that it will transfer into future success of their children. Not only internships, but also study abroad or regular study at a well-known university could be interpreted as a labour market signal. Spence (2002) declared that the idea of labour market signalling was applicable in various contexts. Many firms see interns simply as a way to save money – while also acknowledging that there are good internship from which students benefit (Perlin, 2011, p. 136). In their study of undergraduate students’ internships in small and medium-sized enterprises Walmsley et al. suggest that “it is far from self-evident that the internship will play an important role in graduates’ career development” (2012, p. 192).

3.2.3 Summary

Walmsley et al. (2012, p. 188) emphasize the idea that chance events play a substantial role in career development and they question how much it is possible and successful to plan careers and whether mobility-capital acquisition makes sense. Thus, it might be interesting and challenging to analyse the influence and success of study-internship programme participation that often takes place on the undergraduate level. Explaining and analysing student mobilities with the help of the mobility capital concept needs further contextualisation. It is not enough to simply assume and assert that study abroad equals an investment into the student’s human capital.

We need to understand the processes that lead to the decision to acquire mobility capital. Furthermore, we should analyse how students try to embody this mobility capital, but also question what consequences the possession or absence of mobility capital has for individuals. Explanations of how mobility capital works to express privilege and individualisation are needed. Moreover, as the concept of signalling shows, the danger of systematic overinvestment is always present with ideas such as mobility capital. There are no guarantees that an investment in one’s mobility capital leads to a ‘successful’ career. Only with these contextual analyses is the concept of

mobility capital meaningful and can help in analysing the social relevance of student mobilities. Without these reference values the concept of mobility remains a term lacking depth and analytical value.

3.3 Lifestyle Mobilities - A Search for Meaning

The slightly different concepts of lifestyle migration (Benson & O'Reilly, 2009) or lifestyle mobilities (Cohen, 2011; Duncan, Cohen & Thulemark, 2013; Cohen, Duncan & Thulemark, 2013) refer to the mobility of individuals who have in common that their mobility is expression of a certain lifestyle. Benson & O'Reilly explain that they use the framework of lifestyle migration is an umbrella term for mobilities including "retirement migration, leisure migration, (international) counterurbanization, second home ownership, amenity-seeking and seasonal migration" (2009, p. 2). The authors have identified 'the search for a better life' as a commonality in these forms of migration. Cohen, Duncan & Thulemark assert that their research on lifestyle mobilities takes place at the interdisciplinary intersection "between travel, leisure and migration" (2013, p. 156), but focus more on backpacker and lifestyle travellers and global nomads in their work. Cohen et al. argue that their interpretation of "[L]ifestyle mobility differs from lifestyle migration in that the latter is typically associated with a one-off lifestyle-led transition, such as choosing to move from northern Europe" (2013, p. 160). In this section, I portray lifestyle migration first, address perspective on lifestyle mobilities and highlight how inputs from both (slightly different) theoretical perspectives might be beneficial for student mobilities research.

3.3.1 Lifestyle Migration – Applied Individualisation

Benson & O'Reilly summarise that "lifestyle migration is the spatial mobility of relatively affluent individuals of all ages, moving either part-time or full-time to places that are meaningful because, for various reasons, they offer the potential of a better quality of life". This definition suggests that one key component of this mobility is in the sense of meaning that is attributed to the place(s) relevant in these spatial moves. The process of migration is not completed with the spatial move, but it "is a project, which continues long after the initial act of migration" (Benson & O'Reilly, 2009, p. 2). Cohen et al. remark that lifestyle migration is often "entangled with return visits to the old or natal 'home', particularly when links are strong and distances are manageable (...) [and] can also involve more seasonal moves where lifestyle migrants are moving

back and forth between two countries depending on, for example, climate conditions (2013, pp. 159-161). Thus, lifestyle migration is usually fixed to one or two locations.

Benson & O'Reilly reflect on two important components of lifestyle migration which imply "the drive towards a better way of life, the meaningfulness and values ascribed to particular places, but also the potential for self-realization that is embedded within the notion of spatial mobility" (2009, p. 3). These two components are that there is meaning ascribed to places (or spaces); but also, the meaning of spatial mobility. This latter note recalls Adey's assertion that "mobility is movement imbued with meaning" (2010, p. 34). This is connected to the idea of individualisation and defining oneself through the notion of mobility. Sense making and processes of meaning-making and individualisation (cf. section 2.4, p. 38), as well as questions of identity, all (re)shape and affect lifestyle migration.

O'Reilly uses Bauman's (2000) liquid modernity concept to explain lifestyle migration and to highlight two sides of modern life. The more positive perspective suggests that individuals have more opportunities and various pathways 'to carve out (...) future trajectories' to achieve individualisation and the 'good life' (2009, pp. 103-104). A more negative perspective is a look at the consequences of all these opportunities and chances. By doing this, the pressures that come along with making the right decision and choosing are emphasised and it is pointed out that the result might be insecurities and fears. O'Reilly summarises that individuals within liquid modernity "are 'individuals by decree', and have no choice but to seek out, or hunt, our own personal, privatized 'good life' " and being mobile is one way to achieve this goal of 'the good life' (O'Reilly, 2009, pp. 103-104).

3.3.2 Lifestyle Traveller Mobilities and Identities

Using the mobilities paradigm as a theoretical framework, Cohen utilises the term lifestyle travellers to refer to backpackers who have adopted backpacking as an ongoing lifestyle (2011, p. 1535). He argues that

Lifestyle travel in a broader sense can take on different forms, whether, for instance, through backpacking, ocean yacht cruising (Macbeth, 2000) or caravanning (White & White, 2004). What these forms of travel have in common that distinguishes them from many other lifestyle choices is sustained physical mobility (Cohen, 2011, p. 1535-1536).

As suggested by Cohen (2011, p. 1535-1536), mobilities affect our identities and the identities of others and change the way in which we experience places. Cohen's research is good at highlighting and explaining the relation between places and movements. The understanding of the connection of spatial mobility and meaning is very similar to the one used by Benson & O'Reilly (2009). Cohen defines lifestyle travellers as a 'nuanced phenomenon within backpacker tourism'. Cohen focusses on explaining the transition from one or more episodic backpacking trips into a lifestyle and suggests that lifestyle travellers can be distinguished from backpackers on the basis of "distinct ways that relate to enduring involvement, cultural re-assimilation, work motivation and problematising home" (2011, p. 1550). To Cohen, lifestyle travellers are a small subgroup among backpackers; sustained mobility being the distinguishing factor from other backpackers. Lifestyle travellers adopt backpacking lifestyle and the attributes that come with it as a way of life. Cohen explains that the lifestyle travellers he observed do not use the acquired capital for career purposes but are defining themselves by the cultural and social world of the backpackers, into which they seemed to return regularly (2011, p. 1550-1551).

Cohen adds that certain distinctive consumption habits which become "decisions not only about how to act but who to be" (Giddens, 1991, p. 81 cited in Cohen, 2011, p. 1537) are crucial for the establishment of identities. These remarks highlight the relation between consumption practices and identities and it is possible to add the lifestyle practices of moving and travelling to this list. Travelling as a form of consumption and likewise a means of expressing individuality is an integral component of lifestyle mobilities. Another issue that could be discussed is how the consumption of mobilities affects and catalyses the consumption and movement patterns of others. Mostafanezhad argues that "volunteer tourism is one link in a broader integration of alternative development within the new moral economies (...) consumption has increasingly become the new activism" (2013, p. 322). And while this section addresses lifestyle mobilities, what both lifestyle migration and lifestyle mobilities have in common is the yearning for alternative and individualised lifestyles. Lifestyle mobilities are distinctive consumption practices which are part of a growing shift to allegedly alternative and sustainable lifestyles.

Some authors have argued that student exchange mobility has developed a new characteristic in pointing out that it increasingly emphasizes leisure time instead of labor market necessities and highlights the freedom of choice of the individual and a

‘fun’ or ‘lifestyle’ component (King, 2002, p. 95). The perception of student exchange mobility as form of leisure travel slightly conflicts with the view that some students might amass ‘mobility capital’ while studying abroad; for example, to “secure a much-prized international position” (Brooks & Waters, 2011, p. 84). As much of migration research works with traditional binaries (cf. King, 2002), it is interesting to consider Cohen et al.’s elaborations that the “interfaces between migration, tourism, work and leisure are fluid, flexible and ambiguous in post-industrial mobility patterns” (2013, p. 161). Hence, a layered definition and analysis that pays attention to all the layers involved in mobilities might be more adequate. Such a layered definition is exemplified by the backpacker who is asserting the identities of “an employee, a student, a visitor, a seasonal worker, holidaymaker, a semi-permanent resident, and potentially many other roles and identities” (Allon, Anderson & Bushell, 2008, p. 75), and whose identities blur in between these work non-work divisions.

3.3.3 Summary

Both phenomena described in this section - lifestyle migration and lifestyle mobilities - are similar in that both frameworks theorise human mobilities as meaning-making processes. I prefer and use the term lifestyle mobilities, but think that the insights from lifestyle migration research (Benson & O’Reilly, 2009; Cohen et al., 2013) benefit the research on lifestyle mobilities and work under the same conceptual umbrella. Works on lifestyle mobilities are a great example of how mobilities researchers pay specific attention to the processes that happen alongside spatial mobility (as opposed to research that focusses on the results and impact of spatial moves), but also on the places that are affected by this mobility.

The concentration on the ways in which individuals undertake, justify and give meaning to their mobilities allows a detailed analysis of the processes of decision-making, execution, as well as sense-making of spatial moves and they tie in with discourses of individualisation. These works align with discourses such as Beck’s ideas of individualisation (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 2002) and Bauman’s liquid life (Bauman, 2013). Therefore, analyses of them represent more than just backpacker or retiree mobilities; they showcase the meaning of movements and its effect on places, and elaborate on effects on lifestyles and individualisation, and on blurring dichotomies (such as work and leisure), as well as categories among these various roles that mobile subjects embody and perform. Nonetheless, Cohen et al. correctly remark that the

freedom to consciously acknowledge and choose a lifestyle is not a given, but a privilege that not everybody has, while lifestyle mobilities are highly uneven (2013, 157). These aspects about uneven mobilities will be discussed further in the next section about elite mobilities.

3.4 Elites, Mobility Pressures and Uneven Mobilities

This section provides an overview of research of elites and presents various attempts of defining ‘elites’. With special regards to the relation of movements and elitism, I review uneven mobilities and ideas of elitism in mobilities and migration research. Castells (2010, p. 446) breaks down modern societies into cosmopolitan elites and local people, thus inferring a power hierarchy. Those who can move freely and take advantage of the positive aspects of globalisation favour cosmopolitanism, those who are (to a large degree) excluded favour ‘the local’. Canzler, Kaufmann, & Kesselring ask whether the growth of “flows, speed and spatial range (...) equal an expansion of the universe of choices available to actors, or rather a new universe of constraints” (2008, p. 5). Indeed, this is one of the most interesting questions and in this thesis an emphasis will be put on the interdependencies of mobility infrastructures and the resulting constraints and opportunities. As there is an increasing number of opportunities for young people with the right resources (predominantly in the western hemisphere) – to what degree do these opportunities produce pressures to be mobile to sustain relevance on the labour market and in one’s social spheres? If there are pressures to be mobile and to pursue a successful career, who is included and who is excluded? The notion of mobilities is intricately connected to discourses of power, specifically in relation to how elitist movements are. Urry argued that movements are always expressions of power relations, including blocked movements. To move means being free and in charge, not being able to move represents a lack of power and control and leads to social deprivation or exclusion (Urry, 2007, p. 9).

While traditionally fields such as the research of elites operate with sociological definitions of horizontal and vertical mobility, adding the spatial component, and especially the association of movements as performance and expression of power (relations), is essential for analysing elite-mobilities. Massey asserts that it “is not simply a question of unequal distribution that some people move more than others, and that some have more control than others [but] (...) that the mobility and control of some

groups can actively weaken other people” (1991, p. 240). Following this assumption, I connect research on elites with mobilities research – and show how restricted access to mobilities and movements impact one another and how they are connected.

3.4.1 An Overview of Research on Elites

According to Hartmann, research on elites was most popular in the 1950s and 1960s, while recent perspectives are dominated by empirical studies (2007, p. 35). Savage & Williams question why today only few social scientists address elite studies and the resulting “contemporary dynamics of social change” (2008, p. 1). The most relevant aspects when considering research on elites are the questions of what is an ‘elite’, and how do we define elite(s). The understanding of how we talk about, classify and analyse elites has changed substantially in the last century. In the following paragraphs, I address some of these broader developments.

From a sociological perspective, there are three formative phases in the development of elite theory: “the classical elite theory of Pareto [1916], Mosca [1896], and Michels [1911], developed in early-20th-century Europe; the critical elite theory of Mills, Hunter, Burnham and Lasswell, popularised in postwar US-sociology; and the democratic elite theory of Aron, Mannheim, and Schumpeter, written during the 1950s and 1960s” (Woods, 1998, p. 2102). While these different schools vary in the use of concepts and ideologies, they share the view that elites are the holders of power and a society can be distinguished into elites and non-elites (Woods, 1998, p. 2102).

Furthermore, when analysing elites and their reproduction, the works of Pierre Bourdieu are essential. Bourdieu argued that only by investigating how elites try to ensure their future relevance are we able to understand under which premises they operate. There are two main assumptions that guide Bourdieu’s work (Hartmann, 2007, pp. 46-47). The first assumption is that academic careers and the acquisition of academic titles and knowledge is “dependent on the cultural capital of which a family is already in possession” (Hartmann, 2007, 47). Individuals growing up in families that emphasise the importance of academic careers gain a head start, as they grow up internalising the values that are associated with this specific cultural capital. Bourdieu emphasises that young individuals who did not grow up in families with the necessary resources to acquire cultural capital or in the ‘wrong’ socialisation have a disadvantage and must invest twice the time in attempting to catch up (in comparison to those that have already acquired this cultural capital) (Hartmann, 2007, 47). Bourdieu’s second assumption is

that professionalization and structural economic change (the takeover of large corporations over family businesses) have resulted in an increasing necessity to possess official academic titles for the more prestigious and bigger organisations, preferably one of a “Grande école” (Hartmann, 2007, 47).

Savage & Williams critique the focus of recent elite research on transnational classes and globalisation and highlight how Castell’s ‘The Rise of Network Society’ mentions the importance of elites but fails to elaborate on the specifics of how elites define urban space and global cities (Savage & Williams, 2008, p. 2). Beaverstock summarizes that “[m]anagerial elites are resident in the global cities because these are the nodal points of the ‘Network Society’, where they reproduce their cosmopolitan interests in ‘the residential and leisure-orientated spaces, which along with the location of headquarters, tend to cluster dominant functions in carefully segregated spaces’” (2005, p. 247).

Woods also criticises the vague use of the term ‘elites’, which he describes as often unproblematised and without “any substantive conceptual depth” (1998, p. 2101). One of the most common misconceptions about elites is the idea of elites “in metaphorical vertical model: with the elite at the top, the masses at the bottom, and some kind of amorphous subelite in the middle” (Woods, 1998, p. 2104). This model and the resulting assumptions are mirrored in “discourses of society which refer to the ‘upper class’, ‘top society’, ‘high society’, going up the world’, ‘climbing the social ladder’, and being ‘upwardly mobile’” (Woods, 1998, p. 2104). Woods strongly criticises that this vertical model is being spread, both in academia and outside of academia, as he argues that the repetition of this model is part of the success of elites, as they re-establish their hierarchical positions due to this model (Woods, 1998, p. 2104).

This distinction that elites do not necessarily need to be the highest ranked or most powerful groups within a society or field is quite important. Instead, Woods prefers to imagine society “as a ‘web of social relations’ (Nadel, 1957; Simmel, 1955)” as this approach argues that no society has a natural order, but that societies are composed of individuals that negotiate society through social interactions (1998, p. 2105). Wood’s thinking is heavily influenced by poststructuralist writing and their ideas of disorder and fluidity (Deleuze & Guattari, 1988; Foucault, 1980 cited in Woods, 1998, p. 2105). Woods explains, there can be elites in different social groups, spheres and fields and for different contexts, and it can be very ambiguous and not obvious at first sight who is part of this group. Woods developed a model that does not envision elites as the top category within a society but rather as “a cluster of individual actors bound by strong

social, professional, or political ties” (1998, p. 2105). Moreover, Woods emphasises that the status of being elite or not is context-specific, as different elites exist in different activities, on different scales and are geographically dispersed – and in each context, there can be more than just one elite. Woods also adds that “there may be individuals who have equal status to elite members (...), but who are not part of the elite, because they do not have the ‘right’ social contacts, and hence may be marginalised from informal decisionmaking processes” (1998, p. 2105). In this model, elites are also described as a fluid or dynamic network that constantly integrates and disperses members. As both elites and nonelites are embedded in dynamic networks, Woods argues that within “the elite there are key individuals with disproportionate power or influence and peripheral actors whose elite status may only be transitory; whilst some people in the nonelite will have direct contact with elite members” (Woods, 1998, pp. 2105-2106).

In contrast to what Savage & Williams called “the continued rhetorical identification of elites with ‘old boy networks’, the ‘establishment’, or ‘inner circles’ ” (2008, p. 15), the more flexible and heterogeneous concept of elites as a ‘web of social relations’ certainly provides more reference points as to what elites are. To help validate the study of elites, it is essential to use more valid and elaborate concepts as to how elites constitute themselves and how they can be defined by others. Moreover, bringing together elite theories with other theories and concepts, as Woods does with poststructuralist assumptions, is a good means to develop elite theory. Integrating research on elites into mobilities research and adding the spatial movement dimension lends more depth to these discourses. In Woods’ perspective, it is more fruitful to analyse elites as networks that “provide a relatively stable matrix of connections enabling the rapid and routine mobilisation of human, institutional, material, and discursive resources into networks of action”. Woods argues that power is achieved by alliances and networks, and cannot be accredited to single people or institutions (1998, p. 2106).

What Woods essentially emphasises is the importance of a network and connections instead of just relying on the importance of material resources; for elites, it is more important to possess the capacity to mobilise and to use their network to utilise available resources (1998, p. 2106). Savage & Williams add that it is often not the pure quantity of connections which leads to social advantages for individuals; only those who are able to connect and negotiate these contacts profit the most. Contacts and networks provide more value when they are able to act as bridges between various

groups or field, and cannot just be measured in terms of quality and quantity (Savage & Williams, 2008, p. 17). It is interesting to note that the poststructuralist view of elites as a web of social relations as presented by Woods (1998) and Savage & Williams (2008) is quite similar and related to Urry's assumptions of the topologies of networks, small world theory and weak links (Urry, 2004, pp. 124-126; cf. section 2.2, p. 28).

3.4.2 The New Elite and Uneven Mobilities

Khan makes a case for the existence of new elites, which define themselves based on talent and assert that they simply made the most out of their possibilities. This identity-construction serves to replace old elite definitions by class and lineage; instead the modern elite see themselves as "talented individuals who have a unique capacity to navigate our world; for the elite this capacity explains their position, and not the social trappings of class" (Khan, 2013, p. 136).

Khan acknowledges that while the composition of the elite is more fluid and diverse, it is still dominated by those that started off with an advantage (2013, pp. 137-140). Thus, Khan argues, this view of the new elites that indicates the world has become more just "obscures the truth of the American experience"; especially in the case of the American education system, in which exclusive boarding schools and elite universities work with different resources than public schools. Khan argues that the elites distinguish themselves from others through embodied cosmopolitanism, perceiving themselves as creative, open-minded and diverse – in contrast to other members of society characterised as more limited in taste and experiences. The new elite asserts their cosmopolitanism and privilege in various embodied forms that are acquired in elite institutions and carefully repeated over time, acting as a signal of privilege (Khan, 2013, pp. 139-145). The result of this is an invisible barrier; "if someone doesn't know how to embody ease, it is somehow *their own fault*" (Khan, 2013, pp. 143).

Khan's elaborations on the 'corporeal ease', and this very embodied form of privilege and how it serves to differentiate elites from non-elites, bear resemblance to mobilities research on corporeal movements (Khan, 2013, p. 143). Moreover, they showcase that mobilities research is greatly equipped to analyse elites. As mobilities research offers a framework to analyse not only the smallest corporeal movements, but also the international movements of goods and people, there is a broad variety of themes that help to reconstruct elite influences and to visualise the ways in which elites' act. It is noteworthy that Khan suggests that the class divide appears differently now than in the

past. Moreover, it is utterly important in the self-perception of the elite that they do not live in a separate elite sphere, but that elites and non-elites share the same spaces. From the perspective of this new elite, some simply utilise the resources at their disposal better than others. Thus, part of their claim to power and influence is this story: that the world is flat and some individuals with talent are simply better at utilising its resources (Khan, 2013, pp. 145-147). Today, justifying your net-worth and superiority based on talent seems to be far more likeable, as evidenced in the examples of the widely admired Mark Zuckerberg (Khan, 2013, p. 145) or Elon Musk.

Questions of elites, access to mobilities and to what degree these mobilities affect the immobilities of others have been discussed in the literature on student mobilities. For example, Weenink (2008) addressed the reproduction strategies of Dutch upper middle-class families who send their children to schools with internationalised streams. Weenink focused on the role of the parents in their children's career-decision making, suggesting that "ambitious parents from relatively lower class backgrounds – lower rather than upper middle-class, that is – might be more inclined to encourage their offspring who have the potential to climb to invest in cosmopolitan capital" (2008, p. 1102). He assumes that upward social mobility might be a bigger motivation in parents' attempts to further their children's cosmopolitanisation than the idea of social reproduction (Weenink, 2008, p. 1102). Arguing that the new 'social arenas', as for example in the European Union, are less fixed, but more open than in other 'traditional' branches, some parents might hope that cosmopolitanisation will prepare their children for these jobs rather than competing in more closed and even more elite positions (Weening, 2008, p. 1102). Weenink states that, especially in global NGOs and work in transnational organisations and departments, the possession of transnational and cosmopolitan capital is elementary (2014, p. 11).

Brodersen suggests that when talking about mobility as capital it is also important to consider the immobilities and inequalities that are being created by reinforcing the imperative of being mobile. As mobility discourses increasingly gain power, mobility has become an ideal, while sedentarism is valued less and might be an indicator for inequalities (2013, p. 93). As Brodersen explains, valuing mobility catalyses mobility pressures in order to have a successful career:

Immobility is thus depreciated and mobility reinforced, mobility hence becoming a central factor not only of social integration, but of social differentiation. We therefore have to take into account the mobile inequalities which arise from the selectivity of international mobility

(Ballatore 2010) and from the function of mobility as a form of capital (Kaufmann et al. 2004; Murphy-Lejeune 2001; Ollivro 2005) (Brodersen, 2013, p. 95).

Can we really equate increasing mobility with a devaluation of immobility? Can mobility not only be an expression of freedom but also a burden (Shove, 2002)? What are going to be the consequences if student mobilities are the norm, not the exception? These questions which can be inferred from the study of elites and mobilities need to be addressed and considered when we discuss modern career paths and transitions from higher education to the labour market. While these remarks specifically address student mobilities, they can be applied to other mobilities as well. In general, questions of access to mobilities and which actors define and control these measures are worth discussing.

3.4.3 Summary

In this thesis, I rely on a relational understanding of the term elites, and not a horizontal one, as is the common understanding of elite discourses. As I have shown in this section, discourses of elites have too long been shaped by the same old rhetoric of “‘old boy networks’, the ‘establishment’, or ‘inner circles’” (Savage & Williams, 2008, p. 15), without specifying in detail what this means about the constitution and the functions of these circles. I follow Woods (1998) and Savage & Williams (2008) in believing that elites do not necessarily have to be the top echelon but instead can exist in different spheres and are situated within ‘webs of social relations’. Thus, analyses on elites should focus on how a certain social group gains advantages over others through networks, symbolic capital, performances, movements and how this group intends to reproduce itself and uphold its status (Bourdieu, 1986). Moreover, mobilities research and the research of elites can be to the benefit of each other.

3.5 Global Volunteering Cultures and Mobilities

This section highlights the components of volunteering cultures and mobilities and that might be characteristic of youth mobilities. I point out their significance and later explain how they might be representing prevalent attitudes and patterns among young western students. Research on volunteering has increasingly gained prominence, both within academic circles and outside of academia. It is estimated that in 2008, 1.6 million people “participate in volunteer tourism projects and that volunteer tourists spend

between £832 m and £1.3 bn per year” (Tourism Research & Marketing, 2008 cited in Wearing et al., 2013, p. 120). Wearing et al. states that a Google search of the words volunteer tourism came up with 230,000 hits (2013, p. 120) on April 17th, 2008; on April 28th, the same search resulted in about 3,340,000 hits.

Global youth volunteering cultures, especially volunteering in the global south, have been discussed in relation to issues of development and humanitarianism (Baillie Smith & Laurie, 2011; Mostafanezhad, 2013, Mostafanezhad, 2014) tourism (Keese, 2011; Mostafanezhad, 2013; Wearing et al. & McGehee, 2013; Wright, 2013), cosmopolitan lifestyles and global citizenship (Baillie Smith & Laurie, 2011, Baillie Smith, Laurie et al., 2013) and career development and labour markets (Frilund, 2015; Jones, 2011). Wearing et al. conducted a review of the field of international volunteer tourism (2013) and place it as a subcategory of alternative tourism and highlights:

International volunteer tourism generally aligns itself with ideas of development aid and appears to have increased in response to both 1) growing social and environmental issues in developing countries and 2) disasters like the September 11 attacks in the U.S. and the 2004 Boxing Day tsunami that affected much of South East Asia. International Volunteer Tourism often focuses on humanitarian and environmental projects with the intention of serving communities in need (2013, p. 121).

In his review of the research literature Wearing et al. provide an overview of perspectives on volunteer tourism within the academic literature. It could be assumed that this role of humanitarianism and issues of development are the main defining component of volunteering mobilities – nonetheless, other characteristics are more applicable in defining the nature of these mobilities. In this section, I focus on aspects of volunteering mobilities that are particularly interesting with regard to my research aim. I discuss Wearing et al.’s explorations on the transformative potential of volunteering experiences in the next section. I provide an overview of texts describing volunteering mobilities as cosmopolitan capital acquisition in section 3.5.3. While it might appear that there are similarities to the literature of lifestyle mobilities, the literature on international youth volunteering, volunteer tourism, volunteering mobilities (all terms which are being used for these mobilities) is mostly portrayed as distinctive from lifestyle mobilities.

3.5.1 The Professionalisation of Volunteering Mobilities

I would like to address volunteering mobilities in relation to popular humanitarianism and development. This topic is highly ambiguous; Mostafanezhad (2013, 2014) has engaged with ideas of compassion and humanitarianism in her work and argues that volunteer tourism “with its shared concern for development and ‘local people’ as well as environmental, economic and sociocultural impacts (...) works to privatize and commoditize development discourse as well as global justice agendas” (2013, p. 319). She goes on to argue that “volunteer tourism is one link in a broader chain of the expansion of neoliberal moral economies” (Mostafanezhad, 2013, p. 319). The appropriation of humanistic values into neoliberalism is essential to understanding that humanitarianism is used to justify consumption practices such as volunteer tourism. Mostafanezhad asserts that “the professionalization of the voluntary sector has become a key apparatus of the neoliberal project” and emphasises that alternative consumption patterns (including touristic consumption) have catalysed this trend (2013, p. 321). Moreover, she elaborated on the inconsistencies of the identities of volunteers who claim to resist neoliberal logics while actually buying into them.

It is argued that both the alleged humanitarian morality and volunteering mobilities (as a tool that enforces humanitarian morality) are instrumentalised and commodified through neoliberal market politics. This criticism of the misdirection of humanitarianism is shared by Baillie Smith & Laurie, who argue that for the broad scope of international volunteering opportunities “[f]rom ‘volunteer tourism’ facilitated by large travel agencies (e.g. Imaginative Traveller’s ‘Volunteer Tours’) and corporate sponsorship of established volunteering programmes (e.g. Regatta Clothing’s sponsorship of Raleigh International) to an increasingly commercialised ‘gap year’ industry (Simpson 2005), new opportunities mean that the neoliberal professionalisation of NGOs and volunteering is being framed and performed in increasingly global ways and spaces” (2011, p. 550). The main argument of this criticism of volunteer tourism is that it is neoliberal consumption, disguised under the pretence of humanism. This mixture of alleged humanitarianism with neoliberal cultural logic is an interesting construct which needs to be described in analyses of volunteer mobilities.

3.5.2 The Transformative Effects of Volunteering Mobilities

Wearing et al. suggest that in volunteer tourism research, more research about the transformative effects of a volunteering is still needed. Research on transformations and

effects of volunteering focuses on the participants' returns home. Early research suggested that "participation in volunteer tourism changed behaviours upon returning home as a result of both the networks established and the consciousness-raising component of the experience" (McGehee, 2002; McGehee & Norman, 2001; McGehee & Santos, 2005 cited in Wearing et al., 2013, p. 126). Moreover, a volunteer experience can have "positive immediate impacts on openness, civic attitudes, and wisdom of its college participants" (Bailey and Russel, 2010 cited in Wearing et al., 2013, p. 126).

Studies by Lepp (2008), Matthews (2008), Sin (2009) and Wearing (2002) focus on the personal development and reflections of the participants and indicate that volunteers undergo personal growth due to their volunteering experiences. In contrast to studies that have looked at the short-term effects of volunteering (Bailey & Russell, 2010), Zahra (2011; Zahra & McIntosh, 2007 cited in Wearing et al., 2013, p. 127) are the only researchers that have analysed long-term consequences of volunteering experiences and have questioned whether it can be life-changing or seen as an epiphany. Zahra, summarizes that her research participants "describe a resistance to a materialistic and consumer society, a sustained consciousness of one's role within the family and society, examples of advocacy and a commitment to social development and a rejection of mass tourism". Zahra suggests that even in the long-run, her participants could embrace their volunteering experiences and that those had strongly transformed them, while she asserts that these individuals were able to appreciate their roles in their home societies more. Thus, Zahra describes the transformative effects of volunteering tourism as applying to both personal and career aspects (2011, p. 99).

3.5.3 Volunteering Mobilities as Cosmopolitan Capital Acquisition

For many students, volunteering experiences have become ever more popular and have come to represent a means to raise their social and cultural capital. It has been suggested that volunteer tourism mobilities are a novel form of global work practices particularly desired by transnational firms. As intercultural and international qualifications are being expected by transnational firms and non-state actors such as NGOs, youth volunteers "are increasingly aware of and motivated by the specific and hard-to-acquire values, knowledges, skills and attitudes that international voluntary work experience provides". So, these remarks elaborate on the demand-side for global labour that young people increasingly seek to address by participating in these volunteer and internship programmes. Jones suggests that employers seek "skills and capacities ... [which are]

seen as intangible and different to those young volunteers would acquire from formal education, as well as being only acquirable by working abroad (i.e. outside of their home country)” (Jones, 2011 p. 532).

Again, the idea of signalling (cf. section 3.2.2, p. 57), is relevant in this context. If one accepts this premise and many young people see volunteering mobilities as an investment in their human capital, then there is the risk of a devaluation of it in the long run. Jones compares the youth volunteering mobilities to employees of transnational firms who undertake work placements but he argues that the capital acquired by youth volunteers “relates to a more complicated and unpredictable process than theories concerning ‘new’ forms of tourism have appreciated (Jones, 2011, p. 535). Therefore, youth volunteering mobilities are not only a preparation for future careers, they are also constitutive of identity-formation as global workers, global professionals or global citizens.

3.5.3 Summary

Global volunteering mobilities are part of a wider variety of youth mobilities. These mobilities have been strongly criticised by some authors for being misguided humanitarianism and neoliberalism in disguised as some benevolent activity. Many participants see volunteering mobilities as a method for cosmopolitan capital acquisition. The discrepancy between these programmes as a humanitarian experience and something benevolent and the view of these programmes as means to capital acquisition has caused many controversies. Nonetheless, volunteering mobilities are a very popular mobility among the group of college-educated young individuals and are a tourism branch that has grown significantly in the last twenty years.

3.6 Conclusions

The overview of different mobilities presents a variety of issues that impact youth and student mobilities and might well represent the various characteristics that come together in study-internship programme mobilities. In this section I provide an overview of literature that is related to (previously non-existent) study-internship programme research which have guided my own methodological and theoretical approach (cf. chapter four). Therefore, I have sought to develop an analytical framework for conducting research on SIPs which builds on the following five main assumptions:

1. *Student Mobilities and mobilities research needs to be contextualised by showing the actors involved, mobility-decision making processes and by providing a timeline of these processes.* Regarding SIPs, it makes sense to include analyses of “the practices of governments, their agencies” (Findley, 2011, p. 183) as well as those of cities and stakeholders (Universities, individual Schools and Faculties, NGOs, Faculties). Moreover, Murphy-Lejeune’s model of student motivations (2003, p. 79 or in this thesis, page X) and VFR mobility are suitable to describe participant motivations of SIPs. Murphy-Lejeune’s decision to split up the motivations into latent components (representing long-term predispositions that have shaped the mobility decision), active components (more recent motivations) and the resulting components (results of the mobility experience) is a good way of indicating a long-term perspective of how mobility decision develop. The effects of privatisation, internationalisation, and neoliberal Higher-Education politics in affecting student mobilities should also be considered and are among the reasons why some researchers talk about the “mobility burden” (Shove, 2002).
2. *I have decided to use mobility capital as a concept that can be used to explain the mobilities of young individuals. Mobilities research should consider ways of making mobility capital and the ways that it is being embodied more visible.* The concept has a processual character which means that mobility capital often leads to consecutive mobilities. Moreover, mobility capital is something that is embodied by those that possess it, a fluid currency that is sometimes hard to qualify and quantify. The term ‘mobility capital’ relates to other ideas of the umbrella term human capital, and indicates a capital that signals both past mobilities as well as being prepared for future mobilities. Again, the neoliberalisation of Higher Education and training is used as an explanation why particularly young people acquire mobility capital. Nonetheless, the role of chance events in catalysing career should also not be underestimated; research has indicated that careers are often not very linear.
3. *Study-Internship research, similarly to lifestyle mobilities research, should address practices, questions of identity, meaning and individualisation and refuse giving dichotomic explanations.* The perspective of the research strands lifestyle migration and lifestyle mobilities both highlight consumption practices

and forms of individualisation as mobilities. ‘Layered definitions’ can be a good solution in overcoming classic dichotomies such as work/leisure. A form of mobility can have multiple (layered) components or purposes that do not fit into traditional dichotomic definitions that have shaped migration studies for long. The importance of self-realisation and individualisation with the geographies of meaning indicate the relevance of meaning-creating processes among lifestyle migrants and travellers. Likewise, it should be worthwhile to address the meaning- and decision-making processes of participants in SIPs and to analyse what happens alongside their mobilities. What are the meanings that they attribute to their mobilities and to their mobility destinations? Under which considerations could these various destinations be categorised (maybe some students focus more on career aspects, others more on leisure aspects, others want all aspects combined)? Do the students who go to various destinations differ, do the places shape the students, or both?

4. *In researching SIPs, I rely on a relational understanding of the term elites, in which elites can exist in different spheres, as a web of social relations, and they do not necessarily have to be the top echelon (Woods, 1998; Savage & Williams, 2008).* Analyses of elites should focus on how a social group gains advantages over others through networks, symbolic capital, performances, movements and how this group intends to reproduce itself and uphold its status (Bourdieu, 1986; Bourdieu & Clough, 1996). Therefore, when analysing SIPs, it should be analysed whether SIP-participants are elites (especially in relation to other students who do not take part in SIPs) and how this elitism is exerted. Moreover, it should be analysed how these programmes work in assembling networks and symbolic capital for their students.

5. *Not only can the transformative effects of volunteering be researched, but also those of participation in study-internship programmes.* Global volunteering mobilities often take place in ‘developing countries’ as opposed to study-internship programme mobilities which often seem to target global cities in the Western Hemisphere. It can be analysed whether SIP mobilities are also explained by humanitarian reasons, as is done by volunteers or whether the expected ‘transformative effects’ are more decisive. As third sector careers have become very popular among young adults, the insights about the

professionalization of volunteering and criticism of it being neoliberalism in disguise might be thought provoking starting points for the analysis of SIPs.

By highlighting the shortcomings and benefits of student mobilities research, I have set the scene for study-internship programme research. These various forms of movement are indicative of broader changes among Western young adults in how they constitute their own identities, as well as life- and career paths. While the aims of individuals for these various mobilities differ, there are characteristic traits to all of these forms of movement. Individualisation, cosmopolitanisation as well as human capital acquisition are all included in these various mobilities and characterising for Western youth mobilities. I do not consider this analytical framework as complete, it is intended to be edited and improved by future research from other places and contexts. In section 8.1.3 (p. 202) I discuss whether this analytical framework is reflected in my empirical research results and how the empirical data adds new perspectives to this framework.

4. Methodological Considerations and Research Design

In this chapter, I first portray the methodological perspective I have applied in my research (cf. section 4.1). In the next section, I describe the qualitative research methods that were utilised (cf. section 4.2). Then I describe the actual data collection process in Washington D.C. (cf. section 4.3), and explain my methods of data analysis and how I interpreted the collected data (cf. section 4.4). In section 4.5 I talk about how my personal experiences in and with the WSP have shaped my research. Moreover, I address the ethical considerations that have guided my research (cf. section 4.6). In the last section I talk about the limitations of my research and about crystallisation, before drawing methodological conclusions (cf. section 4.8).

4.1 Methodological Perspective and Research Plan

This section will outline the methodological perspectives adopted and how they shaped the methods that were applied in conducting this research. With the mobilities paradigm came several new ideas and approaches to capture and describe the movements of globalisation (Büscher et al., 2011, p. 7). Faulconbridge & Hui state that “mobilities research is not united by a coherent ontological position (as with for example actor–network theory), or by an established methodological approach (as with anthropology’s foregrounding of ethnography),” and warn that establishing a common research canon could limit the diversity of the field (2016, p. 11). They also suggest that a common ground in research approaches can help to refine the field and create synergy-effects, and it would help to not overwhelm researchers by too much diversity. Among mobilities researchers, the classic debate of quantitative versus qualitative research does not play a major role. For most mobilities researchers it is more important to conduct research whose methods are chosen adequately to represent movements and going beyond representation (therefore non-representational theory has had such a strong impact on the field; Adey, 2014; Thrift, 2008).

I have to assert that my own methodological perspective lies within the realm of interpretive paradigms which all assume that knowledge is a product of human interpretation (Welch and Piekkari, 2017, p. 718). Moreover, I acknowledge that my personal experiences with the WSP contributed strongly to me research and benefitted it, while trying to reflect on possible limitations through it. I do not believe in the sort of proceduralism that the best research data can be gathered by “following the right

procedures” agree with Welch and Piekkari that quality in research results from “being alert to the contextuality of the research process” (2017, p. 721).

I have applied a qualitative research approach to analyse how SIPs affect and transform their participants, their career paths and mobilities, as well as the city of Washington D.C. Therefore, research methods that served to analyse and portray the interrelations between the three research subjects of the thesis needed to be applied. A positivist approach and the application of quantitative methods did not seem fruitful in providing the in-depth data needed for this analysis, therefore I decided for a bricolage of in-depth interviews, ethnographic methods and secondary data collection and analysis which I explain in section 4.2 (p. 83).

My methodological perspective is routed in a poststructuralist tradition and more specifically in postmodernism. Within postmodernism, the different ways in which social realities are constructed in different research traditions can be combined in an eclectic manner (Pavlova-Hannam, 2016, p. 99). Cloke, Sadler & Philo suggest that this rejection of grand theories is one of the few main assumptions of postmodernism and he suggests contemplating the world “more in terms of *humble, eclectic and empirically grounded* materials” (1991, p. 171). Within postmodernism there is no uniting “conceptual strategy, approach, paradigm, or language that defines the postmodern turn” (Seidman, 1994, p. 18). The emphasis of notions of chaos and disorder are characteristic of postmodernism (Cloke et al., 1991, p. 171). Within postmodernist perspectives, authors do not attempt to generalise from empirics but rather, focus and are alert of differences instead of relying on the same models and theories.

Postmodernism has also been “connected with recent developments in critical theory such as the mobilities paradigm where different methodological approaches are used to understand a particular context” (Pavlova-Hannam, 2016, p. 99). Seidman argues that the plurality of approaches and conceptual strategies “advocate broadly postfoundational, pragmatic premises and points of departure” (1994, p. 21). In mobilities research, the combination of these approaches focusses on highlighting the ways that “people, things and seemingly intangible entities such as ideas are on the move, as well as to how environments themselves make a difference” (Adey et al, 2014, p. 503). Philosophically, mobilities research is mainly rooted in postmodernism, post-structuralist nomadic theory, actor-network theory and non-representational theory which I have presented in section 2.1 (p. 22).

My way of analysing student mobilities is a focus on “investigations of movement, blocked movement, potential movement and immobility, dwelling and place-making” that define social relations and materialities (Büscher et al., 2011, p.2). While it might be en vogue to utilise mobile methods, I agree with Cope who emphasised that “not everyone was going to wave a critical theory flag or push the boundaries of edgy qualitative research” (2010, p. 42). As for the influences of postmodernism onto my research, I am quite torn. While postmodernism embraces chaos, and tries to reject grander theories and order, there is also an alertness to difference such as gender, social class, ethnicity and other variations among social groups (Cloke et al., 1991, p. 171). This ‘alertness to differences’ creates some friction with ideas from mobilities research and the idea of methodological cosmopolitanism, which tries to reject differentiation on the basis of nationalities. Poststructuralist influences and postmodern approaches want to question dominant societal discourses and offer alternative discourses, ‘truths’ and solutions for these discourses (Winter, 2014, p. 122).

Different perspectives and interpretations have been part of mobilities research and contribute to furthering its diversity by analysing the dynamics of mobility and immobility with specific regards to power dynamics. For my own research, applying and refining more classical methods, such as the semi-standardised interview and the in-depth-interview with insight from narrative research (cf. section 4.2.2, p.86), was more promising than following the path of “mobile-methods” (Adey, 2010; Urry, 2007; Büscher et al., 2011), which focus more on issues of embodied movements and overcoming representations (Adey, 2014).

Detailed in **Figure 2** (p. 82) you can find the research plan for my research in this PhD project. It details the design of my research and shows how it was conducted. I split up the research into three different phases. Research Phase one lasted from February 2014 until October 2015, and I used it to define the research problem and to consider how I wanted to design and conduct my research. This also included a broad literature review which resulted in chapters two and three of this thesis. Moreover, after realising the lack of theorisation about SIP mobilities I decided to develop an analytical framework for future (and my own) SIP research which you can find at the end of chapter 3 (p. 74).

The second research phase lasted from October until December 2015 when I carried out the actual fieldwork in Washington D.C. With a bricolage of in-depth interviews, ethnographic observations. Secondary data collection and the production of a researcher identity memo (cf. Appendix 5 Researcher Identity Memo, p. 234), in combination with

ethical considerations that guided the research along the way, the research data was collected. In the following sections of this chapter I explain how all these methods were used and how the fieldwork in Washington was carried out in more detail.

The third and last research phase began in January 2016, after the fieldwork was carried out. The first steps that I took in this stage was to write up field notes, to transcribe the interviews that I collected in Washington verbatim and to revise and (re)consider some theoretical concepts that I used in this thesis. Then, with the help of the qualitative data analysis software NVIVO I used open coding to analyse, code and condense the collected data. After the data was coded, the next step was to make decisions and to prioritise which topics seemed most relevant to my research aims and objectives.

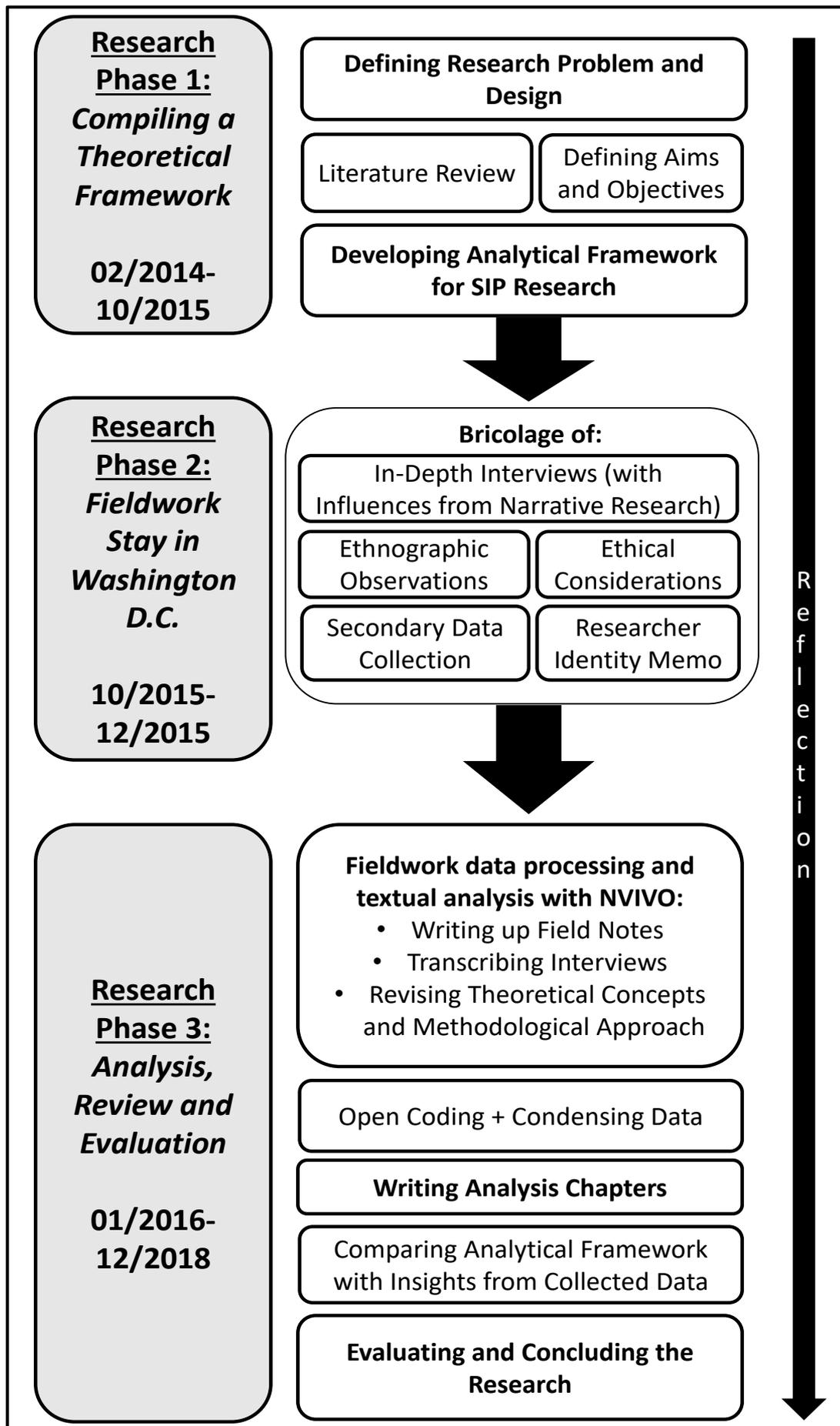


Figure 2: Research Plan

This purposive sampling was followed by the process of writing the analysis chapters. In this step I first used the most relevant and impactful quotes from the interviews and constructed the analysis sections around them. After these chapters were written I compared the analytical framework which I compiled in the first research phase with the insight from the data analysis and refined this framework for future SIP mobilities. In the evaluation and process of coming to conclusions, it was particularly important for me to hark back to the aims and objectives of my research and to portray the benefits and limitations of my research.

In the following section, I explain in detail the qualitative research methods that I have utilised in my research.

4.2 Qualitative Research Methods

I used a methodology that helped me to develop critical insights into the students' lives, the city of Washington D.C. and into the SIPs. The methods applied needed to provide data that could be used to analyse and connect the relations between the students, the city of Washington D.C. and the SIPs. The methodological approach I adopted and the research methods I present in this section will help in addressing my research objectives.

In the next section, 4.2.1, I address secondary data collection methods that I used to complement the primary data, and how I used the concept of bricolage to combine the all these different qualitative research methods. The second section, 4.2.2, addresses how I utilised the in-depth interview that I utilised as my main method to portray accounts of SIP-participants, alumni and experts. In the third section 4.2.3 I explain how I used ethnographic methods to complement the picture of SIP mobility. Figure 3 (p. 84), presents an overview of the research methods adopted in the research design. The overview shows which research methods are utilised in addressing each respective research objective. Moreover, the combination of the primary research and the secondary data analysis which is used to address the research aim of this thesis are basis of my data collection and analysis.

<p><i>Explore how Washington Semester Programmes affect and transform their participants, their career paths and mobilities, as well as the city of Washington D.C.</i></p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Review the literature and develop an analytical framework for study-internship programme mobility 2. Analyse how and whether SIP mobilities are affected by (im)materialities 3. Explore if and how the student-internship industry and SIP-participants have contributed to the changing landscape of Washington D.C. 4. Examine the reasons why the SIP-participants choose to take part in study-internship experience(s) in Washington D.C. 5. Determine if SIP-participants regard their mobility as elitist and see themselves as elites 6. Identify what and whether specific competitive advantages and 'transformative' effects are gained by SIP-participants 7. Develop a conceptual model of SIP mobility 	<p>Desk Research: In-Depth Literature Review and Development of Research Guidelines</p> <p>In-depth and semi-structured Interviews + Expert Interviews + Ethnographic Observations</p> <p>In-depth and semi-structured Interviews + Expert Interviews + Ethnographic Observations</p> <p>In-depth and semi-structured Interviews + Expert Interviews + Ethnographic Observations</p> <p>In-depth and semi-structured Interviews + Expert Interviews + Ethnographic Observations</p> <p>In-depth and semi-structured Interviews + Ethnographic Observations</p> <p>In-depth and semi-structured Interviews + Ethnographic Observations</p> <p>Combination of Data Analysis with Theoretical Conclusions</p>	<p>Primary Research:</p> <p><u>Individual In-Depth + Narrative Interviews</u></p> <p><i>Allowing individuals to talk about their experiences and to develop narratives of their careers</i></p> <p><u>Expert Interviews</u></p> <p><i>Portraying the perspectives of stakeholders and Institutions, painting a bigger picture of study-internship programme mobilities</i></p> <p><u>Ethnographic Observations</u></p> <p><i>Discovering complex interactions and representing researcher's feelings, concerns, doubts and fears</i></p> <p><u>Personal Reflections</u></p> <p><i>Critically including own experiences in the research and reflecting on them</i></p>	<p>Secondary Data Analysis:</p> <p>Social Media</p> <p>Websites</p> <p>Newspapers</p> <p>Advertisement</p> <p>Brochures</p>
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Figure 3: Research Methods Applied

4.2.1 Bricolage and Secondary Data Collection

Along with the in-depth interviews, the ethnographic methods and my personal reflections, I also included secondary data such as information from social media of the SIPs, websites of the SIPs, newspaper articles, as well as advertisement brochures from the programmes, pictures and videos of and about the SIPs (cf. Figure 3, page 84). The secondary data included in the thesis were used to provide a better overview of how the SIPs represent themselves in various media channels and how they are perceived by the public. Secondary data are intended to and add to the bricolage of data that I arranged through the application of the qualitative research methods described in this section (cf. section 4.2, p. 83). In a postmodernist construct, ‘anything seems possible’, Denzin & Lincoln argue that if the researcher needs to invent a new method, or combine existing methods in order to collect the required data, then he or she should do that (2005, p. 4). And this, the combination of existing methods, is what I have done in my methodology and in my fieldwork.

The theoretical concept of Bricolage was introduced by Levi-Strauss, who used the French term “which denotes crafts-people who creatively use materials left over from other projects to construct new artifacts” (Rogers, 2012, pp. 1-2). Levi-Strauss used the term as a metaphor for meaning-making in general, coming from a structurationist epistemology, while later research that was inspired by the Bricolage idea was developed within a post-structurationist framework. For these post-structurationist researchers such as Denzin & Lincoln (2005) and Kincheloe (2001) the concept of bricolage is an eclectic approach to social enquiry. The concept of Bricolage is used for methodologies “explicitly based on notions of eclecticism, emergent design, flexibility and plurality”. The idea of the bricolage mirrors many of the ideas that have shaped mobilities research, as Rogers states, “adopting a bricolage approach helped researchers respect the complexity of meaning-making processes and the contradictions of the lived world” (2012, pp. 1-4). These contradictions and meaning-making processes that researchers were able to observe in the last two decades, especially in processes of globalisation, have contributed to the increasing popularity of inter- and post-disciplinary approaches.

Rogers explains that the bricoleur (the researchers who applies bricolage) understands that his background impacts his research and he recognises “that knowledge is never free from subjective positioning or political interpretations”. Because the bricoleur

realises the complexity of meaning-making processes and the lived world, multiple research tools are combined by him or her (Rogers, 2012, p. 4-5). Another important distinction to be made is that the “methodological bricoleur uses only the tools and means “at hand” to accomplish their knowledge work” (Rogers, 2012, p. 5). Denzin & Lincoln explain that in this process of combining methods, the researcher is applying a trial and error approach and the bricolage itself is a process, something that develops and is not static (2005, p. 4). As a strong believer in pluralistic methods, I have acted as a bricoleur and combined various methods and was inspired by other methods that were not fully applied in my research (such as the narrative interviews, which I explain in section 4.2.2.).

In this section, I have given an overview of the qualitative research methods that were applied in this thesis. From a perspective that aims to construct a bricolage, I have tried to develop a merged in-depth interview form which combines in-depth interviews with techniques from narrative interviews. Moreover, ethnographic methods were used to complement the data that I collected about the participants in Washington D.C. and about the SIPs. Moreover, I did not neglect secondary data and partly relied on website information and advertisement materials for my analysis of SIP mobilities.

4.2.2 Combining In-Depth and Narrative Interviews

I deemed qualitative in-depth interviews my main method in studying mobile students and professionals as they offer comprehensive insights into their thoughts, the environment and their mobility biographies. Narrative interviewing methods have influenced my research method. In the interviews, I wanted to leave enough time for my participants to tell their stories and perspectives of how they experienced certain topics. Similar to Ploner’s account of biographical interviews with British students, my interviews with SIP-students and expert interviews were intended to tune into the participant’s mobilities. Ploner asserted that a biographical interview “provides space for articulations of ‘haunting’ memories which generate narrative orderings of past events and experiences that are co-produced by the research participant and researcher in the interview process” (2015, p. 7). Moreover, biographical interviewing uncovers the temporalities, places and connections that are relevant for the research participants and this reconstruction of his or her movements allows researchers to move along and reconstruct his or her mobility biography (Büscher et al 2011, 103).

In narrative research, researchers focus on obtaining a narrative from their participants about “individuals’ lived and told experiences”. An important self-awareness in narrative research is the idea that it has a “strong *collaborative* feature (...) as the story emerges through the interaction or dialogue of the researcher and the participant(s) (Creswell, 2014, p. 71). Narrative research is often used to collect a very small number of cases and to focus on the individual cases that researchers want to portray. Therefore my research is not narrative research, since it did not make sense to just focus on two or three cases. Nonetheless, I found that the emphasis of “stories” made a lot of sense for my research where stories and narratives were also performed by my research participants, so I wanted to acknowledge that in my research. Narrative stories can be analysed thematically, structurally, or with a focus on the performance of the interview (Riessmann, 2008 cited in Creswell, 2014, p. 71). Creswell asserts that in the analysis of the collected data, researchers look for themes or categories, often from a (micro)linguistic or discourse analysis perspective (2014, p. 75). Clearly, my applied method does not have and is not intended to include linguistic or discourse analysis. I see the stories as accounts of the participants’ lives that help to contextualise their mobilities and experiences.

The participants’ accounts were particularly important in analysing their ideas and values that were portrayed in the storytelling of their careers. Reissner has analysed the significance of storytelling among managers and in corporations (2010, 2011). Mortensen et al. conducted a study about the future career paths of young athletes and argued that asking people to tell their stories “stays closer to actual life events than methods that elicit explanations” do (2013, pp. 308-309). I decided to analyse the career and mobility narratives of SIP-participants. I assume that narratives are used on purpose to represent world views, strategies and decision-making processes and also reflect the social narratives that surround the research participants. This can be on the basis of terms and vocabulary or the concepts, ideas and intentions that are prevalent among a group.

I find that all research interviews are co-constructed by the flow and exchange between participant and researcher and that these stories are often adapted to the specific audience (Ledwith, 2005, p. 257). The interview itself is a performance, both by the researcher as well as the research participant (Creswell, 2014, p. 76). Reissner asserts that storytelling is something natural and subconscious but can also be used on purpose to manipulate and exert power relations and she adds that the different audiences shape

the stories (2011, p. 251). Elliot suggests that when participants provide accounts of their life experiences, they “are forced to reflect on those experiences, to select the salient aspects, and to order them into a coherent whole” (2005, p. 24).

One of the difficulties of narrative research is to have a clear understanding of the context of the participants’ lives and to really develop an in-depth understanding of the participant (Creswell, 2014, p. 76). In contrast to many narrative interview studies, my research interviews were not intended as a comparative case of two individual participants’ experiences (for example Carless & Douglass, 2013a who compared the stories of two elite athletes). I wanted to specifically focus on the decisions of SIP-participants in their careers that and the factors that impacted their mobilities. To present a broad overview of decision-making processes, I decided to include more research participants than in most narrative research and to merge the techniques of narrative interviewing with in-depth interviewing.

Hence, my research started out with a basic semi-standardised interview schedule, as is common in in-depth interviews that I chose to strategically address a variety of topics. I have attached the interview schedules (for experts and SIP staff-interviews, as well as interviews with SIP-participants and SIP alumni) in the appendices of this thesis (Appendix 3 and 4). A semi-standardised interview is centred on predetermined questions or topics that are usually asked in a systematic or at least consistent order. Nonetheless, the researcher still has the “freedom to digress; that is, the interviewers are permitted (in fact expected) to probe far beyond the answers to their prepared and standardized questions” (Berg, 2001, p. 70). In a semi-standardised interview, the researcher uses probes when the participants do not answer the initial questions (the essential or extra questions) with enough detail. These probes (such as: ‘tell me more about that’, ‘elaborate’, ‘would you care to explain?’) are used to encourage the research participants to talk more about an issue. As in most interviews communicating effectively is key, this includes the use of a language, phrasing and vocabulary that is not overly scientific and understandable for the research participants (Berg, 2001, pp. 70-77).

While undertaking his research with elite athletes, Carless & Douglass used narrative in-depth interviews to develop insights into the cultural settings in which individuals are immersed. While elite athletes are different from economic elites, there may be similarities in their way of acting and radiating a sense of power. It is important to note that these narrative approaches do not privilege structure over agency but view “the

relationship between culture and the individual as reciprocal and co-constitutive”. Carless & Douglass assume that story-telling processes are part of to the research participants’ identity construction and serves to uphold it. They consider the stories as “active agents in the construction of those lives” (Carless & Douglass, 2013b, pp. 701-702).

In-depth interviews offer “the opportunity for story telling in a relatively informal and unstructured way” (Desforges, 2000, p. 933). The interviewee still has enough space to share and emphasize experience that are essential to him and can open up new perspectives to the researcher. Elliot explains that it “is widely recognized in the social sciences that the subjects of research are eager to comply with the wishes of the researcher and to provide the type of responses that the researcher is looking for” (2005, p. 31). It is the researcher’s responsibility to carefully moderate their interactions with the interviewees and reflect on the way of the interaction, especially in in-depth or narrative interviews. Elliot emphasises that the interactional form and the place of the interview play a role in the construction of a research account and should be reflected in the research agenda (2005, p. 20).

Following Crang & Cook, the interviews were conducted to the point of theoretical saturation, where researchers cannot identify new distinguishing aspects that add to the value of the research process. This can either lead to the identification of new groups to research and interview or signal the beginning of the analysis (1995, p. 12). By the end of my fieldwork stay in Washington, I felt like I had reached this point of theoretical saturation. In the next section, I summarise which ethnographic methods I have used in my research.

4.2.3 Ethnographic Methods

In this section, I explain how I have utilised ethnographic methods in my research, including a research diary and some participant observations. Nonetheless, I should emphasise that these ethnographic methods only complement my main method, the in-depth interviews. Ethnographic research was developed by ethnologists and anthropologists in order to “understand parts of the world as they are experienced and understood in the everyday lives of people who actually 'live them out'” (Crang & Cook, 1995, p. 4). Therefore, it was essential for me to conduct my research interviews in Washington (and not just via skype) and to make ethnographic observations in Washington by myself. Usually, traditional ethnographic research is associated with

longitudinal fieldwork periods where researchers tried to embed themselves in their host communities or societies (Berg, 2001, p. 133).

In my case, as I already lived in Washington for about 10 months in 2009-2010, and had the experience of Washington as a student and SIP-participant myself, I deemed 2,5 months long enough in order to conduct my interviews and to make ethnographic observations. Adey uses the term *flânerie* for ethnographic observations; I used this method as a way to analyse the influence of students in the city. Adey states that utilising *flânerie* means [“e]xperiencing the fluxes and flows of the everyday – as *flâneur* – may mean watching people’s movements, gestures and comportment” and taking part in the city and its pace (2010, p. 66). In my case that meant to assume the role of my research subjects, or more specifically my younger me as an SIP-participant (Adey, 2010, p. 66). Being in Washington allowed me to develop an understanding of the SIP-participants, to recall my own memories of the time as an SIP-participant and to frequent the same spots where young students and interns assemble in order to develop a feel for this group.

Some researchers describe research interviews as ethnographic methods (Cragg & Cook, 1995, p. 4), and while research interviews have developed alongside ethnographic methods I treat them as a distinct method in my research. In ethnographies, access to the field is always a crucial issue (Berg, 2001, pp. 136-139), and in the case of my research, without actually conducting the fieldwork in Washington and without my personal connections to gatekeepers I am not sure how successfully I could have conducted my research. Therefore, the ethnography in Washington and the in-depth interviews are intricately connected.

Creswell outlined distinguishing characteristics of ethnographic studies. In an ethnography, the social behaviours of an identifiable group are described. In this group, the researcher tries to find “patterns of social organization (e.g., social networks) and ideational systems (e.g., worldview, ideas)” (Creswell, 2014, p. 91-92). Moreover, in most ethnographies the researcher starts with basic theoretical assumptions about what he expects or hopes to find out in his or her research. In my case these assumptions were less theoretical because of my own experiences in Washington and I started my fieldwork with rather concrete expectations of Washington D.C. and the SIPs. I have addressed this as a limitation in section 4.7 (p. 108). Usually, during extensive fieldwork stays the researcher embeds him or herself in the field and collects

“interviews, observations, symbols, artifacts, and many diverse sources of data” (Fetterman, 2010 cited in Creswell, 2014, p. 92).

The observations of the researcher, evidenced and portrayed with quotes and ‘insider knowledge’ of the situation, are then filtered and explored in a cultural interpretation that essentially intends to explain the researched groups’ ways of life. In my research, this group were the SIP-participants. Critical ethnographies embrace the subjectivities of the researcher and attempt to empower the subjects of the research. My research intends to give a voice to both the SIP-participants as well as the programme administrators and tries to situate their perspectives in a wider framework of higher education and student mobility policies. While ethnographies are quite prominent in ethnology and anthropology, there are researchers who have criticised ethnographic methods for being too subjective and for just portraying a snapshot (Creswell, 2014, pp. 92-96).

Crang & Cook argue that ethnographic methods were integrated in geography (and other social sciences) to counter positivist research that did not pay much attention to explain individual fates and stories. In any group of people there is a broad variety among the individuals of a group that might vary due to gender, class, colour, and their socialisations among other factors. Both researchers and research subjects are embedded in multiple contexts, and “act on the world at multiple points, times and places and, strung together throughout their/our life-courses, these experiences and actions form different biographies and self-identities” (Crang & Cook, 1995, pp. 5-8). Marcus (1995, p. 96) argued that multi-sited research developed alongside postmodern traditions in anthropology in ethnology and used the term of mobile ethnographies. The idea of mobile ethnographies and ideas such as follow the thing (Cook, 2004) have had significant impact in mobilities research. Research on mobile materialities and subjects has resulted in methodological and theoretical developments (Adey et al., 2014, p. 265, p. 345).

Crang & Cook argue that in ethnography there are no claims to objective research, but ethnographic research embraces various subjectivities that serve to construct a ‘mirroring of the world’ (1995, p. 11). 20 years later these assessments are still valid, and very similar to basic mobilities research assumptions about mobility and individualisation. Moreover, addressing my own subjectivities and reflecting on my own construction and interpretation of Washington D.C. was part of my ethnographic approach. The stories and additional data that researchers collect and that are influenced

by their own subjectivities and how the researcher arranges them are reconstructions of the world (Berg, 2001, p. 139). Therefore, the place where a researcher collects his data can also impact the narratives of his research participants and his account of them. In section 4.5 (p. 102) I address the implications of my role as an observer and WSP alumni in more detail.

Crang & Cook summarize that the different backgrounds of individuals “can be understood as an assemblage of thoughts, feelings, memories, ways of doing things, possessions and so forth which does not fit together in a dedicated pattern but is always a compromise, always pragmatic, always in flux, and never pure” (McCracken, 1988a; Miller, 1987 cited in Crang & Cook, 1995, p. 8). Especially for my research, in which the distinct life-stories and mobility biographies of mobile students were analysed, this emphasis on individual assemblages seemed essential. I talked to several participants from a broad range of social backgrounds and countries, who were in very different stages of their careers and lives. My responsibility as a researcher is to be aware of their differences and individualities and to contextualize their responses and not to generalize from specific statements.

4.3 The Fieldwork Stage in Washington D.C.

In the fall of 2015 I spent almost three months in Washington D.C., from October until December. I need to emphasise that my research did not include a proper ethnography, but was rather inspired by ethnographic methods. I kept a research diary, took field notes, made observations, took pictures and was able to follow the SIP classes on five different days and occasions. During my time in D.C. I conducted research interviews, talked to the various SIPs, various stakeholders and made observations of the SIP landscape in Washington D.C.

As my research was conducted in Washington D.C. and virtually through skype interviews, it was a compromise between following some of my research subjects to Washington and talking to some of them during their study-internship experience, while others retold their study-internship experiences that had happened in the recent or more distant future. Skype interviews were conducted online in case where the participants were too far away; one was living in New York City, another one in Mexico, another one in Ecuador and another one in Germany. For my research, it was beneficial to conduct most of my fieldwork in Washington D.C. with the space of Washington D.C. as a setting, as this was the destination of my research subjects, the mobile students. My first choice was to conduct face-to-face interviews in Washington, if not possible, I conducted Skype interviews with the research participants. I should also outline that all interviews were conducted in the English language. The Skype interviews were recorded with a software that is an add-on to Skype called Call-Recorder. Consent to the recording was obtained days beforehand. My approach was to less emphasise physical circumstances and patterns of the students' movement less than work on embodied mobile practices does (Merriman, 2013, p. 174). For me, it was more essential to collect and capture the stories, perceptions, and motivations that led young students to pursuing study-internship mobility to Washington D.C.

Moreover, in Table 1 (p. 95), an overview of the expert interviews that I conducted is presented. In **Table 2** (p. 96), I have provided an overview of the research interviews that were conducted during the fieldwork stage in Washington. I have also specified the interview format of each interview. I conducted four interviews via Skype, and the rest of the interviews in person, so I have clarified in what environment or location the interviews were conducted. Skype interviews were conducted with or without video, depending on the interviewees preference and the internet connection. The interviews without video resembled traditional telephone interviews. The shortest interview lasted

29 minutes, the longest one covered 79 minutes, the arithmetic mean value of the interview total was about 53 minutes.

An exploratory talk with one official of WSP set the stage for my research stay in Washington, as the Higher Executive reached out to a number of professors for me and was really helpful in terms of enabling me to visit some classes. This access to a gatekeeper for the whole program at American university was definitely helpful in getting started and reaching out to participants. Berg explains that gatekeepers are “formal or informal watchdogs who protect the setting, people, or institutions sought as a target for research [and often] (...) hold pivotal positions in the hierarchy of the group or institution sought for study—although they may not be high up the hierarchical rankings” (2001, p. 145). I encountered both constellations in my research, gatekeepers that were higher up the hierarchy of the institutions and then gatekeepers who were not as highly ranked but influential nevertheless.

My research accelerated when I was able to participate in two classes of the Semester Program at American University and was able to spend a day with each class, both on a site-visit as well as in lectures. I was able to introduce myself in two different classes and to explain my research. The day after I attended one of the classes I was also invited (by the professor of the class) into a student group on Facebook and onto a Facebook group that was used for Alumni of the programme to connect.

I used these groups as a means to connect to students but I did not include any information shared in these groups in my thesis due to privacy issues, as these groups were restricted. Via these Facebook groups, the professor of this class is well connected to SIP-Alumni and he promoted their voluntarily participation in my research. That turned out to be the most successful strategy as many of those students contacted me and tried to set up interviews with me.

I followed a similar structure in approaching Georgetown University’s Semester in Washington programme. Also in the initial weeks, I sent many emails to other universities in Washington that were running similar programmes. Georgetown University forwarded my email to their students and alumni, a strategy which resulted in one interview with one of their alumni and I also interviewed a Senior Admin Staffer there. Apart from these two programmes (American Universities’ WSP and Georgetown’s SIWP) and the Washington Center, my attempts in reaching out to other

programmes in Washington were not very fruitful, as a lot of them did not respond to my emails or calls and were not interested in cooperating.

As a starting point in my research interviews, and to establish trust and ease participants into the situation of the interview, I talked about some basic background information of my participants and asked some introductory questions. For example, I asked them about their age, family background, what they studied at their home institutions. Then I had a segment that mainly tried to find out more about the decision-making processes that factored into their decision to come to Washington D.C. The third part then addressed my participants' lives in Washington D.C., including their experience with their respective program of study and internships, as well as their social lives. The fifth and sixth section were only guided towards alumni of the programs and used in interviews with SIP-Alumni. Part five addressed the topic whether they felt that program participation had catalysed their careers, part six was geared towards finding out more about SIP-Alumni's current jobs and career. The last segment that I talked about with all my interview-participants were their mobility biographies, attitudes towards travel and mobility as well as travel experiences.

The expert interviews followed a relatively similar structure. First, I established trust by talking about some basic background information and what their position at their institutions were. Afterwards, a segment followed in which the experts talked about their respective programmes and what made them special, how they felt about student mobilities and about their competitors. The last segment then was deemed to outline the mobility biographies of the experts and their general attitudes towards mobility.

Alias	Status	Nationality	Gender	Duration in Minutes
Georgetown Senior Admin	Expert	Russian	Female	46
Higher Executive of a non-university SIP	Expert	American	Male	39
WSP Professor	Expert	American	Female	42
Higher Executive of the WSP	Expert	American	Female	54
Senior Admin of the WSP	Expert	American	Male	67

Table 1: Overview of Expert Interviews

Alias	Status	Nationality	Gender	Age at Interview	1.st Generation American	WSP Year	Occupation at	Duration in Minutes	Major(s) + Degrees
Jeremy	WSP Alumni	American	Male	25	No	Summer 2010	Law Firm	79	Russian Studies B.A. + Law School
Albert	WSP Alumni	German	Male	24	N.A.	Fall 2013	Business and Economics Student	68	Political Science, Economics and Business BA + MA
Caroline	WSP Alumni	Colombian	Female	27	N.A.	2009-2010	Worked at an NGO	55	Finance/International Relations
Mary-Ann	WSP Alumni	American	Female	25	No	2008	Lobbying Firm	44	Biology BA + MA
Justine	WSP Alumni	American	Female	26	No	2010	Environmental Law Firm	53	Environmental Studies, Psychology BA + Grad School
Kristin	WSP Alumni	American	Female	26	No	2010	NGO Work/Self-Employed	46	Spanish BA; Spanish and Latin American Studies MA
Aaron	WSP Alumni	German	Male	31	N.A.	2006	World Bank	58	Economy MA
Carl	WSP Alumni	American	Male	34	No	2001/2002	Military Contractor/Analyst	56	International and Russian Studies BA; War Studies MA
Brad	WSP Alumni	American	Male	31	No	2006	NGO	45	International and Political Economy Major
Andres	WSP Alumni	Peruvian	Male	34	N.A.	2001/2002	Political Analyst	42	International Peace and Conflict Resolution MA
Nathalie	WSP Alumni	American	Female	29	Yes	2006	Foreign Service, State Department	73	Political Science BA
George	WSP Participant	American	Male	22	Yes	Fall 2015	Student	46	Medical Humanities BA
Daisy	WSP Participant	American	Female	21	Yes	Fall 2015	Student	54	Public Health + English BA
Martyn	WSP Participant	American	Male	20	No	Fall 2015	Student	37	Economics Major Political Science Minor
Oralie	WSP Participant	American	Female	22	Yes	Fall 2015	Student	46	Public Health BA
Kaeley	WSP Participant	American + French	Female	22	Yes	Fall 2015	Student	29	Math and PolySci BA
Alice	WSP Participant	American	Female	21	Yes	Fall 2015	Student	61	Liberal Studies Major Child Studies Minor

Table 2: Overview of SIP-participants and SIP-alumni

The data collection began with the collection of secondary data and considerations about my own positionalities as a researcher. Explaining and reflecting on how my personal experiences with a SIP and the resulting positionalities have shaped my research was elementary for conducting my fieldwork. Developing an initial research design and reflecting on the research sample selection was also essential for preparing the fieldwork stage in Washington. In my PhD, the aspect on methodological cosmopolitanism was important for choosing the research sample and overcoming the theoretical framework of the nation-states. The fieldwork stage in Washington itself was the cornerstone of the data collection and resulted in 17 interviews with SIP students and Alumni and five expert interviews. Moreover, several observations were made in and around areas of Washington where SIPs act and where their participants go.

Moreover, secondary data was also used to complement my research. I chose the secondary data used in this thesis by using a purposive sampling method, using the most prominent and most established providers of SIPs in Washington and information about their programmes. Berg suggested that purposive sampling is based on “researchers us[ing] their special knowledge or expertise about some group to select subjects who represent this population (...) in order to ensure that certain types of individuals or persons displaying certain attributes are included in the study” (2001, p. 32). I used this approach in both choosing my research participants and the specific programmes for my study. While initially conducting a comprehensive review of the websites of numerous educational providers in Washington, D.C., I chose those that attract the most students.

Beck asserts that to break up the traditional thinking in a framework of nation-states researchers must learn from the “cosmopolitanization of reality” instead of just repeating the same (often self-referential) theories. The use of methodological cosmopolitanism (Beck, 2006, p. 74; cf. section 2.5, p. 43), had distinct consequences for my research. For example, in my research, and in choosing my research sample in particular, this meant considering my research participants’ nationalities to a lesser degree than would be done in classic migration research. Generally, I was aiming for a diverse research sample in terms of the participants’ background and gender. When returning from my fieldwork I thought to have interviewed several international students and only later realised that many of those that I considered to be international were actually first-generation Americans whose parents were immigrants to the United States. So, even in my perception many of the participants represented cosmopolitanism and made me forget the participants’ original backgrounds. After some consideration, I

deemed this a good sign as it exemplified that it did not matter that much to me from where and how participants came to Washington, they all represented a bigger diffuse ‘cosmopolitan mass’.

One can also argue that using the mobilities paradigm is very similar to methodological cosmopolitanism (Tyfield & Blok, 2016). Choosing to work within a mobilities framework is a way of addressing Beck’s cosmopolitan reality thematically, methodologically and organisationally (Beck, 2006, p. 75). I should also state that this does not mean to entirely neglect the notion of nationality, I am aware that different passports play a significant role in mobilities (Szewczyk, 2014). Nonetheless, for the movements of the young elites in my study, cosmopolitan values are increasingly more important.

4.4 Data Analysis

In this section I first describe textual analysis (Hannam & Knox, 2005), which I chose as my analysis method (4.4.1). In the second section (4.4.2), I explain how I used the qualitative data analysis software NVivo and coded the data, and conclude this section by elaborating on the limitations of this thesis.

4.4.1 Textual Analysis and Transcription

After considering context analysis (Drisko & Maschi, 2015) and narrative analysis (Reissner, 2005; 2011), I chose to use textual analysis (Hannam & Knox, 2005) a form of discourse analysis, as my analysis method. Hannam & Knox explain that textual analysis is a “qualitative technique concerned with unpacking the cultural meanings inherent in the material in question” while the researcher has to draw upon his or her “own knowledge and beliefs as well as the symbolic meaning systems that they share with others” (2005, p. 24). Especially in comparison to context analysis, Hannam & Knox outline the strength of textual analysis in the attention to details of the text and in its very thorough case-specific analyses. Moreover, while doing this open-coding is used in order to “get as close to the material as possible in order to avoid missing anything” (2005, p. 24). This analysis method requires the researcher to deal with the collected data and to analyse the text very closely and with a lot of detail, analysing every single line and word, and even more importantly, it requires the reflexivity of the researcher. This means that the researcher needs to keep his assumptions and preconceptions in check and to highlight their impact on his or her research, as well as

carefully explaining the steps that were taken in the data analysis (Hannam & Knox, 2005, p. 24).

Especially as my study aims to get exploratory insights into elite student mobility in SIPs, textual analysis can help in structuring and getting insights into this form of mobility. As there is almost no data on this very phenomenon, the emphasis in my research analysis is on indicating patterns and the scope of students' motivations for taking part in these SIPs. I did not conduct a discourse analysis or classic narrative analysis. Nonetheless, I am aware that every interview represents a story and a construction of an individual's biography. Therefore, I see textual analysis as a way of structuring elements and ideas that are part of these stories.

The collected interview data was transcribed verbatim, with a minimum of annotation. I used the transcription software F5 Transcription Pro for the transcriptions. Turning a conversation into a transcript has certain shortcomings, Killick argues that written form can never adequately represent the meaning of an interview (2011, p. 145). Bazeley & Jackson argue that the "flat form of the written words loses the emotional overtones and nuances of the spoken text, and so it is beneficial for the interviewer to format or annotate the text [in order to] (...) be as true to the conversation as possible, yet pragmatic in dealing with the data" (2013, p. 58). I tried to include short pauses, hesitations, emphasis or meaning-changing intonation in the transcripts (Killick, 2011, p. 145). I decided to transcribe the whole interviews, apart from some sections that were really off-topic and I did not deem them relevant for answering my research aims. Transcriptions were made up of about twenty hours of recording, totalling almost 161.400 words. The transcripts were then imported into the qualitative data analysis software NVIVO for Mac, Version 10.2.2 and later Version 11.4.1 (released in June 2017) which I used for coding and the analysis process which I explain in the next section.

4.4.2 Open Coding and Analysis with NVIVO

In open-coding, as the researcher reads the transcripts and ideas emerge, he takes them down and creates categories or codes from these ideas. While Hannam & Knox describe the physical ordering of coded text segments, with NVIVO this process takes place within the software (2005, p. 24). The individual codes are ordered and can then be organised in ways that reveal interesting relationships or themes. It is also important to note that in this process "some of the codes will break down when it is found that a

particular pile of material contains significant differences and needs to be re-coded in more detail” (Hannam & Knox, 2005, p. 24). Qualitative data analysis software (QDAS) have been dreaded by some researchers, because as Bazeley & Jackson (2013) mention, researchers can be tempted to develop too many codes. Moreover, there have been concerns that the use of software and the segmentation of text distance researchers from the data, and that analyses become more mechanic and more similar to positivist techniques, thus taking away the benefits of qualitative analysis. Bazeley & Jackson also emphasise that some of the claims that are repeated about QDAS have become outdated, as some of the earliest programmes are about twenty to thirty years old by now. A QDAS can only support the researcher, and cannot replace the researcher; it is intended to increase the efficiency and effectiveness of the data analysis process. The ability to manage data, ideas, to query data and to visualise them, as well as the capacity to create reports are all advantages of using a QDAS (Bazeley & Jackson, 2013, pp. 1-7).

After some consideration of the benefits and disadvantages of qualitative data analysis programmes, I decided to use NVivo for Mac 10 for the qualitative data analysis. In order to code, categorise, find relevant quotes and data, and in order to track the primary data sources, I found that NVivo was quite helpful. Bazeley & Jackson warn that the use of QDAS can provide too much closeness to the text, and causes researchers to lose themselves in the coding process and data (2013, p. 7). I experienced this, as I found that the use of NVivo is tempting the user to code further and further. For me, the main argument for using a QDAS like NVivo is that it helps to organise data and it allows the researchers to retrieve information easily. While I experimented with the data analysis functions of NVivo, I decided that for addressing my research objectives I rather wanted to rely on NVivo as a tool that replaces the on-paper method to organise and code research data. I will now explain which steps I took in coding the collected data with the help of NVivo.

- **Stage 1: Reading the Interview transcripts and Coming up with Main Nodes**

At first, I decided to read four interviews which I recalled as interesting and potentially very relevant for my research (Bazeley & Jackson, 2013, p. 76). Reading these first four interviews was extremely helpful in coming up with some broader categories. In the first round of coding the data was grouped very generally into four different nodes: SIP-participants, Washington and SIPs and

mobilities. In NVivo a node is a point within a network that connects information stored in these various points of the network; each node stores concepts or themes (Bazeley & Jackson, 2013, p. 75). These nodes were designed specifically for the interviews with current SIP-participants and alumni. For the expert interviews, I decided to group the interviews into 21 thematic nodes, referring to the topics talked about with the Experts (this node structure can be found in Appendix 6, p. 239). This research stage led to my later decision to group my analysis into the three themes of SIP-participants, Washington and the SIPs, while mobilities is an overarching theme in all of these topics.

- **Stage 2: Creating Subnodes and Thematic Node Descriptions**

In the second round of coding, I read all the interview transcripts and created subnodes (with specific themes addressed in them) in the four main nodes and collected all those that could potentially be relevant for my research. I also started writing short descriptions of what I wanted to include in the main and most interesting nodes. These descriptions helped in not losing the focus on what the purpose of the individual nodes were and which quotes I wanted to gather in these nodes (Bazeley & Jackson, 2013, p. 78). Moreover, at this stage I also created node classifications for each participant (basically attributes such as age, gender, home university), which could later be used to compare different statements among different groups (Bazeley & Jackson, 2013, pp. 131-132).

- **Stage 3: Reviewing Nodes, Structuring and Grouping Nodes, Recoding**

The next stage meant to review all nodes in the project, and to question whether the quotes within the nodes were fitting or needed to be moved into different nodes. In some cases, the nodes were not named adequately and needed to be renamed. In other cases, groups were less important than originally thought and were changed into subnodes and vice versa. At the end of this stage, I also used text queries to find more quotes for some nodes which I deemed important for my research. This strategy proved efficient in finding numerous quotations that I had not previously coded. However, this strategy can only be used to complement already existing nodes.

- **Stage 4: Third Round of Coding**

At this point, I re-read the transcripts and checked whether relevant quotes and text segments were coded already and in the right nodes.

- **Stage 5: Condensing the Data**

I created one node folder with quotes that I deemed not relevant for my analysis (on the basis of my research aims). You can find the coding structure of the second round of coding in Appendix 7 (p. 240). Moreover, I created a folder that contains ‘side notes’ for the analysis, notes which might be interesting but rather complementary. Again, this Stage also included checking the existing nodes and quotations and questioning whether these nodes could be grouped differently or be improved. The plan at this stage of coding was to condense the data in order to develop a plan for the analysis: a writing plan.

- **Stage 6: Writing and Reviewing Summaries**

Bazeley & Jackson recommend writing reviews or summaries of certain ideas that eventually, as the project matures, become more important than the sources (the interview transcripts in this case). Highlighting the links in between themes and the discrepancies and summarising them helps to reflect on your research and the relationships in between the different themes explored (Bazeley & Jackson, 2013, p. 117). In writing the analysis chapters, I relied strongly on the coding folders that were particularly relevant in answering my research aim and objectives and that I deemed most relevant for my analysis. So I started writing my analysis chapters by relying on these quotes and combining theory (from my research framework) with the collected data.

It should be noted that the data analysis stages were spread over several months, and in-between I took breaks in order to distance myself from the data and to refocus. In this section, I have elaborated on how I applied textual analysis to the data collected in Washington. The data was coded, and ordered in the software NVivo.

4.5 The Different I’s of the Researcher

When setting out to write this PhD thesis, I was unsure whether and how to include my personal experiences with the SIP. As Maxwell explains, in academia, for long, the researcher’s background and identity have been treated as biases that could not be included in the research (2012, 27). From this perspective, I could not have conducted this research. As Maxwell describes, many researchers try their best to avoid including personal experiences which can have the consequence that their research often does not appear to be very confident and might damage their credibility. Maxwell explains that the inclusion of a researcher’s personal experiences is not unusual anymore and almost

impossible to avoid and there is no “such thing as a “God’s eye view,” a view that is the one true “objective” account” (2012, pp. 28-29). Especially in feminist research, research methodologies were critiqued and adapted to be friendlier towards the research subjects and researchers themselves; already the choice of a research topic is not a value-neutral process (Berg, 2001, p. 140).

Maxwell suggests writing a researcher identity memo as an exercise, to consciously reflect one’s own experiences, thoughts and assumptions (2012, p. 39). He elaborates that “recognizing your personal ties to the study you want to conduct can provide you with a valuable source of insight, theory, and data about the phenomena you are studying (Maxwell, 2012, p. 16). I have written such a researcher identity memo in which I describe which personal, practical and research purposes have influenced my study (Maxwell, 2012, p. 24). This researcher memo is attached in the appendices of this thesis (Appendix 5, p. 234). From this researcher identity memo, I identified six different and distinctive I’s that impact my research and possibly have substantial implications for the perspective I am taking and the results that this PhD generates. In italics, I added the implications of the respective researcher I for my research:

1. Self-Protective I: Because I took part in the program myself there might be a tendency to justify my own career- and mobility-decisions. On the one hand, I am not entirely comfortable with the idea that due to my parent’s investments I was able to take part in a programme that can be considered elitist, on the other hand I am happy that I did because it helped me to understand and learn more about careers, networking and it furthered me in my development.

I sought to address this research-I by trying to accept this as a fact and coming to terms with this decision. This research-I could have affected the conclusions as well as the methodology (phrasing of qualitative interview questions as well as conceptual framework construction). It might have led to me not explaining some circumstances in Washington D.C. and of the SIP carefully and explicitly enough because I take them for granted.

2. Welfare Approach to Education I: My personal experience with German Higher Education as well as with the much more neoliberal and privatised education systems in the US and the UK have provided me with insights about the benefits and disadvantages of both systems of Higher Education. Personally, I prefer the less privatised, welfare approach in German Higher Education (mostly controlled by the state) that enables more students to pursue Higher Education.

Because I grew up with the idea that Higher Education should be affordable for everyone, I am more acquainted with this idea. Other researchers would possibly highlight the benefits of Higher Education in English speaking countries and argue with rankings, professor-per-student ratio and other factors. I am just not sure whether the advantages outweigh the disadvantages (those foremost being high student-loan debts).

This perspective made me choose many texts and authors that are very critical of neoliberalism and take critical geography and partly Marxist perspectives. As generally in qualitative research, I tried to not let my personal opinions affect the construction of my interview questions and their interpretation too much (I nevertheless assume that opinions have an impact on my research).

3. I that profited from Neoliberal Education Systems: I enjoy and have profited from the individual attention and opportunities that students receive at an American or British University. I am not criticising the quality of US and UK Higher Education, but the way of ensuring this quality by charging high student fees and by essentially turning students into customers. I find this tendency very dangerous as it undermines the relation between students and universities as well as the relation between students and higher education. By creating a relation of strong, binding financial dependence higher education gets corrupted and contradicts the values that higher education should stand for.

Same implications as for Research-I No 2.

4. I which is supportive of the idea of student mobility: I am convinced that student mobility is very important for the personal development of young students and is or benefit to them on a number of levels. Hence, I support the idea that as many students as possible (that want to study abroad) should have the chance and be given the support in order to do so. I am critical of short study abroad and internship opportunities in different countries (shorter than just three months) as I find them insufficient in terms of students possibly experiencing cultural shocks without enough time to put their views into context.

This research-I has influenced me in that I am generally positive towards student mobilities. But that does not mean that I could or would not criticise mobility opportunities. My perspective towards the effects of SIP-participation on young people is generally positive. Nonetheless, this attitude even emphasised the feeling that more students should be able to experiences something similar.

5. The voice of a German, male, middle-class, heterosexual citizen: It should be emphasised that my perspective is shaped by my own perspective and cannot speak for all different voices and perspectives. All of these factors do have a certain impact on my analysis and might affect my analyses as well as my own experiences which have led me to pursue this research. If I were British or French (Hartmann, 2005), my experiences with elites, higher education would probably be very different, as well as my assumptions about these experiences. *I seek to be as reflective as possible about the implications that my own experiences have onto my research and have tried to highlight certain shortcomings of my research. Moreover, I have tried not to neglect other voices and will not exclude other voices from my research, but integrate them into my PhD.*
6. The geography-scholar educated with methodological nationalism: As the perspectives of the mobilities paradigm and the notion of cosmopolitanism require a world vision that places less emphasis on the nation-state, I experienced that in many cases it took me some time to understand and also apply the paradigmatic changes of the mobilities turn. In my geography studies (my M.A.) I was educated with a perspective that usually applied methodological nationalism. In case of the movements in space, a classic geographic migration perspective was pushed. *I try to be as aware as possible of the perspective that I was educated with and seek not to be caught in my own trap. I took my time to 'reboot' my perspective to the mobilities paradigm and assumptions of cosmopolitanism. Nonetheless, I do not see this perspective as almighty virtue and try to showcase its shortcomings and inadequacies.*

The different I's of the researcher that I have described in this section provide an overview of the influences and my personal experience with the SIP and how this has affected my research. Due to my postmodernist perspective, I see personal experiences and subjectivities as somewhat natural to the research process. I reject the idea of not acknowledging these influences, but rather believe in integrating them in a critical and reflexive manner.

4.6 Ethical Considerations

In this section, I address the ethical considerations that have guided my research. I applied various ethical considerations to protect both my research participants but also myself. The first step regarding ensuring the research ethics was to hand in a procedural ethics application at Leeds Beckett University which I passed and which was accepted by Edinburgh Napier University. Continuously, I sought to comply with Edinburgh Napier University ethical and risk assessment guidelines and procedures. The topic of the study – SIP student's mobilities and career-paths – was not considered very sensitive or controversial. Nonetheless, I considered it important that ethical considerations are more than just initial steps in the research process but were applied continually.

In-depth interviews which put emphasis on the biographies of individuals can always reveal personal or professional secrets, therefore it should be self-evident to have taken the right preliminary means to ensure the protection of the individuals. This includes informing the participants, handing out informed consent sheets in advance (I emailed them to my participants when setting up the interview dates) and giving them the right to withdraw from the research study at any point of the research (either specific statements or the whole interview). This information sheet and consent sheets are attached in the appendices of this thesis (Appendix 1, p. 227 and Appendix 2, p. 231). With the skype interviews, the research participants were made aware of the recording of the interview before I started the actual recording and printed, signed and sent scanned versions of their consent sheets days before the interviews

Another means was to guarantee my participant's confidentiality and anonymity; interviews can reveal specific details that could possibly lead to compromise the participant's anonymity. Berg explains, ensuring confidentiality “is an active attempt to remove from the research records any elements that might indicate the subjects' identities” (2001, p. 57). Where personal disclosure or identification was likely, it was discussed with the participants and their specific consent was obtained. De-identification of transcripts followed the standard process in qualitative research. Names were replaced by pseudonyms, names of places, organisations and services were replaced by generic terms and any phrases that could identify individuals, places, organisations or services were replaced by generic descriptors. The names of the respective SIP programmes and institutions were not replaced by pseudonyms. Throughout the research process, it became apparent that without outlining specific

features of the SIPs, the research would be lack a certain depth. Nonetheless, to protect the interview participants (especially of the expert interviews) specific job titles were replaced for generic ones.

Copies of un-edited transcripts were not kept. Unedited transcripts were disposed of through a confidential waste service. In the period between production of the transcripts and the waste disposal data was stored in password encrypted folders on both my hard drive and an USB flash drive, but will delete the data half a year after completion of the PhD. I was the only person with access to the collected data. The electronic files of tapes and transcripts were stored in password protected computers and programmes (including NVIVO). Audio files were deleted immediately after collection of the interviews and transferred onto the password-protected laptop of the researcher. The informed consent forms were kept separately from the interview tapes and transcripts. All participant names were and will be anonymised in any reports, publications or presentations arising from the research unless otherwise indicated. In some cases, it was necessary to sacrifice some contextual accuracy to maintain confidentiality and anonymity.

Another issue that I addressed was my positionality as a researcher because I did take part in a Washington Semester Programme myself. I have addressed this in section 4.5 (p. 102). When interacting with SIP-participants, I always introduced myself as a researcher so that everybody was aware of my role; I did not conduct covert research on individuals. I did however make some observations in some neighbourhoods in Washington and generally in the city, these, however, were never focussed on individuals. Moreover, initially, one programme wanted to collaborate with me and have me ask some specific questions (that they were interested in) in the research interviews, but then refrained once I came to the US. I actually felt more comfortable with not asking these questions since they could have distorted the purpose of the interviews and it also could have created conflicts of interests or could have unconsciously affected my integrity as a researcher. I also made the SIPs aware of my presence on campus so that nobody was unaware of me being on site and talking to students. For example, the campus of American University has both security and police on the premises, therefore I talked to the responsible people in charge of the programmes.

4.7 Limitations, Validity and Crystallisation

In this section I highlight some limitations of my research. Moreover, I explain the concept of crystallisation and what I contributed to my research.

Generally speaking, one limitation in research analysing elites is that elites will not always reveal every detail in their biographies and every step they took to advance (Thomas, 2012, p. 557). This assumption can also be very true for elite institutions, not just for elite individuals. Researchers should always consider whether “narratives are produced specifically for the researcher in a qualitative interview or whether the narratives told in interviews are closely related to those which occur spontaneously in conversation and other aspects of daily life” (Elliot, 2005, p. 24). This emphasis on the fact that an interview is an artificial situation in which research participants act, talk and think differently than in daily life is quite important. Linde argues that narratives are prevalent in daily life and that it does not matter whether they are being told in an interview situation with a researcher or with somebody else (1993, p. 61).

One limitation in terms of the interviews was that I had originally intended to conduct interviews of about two hours or interviews that would be conducted in two separate sessions. After arrival in Washington and after it was difficult to recruit students for my research, I decided that it was easier to recruit them for one session instead of two. Particularly the interviews with WSP alumni can be considered in-depth interviews as they certainly had a depth to them. The interviews with current WSP students were sometimes lacking this depth as answers were shorter and lacking depth.

Another issue that I struggled with was making ethnographic observations in the city. I felt like I was already too used to the city (after living in D.C. for 10 months in 2009-10 and during my research stay for 2,5 months). I noticed that certain areas and neighbourhoods in the city were changing over time and I still could have done a better job in highlighting and observing certain patterns, actions and movements of people. In many instances, I felt like I was already so familiar with the city and its pace, that hardly anything could surprise me. The fact that students do not live on one single campus also complicated things. It was harder to understand and find the places where the students went out. While I am a passionate photographer, I noticed that especially when taking pictures, I was not able to see Washington through the eyes of somebody who is new to the city. Nonetheless, I was probably more aware of the changes of certain neighbourhoods in Washington as well as some University-Campuses, as I could

compare my memories and the changes that had occurred in between. I have addressed these changes specifically in section 5.4 (p. 131).

In terms of my research sample for this study, it appeared that some international SIP-participants were more reluctant in participating in my research. For example, I tried setting up an interview with a Japanese SIP-participant but the person was a bit shy and did not follow up on my interview requests. Moreover, the availability and willingness of participants of other universities played a significant role in my research sample choices. Probably due to better access to SIP-participants at American University (due to my status as their alumni and access to gatekeepers), almost all of the SIP-participants that I interviewed (apart from the interview with Jeremy who participated in Georgetown's programme) took part in American Universities' WSP. Another factor that was important in my research sampling was that I had advertised my research to SIP-participants that reported to be interested in careers in development issues and NGO-careers or in community organisations. I had initially intended to focus specifically on third sector careers in this thesis, as these are career paths that are not traditionally associated with elitist tendencies. A problem with this sampling strategy was that I encountered more participants who had vague ideas of future third sector careers than participants that were highly strategic about career paths into the third sector. Some interview partners were, however, interested in similar fields or I felt that their views were valid and relevant for my research, even though they had different career plans. Due to these unexpected changes, I found it more adequate to talk about careers in Washington D.C. more generally. I also ended up speaking to more SIP-participants who attended Law School or Grad School than I would have expected.

One can argue that conducting interviews with different groups such as SIP-participants and alumni is not able to provide a clear picture or chronological timeline of how SIP-participants develop and how the participation in a SIP affects them. Moreover, using both face-to-face interviews as well as Skype interviews could be criticised by more traditional researchers. Deakin & Wakefield argue that technological advances have moderated the disadvantages that were previously associated with asynchronous online interviews. Previously face-to-face interviews were regarded as a gold standard in qualitative research. And while Skype interviews still have downsides, for instance in terms of the reliability of the internet connection, typical flaws as losing verbal clues have been eased with video calls being a possibility. Skype interviews can also encourage interviews with participants that are too shy for face-to-face interviews or

have other concerns about the interview situation (Deakin & Wakefield, 2014; pp. 604-609).

Crystallisation has been discussed as a concept to ensure validity in qualitative research; likewise, to the ways that positivist researchers validate their data, it has become more prominent for qualitative researchers to validate their data. With triangulation being one of the most prominent concepts to ensure validity of research in the social sciences (Pavlova-Hannam, 2016, p. 102), Richardson argues that to triangulate requires “assumption that there is a ‘fixed point’ or ‘object’ that can be triangulated (...) [b]ut in postmodernist mixed-genre texts, we do not triangulate; we crystallize”. Richardson adds that the crystal stands for a multitude of perspectives that combine “symmetry and substances, transmutations, multidimensionalities, and angles of approach” (2000, p. 943). Crystallisation acknowledges that there is not only one truth but that different perspectives and narratives of ‘reality’ can be combined and compared (Winter, 2014, p. 120).

Poststructuralists reject the classic positivist notion of validity that objectively represents a truth that the researcher can illuminate. Instead they encourage researchers to embrace their own identities and experiences instead of interpreting them as biases and have a pluralist perspective upon evaluative criteria in qualitative research (Welch & Piekkari, 2017, p. 720). Within the poststructuralist, process-based perspective, the researcher and the research subjects co-create different and alternative perspectives of ‘reality’ and use the different perspectives from crystallisation to create these alternative narratives. Therefore, my research is as telling about me as it is about my research subjects, and a co-production of insights into from my data collection in Washington and my own analysis and interpretation (Gertsen & Søderberg, 2011, 791). Moreover, also the post-positivist idea that a set of rules can represent reality is rejected by poststructuralists. In poststructuralism, researchers use their methods to provide brief insights into distinct perspectives of ‘realities’, therefore research becomes a snapshot of a very specific situation (Winter, 2014, pp. 120-121). In my research, crystallisation was used to combine results from the primary research methods (individual in-depth interviews, expert interviews, and ethnographic observations, personal biographic reflections) with the results of secondary data analysis (social media, websites, newspapers and advertisement brochures) into a bricolage.

4.8 Methodological Conclusions

In this section, I have provided an overview of the methodological considerations that have guided my research and over the methods applied in this thesis, its data collection and analysis. My methodological perspective is postmodernist, and eclectic in the way I combine different methods and research traditions. A bricolage of in-depth interviews, ethnographic methods and secondary data collection and analysis was used to collect data in order to understand how SIPs affect and transform their participants, their career paths and mobilities, as well as the city of Washington D.C. From a methodological perspective, my own experiences as an Alumni of a SIP-participant played an important role in the conduction of my research data and I have reflected on the impact of this experience and how it helped in gaining access to gatekeepers and in accessing Washington.

The fieldwork period in Washington led to the collection of 17 interviews with SIP-students and Alumni and five expert interviews, which were then transcribed verbatim, imported into NVivo and analysed through textual analysis. Because every interview represents a story, I chose textual analysis as a way of structuring elements and ideas that are part of these stories. I decided to analyse these storytelling components not from a discourse analytical or linguistic perspective, but to analyse the individual pieces of the narratives as pieces of a puzzle that represent attitudes about careers and are part of the reification of Washington D.C. Moreover, I assert that ethical considerations have guided my research and that I have reflected intensively on how my own experiences have influenced my research. With the methodological perspective and the methods applied I construct my perspective of the SIP mobilities.

5. Cosmopolitan Destination Washington D.C.

In the last 200 years, Washington D.C. has changed from the “relatively sleepy government enclave” (Hyra, 2017, p. 47) were within the wider metropolitan area of D.C. and the concentration of households earning \$1.915.000 or higher was only succeeded by the metropolitan areas of New York and San Jose (Hyra, 2017, p. 47).

There has been a change in the perception of Washington, from a boring governmental and administrative city to a city with a hipper, younger, urban, cosmopolitan vibe which I reflect on in this chapter. Sheller & Urry argued that mobilities research does not only explain increasing movements but also processes of “disconnection, social exclusion, and inaudibility in other cases” (2006, p. 210). In this chapter, I elaborate on the dynamics of urban growth, increasing connectivity and mobility, but also highlight processes of exclusion in order to provide a broader picture of Washington D.C. With this chapter I respond to Findlay’s criticism that there have not been enough analyses of the supply side of student mobilities and focus on shedding light on this supply side (2011, p. 163).

In this chapter, I address my research objective 3 to explore if and how the student-internship industry and SIP-participants have contributed to the changing landscape of Washington D.C. I frame this relationship within a wider overview of urban changes in Washington D.C., an arguably under-theorised city. The perspectives of the SIP-participants of Washington are essential in analysing the relationship of Washington with the SIPs. As discussed in section 2.3, considering materialities and immaterialities is essential in learning more about the interplay of human and non-human actors in the construction of mobilities. In the first section 5.1, I address expectations that individuals (those who have, and those who have not visited Washington) have of Washington D.C. In section 5.2, I seek to explain why Washington D.C. and its cosmopolitanism are attractive for many mobile students. Section 5.3 addresses some of the inequalities that shape urban life in Washington. In 5.4, the processes of gentrification and exclusion in certain student neighbourhoods of D.C. are discussed. In section 5.5 I discuss a feeling that many research participants use to characterise Washington, the idea of the transient city D.C., before I come to conclusions in section 5.6.

5.1 Life inside the Beltway Bubble: Narratives of Washington

The first theme discussed in this section is the notion of beltway politics and the ‘beltway bubble’, as exemplified in the following quote. Justine, 26 years, an SIP-alumnus and was working at an environmental law firm:

You know in other places outside of D.C. there is, there's also concern (...) they always talk about that with presidential elections and presidential candidates. Like they don't want somebody who is from inside the beltway, they want a people's person, (...) you know, not in Washington politics, where (...) you are a hamster on a wheel and nothing ever gets done. Outside of D.C. things get done, here it's like all about process and you know figuring it out (Interview with Justine, 2015).

These fears and estrangement of many American people and Washington D.C. are playing a very significant role in the perception of Washington. My participant Justine explained that the term of the beltway politics is very relevant for how Washington is perceived because it embodies the ‘bubble’ of Washington where people worry about issues that are not debated in the rest of the US (Interview with Justine, 2015). This quote dissects the fear of the political establishment and embodies an electoral campaign that resulted in a US president Donald Trump who promised to ‘drain the swamp’ of Washington D.C.

The electoral campaign had only just begun (with the primary elections) in the US when I started my fieldwork in October 2015, but debates about the influence and the political establishment had already impacted on public discourse. While Justine was not a Trump supporter, she was very clear of the resentment towards Washington and its inhabitants. Her quote also reveals the prevalent belief that somebody from the beltway cannot be a ‘people’s person’ which would make people from within the beltway elitist. For many Americans, Donald Trump has been called a man ‘a man of the people’ and has promised to ‘gets things done’ and not being the hamster that Justine referred to (Fishwick, 2016). The hamster being the long-time beltway resident who has gotten too embedded in the political and social infrastructures of Washington’s bureaucracy. What can be concluded from these coherences is that this the conflict between Washington or the beltway, and the rest of the US is and was huge, and anti-establishment rhetoric appealing to the common people seems to be in fashion.

Antipathy of elitism is deeply embedded in the history of the United States and its perception of Washington D.C.; as Dickey explains:

To many Americans, though, the city [Washington D.C.] remains a fearsome metropolis, a place forever to be criticized, satirized, and campaigned against. Such antipathy is nothing new. From the beginning, Americans cast a wary eye on their capital, whether for its concentration of federal power, its suspicious cosmopolitanism, or its pretensions to glory (Dickey, 2014, p. 25).

Dickey states that Americans have a ‘fearsome’ relationship towards their capital, as well as to cosmopolitanism in Washington. According to Dickey’s remarks that many Americans do not take Washington seriously, but rather they see it critically and in a satirical manner. In my research interviews, most participants seemed quite aware of this scepticism towards Washington. In section 6.4 (p. 161), I discuss how the beltway and especially certain spaces in Washington are elite, and not accessible to many people.

The term ‘inside the beltway’ (physically embodied by the Interstate 495 that encircles Washington, including parts of Maryland and Virginia) stands for an elitist sphere of influence, although “[b]ut more often it refers to a mindset, or a malady (...) [a] person inside the Beltway can be devoid of common sense, on the take, out of touch with reality—out of touch with America (McCaslin, 2004, p. 77). It is significant that in this comment the beltway symbolises a spatial limitation and also a mind-set that the author describes as being perhaps out of touch with the everyday reality of many US residents. McCaslin also described how people “get caught up in Washington and all the politics, all the shenanigans, and it’s like a syndrome” (C-SPAN, 2004). I find the note of the bubble or of the beltway politics in D.C. very relevant for this thesis as these stereotypes about Washington D.C. show how both Americans and international residents imagine Washington and what they associate with it.

Within Washington there are a variety of bubbles, such as the students living in SIPs, and even within the SIPs, bubbles exist. Caroline, a Colombian SIP-alumnus aged 27 at the time, who later moved to D.C. permanently, recalled her time in the SIP. She stated that she was first living in a bubble of her Colombian friends within the SIP, but then this bubble became more international and as the time went on she was able to transcend this bubble into the bubble of D.C., its networking and business conduct. Or put differently, Caroline was able to experience different bubbles within D.C.; she had her Colombian friends, international friends, and later on an American boyfriend and his American friends. SIP students can also be in a sheltered bubble within D.C., the mostly white-American and more exclusive areas of the city. Brad, a 31-year-old SIP-alumnus from Nebraska, recalled that he was shocked when he moved back to

Washington after having lived somewhere else. Brad stated that as a student he insulated himself away from many things and when he moved back the cultural shock and adjustment to both the East-Coast lifestyle and living on his own were overwhelming (Interview with Brad, 2015). While for European students, living on their own is a common thing, American students often only start doing so after being to college, or after their first semesters. Brad also emphasised that D.C. gave him a cultural shock. This might be unexpected as he had already lived in the city, but even more so it emphasises the bubble that students live in and how sheltered they are by the SIPs and their universities. The discrepancy between the life that Brad was used to and the pace and networking culture of Washington was quite big and resulted in an appeasement period that was not yet completed by the time of the interview.

The ‘bubbles’ (previous experiences and lives before the participation in the SIP) and expectations of Washington distinctly shape how students experience the city and how they find it. Jeremy, who was 25 years and another SIP-alumnus who had previously attended a very prestigious liberal arts college, made a statement about the expectations students have of Washington, which I found very exemplary. He said that before coming to Washington, he thought of life in Washington as in the TV show the West Wing, and only later he realised that this had been a bit naïve and wrong:

I don't know if you are familiar with the show the West Wing. So, the American TV show. But just very much like that, a just very political, very like everything is you know intrigue kind of work. (...) I kind of had a very naive view as to what I expect of D.C. (...) It definitely was not like the West Wing - in fact it was not all political thriller and intrigue for sure. My summer experience, it was a very good experience but there were many things that were very stereotypical of working for government bureaucracy of trying to get a computer placed in my office you know required me to go to like eight different floors and twelve different forms. I don't know I guess to you something that is slightly German and very Kafkaesque. You know Bureaucracy (Interview with Jeremy, 2015).

I find this quote interesting because it embodies one side of the expectations that many of my participants had of life in Washington. This side is the exciting ‘political thriller’ that people are used to from movies and TV shows, where the images of the White House, Capitol Hill, Foggy Bottom and Georgetown often dominate. In the case of Jeremy, this expectation led to disappointment in his internship, due to the menial nature of the tasks that he had to do there, as well as experiencing bureaucracy and a slower pace than in the ‘political thriller’. The opposite of this expectation also existed among many participants, the expectation that Washington is only an administrative,

boring, quiet city. This goes hand in hand with recalling my own experiences of studying abroad in Washington D.C., especially the early weeks of my arrival in the city. I recall being positively surprised by the city, especially in terms of its culture and beauty. I had clearly expected a bureaucratic, grey and perhaps more boring city, hence I wanted to find out if my research participants had similar expectations and surprises. Contradicting this image and instead highlighting Washington's global economic significance was another narrative that the SIPs were interested in constructing. The Higher Executive of the WSP emphasised that:

Washington D.C. has changed quite a bit in the last seventy years. For one thing, Washington was, if you asked: 'what is the business of Washington?' it would be 'Washington is a government town' and it was all about government whether you were looking at foreign service or, or you know the you know the traditional three branches (...) But, that's not true anymore (...) Washington's become a thriving community in the business world. There are businesses that are based here, more fortune 500 companies than people realize and incredibly strong tech corridor, both in Virginia and in Maryland, the biotech stuff that goes on, right outside of D.C. in the Maryland suburbs, very strong. There is the, the D.C. chamber of commerce has put a lot of emphasis on providing resources and incentives to companies, to really make their homes here. And so, it, D.C. is a lot more than it used to be and I think, we recognized that early on (2015).

To me, what stands out is that the Higher Executive points out that early on Washington was 'more than a government town'. The term 'town' also suggests that it was calmer and probably less developed and hectic as a city. This shows that also for the programmes it is essential that this narrative of the boring, administrative government town ceases to exist, and is instead turned into a story about the young, exciting, cosmopolitan global city that has every aspect to it, especially the business side of things as well. Because the WSP 'recognised this early on', they claim to be the ones with the insider status and knowledge.

The map in Figure 4 (p. 117) is from an advertisement brochure of the Washington Center, and showcases a colour coded map that shows downtown Washington, focussing on the National Mall (with the museums, the Capitol and the White House highlighted). I find this map an interesting representation of what this specific programme considers most important for their students in Washington. On the map, small bubbles explain what students can do, or what opportunities they have at the graphically highlighted places. The map is titled 'the D.C. Internship Experience' and evidences that for the TWC, they have decided to advertise their programme as an

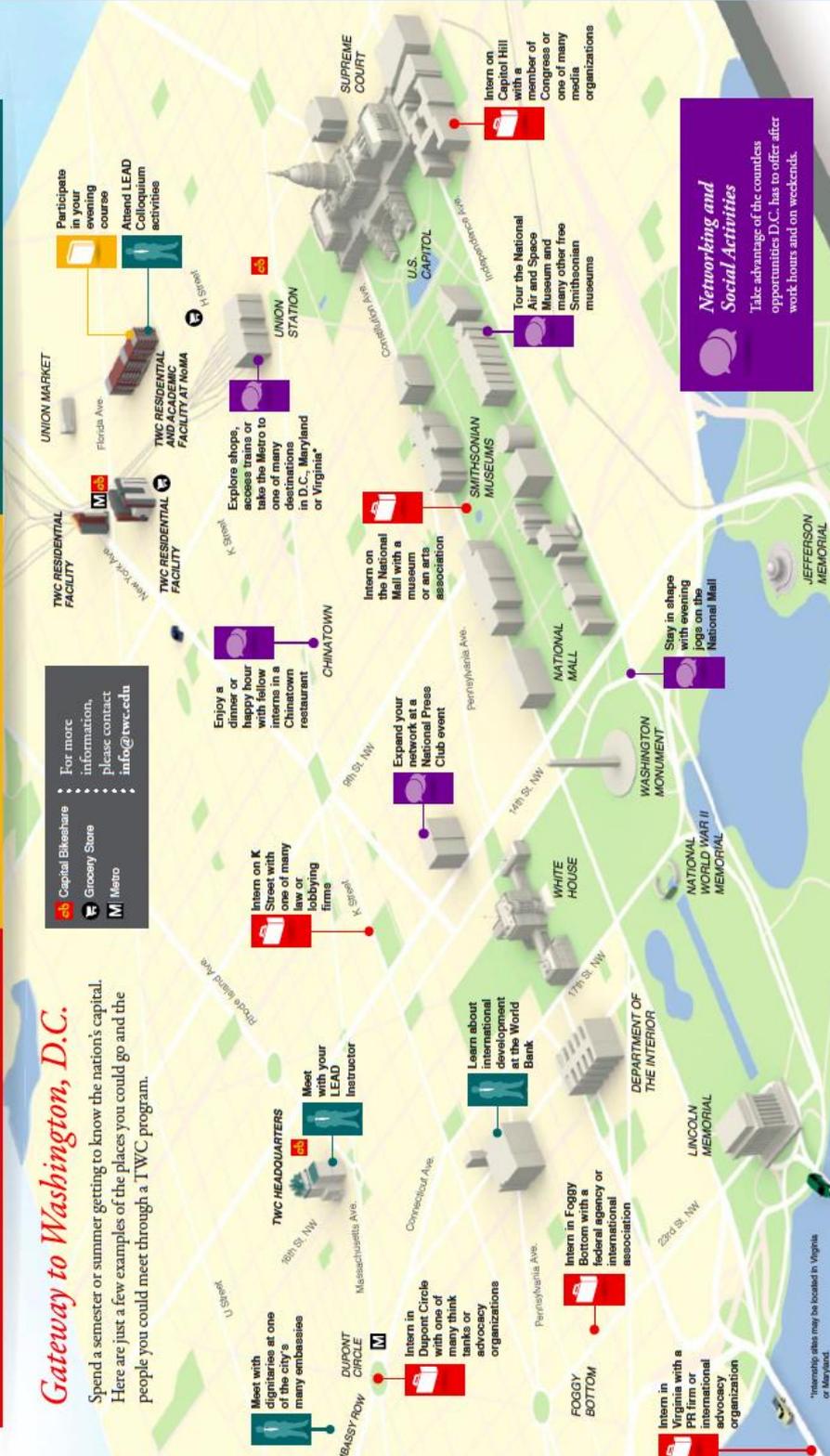
The D.C. Internship Experience

The Internship
 Each week, you'll work Monday through Thursday at an internship site that is tailored to your interests, skills and professional goals.

The Evening Course
 One night each week (between Monday and Thursday), you'll take an evening course. These courses range across an array of disciplines, and you'll choose the option that's best for you.

The LEAD Colloquium
 On Fridays, you'll participate in small groups and professional tracks, along with periodic large-group activities like a speaker series, civic engagement and more.

Gateway to Washington, D.C.
 Spend a semester or summer getting to know the nation's capital. Here are just a few examples of the places you could go and the people you could meet through a TWC program.



Networking and Social Activities
 Take advantage of the countless opportunities D.C. has to offer after work hours and on weekends.

TWC Support Network

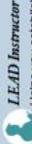
Many people are on hand to guide, support and educate you throughout your experience.



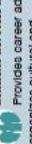
Campus Liaison
 Educates you about academic credit and financial arrangements and serves as a link to TWC on your campus.



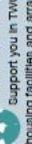
Internship Advisor
 Communicates with you before arrival, helps identify internship options and refers you materials to potential sites.



LEAD Instructor
 Helps you establish goals, organizes special programming and provides feedback on assignments.



Student Services Staff
 Provides career advice, organizes cultural and networking events and assists students with disabilities.



Alumni in Residence
 Support you in TWC housing facilities and arrange social activities.



Internship Site Supervisor
 Oversees your professional work, provides basic and direction and evaluates your performance.



Professor
 Teaches your evening course, facilitates class discussions and evaluates your academic work.



Fellow Interns
 Share the TWC experience with you, help you explore all D.C. has to offer and may become lifelong friends.



TWC Alumni Community
 Connects with you through networking events or social media and may provide future job leads and professional mentorship.

Figure 4: A Map of D.C. and Important Places for TWC Students (The Washington Center. (2015)

experience that provides students with career as well as personal and cultural opportunities. The map indicates where the future TWC students will be based (close to Union Station and to the Capitol), where they might intern.

On the map, various places or neighbourhoods are associated with certain internships (coded with a red sign): K-Street for Law and Lobbying internships, Dupont Circle for advocacy and think-tanks, Foggy Bottom for federal agency and international association internships, Arlington or rather Virginia for PR internships, the National Mall for museum and arts association internships and Capitol Hill for Congress or media internships. Marked with green signs, the programme showcases where its classes (colloquium) takes place on Fridays and to which places students may go with their classes (for example the World Bank). Moreover, additional places for consumerism, exercise and for additional networking opportunities or cultural events are highlighted with purple signs. Grocery shops, metro stops and public bike rental stops can also be found on the map. The extract of the map of Washington that is shown is only a relatively small part of Washington D.C. The TWC chose to make it known to prospective students that basically everything they need is located within a short distance. The message is that they will be in the heart of American Power, actually reemphasising ideas of the beltway and being in the centre of power.

5.2 Washington D.C., Cosmopolitan Metropolis

In this section I provide an overview of reasons that make Washington an attractive city for students and analyse whether and how students perceive Washington as cosmopolitan. Moreover, I elaborate how cosmopolitan values alienate some people from Washington D.C. This section also contrasts the SIP-participant's experiences of Washington with the expectations and narratives that they had and had heard of Washington (cf. section 5.1, p. 113).

Expressing cosmopolitanism can be one way of individualisation (cf. chapter 2, p. 22). George, a current 22-year-old SIP-participant from California, elaborated that he really liked the culturally attractive factors of Washington and the cosmopolitan atmosphere of the city and social interactions:

Yeah, socially it's great (...) you know the nightlife scene is totally thriving here, there is a lot of young people, you know most, I don't know what the stat was, some ridiculous stat about everyone living here from

like twenty to thirty years old, it's like a place for young professionals, so. People are always out and engaging in the city, with events and music, you know going out to the bars and the restaurants [and] (...) when you engage with them, you like it is really stimulating. Everyone's very smart, everyone kind of has a role, (...) just the chance you have of meeting someone that is doing something cool in the city is so high, so you can always have a conversation about what they are doing, what you are doing, somehow it relates and you have a great rich conversation, often intelligent and it's fun (Interview with George, 2015).

What is significant about George's remarks is how interwoven the cultural aspects that he highlights are with career aspects of getting to know people and networking. This helps to depict a culture of constant networking that is present in the leisure nightlife of the city. It also re-enforces the image that 'outsiders' might have of life within the beltway, as it describes a bubble in which the inhabitants of Washington, D.C. take themselves very seriously and have very political debates that often appear strange to other Americans. Moreover, it is interesting that George highlighted the city as very young and fun, an image that contradicts images of the 'old elites' that run the US and the city. Also, the emphasis on how many people might be interesting or relevant to George showcases the transience of the city, as well as how fluent and short-lived personal relationships are in George's experience.

These remarks show that career aspects are a dominant theme in the SIP-participant's mobility-decision-making, but once the students arrive in Washington, the factors of personal development, opportunity for individualisation and acquisition of a cosmopolitan lifestyle in Washington play a significant role in this form of student mobility and experiencing Washington, D.C. George notes the chances of meeting someone 'cool' are very high and he finds its people engaging and stimulating. I would interpret his description as 'engaging' in terms of the cosmopolitan and intellectual atmosphere in which George feels challenged, important and mind-stimulated. I experienced that myself, that in this very political atmosphere, one gets the impression that the current conversation about the latest political development feels very important and Washingtonians feel and embodied that they take part in this, or are at least aware of what is going on. Therefore, it can be argued that living in Washington contributes to and catalyses practices of embodying cosmopolitanism and elitism (at least for the inhabitants of Washington who are able to afford such a lifestyle).

This cosmopolitanism also has downsides; Andres, a Peruvian SIP-alumnus and policy and political analyst, explained that sometimes he felt inferior or uninformed in some conversations:

International relations made you like sometimes show that you are ignorant or that the topic you are, they won't look at you, (...) 'you don't know about the genocide in South Sudan, how can you not know'. And so that can be (...) tiring as well (Interview with Andres, 2015).

As Andres describes, a certain arrogance, maybe pseudo-intellectual in some cases, and shaming of those who are uninformed about certain issues that are either 'in fashion', or only important for a certain group can be a part of Washington's culture. It is noteworthy that in his example Andres was not aware of something going on in Washington itself, but knew of events in an entirely different part of the world that might feel close to Washingtonian politicians, activists and actors involved in bringing attention to 'the genocide in South Sudan'. This example also showcases why for outsiders and people who are not interested in politics, Washington can be a very strange place that alienates them. Washington is a centre of activism and international politics, where one can go to public lectures, exhibitions, and documentary and movie screenings. It provides a depth of social (political) activities that can overwhelm newcomers to the city and people unfamiliar with Washington's cosmopolitanism.

Andres recalled that during his time in the programme, he was doing basic tourist activities and he and his friends "were still new to D.C. so we went to all the Smithsonians, went to Bars, sneaked into part of the bars which is part of the D.C. experience, if you like, an undergrad student here you have to sneak into a bar or two" (Interview with Andres, 2015). During my own SIP-participation, one of my friends signed himself up to the newsletters of major organisations, universities and NGOs and we frequented many public lectures, from hearing Al Gore talk about Climate Change to a talk by Germany's former Secretary of State, Joschka Fischer with the BMW-CEO. Other interview participants also reported that they were attending public lectures in their free time, others were happy with the lectures that they were attending with their SIPs and concentrated on 'socialising'.

Mary-Ann, 25, SIP-alumnus and working for a lobbying firm, stated that the biggest advantage of living in Washington was networking and could also be considered a part of cosmopolitan attitudes

Just the wealth of people that are there to talk, and someone always knows someone who might have a job for you. But also, the young vibe here. And the really intellectual vibe here is attractive for me. Like that is my person, (...) I like the Westcoast much better because they are like chill. (...) But D.C., has like this energy about it where people want to

meet other people (...) and they are curious minds I guess (Interview with Mary-Ann, 2015).

Similar to George's statement, in this assessment of Washington, both private and professional aspects are mixed. While Mary-Ann started by emphasising the networking component in Washington seems to be prevalent all the time and everywhere, she is also fascinated by the 'young and intellectual vibe' of the city. Nonetheless, she and others found the attitude of Washington typical of East-Coast lifestyle and in opposition to the 'more relaxed' West-Coast attitudes.

Similar to George's argument that Washington was 'young and fun' and with thriving nightlife, other participants such as SIP-alumnus Kristin, 26 years in at the time residing in Ecuador, part-time working for NGOs and part-time self-employed, emphasised that the city was

a very international, diverse city, you know with many different cultures and people, food. Experiences like you can have. Culturally, socially, mhhh, (short break) music, good music scene (Laughing). You could say [you have] like intellectual conversations with anyone you meet you have like a political conversation. And just, a more upbeat city I would say (Interview with Kristin, 2015).

Kristin appeared to be a person who enjoyed cosmopolitanism and an internationally-minded outlook, and emphasised issues such as Washington's vibrant music scene, which I enjoyed myself while being in Washington. Especially at U-Street (cf. section 5.4, p. 131), many white young urban professionals and students emphasise and enjoy this cosmopolitan lifestyle, somewhere between Ethiopian food and Jazz clubs. Moreover, Kristin added that only in such an international, diverse and stimulating atmosphere she could see herself living in a city, because that fitted her character traits the most.

The way that many research participants talked about Washington seemed like they were not talking about an American metropolis, but about a very cosmopolitan island located in the United States. So, most inhabitants of this island are American, but it is still distinctly international, cosmopolitan and different from the rest of the US. One participant stated that she had "*heard people say it is the most European city in America*" (Interview with Mary-Ann, 2015). Another participant asserted that it "*is a very different city [from other American Cities because] (...) it is a[n] international city, and full of diplomats, people who work for embassies, and like some of the like, like the top, like the biggest leaders of the world come here from time to time* (Interview

with Daisy, 2015). To Daisy, a 21-year-old public health and English student, an international city can hardly be an American city. With her opinion, we are back to the prevalent idea of Washington as defined by politics and decision-makers. George told me about his experience of spending time with many other international students:

I think for me, coming to the city from the West Coast and from Texas, they are far away, we don't see many, the occasional exchange student or whatever. Proportionally it does feel like I am not in America sometimes. Typically, when I am hanging out with people in the program, like I hang out with a bunch of the European and international students. Sometimes I look around, I am like the only American, I am like 'Wow, this is strange. But it is really fun' (Interview with George, 2015).

The question that prompted this reply was if George felt that Washington had the atmosphere of an American city. George chose to focus on the aspect of internationality that he found indicative of Washington's cosmopolitan side. George emphasised this aspect as something unique and a positive experience for him. The teacher of a WSP class stated a benefit of the SIP classes was that "international students get to meet Americans, but much more importantly Americans get to meet international students" (2015). As American students tend to study abroad and travel abroad less often than most Europeans, it was considered especially important for them to have intercultural exchange.

Not every participant was fully convinced of Washington's cosmopolitan influence. In many interviews, research participants compared it with cities like Paris, London or New York. To them, in comparison to these cities, Washington felt different, smaller and less cosmopolitan. SIP-alumnus Carl, a military contractor and analyst, argued that

Washington D.C. is unique from I think a lot of other capital cities in that, the other cities developed because they were economic hubs. Washington D.C. developed because one day the government decided we are moving the capital here. So, it has always been very much focussed on politics and everything that happens in Washington D.C., is somehow related to the election cycle, people come and go every two years or three years or for years or six years depending on the election cycle. Whereas in London, (...) it is the political centre of the United Kingdom but it is also so much more. Same thing in Paris, (...) it is the political centre of France, but it's so much more. Washington D.C., I don't think necessarily has that feel to it (Interview with Carl, 2015).

This statement shows that Washington D.C. is perceived differently than other capitals and global cities. Carl connects this difference and the resulting transience (cf. section 5.5, p. 136) to the election cycle. Andres had worked for an EU organisation and lived

in Brussels and found the experience comparable to living in Washington, describing both cities in the following manner:

(You can go to) a bar, you can go to a restaurant, you can like meet people who work in different organizations, diplomats, most of friends are in IR, here, they are from Barbados or from Brazil or Europe, Macedonia, even the ones, I have Americans (...) working here, somewhere in the White House or USAid, so (...) talk about politics, all this information” (Interview with Andres, 2015).

This emphasises the cosmopolitan lives that he started to live in Washington after SIP-participation, with many international friends and workmates.

Aaron, a 31-year-old German SIP-alumnus, compared the idea that he had of Washington with what he actually experienced it to be like once he had moved there:

I had like probably in my head really more of a cliché of really an American city or something, like you see in Hollywood movies in many ways. So, broad streets and McDonalds restaurants and um, like suburbia and so on and so forth. (...) I think I was surprised by how I would say European D.C. is in many ways. That it is a very walkable city, it's a very green city, it's a city with good transportation (Interview with Aaron, 2015).

So, also for some Europeans, Washington feels more like a European city than an American city. In Aaron's case, apparently, he was expecting a 'less sophisticated' city, and more of an 'American consumerism' cliché. Also for other participants, it was beneficial that Washington has a good public transport system, something that specifically students from California or Texas highlighted, because they were not as used to it.

In this section, I have highlighted the cosmopolitan values that students found attractive about Washington, but also some downsides to it. SIP-participants highlight D.C.'s nightlife, various cultural aspects (concert, public lectures, museums, parks, among others), the political, intellectual, and the cosmopolitan and international atmosphere of the city. This internationality was not regarded in the melting-pot sense of New York city, but rather as a foreign body within the United States, as a foreign city. In that sense, American SIP-participants were almost studying abroad, without having to adapt or learn their language. To understand this idea, the idea of the beltway, or an imagery that imagines Washington as an island within the United States is helpful. Most of my participants were relatively excited about the opportunities, internationality and cosmopolitanism of Washington. To them, there were manifold reasons why

Washington was an attractive destination. In many cases, they only realised this after coming to D.C. as their expectations of the city had been more abstract and often they had expected a more boring and less lively city.

5.3 Inequalities in Washington

In a city with many elitist spheres of influence there are also areas that some inhabitants of the city hardly ever access (Bratman, 2011, p. 1550). When I first visited Washington, I was told that everything south of the Anacostia River and many areas east of the Capital were too dangerous and I should avoid visiting them. The same was felt by many of my participants who often preferred staying in the Northwest of the city. My interviewee Mary-Ann highlighted that she “*liked it (...) [it] is in the Northwest, you know, like this it is neighborhoodlike and (...) went running at night and I felt safe and those things*” (Interview with Mary-Ann, 2015). This repeats the assumption that ‘the Northwest’, so all the predominantly white and middle- and upper-class neighbourhoods, are safer than the rest of the city. When researching the mobilities of some, it is helpful to consider the immobilities of others (Adey, 2006; Brodersen, 2013). I elaborate on inequalities in Washington and how they affect SIP student’s movements and consumption patterns in Washington.

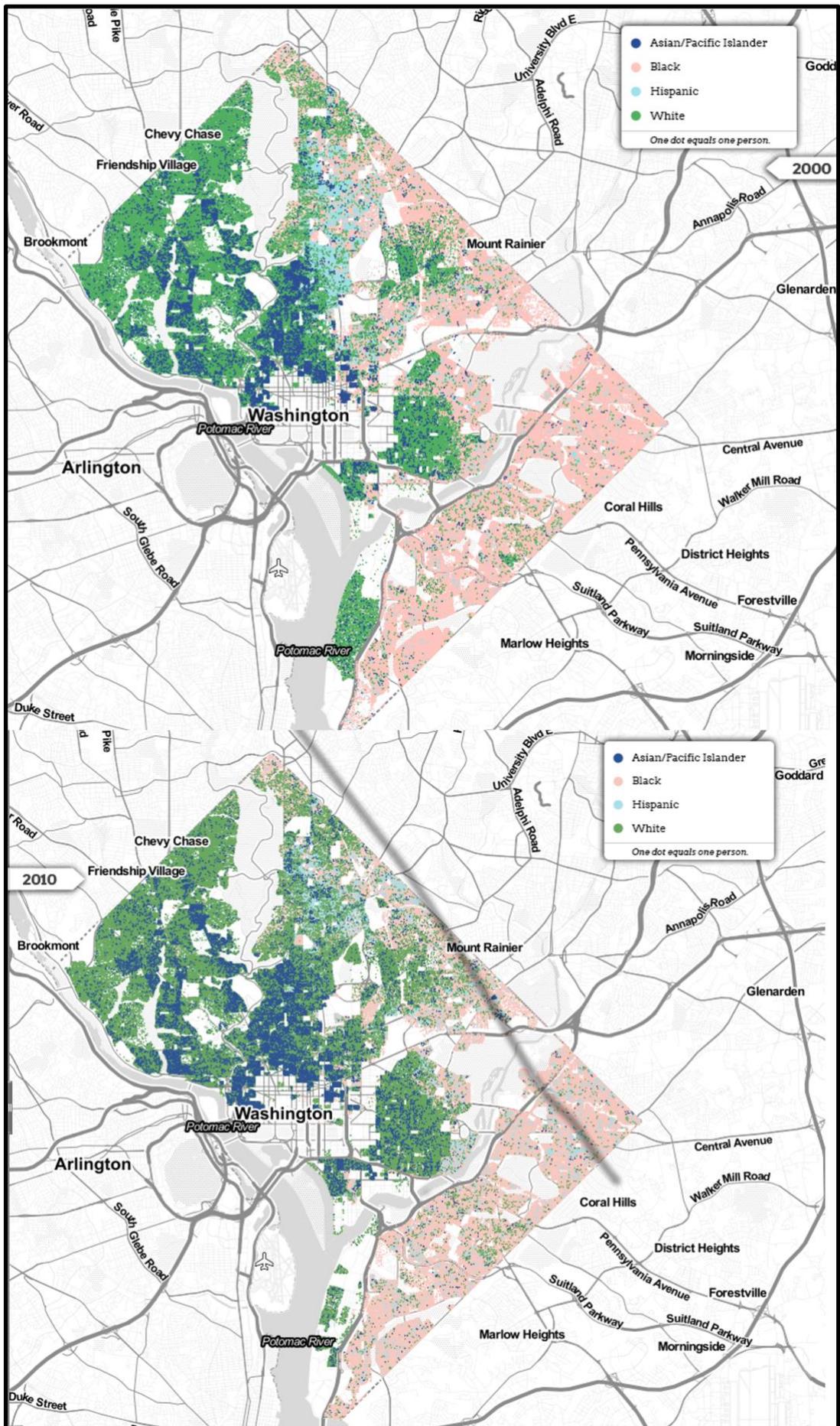


Figure 5: Map of Segregation in D.C. in 2000 and 2010 (Urban Institute, 2017)

As the two maps in Figure 5 (p. 125) show, Washington is still a strongly segregated city (Bratman, 2011, p. 1549). Between 2000 and 2010 the city has developed to a whiter city and became more gentrified (cf. 5.4, p. 131). Moreover, in these maps it is indicated that the northwest of D.C. is dominated by white and Asian-pacific inhabitants⁴. These lines of segregation broadly align with the spaces that we accessed with the programme during my SIP-participation, meaning that the SIPs usually keep their students in the parts of the city that are perceived as ‘safer’ and are mostly inhabited by middle- and upper-class. During my fieldwork in D.C., one of the classes visited a neighbourhood in Anacostia (the neighbourhood in the southeast which is across the Anacostia river) and learned about community development. Nonetheless, most classes and SIP students are not very likely to visit these neighbourhoods. Daisy, one of the participants of this class reflected on seeing Anacostia and inequality in Washington in general:

I knew there is like the poverty, (unintelligible) in D.C., learning in Philly, in D.C. the poverty is pretty high and the AIDs rate is very high, I heard about that over in Philly (...) definitely there are places where (...) those that are underprivileged, even though we have some of the richest people in the world (...) we have some of the poorest in the United States here, just seeing that - I didn't think it was so real until (...) we visited parts of (...) Anacostia and so, wow. Because you know, it is the nation's capital. (...) I don't really understand why, (...) and know just, working to reduce those inequalities is very hard to do. (...) Just on the US field, (...) I definitely, coming here helped me focus more on the US poverty, (...) you know usually (...) international, but you know coming here really helped me to think about poverty in the US (Interview with Daisy, 2015).

Daisy's experience showcases how protected and isolated SIP-participants and inhabitants of Northwest D.C. are, and that many inhabitants have no idea about the circumstances in, for example, Anacostia, or only have stereotypical ideas about it. Daisy grew up and was living in Philadelphia, but was still surprised about inequality in Washington. Daisy's difficulties in understanding inequalities in D.C. indicate that for many Americans it seems unimaginable to experience similarities to third world living standards (Bratman, 2011). Daisy's assessment of the situation in Washington also reveals a certain naivety and might be attributed to her youth but also a curiosity for change and positive impact within her home country. Bratman compares the city of

⁴ A detailed interactive map of Segregation in Washinton can also be found here: https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2015/07/08/us/census-race-map.html?_r=0

Washington D.C. to a third world city because of its huge inequalities, its lack of federal representation and a sovereign state legislative body, and air and water pollution. The city has the same problems as other American cities as well as very different realities for white and African-American inhabitants (Bratman, 2011, pp. 1546-51).

Hyra emphasises that D.C.’s growing inequalities have recently increased and are still strongly associated with race (2017, p. 57). Figure 7 (p. 127) exemplifies the increasing imbalance in the distribution of incomes in Washington D.C. between 1989 and 2010 (Nelson and Ohja, 2012). I discuss the outcomes of these income differences in terms of gentrification in section 5.4 (p. 131). Between 2000 and 2009, the number of households earning more than \$ 75,000 jumped from 63,158 to 102,790 (a 63% increase), while the number of households making less than \$ 50,000 declined from 145,879 to 108,278 (a 26 % decrease) (Orr & Rivlin, 2011, p. 4). According to the American Community survey results, between 2000 and 2008 the “Black median Household income in DC [was] rising slightly, from \$ 38,400 to \$ 39,200 while White median household income increased from \$ 89,600 to \$ 107,600 (Hyra, 2017, p. 57).

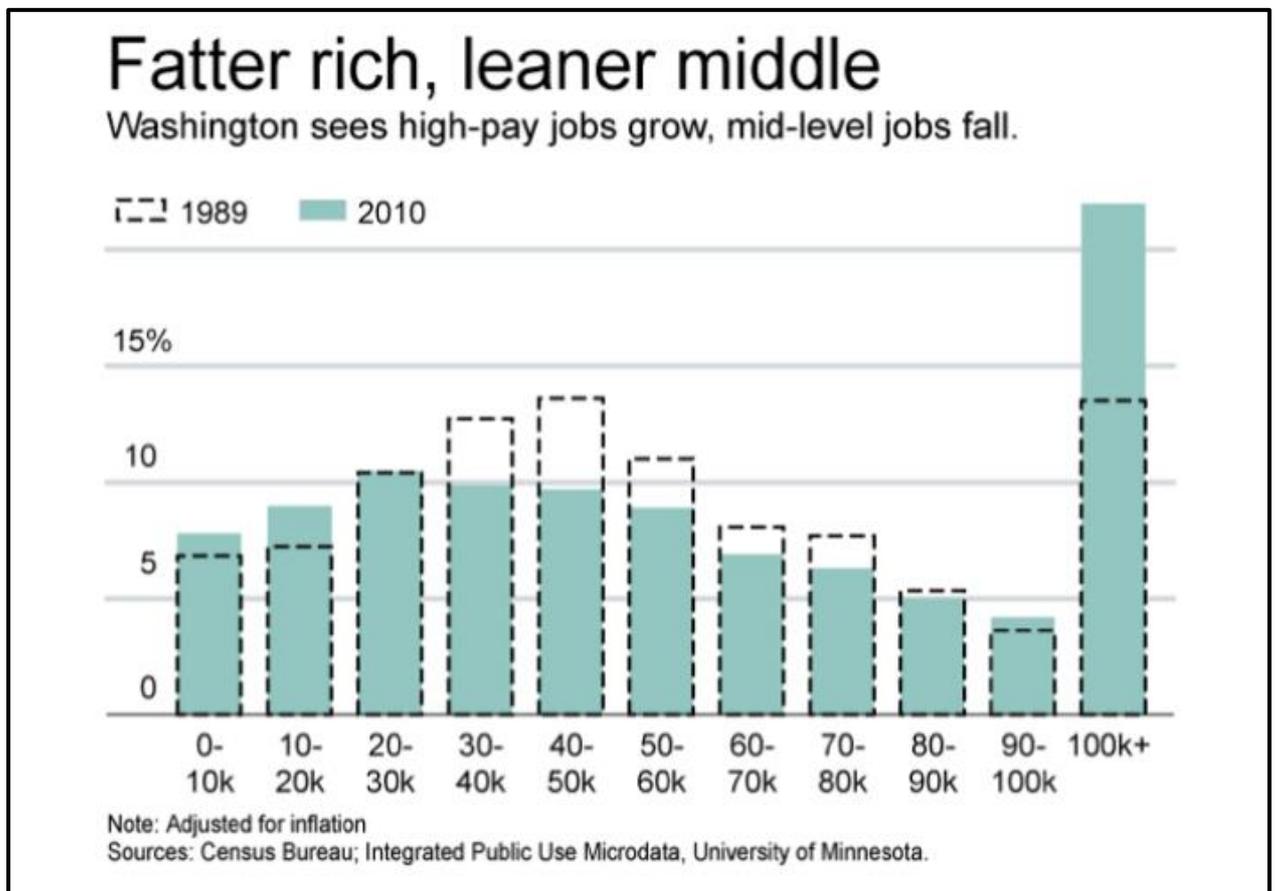


Figure 6: Income Inequality in Washington D.C. 1989-2010 (Nelson & Ohja, 2012)

It is not only low-income African-Americans but also other community groups that are affected by the processes of displacement and high costs of living, so processes of displacement cannot only be attributed to race. Many of my research participants (who were majorly from middle-class backgrounds) elaborated on how the costs for rent, transportation and living were very high in D.C. and put a strain on their finances. Daisy, who was an African-American current SIP student, emphasised that for her, especially the costs for transportation on the metro system were a strain (2015). Brad, who had been living in Washington for several years lamented how his living standards were not comparable to those of his friends, who were living in rural parts of the US and (unlike him) were able to buy houses for their families and had lower expenses. Brad asserted:

the city is a really good scale, it is really competitive, the weather is miserable and it is really difficult for me personally to see a way forward here with the money situation. I have a really good housing situation right now but it is sustainable, my landlord could sell any time and then to buy and to sustain and to (...) I look at my friends that stayed back home and have great houses and kids and all of that and their houses cost a quarter of what they cost here and, their lives are a lot, kind of simpler in a lot of ways, but I am here and I have, you know my social calendar is more packed than it could possibly be (Interview with Brad, 2015).

Reflected in this statement is a general conflict between an expensive life in the city, and a cheaper life in a more rural place that was more affordable, maybe less hectic and stressful – but also with fewer cultural and social life options. Brad was working for a small local NGO and could be considered as part of the Creative Class, and was really stressed about pressures to sustain himself, and to see a future in Washington. With his white middle-class background, Brad could probably not be considered as part of the social groups most exposed to processes of displacement. Nonetheless, his fears of future career paths, and of not being able to sustain his life in Washington and a lifestyle that he generally enjoyed (in terms of the cultural and social offers of Washington), were dominant. As Hyra suggests, the low-income jobs of the middle and creative class are just as likely caught up in struggles to sustain a life in Washington (2017, p. 152). The results of experiencing ever more increasing costs of living in a city like Washington are reflected in Brad's statement and contribute to processes of re-suburbanisation and fears among these low-middle income classes.

Carl, another American middle-class SIP-alumnus, elaborated that in his first years of living in Washington, he was forced to work in several jobs to sustain himself:

like most people, I went into an unpaid position, [an internship] but you know because I was living in Washington D.C. and I had to pay rent, I had to have jobs on the side, so while I was working nine-to-five in that job, on the weekends I worked, I bagged groceries at Safeway, and then after the job, at like six or seven pm I was going and I would be a server at the restaurant (Interview with Carl, 2015).

Perlin links ‘the internship boom’ with other social developments such as a general devaluing of work and increasing social inequality (2011, p. 15). Perlin is quite critical of unpaid internships, and emphasises that unpaid internships are for the more privileged in societies, as these interns need to come up with other ways of sustaining themselves (2011, p. 110). As Carl’s example shows, the ‘necessity’ of interning in order to possibly further one’s career can for many students only be afforded by having material resources from their parents or by working incredibly hard in low-wage jobs in order to sustain themselves in an expensive city such as Washington.

Hyra places these developments in his conceptual framework of the Cappuccino City, where low-income African Americans have been pushed out to the second suburbs on the outskirts of the city (in this case outside of the borders of the district of Columbia which makes them not show up in D.C. statistics). Furthermore, Hyra argues that the ideal typical idea of the American city with white suburbs and predominantly African-American city centres has ceased to exist but “have become ‘Oreo Cities,’ with increasingly White inner-city cores and darker suburban exteriors, like the cappuccino” (2017, p. 152). A consequence of this development may be that it has become harder (or less obvious) to see inequality in the city centres of American cities. Hyra summarises the characteristics of the ‘Cappuccino City’ as follows:

Increasing inequality, and a greater disparity between the rich and the poor, is another characteristic of the cappuccino city. (...) The cappuccino city is connected to the world by the foreign governments, corporations, and markets in its customer base. The international market potential helps increase the profitability of the city’s corporations, and these companies pay a premium to attract talented employees. Then, as educated young professionals become a larger share of the city’s population, low-wage service jobs are produced, such as the Uber and the Starbucks employee (Hyra, 2017, p. 153).

Hyra, perspective on the processes taking place in Washington, or generally ‘Cappuccino Cities’ are the flip side of Florida’s creative city. While Florida (2003) emphasises the positive side of gentrification and the creativity fix, Hyra (2017, p. 61), provides a more contrasting perspective of the paralleling processes of gentrification, displacement of low-income classes, with the Central Business Districts of the cities

uplifted and revitalised (CBDs). In Washington, the CBD-revitalisation was connected to the creation of a major sports entertainment complex that subsequently uplifted and gentrified the whole Chinatown/Gallery Place area after 1997 (Hyra, pp. 61-63). This was important for Washington's development as these revitalisation processes are part of wider developments in Washington's post-industrial transformation into a creative city (Florida, 2003, 2006a, 2006b). Moreover, it set the scene for recent gentrification processes in the U-Street area, which I discuss in section 5.4. As Florida's views have been quite disputed, he has recently made some amendments and uttered self-criticism (2017). For example, he argues that the urban influx of the creative class mostly benefits those who are already benevolent and only tends to increase social disparities.

In Hyra's assessment, the international developments and global economic exposition of a city is deeply connected with a demand for low-wage jobs and workforce to do these jobs. These sorts of jobs could also be conducted by students, who have to finance and support their life in the city centre, where even a student lifestyle can be very expensive. A consequence for employees in these low-wage service jobs is often that they have to move to the second suburbs. Hyra sees these developments as distinct differences from the concepts of the global and dual city, "both of which predict that the number and percentage of poor and rich will grow" (2017, p. 153). In contrast, in the Cappuccino city, the income disparities rise, while the total number of the poor decreases as they cannot afford living in the city.

In this section, I wanted to provide an overview of the various disparities and inequalities that shape urban life in Washington D.C. It can be debated how much these inequalities affect SIP-participants in Washington. Students, particularly SIP students are usually short-term residents of the city, unless they decide to stay in the city after graduation. In some cases, students are a part of the low-income labour force that Hyra's Cappuccino city needs, as Uber drivers and Baristas (2017, p. 152). It is probably more likely that students will frequent those areas that they feel most comfortable and safe in. Thus, most of my research participants were most familiar with the North-Western parts of Washington and had rarely visited the Eastern parts of Washington, nor had been Southwards the Anacostia River. The SIPs fit into the developments of gentrification and urban-uplifting that Hyra observed in the Cappuccino city. I find it essential to be aware of the inequalities of Washington D.C. in order to frame and understand the exclusivity and experience of the SIPs.

5.4 Intern-Impact on Gentrification and Student Neighbourhoods

Since the 1990s Washington D.C. has experienced ongoing gentrification and ethnic and racial transformation (Knox, 1991; Jackson, 2015; Maher, 2015). The neighbourhoods located across the Anacostia River, the North-East of the Capitol building, such as Trinidad, have a bad reputation in Washington and are predominantly African-American. In the case of the neighbourhoods of Colombia Heights and U-Street, stereotypes that these neighbourhoods were unsafe at night were still popular in 2010, when I was studying in Washington. In 2015, these neighbourhoods had undergone visible and tremendous gentrification processes (Maher, 2015). In 2009-2010, there was a bigger influence of the African-American community and students that went to Howard University, close to U-Street. There were early indicators for gentrification processes, but by 2015, the influences of gentrification were hard to overlook, with the whole neighbourhood looking distinctively cleaner and new stores and coffeehouses opening. Hyra has analysed the redevelopments that have turned the Chocolate City into the Cappuccino City. He describes Washington's development from a predominantly African-American city to a whiter, more expensive, better educated city and compared it to "the procedure of adding white steamed milk foam to dark espresso (...) [which to him] mirrors the influx of young mainly White professionals into DC's black urban neighborhoods [while] (...) people of color are migrating and increasing in the DC suburbs" (Hyra, 2017, p. 20). I reflect on this development and the increasing gentrification in this section.

I wanted to reflect on the impact of the SIPs and more generally the student housing & rental market the neighbourhoods in D.C. that are mostly affected by the SIPs, either because the universities and institutions that run these programmes are located there or student housing is located there. The recent immigration and gentrification processes in Washington D.C. were dominated by the millennial generation. Generally, between 2000 and 2010 the population of D.C. grew 5.2 % (from 572,059 to 601,723) and the Millennials were a huge part of this growth, as the numbers of the age range 20-34 increased 23 % (Hyra, 2017, p. 58). Between 2009 and 2012, the average annual net migration in Washington was 12,583 Millennials (ages 25-34), higher than in all other 51 metropolitan areas in the US with populations over a million (Frey, 2013). So, researching the impact of these millennials onto Washington was an important factor in my interviews with both students and experts.

A Higher Executive of a non-university SIP claimed that because they are an NGO, a lot of their income and budget is used to fund housing for students, similar to universities. Moreover, the Higher executive emphasised that “*D.C. is not a cheap city to function in so (...) one of our major costs are housing and so being able to provide students with quality housing that is safe that is secure*” (Interview with Higher executive of the WSP, 2015). This emphasis on safety stands out to me, as many parents of SIP-participants are worried about sending them to a big city like Washington on their own (Interview with Senior Admin of the WSP, 2015). Moreover, ideas of safety in Washington are still affected by the city’s 1990s reputation as ‘murder capital’ of the US. Meanwhile, the homicide rates have halved since then (The Economist, 2017), while other crimes have increased between 2007 and 2014 (Metropolitan Police Department, 2017). Most SIPs provide student housing for their participants and sometimes have arrangements with other institutions to share facilities.

One of my research participants interned at a community clinic in Colombia Heights and was able to observe consequences of the gentrification processes. The community clinic was recently experiencing that their long-time patients were displaced from the neighbourhood. As a consequence, the community clinic had decided to build another clinic out in Maryland, because people had been displaced northwards following ongoing gentrification (Interview with Alice, 2015). Maher describes the changes that have taken place in neighbourhoods such as Colombia Heights and U-Street in the 2000s until now (2015). Starting in the 1960s, these neighbourhoods were primarily African-American and white lower-class, and have since undergone a process of gentrification (Maher, 2015, pp. 984-989), which caused many residents of the neighbourhoods leaving their homes. Moreover, there has been an influx of young middle-class professionals who consider themselves part of the ‘creative class’ (Florida, 2003) and who only superficially identify with diversity (Maher, 2015, pp. 989-990).

In Maher’s research, tensions between long-time Colombia residents and members of the young white ‘cosmopolitan’ middle-class became evident. Maher argues that “the seemingly counterintuitive process of using celebratory rhetoric of diversity to push diversity out has become a well-established component of neoliberal development,” and that this ‘superficial diversity’ has affected a broad variety of branches, from the corporate to the academic sector (Maher, 2015, pp. 982-991). These two neighbourhoods are interesting with regards to SIPs as they are close to Dupont Circle where many internship sites are, and also some SIPs have their campuses or student

housing in these neighbourhoods or close by. Other neighbourhoods that have similar dynamics are NoMa (North of Massachusetts Avenue) and Capitol Hill also has student housing for some SIPs (have a look at Figure 7).

The rental market in Washington is already one of the most expensive ones in the USA, and young people looking for short-term rentals for their summer internships or SIPs indirectly contribute to gentrification (Füller and Michel, 2014). According to Bhardwa (2017), in terms of student rent, only New York (431\$ per week), Boston (403\$ per week) and London (359\$ per week) were more expensive than Washington (329\$ per week) in 2015-2016. According to the US Census Bureau, the median gross rent in D.C. of 1327\$ was about 400\$ more expensive than in the rest of the country.

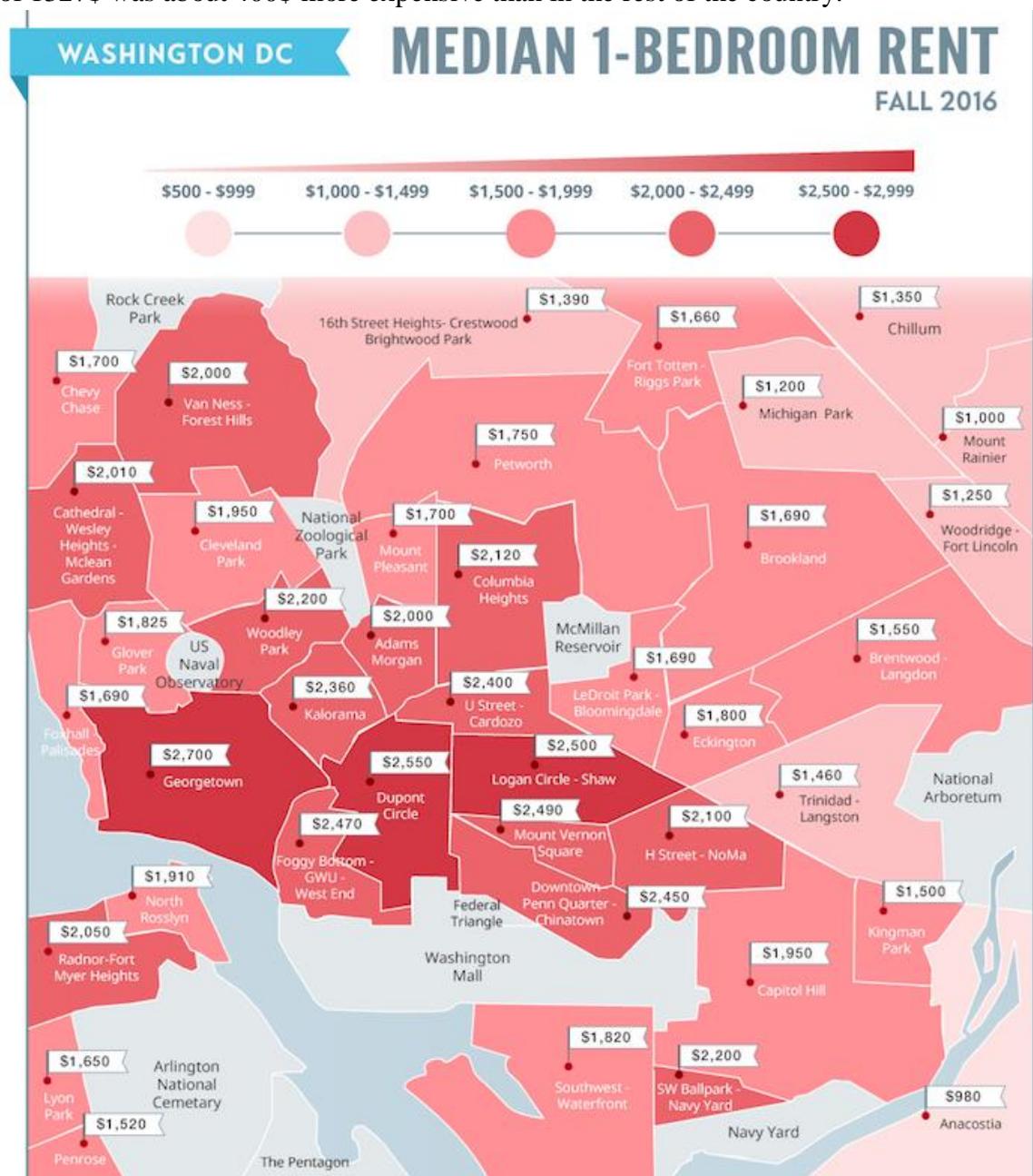


Figure 7: Median 1-Bedroom Rent in Fall 2016 (Zumper, 2016)

It should be mentioned that it is difficult to compare these numbers as they only apply to the District of Columbia, and do not represent statistical rates for the bigger urban area of Washington D.C. The online real estate database assessed the median rent price in Washington D.C. in September 2016 for one bedroom units at a median of \$2,200, while two bedrooms unit's median rent was measured at \$3,080 (Zumper, 2016). What the map in Figure 8 (p. 133) shows, gives an idea of the neighbourhoods that are attractive for students (usually the cheaper neighbourhoods) who do not live in the dormitories. Many of the neighbourhoods in the Northwest (such as Cleveland Park, Chevy Chase, Van Ness, Glover Park, Foxhall Palisades, Woodley Park, Adams Morgan, Mount Pleasant, Colombia Heights and U-Street) have significant student populations and most inhabitants of these neighbourhoods are predominantly Caucasian in origin. Dupont Circle, Georgetown, Kalorama, Logan Circle, Woodley Park and Van Ness-Forrest Hills are some of the most expensive and predominantly white neighbourhoods of D.C.

In Washington, there are neighbourhoods that are centres of student consumption and student nightlife: U-Street and Colombia Heights are two of them (with Georgetown, Dupont Circle and Adams-Morgan being older ones). Due to the number and size of the universities that are located within D.C., there are distinct nightlife offers (student nights at parties or sports events) and businesses and industries that target students and interns in general (fast-food chains, restaurants, bars, stationary supplies), but these industries cannot be attributed to the SIPs. Nonetheless, the SIPs are a small niche economy in Washington and from my observations in Washington, they have small-scale effects on some neighbourhoods in D.C. According to Johnson, the annual number of interns in Washington ranges from 20,000 to 40,000, of which about 2500 interns are participants of SIPs (2010). The author estimates that over “the past 40 years, the programs have collectively placed more than 60,000 interns” while also running extensive alumni networks and funding or mentoring operations through them (Johnson, 2010). All of these SIP-participants need housing and at the same time, they are consumers in Washington and take part in Washington's nightlife. If the estimates of up to 40,000 interns in Washington per year are correct, the number of interns is equal to about 6 % of Washington D.C.'s 672,228 inhabitants (in 2015).

In this section I have focussed on gentrification in Washington, and how the SIPs are niche industries that impact certain neighbourhoods in Washington on a small-scale level and how they contribute to Washington's cosmopolitan image. The growing

number of interns contributes to increasing prices in short-term housing options, as they are an active short-term part of the workforce in the district. Being aware of these changes that have been taking place in Washington is essential to understanding processes of cosmopolitanisation, displacement and urban transformation.

5.5 Transience and Mobilities in Washington

The last sections have given an overview of various components that are associated with, and define life in Washington and perceptions of it. An idea that was mentioned by many of my research participants was the notion of the transient city Washington, or transience. In this section, I address how SIP-participants have perceived Washington as a very transient and fast-paced city how they shape its mobilities. Regarding interns in Washington, a Higher Executive of the WSP asserted that in the summer

they run the city. (Laughing) They do. And when the government shuts down they come darn close to running the city. (...) A lot of, you know professional Washington, kind of takes a step back during the summer because there is so many interns here to do a lot of the extra-work (...) you see the interns, kind of running the town. They are not the ones making important decisions, but they are the ones behind the scenes that are making sure that everybody else gets what they need. That happens during the fall or the spring, too - but to a lesser extent. There is still usually the lower level staff member doing a lot of the same work that interns do for free (Interview with Higher Executive of the WSP, 2015).

The Higher Executive Member of the WSP suggested that interns who come to Washington in the summer have more influence on and in the city than those who come in the fall or spring and that this is the time when the majority of interns come to Washington (2015). So, this statement describes the peak intern time in Washington, where Washingtonian professionals might be able ‘to take a step back’ and let the interns do the extra work. To me this whole statement is extraordinary because it is a literal interpretation of the ‘internship capital’, the capital of the United States, being run by interns. While this might be an exaggeration, it emphasises the importance of interns in Washington, as they constitute a free, regrowing, young work force. To many inhabitants of Washington, this short-time intern rush is apparently a visible sign of transience in the city.

Jeremy, an Alumnus of Georgetown University’s Semester in Washington Programme, reflected on how he is a bit ashamed and amused when years later, as a permanent resident of Washington D.C., he was seeing these interns and thinking back to his own time as an intern in the programme:

(Laughing) Now that I’ve lived in Washington, and have been in Washington for a total of five years or so it is really funny. I kind of dread the summers - because it is like oh god: here come the congressional interns with their like repel pins and so excited and (unintelligible) ready to go. (...) I totally bought in to this being an intern. I loved it. I had no idea how obnoxious I probably was being to

people who live there I mean having lived there I know how (Laughing) obnoxious you could be (Interview with Jeremy, 2015).

This quote emphasises how many young students are really excited by being and interning in the centre of power, as the advertisements for their respective programmes have told them. Apparently, to longer-term residents of Washington, their nervousness, excitement and sense of disorientation marks the interns as outsiders to the city. Perlin has made a similar observation that during summers in Washington it is not very hard to recognise interns in the city:

In the offices of many members of Congress, think tanks, and nonprofits, interns now outnumber regular staff, at least during the summer. Anyone who has been to D.C. between June and August knows these interning thousands, swamping the college housing in Georgetown and Foggy Bottom, mobbing the bars south of Capitol Hill, brandishing their intern badges on the Metro” (Perlin, 2011, p. 100).

As Perlin suggests, often college housing of D.C. campuses is rented out to interns on the various placement programmes, such as the University-hosted SIPs, or sometimes interns who have organised internships for themselves. As many young people try to go to Washington for an internship or for undergraduate or graduate studies, the interviewees often described the city was as an extremely transient place, as people tended to live there for only a couple of years or months:

What I find difficult about Washington is that there are many people mmm that move to D.C. after finishing their Masters or maybe for their Masters and then they stay for a few years and then they move on. So, in a way it's not a place where you have like many real neighbourhoods. I feel and it's not a place um where really people um, um stay to live. They come for a career and they might leave again (Interview with Aaron, 2015).

Here, Aaron suggests that many people do not associate and measure Washington that much in terms of quality of living but rather in terms of usability for their careers. Aaron highlights that DC is not a place where people ‘stay to live’. Especially for young college graduates coming to Washington is specifically interesting in order to further their careers and having a successful and prestigious job start (cf. section 7.2, p. 181). Justine, who was working as an environmental lawyer, provided a very similar perspective, as she asserted:

another thing that I think is unique about D.C.: it is very transient city, which is why rent is so high (Laughing), it is a very big renters market of people who are just coming for a few years, like jumpstart their career to like get a certain type of experience (Interview with Justine, 2016).

These statements confirm Frändberg's argument that 'at least for large groups in the world's richer countries, long-distance temporary moves have become a significant part of the transition to adulthood', especially as they help young people in 'exploring future social and professional opportunities as well as part of the "project of the self"', and as such they may substantially impact their future mobilities (2014, p. 149). Carl also stated that Washington was a very transient city and that he only had a handful of good friends that stayed in the city for multiple years, and many people in his social circles only came to Washington for a year and moved on then (Interview with Carl, 2015). Especially for many alumni that had decided to move to Washington, the transience of Washington was often mentioned as a difficulty, because social relations were often short-lived. Brad, another SIP-alumnus, connected social relations in Washington and experiences with networking to this transience as he elaborated that when meeting people, whether at private or job-related parties, there were always three questions:

it is a very elite-like, transaction driven city, where everyone you meet: the first three questions are like: What do you do aka how important are you? Where do you live aka how much money do you have? Yeah, where do you live? What do you do? And where do you live? And those are just, it is kind of an instant sizing up or putting in somebody into like a certain bucket. And then the third question is basically how valuable are you to me? They don't ask that directly but that is the back of their head (Interview with Brad, 2015).

Brad's assessment that people evaluate the 'worthiness' of others in Washington seems accurate. While that might be true in many social contexts and in different places, in Washington the emphasis on networking has become permanent and has created an atmosphere of constant, never-ending networking. This networking has small-scale mobility consequences, for example in the context of informal events such as dinner parties, where people move from one guest to the next trying to find 'the perfect connection'. Andres explained that in some cases, the person that you have a conversation with might decide to leave, because they do not like your employer. In other cases, they might just have a conversation with you because they might know your employer or organisation (Interview with Andres, 2015). These tendencies can have bigger scale consequences on movements in Washington, and are visible in places that are frequented more than others, such as certain bars or places that have a reputation and are popular among certain government employees (Hayes, 2015; Meares, 2011). SIP-alumnus Mary-Ann also experienced this issue; she noted it was difficult to maintain friendships and added that sometimes a friend might just 'use you'. She elaborated that

People here think might use you if they have to, they don't really want to invest in you, I am talking about friends here, I think friends, that is one of the main problems. (...) A lot of people, it is transient, a lot of people say this is a transient city, people come and go, so they (unintelligible) might not care if you are gonna be the best friend or if they actually like you that much, it is like someone just to spend time with and do things with people. You need a buddy. So, (short break) you don't actually, like the person a whole lot, and I actually want to connect with people (Interview with Mary-Ann, 2015).

So, this component of being used and using others, is a two-way street. One could explain that taking advantage of acquaintances is a regular or occasional side of human behaviour. At least for some of my research participants, these tendencies of networking and transient relationships seemed to impact and frustrate them. Moreover, this networking merges the private and the professional sphere. Mary-Ann highlighted networking as one of the biggest advantages of Washington in another statement, but here she focussed on the downside of this. Networking has apparently become so embedded in D.C.'s culture that it corrupts the divide between the private and the professional lives of the participants. Andres, a SIP-alumnus who had also been living in Washington for several years, asserted that

in D.C. you can't have a job, a job opening (...) you have to know somebody on the inside, that's how a lot of my friends got jobs (Interview with Andres, 2015).

In Washington, this ambivalence of both negative and positive pressures to network in order to get ahead influences mobilities within the city and the nature of many social relations. Some theorists and some of my participants see mobility as a strategic means to prepare for the labour market and increase employability options. However, the pressures to acquire mobility capital can also be seen as actually impacting mobility decision-making and restricting the freedom of choice (Carlson, 2013, p. 172, Murphy-Lejeune, 2003, p. 51; Perlin, 2011, p. 129, cf. section 7.1.3). Participants utilise the SIP programmes as means of increasing their human capital value and employability. Especially with a closer look at the relationship between human capital theory and internships, Perlin states many families feel the need to send their children into specific programmes and to invest in their education, in order to harvest future benefits and secure their future in a global world.

Economists have asserted for some time (cf. section 3.2, p. 56) that a college and internship bonus will lead to "better work and greater productivity, which employers are quick to reward" (Perlin, 2011, pp. 129–130). This might no longer be the case;

moreover, there are further complications. For example, the idea of the ‘mobility burden’ as the implicit necessity to be mobile (Shove, 2002) becomes important here, as increasingly students like my participant Martyn (cf. section 7.1.3, p. 175) feel they are expected to join such global SIPs in order to become valued members of society in competition with elites. Conversely, for other young people, the concept of home and the local may regain popularity as the pressures to be mobile become too much or may not fit into their value systems.

5.6 Conclusions

Comparing Washington with expectations and narratives of Washington, my research has shown that Washington is still a vague construct to many researchers as well as many people in general. Moreover, section 5.4 and Hyra's analysis of gentrification at U-Street/Shaw (2017) show how much can be projected onto a city, and illustrate the various ways in which these narratives are applied in order to mobilise people to a city. Ideas of power, lifestyle choices, global connectedness, and cosmopolitan life alongside ambiguous inequalities all factor into what D.C. is imagined to be, and to what it is. The wider processes of change that affect spaces and cities like Washington define what the hip urban areas are, as seen in the case of U-Street, which has been turned into a young urban lifestyle area frequented by young creatives: students as well as the governmental elites in Washington.

For the city Washington D.C., the narrative of change from the Chocolate city to the Cappuccino city is essential and part of a wider rebranding process of Washington's image as cities try to position themselves globally. For Washington, it is important that the old stereotypes about the boring, administrative, elitist, criminal and dangerous beltway city are replaced by narratives, which emphasise Washington's cosmopolitanism, openness, diversity, and its role as a creative city. For SIP-participants, who can be considered a (future) part of Florida's 'creative-class' (Florida, 2003, 2006a, 2006b), the factors of personal development, opportunities for individualisation and participating in cosmopolitan lifestyles in Washington play a significant role in experiencing Washington D.C., and they learn to embody these during their time in Washington (cf. section 7.2, p. 181). My research findings indicate that the image of Washington as well as the city itself are changing.

Regarding my research objective of exploring if and how the student-internship industry and SIP-participants have contributed to the changing landscape of Washington D.C., I assert that the SIPs and SIP-participants do not visibly affect the place Washington D.C. in a way that is evident to people who do not know about these programmes. Nonetheless, they need to be considered as part of a wider process of neoliberal urban developments in Washington, as they bring young students. These students are interested in staying for at least 3-5 years, a transient period in their lives in this transient city. Therefore, they indirectly shape developments taking place in Washington and contribute to other processes of recruiting new students and who will form future workforce to the city. SIPs are just a tiny fraction of Washington's higher

education landscape, but these programmes can be effective recruitment tools for future work or a graduate school stay in the city.

In this chapter and in my research, I have given attention to both, the material and immaterial infrastructures that are in place and contribute to the mobilisation of SIP students to Washington. I find that narratives about power, cosmopolitan lifestyles, and the specific composition of life 'within the beltway' all factor into this mobilisation and in recruiting students. The materialities that have increasingly made it easier to recruit SIP students to Washington are the persistent infrastructures of the United States' government, international organisations, and other multinational corporations and organisations. All of these are attractive for student internships, but also the developments that have turned Washington from the Chocolate into the Cappuccino City have made it more attractive for the white middle and upper class (Hyra, 2017).

6. SIPs in Washington D.C. as Mobility Catalysts

In this chapter, the notion of SIP-participation as a mobility catalyst is analysed, as exemplified in the following attitude expressed by a Higher Executive of a non-university SIP:

over the past thirty years or so, there is a (...) shift in Higher Education, more and more people have recognized that students need something besides just their bachelor's degree, right. They need something besides just being on campus (...) We want students to go abroad, we want them to have the experience and many other universities also said, well there needs to be something besides that, too. (...) a professional acclimation through internships for more (...) and this idea that students needed a certain enforcement, double standards sometimes, but you need experience to get the job, you need the job to get the experience - so that's where the internship comes into play, right? (Interview with Higher Executive of a non-university SIP, 2015).

This quote above illustrates the institutional view of why these programmes exist and the quote seeks to explain why students take part in SIPs. The Higher Executive's view of this programme emphasises the societal perspective that 'just studying' is not enough, but something else is needed to stand out on the labour market. He asserts that this is one of the main reasons why students take part in these SIPs and he also highlights the difficult nature of the labour market for university graduates with no practical job experience.

In order to get a better feel for Washington and the SIPs in the city I have divided this chapter into five sections to assess the relevance and impact of SIPs in Washington D.C. In this chapter I address my research objective 2 of analysing how and whether SIP mobilities are affected by (im)materialities. The first section 6.1 is focused on explaining the development of American University's WSP in order to understand and provide a historical overview of the policies and agenda of the programme and how they developed. In 6.2, I portray how the SIPs market themselves as selling unique experiences for students. In 6.3, I explain what a 'typical' SIP week looks like for SIP-participants and how students learn to 'act professional' in Washington. In section 6.4 then, I present how students' access to elitist and restricted places is a key component in these mobilities, before coming to conclusions in section 6.5.

6.1 Development of the WSP-Agenda and Infrastructure

I interviewed a current and a former long-time Higher Executive of the WSP about the development and the history of the WSP. Recounting and analysing the history (which is longer and older than that of other SIPs in Washington) and the development of the programme provides more details about the intentions and agenda of the SIP at American University. It also explains why the programme was developed, how the programme developed its infrastructures and how it relates to elitism. Moreover, these details indicate how the WSP has positioned itself in Washington as one of the well-established SIPs and can mobilise students and convince them to choose their programme and not others. As its website states, American University's Washington Semester Programme (WSP) is an "academic experiential learning programme"⁵, established in 1947. It enables students to "spend a semester or an academic year in the dynamic, cosmopolitan city of Washington, D.C., where [they] will have access to some of the most influential people and organizations in the world" (American University, 2016; cf. section 6.4, p. 161). The website states that at their internships, students will "gain invaluable work experience through an internship at a local organization and meet the movers and shakers of Washington, D.C." (American University, 2016).

The programme set out as a network of American Methodist colleges that wanted to send students to American University in order to study American politics at the school of government and utilise Washington's resources. From the beginning, there was a seminar component but also exposure to the world of practitioners and the opportunity to learn about their life- and workstyle (Senior Administrator of the WSP, 2015). It should be emphasised that the study of government and politics was rather new in the United States after World War II. Before, in the 1930s, there was a small summer programme at the school of government which had the slogan "[c]ome to Washington to learn, (...) to learn from the men who make the decisions" and this programme was the antecedent of the SIP. And while this slogan is more than 80 years old, it is still fitting or – in its intent – relatively close to the way that the programmes advertise themselves today (cf. section 6.2, p. 149; see above 'movers and shakers'). The 'men who make the

⁵ American Politics, Global Economics and Business, Foreign Policy, International Environment and Development, International Law and Organizations, Journalism, Justice and Law, The Middle East and World Affairs, Peace and Conflict Resolution, Transforming Communities are the Programmes students can choose from. Both international students, as well as national students from other Universities in the states can take part in the programme.

decisions' are referred to as decision-makers in D.C., and usually the guest speakers talking to the SIP-classes could be considered as such. At least this indicates that some connections of the programme into governmental agencies have existed for a significant period of time. Nonetheless, it can only be imagined that these connections were subject to administrative changes from all involved parties and have experienced ups and downs. This calls into question how much students can profit from these inside connections (cf. section 6.4, p. 161).

A Senior Administrator of the WSP emphasised how, especially in the beginnings, the programme was very elitist. In 1947, the WSP at American University was founded and its members "*were five little colleges in the Midwest and (...) two in Pennsylvania and three in Ohio [who] (...) got together with American [University] and they had this agreement, and there was no internship then of course (...)*" (Senior Administrator of the WSP, 2015). He argued that it was elitist because it was strictly geared towards private colleges in the US, and classes had between 15-20 students per semester. He added that they "*took the best and the brightest I suppose, that's the way the world works and (...) but it was very elitist, absolutely*" (Senior Administrator of the WSP, 2015). There were also quotas that regulated that each member school was not able to send more than just a couple of students, in order to preserve the elite status of the programme. It should also be mentioned that the dean of the programme until 1973 was very elitist himself; he was described as a Bostonian Aristocrat with a PhD from Princeton University who stemmed from a very wealthy family (2015). I felt that throughout the interview, the Senior Administrator of the WSP insisted that the elitism had been much stronger in the foundational years of the programme, but that during his time in charge he had diversified it much more and made it more accessible, expanding it, partly through scholarships and lowering admissions requirements. This emphasises that many people today consider as negative the term elitism or a traditional idea of elitism has negative connotations.

The administrator claimed that the programme had been elitist and exclusive in this manner until the year 1973, when he took over. By that point the SIP had about 80 or 90 member schools and between 90 to 110 students a semester (when it started there were about 15 students per year). Until approximately 1970, internships were not a part of the programme, but it consisted of two elective courses, two seminars and one research project. In the subsequent years the Senior Administrator of the WSP wanted to expand the programme more, diversify it (by admitting students from traditionally African-

American and underrepresented public schools) and the administration, the previous dean in a new role, supported him in order to generate more revenue. The various teaching tracks, of which most exist until now, were created. The Senior Administrator of the WSP wanted to create courses on economy, justice, international development and environment because *“Washington has special resources if you are interested in economic policy, you are interested in the field of justice, international environment and development with all the agencies like Worldbank and IMF and so forth, so ought to be capitalizing all of these”* (2015).

The Administrator also explained that he received more funding for scholarships to schools that have poorer students and lower tuitions (especially in the south) into the programme (2015). Between 1982 until 2003, the WSP was also running a Programme called the World Capitals Programme, whose idea was to set up these similar programmes to the WSP in global capitals. At the high point, there were 14 programmes in different countries around the globe that replicated the WSP (for example in Beijing, Buenos Aires, Santiago de Chile, Paris, Bonn and later Berlin, Budapest). The programme was then closed after there was a regime change in the administration of the University. From 1990 on, the SIP accepted international students in order to *“spark debates, diversification and as an added value”* (Senior Administrator of the WSP, 2015). A member of the Higher Executive of the WSP added that

at its peak, the Washington Semester Program had over 500 students, both domestic and international total in a single semester (...) [a]nd was running multiple sections of many courses and probably had ten to twelve different concentrations. Probably twelve, at its peak. Some of the concentrations have come and gone (Higher Executive of SIP, November 2015).

Those peak years of the WSP were the nineties and the early two-thousands; then around 2010 the interest from international students increased even more, whereas the number of domestic students decreased and was surpassed by the international students (Higher Executive of WSP, November 2015). It should be mentioned that international students are regarded a wanted commodity by American Universities, in order to brand themselves as diverse and inclusive:

diversity has become one of the important buzzwords and because the country itself is becoming more diverse; everybody now wants minority in their schools, so which was not true 40 years ago - so now you do have competitions between the privates and between the privates and publics to get really good minority students to choose them (Higher Executive of WSP, November 2015).

In recent years, competition for international students has existed for American Universities, but also amongst SIPs, both in Washington and globally. Almost all of the SIPs stated that they were not as concerned about their competitors in Washington, and claimed to be convinced of their brand and the quality of their programme. Georgetown's SIP in D.C. was closed one year after I conducted my research in Washington, when they had told me about expansion plans of the programme in San Francisco and New York. The programmes admitted that D.C. had diversified throughout recent years and had become more than a city for students interested not only in politics but also in business, yet that the city did not cater to every student's needs. The Higher Executive of the WSP was emphasising that Washington was not for everybody and that if SIP participants wanted to succeed in certain career paths, their programme was just one piece of the puzzle. For example, for somebody who was interested in a Foreign Service Career,

that they ought to probably a semester overseas and a semester in Washington because that gives them both sides of what we call our foreign service. They need to be able to understand what is going on in (...) the state department as well as to see what is happening on the ground, near embassies around the world. I think that there are lots of different reasons for different students to come to Washington but it is not a one-size-fits-all solution and I would never sell it to everyone (Interview with Higher Executive of the WSP, 2015).

This quote indicates that the programmes are sometimes sending mixed signals to their participants. While they emphasise that their SIPs are a step into the right direction, they encourage students to make more steps into this direction. Mobility will result in further mobility and the programmes re-emphasise mobility pressures.

There have been some recent changes in terms of the infrastructures of the programme; I was told that student numbers have been dropping significantly compared to 2009/2010 when I studied abroad at American University. Back then, classes were taught on Tenley Campus (a satellite campus), a five-minute walk from the metro-stop and a 15-minute walk from the main campus. Since then, the programme relocated to a different building that does not include housing. When I visited Washington for my research stay, students were housed in different dorms owned by the American University that were not necessarily that close to the building where the classes took place. Moreover, the WSP relocates to a building that is not as close to a metro-stop. Staff and teachers were not happy about this as their classes travel in Washington quite frequently (in order to visit guest-speakers). These changes, in combination with various

administrative changes in the higher executives of the University and the programme, probably contributed to the decrease in student numbers. One could also interpret the move away from Tenley Campus as a shift in American University's priorities, preferring the revenue and students of the Law school over the WSP. During my fieldwork, I observed that these changes caused pressure on the WSP to reinvent itself and make a stronger case for its prolonged existence within American University.

The history of the American University's WSP could be summarised in three broad stages:

1. 1947-1973: Establishment of the Programme, focus on being an elitist small programme that allows access to the opportunities of D.C.
2. 1973-2008: Expansion of the programme, even on the international scale. Growth in terms of participant numbers and teaching tracks. Less emphasis on elitism than before.
3. 2008-2017: Regrouping Stage. American University's administration sought to redefine the role of the WSP. Various directions and influences. Adaption to processes of globalisation and post-financial crisis.

Analysing the policies and directions of an academic programme is difficult, especially from an outsider's perspective. It is interesting to note that the programme developed from a restrictive and elitist programme to expanding its scope and becoming less elitist, and then experienced a decline in participant numbers and international expansion plans were cut back. The current stage of the programme is a regrouping stage, which is still ongoing, and it remains to be seen how the programme will withstand competition and policy changes within American University. Moreover, it is relevant to note that for long, elitism was part of the programme. The (im)materialities that are involved in the mobilisation of students to Washington, have, in the case of the WSP, existed for quite a number of decades but have been impacted by the administrative changes within the University.

6.2 Marketing ‘the Experience of a Lifetime’

In this section, I want to focus more on the supply side of these narratives than on the SIP institutions in Washington, and how they sell their experiences, which often are connected to mobilising students to Washington. As far as options for study (abroad) go, ‘getting into Washington’ (cf. section 6.4, p. 161), being able to live in Washington, and having a successful career in Washington is something that has been, and still is, attractive for many young people from all over the world, including myself. Thus, the significance of elitism and the power of Washington D.C. work in different ways, both positively and negatively. These notions of power and elitism are directly connected to the idea of ‘the experience of a lifetime’ or a similar rhetoric that SIPs use to indicate the quality and uniqueness of their respective programmes. The Osgood Centre describes Washington D.C. as an intern city where youth and power meet:

If there is an internship capital, it is Washington, D.C. If there is a city where youth have extraordinary power, authority, and influence, it is Washington, D.C. (...) It is an extraordinary place to network, to make new friends, have once-in-a-lifetime experiences, and to watch (or be a part of) history in the making. With one of the best educated populations in the world, Washington is a place where you begin to synthesize all you learned from your college education and recognize the alternative paths to your future leadership endeavors (Osgood Center, 2016).

The opportunity to intern and live in Washington is clearly marketed as a once-in-a-lifetime opportunity to grow both as a person as well as career-wise. Especially in American culture, but also increasingly in Europe, the importance of networking is being emphasised. It is important to point out the experiential and cosmopolitan side of the SIPs, in order to appeal to a generation that is wearing bags and t-shirts that state ‘collect memories not things’. The way that D.C. is described as one of the best-educated populations in the world suggests that it is, in fact, more than a city but rather, a space that holds the qualities of future leadership and ambition. One could interpret this space as a key node in globalisation that breeds and furthers cosmopolitan capital. The sentence that refers to ‘thousands of interns each semester’ has a variety of functions. It makes the reader aware of his or her competition but simultaneously raises awareness for this ‘special’ opportunity to watch or ‘be part of history in the making’. Moreover, it soothes young students who might be scared and intimidated by this rhetoric of power and influence, arguing that they are following in the footsteps of others who have started as interns in Washington. After all, they are coming to the ‘internship capital’, a term that suggests that only the best of the best interns come to

D.C. Clearly, cosmopolitanism and global citizenship are values that are reflected and utilised strategically in this quotation.

American University's advertisement materials for their SIP emphasise Washington's cosmopolitanism, pace and influence. The programme states that Washington, D.C., is:

more than the dynamic and cosmopolitan city that is home to President Obama and your U.S. Senators and representatives. It's an international cultural center loaded with opportunity and teeming with go-getters anxious to share life experiences, debate the day's most timely topics, and weigh in on policies that help shape the world we know. The D.C. population is savvy and the pace is faster here, but if you can jump in and hang on there's no better place to discover what you're made of (American University, 2010, p. 2).

There is a certain tone of warning in this quotation, as it alerts that the D.C. population 'is savvy and the pace is faster here', but this text will show participants of the programme whether or not they are ready and prepared for such an environment. Are they ready to blend in and team with 'the go-getters' in order to change the world? In this cosmopolitan atmosphere of the city, opportunities ('loaded with opportunity') may come to those who work hard and are ready for this city. Even more so, this statement suggests that Washington is more than dynamic and cosmopolitan; terms which I already find quite strong. This imagery indirectly places Washington in the same realm as New York City for example. This quotation can also be read as an updated American or Global Dream and visualises imagery of a moving train, pulling away from the student who seeks opportunities and is trying to get a hold of this chance.

American University's SIP hints only slightly at the cultural opportunities of Washington and focusses more on the career aspects of a participation in the programme, while the Washington Center distinctly promotes it as a very cultural city:

At the Washington Center, you get not only great work and learning experience but also great life experience. Living in the U.S. capital is like nothing else in the world. The city's energy is remarkable at both work and play. There's so much to see and do, and it's all at your doorstep as a TWC intern (The Washington Center, 2015, p. 12).

Here the exclusivity of the chance of being able to live in Washington is emphasised, and it is asserted that it can compare to nothing else worldwide. Thus, the opportunities of Washington are marketed as being advantageous not only for one's career but also personally in terms of a life experience. The phrasing 'work and play' suggests that it is

a fun city, where career and personal opportunities and experiences merge. In terms of cultural opportunities in Washington, the TWC elaborates more specifically:

Washington offers impressive architecture and monuments, incredible museums, World-class theatre, great nightlife, a rich international community and restaurants with a wide range of cuisines. Throughout your time with TWC, you'll experience the city in a way that tourists never could. Best of all, you'll get to know fellow students from the United States and around the world. You'll participate in a variety of social activities, trips and adventures together. And by the time the program concludes, you'll have created friendships that remain strong for many years in the future (The Washington Center, 2015, p. 12).

The aspects of 'not being a tourist' and authenticity that can be found here in this quote are essential to branding the participation in this programme. The SIPs argue that participants will have more of an experience, a better, more sustainable and worthwhile experience than tourists, because participants are there for a longer amount of time and are able to utilise recommendations from locals and programme staff. The networks that are formed in these 'adventures' will then lay a foundation to further adventures and travel, as the friendships may well be international.

The rhetoric of play and action that the SIPs use to advertise their programmes and Washington as a whole works to cast D.C. as a space of politics and globalisation. Hence, as something common for today's students, but also something fleeting, something that moves and possibly overtakes them and a chance that they definitely do not want to miss. The space of Washington D.C. is described as unusual other, an extreme out of the ordinary, as its benefits and its connections to the world (as a key node in globalisation) and to the decision-makers and elites that inhabit this space are highlighted. The language used emphasises the uniqueness of the opportunity to get into this space of global decision-making. George explained that he imagined Washington as

bigger as far as like the city. (...) I guess just really important and then, mysterious about how it worked I guess, there is a lot of mysteries in the city. Because so much important things are being discussed and done there and you are like 'wow, how do they do all that? How does that?' (...) There is such a complex, a complexity about this city (...) no other city has these major decisions happen every day from these major players. That are just so huge, no city can boast about things like that, I mean there is no other capital really (...) that's what makes it so important. So, every day you are learning, every day is like challenging. And I really felt that when I first came to the city as well. Was kind of, my thoughts about it were realized, so I started staying here and understanding (Interview with George, 2015).

George's statement indicates that he has a fascination for the town and that he really appreciates the opportunity to be in Washington. The way that he talks about Washington, the SIP and other capitals in the world, showcases that he thinks and believes in the narratives about Washington as one of or even the main political power centre of the world. It is probably not that difficult to challenge the assumption that there is no city as complex and meaningful as Washington. George's fascination for Washington only shows that he fully bought into the allegedly rare opportunity the students acquire in participating in these programmes and thus 'getting into' Washington D.C. and its opportunities. When talking to SIP-participants as well as administrators of the SIPs, often the rhetoric used tended to resemble each other, so it becomes a chicken and egg problem of who influenced whose vocabulary. Participants used the term experiential learning without me mentioning it; for example, public health student and current SIP participant Oralie stated that "*it is awesome to have the experiential learning, so like we have lecture and we go to speakers and see which you like it just ask for picture and see like the connections*" (2015).

The uniqueness of these programmes is highlighted by many students. Carl highlighted that his SIP "*made the student feel special, certainly made me feel special (...) [and] like they were doing something out of the ordinary for me, I mean for what other reason would you have a bunch of young college students going to talk to a Congressman*" (Interview with Carl, 2015). This 'feeling special' is connected to the idea of the 'experience of a lifetime', to experience something 'out of the ordinary' – it must be more exciting and more special than the experiences of other students. George assessed that during their trips with the class in Washington sometimes, "*you get into the Worldbank, you are a talking to the communications director and you are like 'wow, this is a really important person, no one's getting to like listen to this, really'*" and added that in his opinion the SIPs teach students an "*education in Washington D.C. if anything*" (Interview with George, 2015). Caroline, a student from Colombia, stated that she felt that "*compared to the people back home I felt like I was gaining a lot more insights of everything they just read about (...) I think I was like the first one to do an internship, which was cool*" (Interview with Caroline, 2015). So, in her case, it was not only the comparison to other students, but more specifically her fellow students in Colombia.

In this section I have focussed on showing that for both, the SIPs as well as for the SIP-participants, it is essential to participate in something unique, and in using a rhetoric

that evidences the uniqueness of having lived in Washington and having taken part in an exclusive study-internship programme. The exclusivity of SIP-participation and living in Washington is emphasised through several narratives, terms and stereotypes, which all contribute to the idea of Washington as the beltway (cf. section 5.1, p. 113). The SIPs use this image of Washington strategically, as they position themselves as gatekeepers to Washington, providing insider access into this elite beltway to outsiders. Therefore, it is essential for the programmes to make students believe in this rhetoric and to entice them to further their careers through SIP-participation. Moreover, for students to have the ‘experience of a lifetime’ in Washington is another desirable image, while maybe less powerful than the idea of the beltway, because many forms of young people’s mobilities (such as volunteering or study abroad) use similar claims. In the next section I elaborate how access to elite spaces in Washington is sold by the SIPs and perceived by students.

6.3 The ‘Typical’ SIP-Week and the D.C. Code of Conduct

To provide an understanding for outsiders what a the “typical week” for SIP-participants entails, I want to provide a short summary or exemplary schedule of a week of SIP-participants and also elaborate on the ‘D.C. Code of Conduct’ that students learn in most SIPs. I have focussed this section on how this week is structured academically and in terms of organisation of the programmes. How rigidly students follow these structures also depends in my experience on how much they socialise, venture into Washington’s nightlife and how organised they are. Carl reported that there was always a tension within his class between the students who were more focussed on the academic side of things, and those wanting to enjoy life in Washington a bit more. Carl asserted that *“there were two types of students there, those that came to Washington D.C. for a little bit of exposure and to have fun, and the other half of students were those that were very much interested in the what the program has to offer”* (Interview with Carl, 2015).

While the SIPs highlight that in their programmes, international and sometimes life-long friendships are created, and the socialising is portrayed in a more polished and clean version than I have experienced it myself. Some more revealing aspects and issues that have been critical for these programmes are hinted at in internal ‘code of conduct documents’ that some SIPs such as the TWC have published for their students. In these documents, there are general codes of conduct, such as dress-codes in Washington and advice for networking and so on, but also guidelines for alcohol consumption, (sexual) harassment cases, drug use, and vandalism, along with general housing rules (The Washington Center, 2017b). So, while some students party heavily during their time in Washington, in my interviews there were also numerous participants who asserted that the workload was too much and that in the evening they were often too tired to socialise, or in other cases, too young to get into bars in the United States. These guidelines and codes of conduct exist in written and spoken form. For example, the Senior Administrator of the WSP asserted that the programme’s dress code was

‘just don’t go looking like a slob’ - remember that you are a guest of these people and we are trying to extract information from them, hopefully we can get some really good information that you could not maybe read in the newspapers. Whether we like it or not, most of these people that we are speaking to will be reasonably well dressed up in the work environment. And we want to establish a good report with them, we want to put them at ease when we go in into their office building and meet with them. And you don’t do that by looking like a slob (Interview with Senior Administration of the WSP; 2015).

The SIPs act as parents, and contribute to the student's upbringing in a way. During my WSP participation, the dress code was noted on our weekly schedule, depending on the 'seriousness' of the event we were attending. So, for example, if you went into an embassy with the programme, it was expected that the male students wore suits. The Senior Administrator justified this dress code by explaining that it was part of Washington's professional code of conduct and served to show respect and hear more interesting things in lectures. Nonetheless, that SIP students receive professional training in the business conduct in Washington and in the US, is an important facet to SIP-participation and could also be considered an immateriality that students learn in the programmes.

The number of days per week that students spend at their internship sites vary to a relatively large degree but the internships define the week schedules of SIP-participants. American University states that in the fall and spring semesters the students will be at their internship sites on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays, while the students attend lectures and their classes or visit speakers on Tuesdays (American University, 2017). Moreover, in 2016, the WSP introduced a new seminar that takes place during the summers and is addressing the problem that some students have complained about the tasks that they are given in their internships. In this summer programme, "students will be at their internships on all weekdays except for Wednesdays, when they will have their internship in the morning and their seminar in the afternoon" (American University, 2017). The Higher Executive of the WSP asserted in the interview with me that in some internships, the interns are given mundane tasks and less responsibility because in the fall and spring classes they spend too little time at their internship sites. In other programmes, internships take place four or five days a week, and the classes are scheduled either in the evenings or on weekends.

So, in the WSP, depending on the track and the topic of their programme, students will have a class with their professors about the respective topics. This class is usually divided up into topical sessions, and overviews about certain topics are held by the professors of these classes. Alongside these sessions, students together with their professor will visit embassies, government facilities, private organisations such as multinational corporations, NGOs, media stations, and foundations or think tanks and talk to representatives of these organisations. Usually a talk of about an hour by the spokesperson of the organisation will be followed by questions from the class. In some

cases, guest-speakers from these organisations will also come to the campus of the WSP.

Furthermore, there is an internship class, in which students are taught networking skills and skills for the American labour market. This class tends to be significantly less frequent, in the class the students also need to write assignments about their internships (experience reports). Many of my American interview participants felt that this internship class was rather redundant, as they were often more familiar with the American professional code of conduct in contrast to international students who described it as interesting (2015). Usually, during the week, a SIP student is busy with these different classes, and furthermore on some occasions it is the student's responsibility to be at the sites that the classes visit. So, the students travel either with their friends, alone, or with their professor, and have to navigate their way through Washington's public transport (during my fieldwork stay in Washington students were often relying more on Uber and other 'sharing-economy taxi-services').

My research has shown that most students are content and often excited about their SIP experience. For most students, life in Washington is something quite out of the ordinary, as not all students live in big American cities, but often in smaller student cities that do not have the manifold opportunities and attractions of Washington. George summarised that his experience with the WSP was great due to various reasons:

I love it. I am addicted to it. (...) I am learning so much every day, whether that'd be at my internship or during my days in class, (...) when we have days off like today, now I am kind of like, man I wish we had class today because it is really thrilling sometimes (...). You know in a city that, a lot of things can happen, and you feel that and you see people around you in the program (Interview with George, 2015).

This statement is from one of my interviews and resembles many of the statements that the advertisement webpages of the SIPs use, statements that might at first sight appear to be too full of excitement to be true, or at least more excited than one would expect from 'average' college students. In the interview with George, he was excited about his learning experiences, both in the classes of his programme, as well as at his internship site. Moreover, in the interview he emphasises the advantages of the city, the opportunities ('a lot of things can happen'), as well as contact with European (not international) students on his programme. He stated that he valued the contact with European students because he describes them as more mature. In a way, his view emphasises the aspect of these programmes as being a similar experience for American

students to what studying abroad often means to European students (Interview with George, 2015; cf. Murphy-Lejeune, 2003). In these programmes, Americans meet international students, which was regarded as very important for the American students (Interview with WSP Professor, 2015). In the interview with Oralie, a similar level of enthusiasm for the programme came to light:

it's by far the best experience of my college career. I am just learning so much and that's overwhelming because it is so much information that it's hard for me to process it all as I am receiving it (...) It's awesome, there's been so many lessons from every single speaker, even if I did not love the speaker themselves. And, it's, I think it is really important to learn about something and then actually see it in action and that's like exactly what our class is about. (Interview with Oralie, 2015).

Oralie describes her experience of the programme as great, but also exhausting and overwhelming, because she is not used to this level of input and new information. But, even in case topics that she did not find as interesting, or when speakers were not great, she found positive takeaways from those sessions. These feelings that the students embody and experience in their SIP experiences, take with them and tell their friends and relatives about, are an essential component of the SIPs recruitment of future participants. The passion of the students, but also of the professors on the programme, emphasises the feeling of experiencing something extraordinary and being able to access elite spaces and important people in Washington (cf. section 6.4, p. 161).

Carl, another WSP alumnus, stated:

But I liked the mix of classroom instruction that was your theoretical, and then it was always following up with practical application, so you actually go out there and you talk to people that are doing what you discussed. Whether it'd be with an NGO, you know the US house of Representatives or the Senate, or somebody in the Military, or Ambassador of the State Department or you know, an Ambassador of another country, there was always something that followed up, the follow-up and I really think that was key (...). And then of course, (...) the internship component to it as well, which I think the University could have done a little better job, trying to get people into internships that are a little more attuned to what they wanted to do. But (...) it gave me exposure in a way that I would not have received had I stayed at [my home] University (Interview with Carl, 2015).

Similar to this statement by Carl, most WSP participants enjoy the 'practical application' gained from the talks with experts more than their classes. In other remarks in the interviews, occasionally the academic quality of the classes was criticised, particularly by international students. Nonetheless, even those students were

enthusiastic about the applied parts of the programme. In his statement Carl compared the experience of the WSP with the experience of studying at his rather small home university in the US, and emphasised that Washington offered him more ‘exposure’. He explained that by this exposure, he was referring to the possibilities that students have in D.C. of accessing various places and talking to different people, but also in discussing issues with other international students within his programme.

On the next two pages, four screenshots (Figure 8-11) from the websites of the SIP of the Washington Center are shown. On its website, seven of these exemplary days that are designed to provide an overview of the different aspects that the programme emphasises can be found. The subtitles of Day 3, Day 5 and Day 6 are: ‘Understanding the legislative process’, ‘Taking a course in Washington D.C.’ and ‘Getting International Exposure’ (The Washington Center, 2017). This series of exemplary days within ‘a week’ of TWC participants emphasises a mixture of values and experiences such as government and public organisation opportunities (Day 1), NGO opportunities and civic engagement (Day 2 and Day 7), Skill Development (Each Day), Practical Experience (Day 4), Cosmopolitanism, Internationality and Diversity (2 and Day 6), for-profit and legislative experience (Day 3), Academic Experience (Day 5), as well as community development (Day 7). Whether or not all participants are able to get insights into all these aspects can be debated. To me this advertisement almost has a comedic quality, as it may appear as if students can achieve tasks such as ‘understanding the legislative process’ all within one week in Washington.

In this section, I have outlined the various components that shape a typical week of SIP-participants in Washington. I hope that these insights have exemplified to some extent, what an actual week looks like for SIP-participants and how SIP programmes are structured and how this aspect is marketed to prospective students.



DAY 1:
Enjoying a lunchtime walk through the Federal Triangle

Ross Seavey
University of New Hampshire
Internship site: U.S. Environmental Protection Agency

Many Washington Center students intern with the federal government—in the White House or Congress or in federal agencies such as the Departments of Justice, Commerce and State. If you're interested in any area of public policy, politics or public administration, there's no better place to prepare for your future.

Interning at the EPA is really the culmination of my undergrad work, taking everything I have learned and thrusting me into the real world of politics and policy in Washington. It has completely altered my perspective on how much power and politics affect government decisions and outcomes. Working for the EPA has expanded my knowledge of environmental issues by leaps and bounds and has convinced me to return to D.C. to build a career working in the government.

[Learn more about our internship programs >](#)

Figure 8: Day 1 in a Week of a TWC participant (The Washington Center, 2017a)



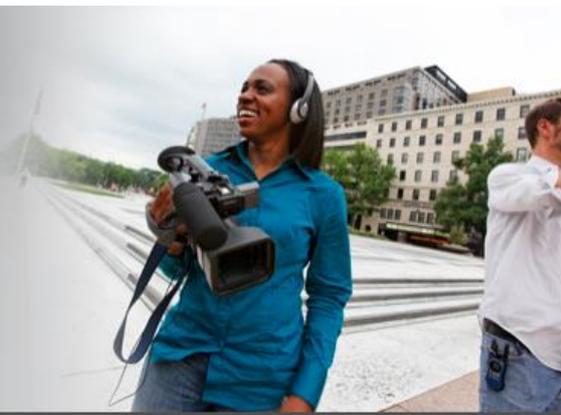
DAY 2:
Interning at a nonprofit organization

Larissa Luckel
University of Iowa
Internship site: CentroNia

Washington, D.C., has more nonprofit organizations than any city in the country—25,000 of them. Washington, D.C. is home to the largest international nonprofits in the world and also has hundreds of organizations providing direct services to the local community.

At my internship site, I've had the opportunity to work in an extremely diverse community with multicultural and bilingual children and staff. As a development intern, I've been able to assist in corporate, foundation and government grant writing processes as well as sit in on meetings with the CEO and the rest of the executive team. The things I've learned here will make me much more appealing to potential employers. It is rare to have the opportunity to acquire the skills I'm gaining now, and none of this would be possible without my internship through The Washington Center.

Figure 9: Day 2 in a Week of a TWC participant (The Washington Center, 2017a)



DAY 4:

Getting hands on experience

Jaimee Mayfield
 Washington State University
 Internship site: Double R Productions

The Washington Center serves students in all majors, with interests in a wide variety of fields. These include the government, nonprofit and business arenas featured on these pages as well as many others that may partially overlap with them – the worlds of media and communications, science and technology, law and criminal justice, and international affairs.

My internship at Double R Productions has given me the confidence and experience I need to venture out and find a job after graduation. As a public relations major, I have had the opportunity to gain hands-on experience not only with writing press releases and creating public service announcement concepts, but also with video editing, production work, media logging and helping at video shoots. I could not ask for a better internship!

[Learn more about our internship programs >](#)

Figure 10: Day 4 in a Week of a TWC participant (The Washington Center, 2017a)



DAY 7:

Becoming an engaged citizen

Philip Kimmey
 Washington University in St. Louis
 Internship site: CSIS Center for Strategic and International Studies

The Washington Center experience provides numerous opportunities for participants to be involved in projects and events where they learn and apply skills needed to make a positive difference in the community.

Since coming to Washington, I've had the opportunity to attend numerous hearings both on and off the hill, as well as hear experts speak in class and our weekly seminars. Not only have I learned about the U.S.-China relationship (the focus of our TWC program), cyber security and technology policy (my program's focus at CSIS), but I also better understand our political process in general. This experience will help me be an engaged citizen, no matter where my career takes me.

Figure 11: Day 7 in a Week of a TWC participant (The Washington Center, 2017a)

6.4 Access to Elites Spaces and People in Washington

In this section, I discuss how access to certain places in D.C. has symbolic power. I develop the idea how having been to specific places or evidencing that one had access to certain places represents power and being successful. Having the chance to meet people who frequent these places for whom a variety of terms exists – such as decision-makers, leaders, movers and shakers – casts a specific light on the visitors themselves. I discuss how one of the main functions of the SIPs is in providing their participants with access to these restricted spaces.

Perlin suggested that research on internships needed to hear more from “interns themselves, and also from those who proffer internships, the people who sell them, the few who work to improve them, and the many who are unable to access them at all” (2011, p. 15). Perlin’s assessment is a call for more research on interns, their parents and the providers of internships (*ibid.*). Moreover, and importantly, Perlin juxtaposes those who intern with those who ‘are unable to access them at all’. This contrast reveals the inherent power structures that make internships, and thus access to these places, important. Only in opposition to people who do not have this experience, internship becomes valuable. Perlin (2011, p. 130) uses the idea of signalling (*cf.* section 3.2.2, p. 57) to explain how internships work as labour market signals.

Perlin elaborated that “[e]specially common both inside the Beltway and at nonprofits around the country are serial interns—those who take on three or more internships within just a few years—in part because winning a high-prestige internship now often depends on having completed other internships, and in part because so few of these positions convert to paid, permanent jobs” (Perlin, 2011, p. 113). My experiences from the fieldwork interviews partly confirmed this assessment. Especially the research participants, who were working at elite institutions such as the Worldbank or Brookings, or for Senators in Congress, had previously interned at other institutions before being able to secure these high-profile internships and jobs. Then again, sometimes it is possible for interns to secure high-profile internships due to specific circumstances and timing and they would have been able to secure them with the help of SIP programmes. My research participant Martyn explained that he was interning with a Senator from the state that he grew up in, which often makes it easier for interns to apply at the respective offices because they prefer people from the states that they represent (Interview with Martyn, 2015). Martyn was an economics and political science student from California and 20 years at the time. Another participant, George,

explained in a follow-up email exchange months after the fieldwork stage that he “*wanted to try [his] hand on the Hill, to take advantage of being in the Capitol*” and was now interning for “*Senator X's office of New York (...) I don't have any New York ties, but I wanted a high-profile senator*” (Follow-Up with George, 2016). These statements are at least an indication that the ‘serial-intern’ is more than a myth, and also emphasises that students value high-profile internships. Moreover, it shows that high profile internships are desired and valued as strong labour market signals.

It is not a coincidence that every SIP provides lists of their most well-known and high-profile internship sites on their websites in order to emphasise the idea that these are realistic internship destinations. From my experience, they might well be realistic internship destinations, but usually only under specific circumstances, depending on timing (the season) and the popularity of the internship (or number of applications at the time). Students need to plan internships at the most high-profile internship sites half a year in advance, prepare their CVs and applications (without much help of the internship advisors of the programmes) or have connections that help them in landing these internships, combined with a bit of luck. While it is sometimes possible to land high-profile internships randomly and at short-notice, this is probably much rarer. In research interviews with SIP-participants, many participants complained about the ‘quality’, diversity (in terms of different choices) and reputation of internships that were offered at an internship fair that their programme held in the introductory weeks of the programme. To them, the expectations that the programme had created were not matched by the reality. One of my participants, Albert, a German SIP-alumnus who was 24 and doing his masters in Germany at the time, claimed that some students felt tricked after not being able to land high-profile internships through the SIPs. He stated:

people just expected that they come there and that they get a perfect internship just because they pay money for the program (...) I think it is a bit naive to think that because you go to a university and then you get like your internship and whatever the bank of America or the WWF, depending on what you are interested in (Interview with Albert, 2015).

From the programme’s point of view, it is in their best interest to make it seem hard or impossible to get internships without them, or at least the high-profile internships. Only then, their connections and networks pay out the most and the more students will be interested in participating in their programmes. Many of my research participants told me that they had signed up for their SIP-participation rather spontaneously, in some cases not longer than half a year in advance (this only applies to American SIP-

participants, the international ones need to apply more in advance, above all for the student visas). Especially students who come to Washington without a desired internship site and without much preparation profit from what the programmes offer: the programmes guide the students in how to apply for their internships, how to behave in job interviews and the intricacies of the ‘D.C. code of conduct’ (dress code and more). Johnson emphasises that every SIP programme in Washington emphasises its inside connections that help in securing internships; especially the non-profit programmes tout their ability to place students in federal agencies such as the state department (2010).

One of the questions about the programmes that probably interested me the most was the admissions policies of the programmes. As I have explained in section 6.2 (p. 149), these programmes are supposedly the key to experiencing Washington in a unique way, or preparing oneself for today’s global labour market. So, considering that these programmes are the key to accessing elite spaces and providing contact to decision-makers, I wondered what the admissions criteria were and how elitist they are. There are the more obvious admission criteria of the SIPs, such as a Grade Point Average (GPA) of 3.0 for American students, in addition to a TOEFL test (or other type of language certificate for international students). For international students, the programmes act as sponsors and assist students in getting a J1 visa (American University, 2016). A Higher Executive of the WSP elaborated in the interview that in some cases, students with lower GPAs had also been admitted; exceptions were made *“because they have shown improvement in their academic performance over the last year but did not you know still had substandard GPAs”* (Interview with Higher Executive of the WSP). Cranston et al. describe the role of the migration industries in *“negotiating of borders that is pivotal, within the context of restrictive migration policies and border control”* (2017, p. 4).

The SIPs can be seen as a specific product in a migration or rather mobilities industry that brings international students to the United States, and mobilises American students within the United States. In this process, the programmes negotiate borders, as the programmes offer help in accessing the United States on a J1 visa, a longer time period than possible on a visa waiver trip to the United States. Even more so, for international students from a country that does not participate in the visa waiver programme, access to the United States is even more difficult and thus these programmes have more value for these students. Cranston et al. have portrayed other cases where the boundaries

between state actors and non-state actors have blurred in the migration industries and the SIPs are a further example of this as they are able to help students in applying for student visas. Cranston et al. state that

[t]his means the migration industries (...) are also similarly diverse, they are facilitators and controllers of migration processes, they have been outsourced by the state, they act to produce knowledge about migration and they work to reproduce certain lifestyles. In this way, we argue that we cannot be prescriptive when thinking about the contours and limits about what constitutes the industry of migration industries (2017, p. 8).

For me in 2009, as a young student who was studying in Germany, it seemed out of the ordinary to be accepted by an American University. While in most of my expert interviews, the programme administrators remained vague about this issue, the Senior Admin of the WSP was a bit blunter and explained that he did not reject many applicants,

Somebody would say to me: how many people do you reject (...) I said, I don't have to reject very many because the decision is being made at the home campus. They nominate them and I trust them, to screen the students; to find students who they think are intellectually and emotionally prepared to do this (Interview with Senior Admin of the WSP, 2015).

So, as the Senior Admin explained, the safety net of the programmes is based in a system where some SIPs (the older and more connected ones) have member schools, where the responsible contact persons for the programme screen designate participants. From the perspective of the internship sites, there are three filters that ensure the quality of their interns who could be future workforce. First, there are the home universities of the WSP-participants whose requirements they need to fulfil. Then there are the contact people of the WSP who the participants have to convince to be mature enough and academically good enough for the programmes, and then the WSP that needs to accept the student. So, WSP-participants are already selected from a crowd of students, so the internship sites trust interns from these programmes more than individual students, and the SIP-participants are thus granted their internships and access into these (sometimes) elite organisations.

The Higher Executive of a non-university SIP also highlighted that student-to-student interactions and networking were an important factor in SIP mobilities. So, not only networking in D.C., but also among the students is important, as he explained:

who are you connecting to, who do know? How are you broadening your human capital and getting to know people influential for you down the road, right? And so, by being in a program where you are exposed to people from 19 countries, you are exposed to future leaders, hopefully of the world. (...) You are able to then increase that human capital pipeline tremendously, and the inverse is true as well, for all the agencies we are working with, if they choose to (...) they may have the next stage of their human capital that they are looking for, so (Interview with Higher Executive of a non-university SIP, 2015).

As this statement reveals, the SIP-participants build a network for themselves with other ‘future leaders’, another term that is quite popular in the specific language deployed in SIPs. Moreover, the idea of the ‘human capital pipeline’ is quite essential for these programmes, as the organisations cooperating with the SIPs hope for potential workforce that can be recruited from these programmes, or at least potentially be low-cost short-term labour force in their staff. So, both the SIPs and the internship sites in Washington are interested in the SIPs success in recruiting students. The internship sites do not have trouble recruiting interns in and to Washington; nonetheless, if they have partner organisations such as the SIPs who recruit students and are sort of a filter, they have less work with sorting applications themselves. Perlin found out that the federal government as well as some other departments outsource their internship hiring to the Washington Center. He also states that the “Department of Transportation, for example, signed a five-year contract allowing the Washington Center to fill its summer internship program” (2011, p. 109), and other government agencies have done likewise (Perlin, 2011, p. 109).

Perlin concludes that SIP-participation is restricted to elitist students who can afford living in Washington and paying the tuition of the SIPs. Moreover, Perlin assessed that due to the immense resources that most SIPs rely on (no matter whether they are university-affiliated or not), “young people on their own stand little chance of landing a well-placed internship in D.C., if they can even afford it to begin with—given an estimated cost of living around \$1,500 per month—on a responsible student’s budget” (Perlin, 2011, pp. 110-111). Thus, it can be argued that Washington in itself is an elite space, already due to the high living expenses in the city. Within this elite sphere, there are manifold other places to which access is restricted or limited. Urry has argued that there are complex systems that “produce an aristocratic pattern through complex system interdependencies” (2004, pp. 124-125) and that in this system the well-connected nodes are mainly accessible to the richest people.

Part of student's attraction to Washington is the discrepancy between the 'inside the beltway' space and the 'outside of the beltway' narratives. This discrepancy makes it even more attractive to go and live within this elite space for a certain amount of time, and to increase one's inside knowledge to further one's career. Therefore, indicating to have both studied and interned in this place, and having received 'insights' into the workings of the American government, global companies or NGOs, is a very proficient and desirable labour market signal. Especially because other students with less financial resources (living 'outside of the beltway') have a much harder time in acquiring the same labour market signal, the participation in a SIP is interesting for those who do. That is why the programmes reaffirm this elitism indirectly through the use of specific vocabulary and in creating the narrative that their help is needed in achieving future success or at least in securing an internship in Washington and receiving an education in globalisation and cosmopolitan career paths. And as this narrative becomes more prevalent, it also becomes real and influential in the creation of student mobilities, no matter whether this narrative is accurate or not.

6.5 Conclusions

In section 6.1 I have tried to provide an overview of the SIP landscape of Washington and more specifically the WSP. In section 6.2 I have tried to outline for 'outsiders' what happens in these SIPs and how students spend their SIP semesters in Washington. It should be noted that the different SIPs in Washington are a small-scale industry providing internship and study opportunities and they also contribute to marketing and branding Washington's beltway image (as I have elaborated on in sections 6.2 and 6.4).

Following Urry (2007), I add and interpret universities and the SIPs as spatial moorings of power. Students interpret, and universities and other SIPs sell mobility to Washington D.C. as added mobility capital and human capital. For the students, the certificates are evidence of proximity to power or rather materialities that catalyse and evidence mobilities. The certificates and transcripts that the students receive from the universities become labour market signals (Spence, 1973, Perlin, 2011). The universities and SIPs become infrastructures of Higher Education mobilities. The SIPs become a bridge or a mediator between city and students that connects students and the city of Washington vice versa. The SIP-participants pick up an immaterial toolkit to succeed in the global labour market. As the SIPs market and position Washington's

global image and its image in the US strategically as a city for decision-makers and the global and cosmopolitan elites, they serve in the global branding process of the city. Furthermore, they indirectly shape ideas of what has been and can be expected from college graduates who go the extra mile on the labour market.

The programmes provide “certificates for students”, i.e. globally accepted mobility proofs. So, the institutional actors, the universities as well as the other SIPs, provide and create a demand in mobility proofs. These institutions play key roles in creating a demand for international student mobilities to global cities and centres of globalisation. Therefore, I interpret SIPs as small-scale processes that are able to guide tiny student and internship flows on a global level. Seeing the SIPs as a puzzle piece within Higher Education mobilities or even as a distinct mobilities industry is a helpful perspective in framing and analysing these programmes.

7. SIP-Students and their Mobilities

In this chapter, the focus is on addressing three of my research objectives (research objectives four, five and six). The first research objective is to examine the reasons why the participants chose to participate in study-internship experience(s) in Washington D.C. which I address in section 7.1. The second research objective is addressed in 7.2, where I want to determine if SIP-participants regard their mobility as elitist and see themselves as elites. Furthermore, the third research objective was to identify what specific competitive advantages and ‘transformative’ effects are gained by SIP-participants – a question which I analyse in 7.3. In section 7.4, I summarise my research findings about SIP-students and their mobilities.

7.1 Decision-Making Processes and Motivations

In section 5.1 I explained how I have found the image and reputation of a city crucial to why students chose that particular place for their studies or even study abroad. I see these discussions as a good starting point for my analysis of the decision-making processes of coming to Washington that SIP-participants and alumni referred to. In addition to the impact of Washington’s global image, in my research interviews I encountered manifold reasons that bring students to Washington and that contribute to their SIP-participation. In this section, I want to address my research objective 4, to examine why the participants chose to participate in study-internship experience(s) in Washington D.C. Therefore, I provide an overview of factors that play a role in these decision-making processes.

7.1.1. Individualised Paths to SIP-Participation

There were a couple of my research participants who had been quite strategic about their decision to come to Washington. I would characterise Jeremy, Albert, Justine, Aaron, Andres, George and Martyn as rather strategic and with rather fixed long-term career plans, or at least less flexible than other participants’ plans. Half of these participants attended quite prestigious universities, and ended up working with very-well known employers (A Law Firm in New York, the World Bank, and the American State Department among others). Jeremy argued that

I really thought that I was going to/end up either working in the government or working at sort of like an NGO or something activist-

based. And I figured that D.C. the best place for that. More so that any of the other opportunities that I did have. (...) I mean I went to law school in D.C. I ended up taking a job in D.C. during every summer after I was in the summer program. (...) I wanted to get a leg up, get familiar with the city and meet some people there, so that when I did you know inevitably move there I figure I would have a working familiarity with it (Interview with Jeremy, 2015).

In Jeremy's case, his career 'plan A' had been to become a public defender and changed slightly in that he ended up working in a big law firm, due to financial pressures of paying back his six-figured student loan (cf. section 7.3, p. 187). The quote from Jeremy's interview shows that even though his plan had changed, the decision to go to Washington was made by him quite strategically. He knew that it 'was the best place' for an NGO, government or activist career and decided to come back to D.C. every summer after SIP-participation for jobs or internships in order to further his career. Moreover, he also expected to eventually move to D.C. permanently and ended up moving to D.C. for two years as he went to Law school at Georgetown University. It should also be outlined that, in contrast to some other research participants who had only considered participating in an SIP or staying at their home universities, Jeremy had decided for participation in the SIP despite having other options involving internship programmes closer to his home university. Jeremy's description fits quite well with Beck & Beck-Gernsheim assumption that "individuals must be able to plan for the long term and adapt to change; they must organize and improvise, set goals, recognize obstacles, accept defeats and attempt new starts" (2002, p. 4). Jeremy also had a long-term plan that he was pursuing but needed to adapt this plan and follow a slightly different career path than he originally intended, partly due to financial pressures.

Among the other participants, the decision-making processes that led to SIP-participation often seemed less strategic, and were often impacted more by family and friends living in Washington, previous mobility-experiences, direct exchange agreements at the home universities and also coincidence. Alice, 21, an American student from California, had a combination of reasons that made her come to Washington for a SIP:

I studied abroad a year ago, and I was studying in El Salvador, (...) I had a very positive experience abroad, I spent a lot of time in the community of women and children, very impoverished community. (...) as far as career, I knew that it was never too early to start thinking about that, and feeling that I knew that exposure, I heard about the SIP, my school has a partnership with AU, which makes it really easy to come here (...) And so, having heard how the program really did a good job of

combining the two, and giving us exposure to, being in D.C. (Interview with Alice, 2015).

To her the direct exchange agreement between her home school and American University seemed a simple way to gain this experience, as she only needed to pay the regular tuition of her home school. Moreover, she wanted to gain more experience and ‘exposure’ in the field of community work and she wanted to take part in another experiential learning programme, similar to the one she had attended in El Salvador. A few of my participants had actually heard from friends that Washington was cold, business and politics minded and were also warned of going and living in Washington. Nonetheless, others were also encouraged by friends and family to go and participate in this programme (cf. section 7.1, p. 168). In Alice’s case, it was not only academic and future career reasons that played a role. Alice had been to Washington before participation in the programme because her sister was living in the city, and she stated that her sister showed her around in the city and after that she knew she wanted to come back (Interview with Alice, 2015). Considering that Alice was still quite young, she had been very mobile and had taken up the ‘task’ to individualise (Bauman, 2002, p. xv) and invest in her mobility capital early on.

There were also other participants, who highlighted previous trips to family members or friends in Washington as well as high school trips to the city. VFR (Visiting Friends and Relatives) connections and associations with Washington were a key factor for their decision-making (Boyne, Carswell, & Hall, 2002). The fact that both ‘experiential learning’ programmes that Alice had attended (in El Salvador and Washington) were direct exchange programmes from her home university exemplifies the role that university actors can play in directing student mobilities. Often, the home universities play an integral role in advertising programmes with which they are cooperating. For students it can be simpler, less expensive and more straightforward to apply for partner schools of their home universities, instead of applying somewhere else, on their own with no help.

Nathalie, a SIP-alumnus that claimed that she was nominated for the programme and was currently working for the American state department, asserted that there were other, more cultural reasons for coming to Washington, D.C.:

I got a letter in the mail, saying you’ve been nominated to participate in this Washington Semester Program (...) I still to this day don’t know how I got that letter, who you know put my name in to get a letter from American and said, ‘you should apply’ (...) There is a great live music

scene in D.C., there is poetry which I really like. (...) (...). And I knew that my cousin would still be there, so I would have someone that (...) knew[.] (...) so I think that made the decision a little bit easier, too (Interview with Nathalie, 2015).

So, in her case, there were many factors; the nomination for the programme that made her aware of the programme in Washington, as well as the general possibility to go and take part in a programme at a different university. In fact, every participant who takes place in the WSP and also in some other SIP needs to be nominated by a faculty member or the person responsible for the direct exchange with the SIP. Nonetheless, to Nathalie, apparently this ‘nomination’ had been very impressive and something she could hardly say no to. As her family received no tertiary education in the US, she did not have the cultural capital and required knowledge about study abroad and additional education opportunities. Nathalie’s attraction to the cultural possibilities in Washington as well as a more practical mobility reason that she mentioned in the interview (the accessibility of Washington, D.C. via public transport, because she did not own a car) as well as VFR mobility – all these aspects factored into Nathalie’s decision to take part in this programme in Washington. Nathalie’s case exemplifies the multitude of factors that play a role in educational mobility decisions.

Both groups that I describe here - the more strategic participants but also the less strategic ones - are united in their belief in the desire for “individual self-fulfilment and achievement” (Beck 2002, p. 22). To them SIP-participation was a means to individualise, to set themselves apart from others (cf. section 7.2, p. 181). In the interviews with both groups Bauman’s assumption that individualisation transforms human identity from a ‘given’ into a task (2002, p. xv) were reflected. The experiences that they could possibly gain in Washington (both private and professional), oftentimes attracted the students to the city. This will to individualise or the pressure to individualise are also reflected in the next two sections. I address how SIP-participation is seen as a career stepping stone below.

7.1.2 D.C. as a Stepping Stone

Another of the most commonly emphasised themes among my participants was one of Washington as a stepping stone for their careers. A WSP Professor asserted in the interview that she really felt that the WSP catalysed careers, and that she had contributed to catalysing individual careers:

I personally have helped a number of students find their jobs here in D.C. and in the United States, definitely connected people to help each other find jobs, much more importantly than that, it helps students realize what broad job choices they have, so instead of doing what they thought they were gonna do on the first day of class they now think there are a hundred different choices and that really opens some opportunities (Interview with WSP Professor, 2015).

The professor was quite invested in connecting to the students and had also set up a social network group for Alumni of the class, as well as one for the current participants of the class. These groups were described to me as platforms for exchange, maybe as rather loose connections for exchange and not with the main emphasis of networking, but I did not encounter it in other classes nor had I experienced it myself. Moreover, the claim to having connected previous students with jobs in Washington and in the United States indicates that the personal connections of SIP professors and staff members might, at least in some cases, be helpful in order to land a job in Washington. The other aspect mentioned by the professor was that the WSP has an introductory function to the labour market, showing what options are out there for the students. The Higher Executive of the WSP explained likewise that she found that the programme jumpstarts careers, especially of those students who take the programme seriously:

We've had lot of students who say that they're glad they learned when they were with us that this [internship or job] (...) was not for them. And, many times they also identify what is for them; because they've been exposed to things they have never thought about or heard about before. And then they follow up with those people, and network with them, either to get another internship for the following year or for the summer, or just to get in touch with them to learn what kind of classes they should take to be able to start their careers; so, in that sense I think you can say that people can jumpstart their careers (Interview with Higher Executive of the WSP, 2015).

To me, this explanation basically describes an experience that any internship can provide: that students either like it or not and can learn from this experience and decide whether a certain career path suits them or not. Probably, the difference is that many students think that without the help of the SIPs, they would not have been able to get an internship in Washington, or at least this was a simpler way of getting one. Many of my participants highlighted that they received help and advice from the programmes in applying for internships, and were surprised by the fact that all of their classmates (who had not secured internships when they arrived in Washington) also received internships.

Albert, asserted that both the city and the university were the reasons why he chose to go to Washington. He stated that he was strategic in his decision:

And I mean studying in the US, and I even considered doing a PhD later on or not, unlikely, that I came back to the US later on I would say. (...) So, it was basically, helping with different things. One is, I was interested in the program and in the topic, but then I thought it would also not harm to do that compared to like some, I don't want to say exotic or something, but it is a difference if you go to University of like Calcutta or to Washington D.C. if you, for example, consider working for the private sector later on. Or like for international organizations. They really seem to care about certain things (2015).

Albert suggested that for certain career paths you needed to attend certain places for your studies, and also for your internships. Albert, who was 22 at the time of his SIP-participation, seemed quite mature, and generally more strategic in his career planning than many other research participants. Albert's quotation shows that he was very aware of labour market demands even during his studies, and at the time of the interview he was in the final phase of finishing his master degree at the London School of Economics. He emphasised that he had only become aware of the possibility of pursuing a Master's outside of Germany after SIP-participation. He saw his SIP-participation as a test for future studies abroad, or a job in a country abroad. So, for Albert, the academic component to SIP-participation, but also the perspective of SIP-participation represented a stepping stone. The WSP-professor asserted: "*to be honest, many international students come for their English and the culture*" (Interview with WSP Professor, 2015). This only applies to the international students in an SIP, but it is well established in the literature that the acquisition of language skills plays a significant role in the decision to study abroad (Murphy-Lejeune, 2003, pp. 79-80; Beech, 2015, p. 11).

In my research interviews, there were examples of students whose careers were slightly more furthered and affected by SIP-participation. Andres reported that "*the place where I interned I ended up working for them afterwards, so it was kind of like, like a stepping stone in my career (...) that was obviously, it put me in the path where I am today*" (Interview with Andres, 2015). So, in Andres' case, he attributed to it his career path as a policy analyst and a job he had after SIP-participation. Justine and Jeremy reported that SIP-participation had helped them getting into grad school, since they had already been part of the same university and later applied to the respective law schools which in their opinions had given them an advantage over other applicants (2015). Jeremy also stated that for him, "*[internship] experience, having the D.C. experience, led directly to [him having] the ability to get an internship in D.C. again the next summer [and that he had](...) super bosses, and bosses who were willing to write [him] letters of*

recommendations which was huge” (Interview with Jeremy, 2015). This relates to Perlin’s argument of the serial intern (cf. section 6.4, p. 161) and emphasises that the first internship and the job and professional skills learned through an SIP can be ‘entry tickets’ for Washington D.C. Nathalie recalled that in her job interviews she “always found [her]self referring back to the experiences that I gained while in the WSP (...) [and she felt like] a lot of people, especially in D.C. know it, it has a good reputation and it was impressive to employers” (Interview with Nathalie, 2015).

Some participants who were first-generation Americans (Alice, Daisy, George, Kaeley, Nathalie, Oralie) indicated that the migration experience of their parents had affected them to invest in their children’s education. Oralie, who came from an ‘upper lower-class’ or lower middle-class home and whose parents had immigrated to the USA from Nigeria, asserted that she had received:

a great education and I have only ever been to private schools my entire highschool experience was a private school and now I to go to a private institution but that does not necessarily mean that your family has a lot of money. For me that this means that my parents came from Africa to the States and wanted a better life for their children, the whole story. And that took shape in private education (Interview with Oralie, 2015).

In Oralie’s case, it seemed that her parents were quite interested in her making the right moves for her career in order for her to be more successful and to afford a better and wealthier life. Her parents had also tried to convince her that studying in the US and in Washington was safer than study abroad, so for her SIP-participation was an alternative to study abroad. Nathalie’s parents had a similar experience as they immigrated to the US from Sudan and their Sudanese college degrees were not accepted in the US and they ended up starting from the beginning and pursuing different careers. This experience possibly also shaped their decision-making processes for their daughter Nathalie. Current SIP participant Kaeley, whose parents are French and who considered herself middle-class, claimed to be seeking out opportunities herself for being mobile and studying abroad. She was used to travelling to Europe to visit parts of her family and had also lived in Japan and taught English there. Moreover, she had studied abroad in Senegal.

I assume that whether people are familiar with one SIP or similar ones often depends on whether they have cooperated with one of the SIPs or have heard about other organisations that do. Nonetheless, I need to assert that many of my research participants claimed and emphasised that for them, SIP-participation had been a

stepping stone. Szewczyk (2014, pp. 376-377) has observed that for Polish migrants in the UK, the idea of the UK as an economic stepping stone to them is not as relevant, but highlights the importance of mobility freedom through the British passport. Thus, I see Washington not only as an economic stepping stone for SIP participants, but also in order to contribute to further mobilities. It is always easy to question the idea of a place as a stepping stone, either by asserting that these candidates might just as well have had similar careers anyway, as they might have been good professionals and succeeded in any environment. Justine actually stated that she was always interested in living in Washington, and even without the SIP probably would have ended up in Washington at some point (Interview with Justine, 2015). Furthermore, SIP-participants learned to sell their experiences skilfully, as successes (cf. section 7.4, p. 192). In the next section, I address the various mobility pressures that also contribute to mobilising students to Washington.

7.1.3 Mobility Pressures

When considering what kind of young people decide to participate in a SIP in Washington, apart from the different reasons in 7.1.1 and 7.1.2, I have learned that what Shove (2002, p. 1) observed as the ‘mobility burden’ plays an important role in these mobility-decisions for some of the SIP-participants. Shove elaborates that consumption practices (consumption of certain forms of mobility) are a means of social in- and exclusion. In this section, I elaborate on different pressures that the SIP-participants experienced and that encouraged them to come to Washington (for SIP-participation and a future job).

Justine summarised what pressures and difficulties she encountered on the labour market after SIP-participation:

I would say getting a job in it (Laughing) is the hardest part in it, once you are in it is, I felt really prepared for it, with my experiences with the SIP (...) But I would say that the hardest part is definitely getting your foot in the door, because, it's just so competitive. (...) it's like a little more realistic in D.C., because there is so many jobs here versus other places and so many internships as well to help you get a foot in the door, but it is still really difficult. I mean you have to be in the situation where you potentially like, for (...) three year very low salary for a little while, while you are like pursuing it (Interview with Justine, 2015).

First, she stated that ‘getting in’ - finding a job, was the biggest challenge of the labour market. For me, again, this resembles the broader idea of ‘getting into the beltway’ or

rather making a career for oneself in Washington. Justine also assessed the chances of finding a job in Washington as being better than in other places, but still characterised it as ‘really difficult’. The way that Justine talks about the competitiveness of Washington’s labour market is connected for her with a disappointment that after SIP-participation, and having completed her grad school in Washington, she still had to do more internships in Washington (2015). Justine applied for jobs for more than six months and this process resulted in about a hundred applications and about ten job interviews and some internships in between (Interview with Justine, 2015). Moreover, she asserts that only people who can somehow afford to earn a low wage for a longer amount of time are able to succeed in Washington’s labour market, an argument also made by Perlin (2011, p. 128-30).

As organisations are perfectly aware of the competition for internships and the seemingly endless talent pool these organisations do not need many incentives to attract interns. The narrative that a future job in many fields such as politics, NGO-work, development, journalism, business, will be a result of volunteering or an unpaid internship has gotten well established in the US, but also internationally (Perlin, 2011, p. 107). Likewise, in an essay, Lind (2014) raises a couple of questions about unpaid prestigious internships in the United States, describing them as exclusive. He highlights the inherently elitist nature of unpaid internships in expensive cities by elaborating that:

The Obama administration, like previous administrations, allows rich parents in effect to buy résumé-enhancing jobs in the public sector for their upper-class offspring. (...) unpaid internships are an inherently aristocratic institution. If you are in your late teens or early twenties, and you don’t have a personal trust fund or rich parents who can fund your living expenses as an unpaid intern in Washington, D.C., New York or San Francisco, then you are out of luck. (...) Unpaid internships have the effect, if not the intent, of providing the children of the super-rich with major advantages over the children of the lower 99 percent in the labour market after college. (...) Too bad that benefit is not available to poor, working-class, middle-class or even upper-middle-class Americans (...) (Lind, 2014).

Considering that this assessment by Lind is generally aimed at internships in a city with high living expenses, it is important to note that students of SIPs also need to pay the respective university tuition. In many cases, students are able to pay the regular tuitions of their home schools, in case their home school has an exchange agreement with the host of the SIP. So, while Lind’s statements are addressed at unpaid internships, these assessments are also valid for SIP-participants in contrast to non-SIP-participants. Most of the SIP internships are unpaid, and especially for international students, internships

have to be unpaid due to visa restrictions. This relation of access into Higher Education, and actually finding out more about participants of these programmes, who they are and how they benefit, was also described by a WSP Professor. The WSP Professor told me that the expectations of the generation of the SIP-participants were often too high and unrealistic, and that they would not be willing to start at entry-level jobs or administrative jobs, but wanted to start in medium jobs at the age of 22 (WSP Professor, 2015).

There were also cases when students tried to compensate perceived weaknesses by working hard in additional internships. Caroline said that she had a harder time finding a job in the US because she was Colombian, and that for her, having attended an American university had generally been an advantage. She explained that she worked for free for a while and overworked herself during that time in order to be recognised as a good professional (Interview with Caroline, 2015). She stated that while people in Washington did not know about the WSP, they knew American University and that helped her in job interviews and applications (2015). Another one of my interviewees was a 22-year-old intern for a Congresswoman at the time of the interview and he was extremely concerned about his professional future. Moreover, he stated that he did not enjoy the internship that much because of a lack of responsibility. Nonetheless he argued that *“what [was] great about it though: even though a lot of what [he was] doing, [he was] not enjoying it, it still looks good in a resume; as much as [he] hate[d] to admit that it is the truth”* (Interview with Martyn, 2015). He also asserted that he was scared of the labour market due to its competitiveness:

Terrified, it is super competitive. I mean, yeah you have kids going to Stanford, you have kids going to all the Ivy League schools, you know there are so many great schools out there and so many smart kids. Someone like me, how do you compete? How do you compete, so, my whole thing is, I do programs like this to try to compete. (...) And my edge is going to be experience and exposure and professionalism (Interview with Martyn, 2015).

He was clearly aware that in order to profit from his internship in Washington, a letter of recommendation and a certificate from the WSP would be the proof he needed for his mobility experience in a place of power which would then help him to further his career. Moreover, as this quote suggests, while claiming not to be as clever as some of his competitors, he indirectly saw himself in competition with students who went to the more exclusive, elite universities in the US. His solution to this competition was participation in programmes like the WSP in order to become more experienced and

professional. Thus, he concluded that a time in Washington, at a University, and in an internship, was a way to replace studying at an elite university. As Perlin suggested, there is a case to be made for Martyn's reasoning as in recent years (2011, p. 722, cf. section 6.4, p. 161). Martyn was utterly scared of 'losing time' and not getting ahead with his career because of his fear of competition. In his perspective, study abroad or a gap-year was often a waste of time. He stated that:

a lot of people say, you need to travel, you have to go see the world, and I agree with them on some aspects, I think it is very cool, and I think it's, it's fun but in my mind everyone is just 'Oh after college take a year off and go travel', in my mind I am like [emphasising] „That's a whole year“, where other people are getting ahead in the workforce, in my mind travel, for me at least, I am not trying to bash on anyone, you can travel when you retired and your life's settled and you know, you've got everything figured out, that's just how I look at it, you know? For every month, for every day, for every week you take off traveling for fun, someone else is getting ahead, whether it is that they already study in law school or whether it is or that they already have their first job, entry level job, and are making connections (...) my whole thing is if I am taking a whole semester away from school, away from my home school I mean, I want it to be beneficial to not only to my education but my future. So, if I am sitting down with an employer and they are looking at my resume and they see oh, what, let's say you went abroad or my transcript says you went here, what did you learn or what did you do? (Interview with Martyn, 2015).

Martyn was 20 years old when the interview with him was conducted. His assessment of his future or rather the pressures that he was facing in order to get ahead of other students really shocked me, as Martyn was not ready to see the positive aspects of student mobilities for his or other's personal development. He equated study abroad or a gap year with partying abroad. One could also argue that he had not learned enough how to sufficiently sell and narrate his experiences or to justify his mobilities. There were other students like George, who – explaining his decision for SIP-participation – resonated similar ideas because he thought it looked better and more beneficial from the perspective of future employers (2015). George argued that SIP-participation showed to future employers “*work and commitment (...), it is only a positive and you are willing to kind of put yourself out in like an uncomfortable position, so you can show people that they, you know you can kind of still be resilient*” (Interview with George, 2015). Kristin was generally less affected by societal norms and pressures and had lived in Latin American countries for a couple of years, but admitted that now she was

starting to feel the pull to go back to the US; because I know that if I don't get into a career path by the time I am 30, in the US, then I come

back to the States, and know I have this kind of hodgepodge experience abroad and, and yeah. There will be younger people who will take the positions in those jobs that are more (unintelligible) fit into a box and sit behind a desk, but that's never going to be the job that I am looking for anyways. So, I don't have a lot of fear around it, but then there is this other part of me that is like: Ok, I could move back to the States and establish myself for a couple of years, you know, make some money and then (short break) regroup and see about moving abroad again (Interview with Kristin, 2015).

Kristin was torn between monetary and career pressures and her own value model in which mobility and alternative individualised career options and alternative lifestyle models were important. Kristin was worried that at some point she might have to adhere to a more socially accepted career path and could be less free spirited then. Moreover, she was worried that she would not fit the expectations of American employers.

Brodersen explains that the “‘ideology of mobility’ is creating a pressure on individuals to be mobile, as mobilities appear to act as a factor for access to social positions and to certain types of resources” while sedentarism is valued less (2013, p. 93). The statements from SIP-participants in this section show that the increasing ‘ideology of mobility’ is creating pressures on students to be mobile in order to be successful. In section 3.4.2 (p. 68), I have already elaborated on the implications of uneven access to mobilities. According to Ploner, the global knowledge economy is “characterised by uneven affordances and power relations which marginalise those who are ‘immobile’ due to social, financial or political reasons” (2015, p. 2). This section shows how the fear to be marginalised catalyses SIP mobility.

Frändberg explains that there is a negative side to the increasing number of mobility opportunities for students:

the “freedom to explore” has another side, which is mobility as a strategy for handling increasing labour market insecurity and perhaps also for fulfilling expectations of becoming a (geographically) flexible adult. In certain social groups, transnational mobility competence is increasingly seen as a precondition for employability (2014, p. 148).

One danger of mobility programmes is that as there are many families and students who are not able to afford these programmes, and parents who are not able to invest in their children’s cultural and human capital, such programmes will lead to further socio-economic divisions. Thus, the fear of competition is a mobility pressure that acts as a driving force to acquire more mobility and always more human capital, as the cases of ‘serial interns’ showcase.

7.1.4 Conceptualisation of SIP-Participant Mobility-Decision-Making

The examples from sections 7.1.1, 7.1.2 and 7.1.3 showcase what Carlson (2013) asserted about student mobility decision processes; they need to be viewed as a series of events leading to a mobility decision, a processual understanding of mobility. He regarded theorising “the role of previous mobility experiences, the impact of the students’ social embeddedness, and the timing of specific events” (Carlson, 2013, p. 170) as important. My research interviews confirmed the importance of this processual view of mobility-decision making. As exemplified in this section, all three factors by Carlson have shaped the mobility decisions of SIP-participants. I would add that the perception of places and, as Prazeres (2013, 2016) has explained, their emotional geographies, play an integral role in these decision-making processes (cf. chapter 5, p. 112). Nonetheless, there are two additional factors that also influence these decisions. First, the idea of going to a place as a stepping stone to further one’s career and second, the related idea of the mobility burden (Shove, 2002) and mobility pressures.

Figure 13 (p. 181) shows Murphy-Lejeune’s model of Student Mobility motivations (2002, p. 79), which I have adapted in accordance with the insights and results from my research in Washington, and in particular the insights that I have developed in this chapter. Murphy-Lejeune suggests breaking up active, latent and resulting components. The latent components represent long-term predispositions that have shaped the mobility decision, while active components are more recent motivations and the resulting components are results of the mobility experience (2003, pp. 78-79). These components summarise influences on SIP mobility-decision making that I have encountered in my research interviews with participants, alumni and experts. This conceptualisation is one example for how more differentiated explanations of mobility decisions can be developed than the traditional push and pull factor models of migration studies and benefit mobilities research. Especially from a perspective of decision-makers in higher education such a model is very relevant as it is important to consider the different layers of student mobility decisions in order to develop appropriate mobility experiences.

Latent components:

Dreams, initial representations, images: mental landscape of Washington (Ideas of Power and the Beltway)

Desires and needs: psychological landscape => desires for individualisation, mobility (travel) and 'the experience of a lifetime'

Personality, predispositions to action: personal landscapes of SIP-participants => Curiosity for Mobility, Fears, Mobility and Career Pressures

Active components:

Influences on decision making: Friends, Family, Study Abroad and Career Officers and Professors

Motivations: Acquisition of Mobility Capital, Language Skills, Experiences; Mobility Pressures

Expectations, speculation or hopes: Stepping Stone D.C.; 'Experience of a Lifetime', Becoming more cosmopolitan

Objectives: Studying (abroad) and interning in a Global City; establishing networks

Anxiety, fears: Mobility Pressures and Concerns about Mobility Experience

Timing: being at the right place at the right time and meeting the right people

Resulting components:

Evaluation of outcomes, advice to candidates: Recommending the SIPs to Friends and Relatives?

Further wishes arising from action: further Qualifications, more Mobility Capital?

Ambitions for the future: Move to and work/internship in D.C.? Further Travels

(Adapted from Murphy-Lejeune, 2003, p. 79)

Figure 12: Decision-Making Processes of SIP-Participants

7.2 Elitism

In this section, I analyse if SIP-participants regard their mobility as elitist and see themselves as elites. While in section 6.4 I have focussed on how the access to elite spaces is a labour market signal and an (im)materiality that SIP students acquire, in this section here I focus on the SIP participants attitudes and thoughts on elitism. Moreover, I analyse to what degree they see themselves as part of 'the elite'. Brooks & Waters argue that in this hierarchy of winners and losers of global HE mobilities, the US, UK and Australia are the most dominant forces and have, until now at least (due to significant growth of HE mobility within East and Southeast Asia), been perceived as the most attractive countries for internationally mobile students (2011, p. 135). Castells asks what spatial requirements and interests the "technocratic-financial-managerial elite[s]" (2010, p. 445) in our societies have in what spatial manifestations. As discussed in 3.4.1 (p. 65), these assumptions about 'the elite' seem vague and cryptic. When analysing the costs of a SIP-participation, study in the US (without or at least without a significant scholarship), as well as the costs of living, it is difficult to not consider SIP-student mobility to D.C. as elitist.

Brooks & Waters have explained that the global mobilities of HE students are highly uneven and "almost always a privileged undertaking, and accessible to only a minority of individuals" (2011, p. 135). Even more so when taking place in an expensive city like Washington. Being asked whether the WSP was designed for middle-class or upper-middle class, the Senior Admin of the WSP admitted that "*academically the design isn't tailored towards that but in terms of the institution itself, having requirement of paying AU tuition, yes that is designed for more well to do students, because they are the only ones that can pay that or that can borrow that money to pay it*" (Interview with Senior Admin of the WSP, 2015).

Along with being financially exclusive, there are also certain expectations in terms of the student's behaviours and what is and is not acceptable. The Higher Executive of the WSP confirmed that

everyone wants to think that their program has some level of exclusivity. I should not say everyone, (...) but yes, there is a level of exclusivity, I know that our faculty would like to say, to have students who are of the highest calibre so that they could walk into an embassy and not wonder if a student might say something embarrassing one day, so yeah, I mean there is certainly some desire for that (Interview with Higher Executive of the WSP, 2015).

As the Higher Executive explains, there are certain behavioural guidelines or values that the SIPs and its professors expect of their students that contribute to the exclusivity of the programmes. This explanation was one of the ‘justifications’ that was used by SIP-officials to justify exclusivity and elitism of the programmes. Furthermore, a WSP Professor rephrased my question whether the programme was elitist and said that the programme “*reaches elites, [and she] hope[s] that it encourages them to then share their privilege with others and use that privilege to enable others to share their voice*” (Interview with WSP Professor, 2015). So, as these interviewees found the term elitism rather negative, they tried to justify the SIP’s perspective by trying to steer the conversation onto slightly different topics. The first explanation by the Higher Executive of the WSP casts the ‘misbehaved students’ as the reason why the programme needed to be exclusive to some degree, in the explanation of the WSP Professor the elitism was justified by its use for future good that the participants would have.

Khan argues that embodiment

is a fancy word for a simple idea: we carry our experiences with us. Our time in the world becomes imprinted on our bodies themselves. Time in elite spaces matters, and by definition elite spaces are ones that are exclusive (2013, p. 146).

Following this idea and definition, I argue that for the SIPs it is in their strategic interest to brand their programmes as partly elitist and exclusive or at least providing access to elite spaces, as I have argued in section 6.4. Moreover, the SIP-participants and the SIP-employees embody and try to embody the time spent in elite spaces. This time spent in elite spaces is the immateriality that the SIPs commodify and that its participants seek. As many participants such as Martyn (2015) have argued, in the end it does not matter that much whether their internships were interesting and helpful for their personal development. Martyn, being intimidated by global competition with ‘ivy league’ elites, specifically stated that it was going to be participation in this SIP that might give him an edge over other students, in order to compete. Indicating and proving the immateriality of having spent space in this elite space, their internship site in the cosmopolitan city of Washington is more relevant and a labour market signal, as well as evidencing cultural capital. This cultural capital is embodied by a cosmopolitan habitus that the students acquire and learn in Washington and that is enforced by the SIPs. Khan emphasised that the

importance to embodiment is that once social experiences become embodied, they begin to seem natural. (...) Though the elite have been opened, and have opened themselves to the world, the world has not opened at all. Access is not the same as integration. But what is crucial is that no one is explicitly excluded. The effect is to blame non-elites for their lack of interest. As we have seen, the result of this logic is damning. The distinction between elites and the rest of us appears to be a choice. It is cosmopolitanism that explains elite status to elites and closed-mindedness that explains those who choose not to participate. (...) From this point of view, those who are not successful are not necessarily disadvantaged, they are simply those who have failed to seize the opportunities afforded by our new, open society (Khan, 2013, p. 146).

As exemplified by Khan, this is crucial to this ‘new elitism’ (cf. section 3.4.2, p. 68); the new elite is not considered by others as such a clear-cut elite as for example in aristocratic societies. While Nowicka argues that classical cosmopolitanism and elitism have always been connected, this “association of cosmopolitanism and mobile elites pertains until nowadays in relation to the global capitalist class members and their transnational life-styles who symbolically constitute their social group via exclusive cultural codes that transcend particularized contexts” (2012, p. 4). Khan rejects this view and argues that the use of the idea of cosmopolitanism as a distinguishing criterion for the elite has changed slightly, because in

today’s age of free, accessible information, knowledge about the world is not a particularly easy resource to protect –nearly anyone can learn about Plato, or classical music, or what wine to order with dinner (...). However, knowledge of how to carry oneself within the world is much more challenging resource to acquire (...) eating that meal (...) is more challenging than knowing what to order. The latter requires cognitive knowledge that can be learned by anyone; the former requires corporeal knowledge. The nearly ingenious trick is that mark of privilege, corporeal ease, is anything but easy to produce. (...) A crucial part of being an elite, across time and place, is displaying the right corporeal marks of belonging (2013, pp. 143-144).

It is a trait of the new elites, and a lot of the distinction of elites takes place on the ones with cosmopolitan attitudes in opposition to those not interested in these values. The example of the ‘beltway’ idea shows how Washington’s distinction from others works (cf. section 5.1, p. 113). When applying Khan’s ideas to the SIPs, a conclusion is that whether students choose to come to Washington in order to acquire this mobility capital and have ‘the experience of a lifetime’ depends on them, and the SIPs cannot be blamed for the ones who are not able to participate in SIPs and have disadvantages on the labour markets. In the advertisements of the SIPS (cf. section 6.2, p. 149), it all seems about students seizing their chances and opportunities. Some programmes are rather

blunt about the advantage that their participants will gain ‘over everybody else’ as a SIP-participant of James Madison University states in an advertisement video (JMU, 2016). A Higher Executive of a non-university SIP stated that the term elitist:

carries a lot of weight as far as making it seem like a (...) people have lots of money, or the top 10 percent of the 5 % percent, and that’s where I think we don’t have that type of program (...) [while it offers] a lot of opportunities for students, but there has to be a certain level of ability because you are not really successful if you don’t have that level of ability.

This idea is what Khan (2013) refers to with his new elite which defines itself by skill rather than origin or class.

This new elitism among SIP-participants presented itself in very different ways. I have touched upon them in section 7.1, and the next section 7.3 will discuss how SIP-participants sell and develop narratives of success and cosmopolitanism. The familiar backgrounds of my research participants, as well as their travel experiences varied significantly in some individual cases. Nonetheless, most SIP-participants that I talked to described their background as middle and upper-middle class, and the majority of my participants had travelled internationally. Seven of my research participants were first generation Americans, their parents being immigrants to the United States, and were more familiar with transnational relationships. To some of my participants, SIP-participation was regarded as a major experience or important point in their resumes, such as Jeremy or Justine who stated that it led to future internships in Washington and them going to law school in the city (Interview with Jeremy, 2015). For students like Kaeley, the SIPs are only one piece in the puzzle, and she seemed like a collector of cosmopolitan experiences. Kaeley, who had been 21 at the time of the interview, had already studied in Senegal, France and Bulgaria and asserted that SIP-participation “*would be [an] interesting point to put on [her] resume*” (Interview with Kaeley, 2015). To her, becoming a global citizen was important and she stated that she needed to travel a lot more before attaining that status and understanding of the world. To Albert, who had only studied at LSE for a year, in hindsight the SIP did not seem that important:

I mean career-wise, it was important but more indirectly. First it was important again because it pointed me at other options I have and second it was important because it was obviously the big/ a big thing on my CV. I mean I studied abroad, I worked abroad it was very very helpful. But I wouldn’t say that like directly the program was/will be like super relevant for my career. I mean maybe if I wanna work for the world bank at some point it might be valuable that I’ve been in

Washington D.C. before. It was more like this indirect effect I would say I would say why it was very helpful. That it opened new opportunities and options (Interview with Albert, 2015).

SIP-participants, while claiming to be reflective of their privilege, quickly seem a bit spoiled when considering their mobilities and how some of them appear as experience collectors. For Albert, SIP-participation was allegedly helpful in opening new doors, but he did not consider it life-changing or transformative, as the programmes like to promise. My research indicates that some SIP-participants rush across the globe in the hunt for ‘the experience of a lifetime’ (cf. section 6.2, p. 149) and in order to further their careers, while also resembling lifestyle travellers in some regards (cf. section 3.3, p. 60). Nathalie was very aware of her reasoning that SIP-participation was going to give her “*a competitive edge and doing an internship simultaneously was a big attraction*” (Interview with Nathalie, 2015). Likewise, Brad was aware that he could strategically position aspects of his resume and previous mobilities experiences in order to fit into profiles or conversations within Washington:

I can play that out, I mean I have lived in Japan, Ecuador, Costa Rica, I guess I did work internationally, like leaving trips in college. I hiked across Spain so I can play all of those games. And then the other time when it is advantageous I can be the country boy from Idaho too who doesn't know 'oh this is such a big city, oh y'all talk so fast, oh my gosh' (Interview with Brad, 2015).

Brad had become a chameleon that was able to adapt to Washington's habitat, either disguising as a cosmopolitan global citizen but also as a country-boy when necessary and helpful. All of these quotes indicate how skilfully the SIP-participants had learned how to negotiate tensions of the global and the local and how strategic they had become in their career decision-making processes.

My research objective 5 was to determine if SIP-participants regard their mobility as elitist and see themselves as elites. It is not very difficult to cast the SIP-participants as members of this new cosmopolitan elite. In my interviews, most participants were aware of their privilege, and clearly positioned their advantages in opposition to the immobilities of others. The research participants also did not identify themselves as members of the elite and would resist being regarded as elites, claiming that they are interested in making the world a better place. The SIP-participants are members of Khan's new elite because they embody the elite in very different ways. Similar to volunteering mobilities (cf. section 3.5, p. 70), I regard their mobilities as part of youth and student mobilities that are being shaped by neoliberal education ideals. The training

that SIP-participants receive, and their experiences in Washington, transform them on a subconscious level in that they learn the codes of conduct of Washington (cf. section 6.3, p. 154) and what is required to be successful on the global labour market. The students gain an advantage over those who are not able to take part in similar mobilities. As Findlay has argued, student mobilities are mostly exclusively elitist (2011, p. 135), and this specific training of students within SIPs is even more so. Following Khan's argument that students learn how to embody this 'corporeal ease' is key to this elite status. The SIP students are, from the classical perspective, not as elitist as other students; nonetheless, they should be regarded as part of a new elite that distinguishes itself from others on the basis of mobility capital (cf. section 3.2, p. 56).

7.3 Transformative Effect: Career Storytelling?

I want to return to the earlier used statement (cf. section 5.5., page 139) by Brad, 31, SIP-alumnus, about social relations of Washington usually being connected to the three questions: 'What do you do? Where do you live? And how valuable are you to me?' I find Brad's three questions, which seem to dictate social relations in Washington, as very defining of the city. Brad elaborated that

in D.C. if you tell a good story and you are compelling, I think that is most important (...) people don't buy what you do, they buy why you do it (...) [t]hey want to know your motivation and they want to know that you are like succeeding on your things and can tell a good story (Interview with Brad, 2015).

The SIPs themselves also tell a story, and convey a feeling of being part of the inner circle in the D.C., the circle of 'decision-makers', an aspect which I have reflected in chapter 6. In this section, I highlight that the skill to sell a story of how you are a successful and cosmopolitan individual is probably one of the biggest immaterialities or skills that students learn through SIP-participation. While it can be argued that networking and self-promotion are generic job skills, SIP students learn to sell and promote their experiences within the American or a cosmopolitan labour market. This skill consists of various components, on which I now elaborate.

The Senior Admin of the WSP stated that when talking to professors from the SIP-participants home schools, many asserted that their students,

came back a changed person; they are more self-confident, they are more outspoken, maybe they are a bit more arrogant - they think they

know it all, but they're more interested in class whereas before they were more timid and did not say much. (...) they were better students having done this. (...) they were challenged (...) by the professors here but as much by their peer group here. And by the internship, get dressed up a little bit decently and go downtown and put in an honest day's work and then, you know they came back a changed person and they applied themselves better in classes (Interview with Senior Admin of the WSP, 2015).

This quote reflects how the SIPs like to portray 'the transformative effect' of SIP-participation and also the way that SIP-participants learn to embody their superiority and pick up an elitist habitus. Clearly, this is not the most objective perspective. When asking SIP-participants themselves, Nathalie reported that she was quite aware of the takeaways from the programme and she often referred back to them in job interviews. To her, the biggest takeaways of SIP-participation were

the focus on the topic that I was there to study for, the exposure to the people that we met, the speakers and we visited the representatives from multiple embassies, so we weren't only getting the American perspective on international issues but were going to speak to foreign diplomats and NGOs. And development workers and think tanks, so really, just being able to meet the variety of actors involved in international affairs (...). The other major, I think the work experience, being able to do an internship was a major takeaway and exposure to students from all over the US and all over the world (Interview with Nathalie, 2015).

In this quote from Nathalie, once more, some terms such as exposure and work experience stand out, while the academic component of the programme appears less significant than the practical and skill development components. She was also aware that for her as an American, being exposed to international students had been very beneficial; an aspect of the programme that she highlighted as intercultural skills on her resume. As Nathalie ended up working in the American State Department, where she had also interned during the SIP, the intercultural and international affairs components of the programme had clearly been quite important for her career. Moreover, she asserted that for her:

it professionalised my attitude a lot more, I was no longer just the college students who can show up to class in jeans. I had a very different outlook on (...) what it meant to be in college and I started looking at it more like 'I am training for a career' and I need to (...) figure out and conduct myself as a professional (Interview with Nathalie, 2015).

In interviews with current SIP-participants it often appeared that they were quite unaware of the impact of their SIP-participation in their professional skills development, and often they reported to be bored by their internship class. Nonetheless,

as Nathalie's quote shows, there is a direct and indirect impact of SIP-participation, both in the classroom as on the internship. Moreover, for SIP-participants (as well as for the SIPs) it makes sense to portray their SIP-participation as a transformative experience that taught them the ropes for their professional careers. Albert explained that in job interviews it was very easy to sell SIP-participation to future employers:

I mean it covers so many things employers like - I mean it is interdisciplinary, it is international, it is applied, if you have like you travel to a kind of developing country, there are many many aspects that are helpful any if you talk about it, it sounds very very awesome. Although you sometimes it may be a bit of an illusion. Because I mean it is not like it is a superdemanding program, definitely not. It was very very easy to get high grades there (Interview with Albert, 2015).

This quote shows that more mature students had quickly figured out how they could best utilise the programme and sell it afterwards. In Washington and in the SIPs, they seemed to have learned or at least it had been emphasised that it was not about the 'actual' experiences that they had gained (even though these can be transformative for many students), but about the narrative that they developed about their time in Washington. Albert was rather critical of the academic quality of the SIP that he participated in in comparison to the rest of his academic education. Nonetheless, he was very positive about the general impact of the SIP in his career and skill-development. Partly, this could be attributed to the fact that he knew how to sell the programme and that it had catalysed his career.

Some research participants also rather saw their SIP-participation as a catalyst for future careers or as something where they had first had contact with different career opportunities and pathways that they previously had not been aware of. Albert asserted that being in D.C. politicised him and he started to develop new ideas for future career paths thanks to his stay in the city. Albert interned for a medium-sized international NGO and stated that he

got way more enthusiastic about the topics and [when we went] to all the NGOs and public agencies and whatever, and it actually kind of triggered that I got more interested in this topic. (...) Also for my later kind of career plans. That was the big thing about the Washington Semester Program. It helped me a lot to find out basically what I can actually achieve, especially talking to people. (Interview with Albert, 2016)

The exposure to the city of D.C., especially within these SIPs, seems in itself to have the capacity to shape their career and mobility paths. As Albert's quote reveals, self-

discovery, individualisation and exposure to the ‘NGOsphere’ of Washington were realised through the participation in a SIP. Brad had become aware later that he had not been strategic enough during his time in Washington and an internship on Capitol Hill might have helped him a lot more. Nonetheless, he figured that his internship was “*great on paper but it was not the best, the most amazing learning experience*” (2015).

This leads us to the component that selling SIP-stories is a skill that SIP-participants acquire: they learn to embody that they are better than their competitors. And if one embodies superiority then one needs to be aware of his or her advantage, which students like George were:

There is not many people that get to listen to stuff like this. (...) And seeing every major organization over the course of a semester, (...) if you haven't seen the rest of the city you will still kind of figure it out, because you've been exposed to everything. So, you get an education in Washington D.C. if anything. (...) Like this is how the city operates and here is how to work it, if you want it you can have it here. (Interview with George, 2016)

As George summarises and other participants also suggested, a feeling of being privileged was common among WSP participants, due to the exclusive nature of the classroom activities and trips that the WSP classes do in Washington. This quote reveals ‘the education in Washington D.C.’, which perfectly summarises the acquisition of very specific cultural capital that other competitors on the global labour market are lacking and which students want to acquire. The ‘education in Washington D.C.’ is about self-search, questions of identity and possible careers for young people, as well as about networking, whether on the internship sites or among the classmates within the programmes or also with guest speakers. All these values are embodied and taught by professors, administrative staff, codes of conduct for students, internships and internship supervisors, guest lecturers as well as in the branding strategies of the SIPs. Findlay et al. argue that for some students, the fact that their degree was achieved by attending an institution outside their country of normal residence is distinctive and makes them stand out of their peers; this distinctiveness may be heightened if the location of the university is well known as a global city or world-renowned destination (2012, pp. 120). Therefore, the combination of having both studied and interned in a city as globally known as Washington D.C. is seen as a strong labour market signal that signal superiority over other applicants.

Moreover, emphasising their insider status, as people that were used to the ‘within the beltway’ customs was also important to the SIP-participants. Prazeres reflected on her research participants (international volunteers) emphasising strongly that they were not being tourists but insiders (2016, p. 11). I found similar tendencies among the SIP-participants, who also emphasised that they experienced the city differently than ‘just tourists’, thence positioning themselves in opposition to ‘the tourist’, and rather as insiders. This insider status is related to having an advantage over competitors on the labour market. For most SIP-participants, while claiming to be aware of their privilege, it might not be clear enough how big this competitive advantage is.

Furthermore, my research has shown that SIP-participation is a facet of the wider process of individualisation for these participants. Having ‘the experience of a lifetime’ (cf. section 6.2, p. 149) in Washington is regarded as a distinguishing feature for the resumes of the SIP-participants and the basis of social distinction. O’Reilly & Benson, in their analysis of lifestyle migrants, assert that “[w]hen placed within the context of lives before migration (or lives imagined without migration), narratives of self[-]realization demonstrate the transformative potential of lifestyle migration” (2009, p. 5). The narratives that these lifestyle migrants develop and use to construct meaning and to justify their mobility showcases how they frame and perform their mobilities – in some cases transformative, in others showcasing failures to adopt to the new environments. I have observed similar tendencies among the SIP-participants. The career narratives of their experiences in Washington become both a tool for the labour market, and a method of individualisation. Telling and retelling the narratives of their experiences transforms SIP-participants and can be seen as the biggest immateriality gained from their mobility. The narratives are evidenced in the participants’ resumes and can be presented and elaborated when needed, and adapted to the audience.

7.4 Conclusions

In my research interviews with SIP-participants and SIP-Alumni, I encountered a number of interesting topics and issues to theorise. I decided to focus on the decision-making processes and mobility catalysts of SIP-participants, on elitism among SIP-participants, and the career narratives of SIP-participants, because I see these issues as interconnected.

Regarding my research objective of assessing the decision-making processes of students coming to Washington for SIP-participation, I have found that it is important to understand the SIPs as signifiers of a global system and values in Western cultures that have promoted humanitarianism, cosmopolitan and creative lifestyles. Similar to Mostafanezhad's research of volunteer tourists in Thailand (2014), SIP-participants represent a different side of the "humanitarian gaze". While the volunteers usually move from the northern to the southern hemisphere for their mobilities, most SIP-participants are mobile within the northern hemisphere. In both forms of mobility, lifestyle, humanitarian, and career aspects are merged. When looking at the decision-making processes of SIP-participants, the decision-making processes for SIP-participation were distinctively different assemblages of reasons for participation in most cases. Nonetheless, the components of D.C. being seen as a stepping stone for a future career, as well as the fear of competition and other mobility pressures, were also important factors in the mobilisation of students to Washington. In general, I was surprised that students seemed in some way less strategic than I had expected about their careers. In some cases, the decision for Washington was more 'coincidental' than planned. Often, previous mobilities or VFR mobilities were also distinctive factors in these assemblages of reasons. Similar to lifestyle travellers (Cohen, 2011, 1539), the SIP-participants clearly distance themselves from 'regular tourists' and their mobility has the quality of being a way of life in their appreciation for cosmopolitan life in Washington D.C.

For students, the introductory and exploratory mobility to Washington is often regarded as an entry-card into a cosmopolitan and global life in which personal and career components overlap. Having an individualised career and a cosmopolitanism lifestyle is part of the criteria on which Khan's new elite (2013) defines itself. Regarding my research objective of whether SIP-participants regard their mobility as elitist and see themselves as elites, I have to answer that they do not really consider themselves an elite, but rather as those catching up with and chasing the 'real elites'. Nonetheless, for me their mobility to Washington is elitist, as very often its aim is to distinguish

themselves from their competitors, to stand out of the masses and to gain insider status and access to Washington's beltway. As a result, young, often unpaid interns become low-cost workforce in Washington, and the best-connected and -networked students contribute to elite reproduction as they might end up in future jobs in Washington, in some cases in prestigious positions. From a traditional and hierarchical perspective of elitism (cf. section 3.4, p. 64), the SIP-participants could probably not be seen as elites. Nonetheless, these mostly middle-class and upper middle-class children define and distinguish themselves from others on the basis of new cosmopolitan values and their acquired mobility capital. Elitism can only take place not only in the top echelon of society, it is also about ways of excluding other groups from access and utilising resources that others cannot access. And in the case of the SIPs, these criteria are fulfilled.

SIPs in their advertisements frequently mention the 'transformative experience' or 'transformative impact' of SIP-participation and how it is the experience of a lifetime (cf. section 6.2, p. 149). I wanted to identify what specific competitive advantages and 'transformative' effects are actually gained by SIP-participants and have found that the immateriality that is the most transformative for students is their skills to develop career narratives. While the CVs of the participants and the certificates of the SIP-participation are the materialities that evidence their intercultural, cosmopolitan, interdisciplinary, professional experiences (the list goes on) gained in Washington; the skill to sell these experiences and to frame them in the right way for a globally successful career can be the transformative impact on the students. Moreover, for the cosmopolitan identities of SIP-participants, these narratives are giving meaning to their mobilities. Depending on the values that are most relevant to the individuals, these narratives are used to give meaning and stability, as other values blur and transcend.

8. Evaluation, Reflection and Conclusion

In this last chapter of my thesis, I discuss how my research has developed throughout the course of the PhD and what conclusions I draw from my research findings. In section 8.1, I evaluate how I have addressed my research aim and objectives. In section 8.2, I outline the contribution to knowledge that my research has produced. In section 8.3, I consider its policy implications and in section 8.4, I reflect on the limitations of my research and recommend what pathways for future research result from my research, before closing with some personal reflections and thoughts (section 8.5).

8.1 Evaluation

To evaluate my research, in this section I first provide an overview of my main research findings. Then, in section 8.1.2, I summarise how I have addressed the research objectives of my thesis. In section 8.1.3, I develop the analytical framework for SIP-research in combination with my research findings into a conceptualisation of SIP mobilities to Washington.

8.1.1 Summary of Main Research Findings

My main research aim was to explore how SIPs affect and transform their participants, their career paths and mobilities, as well as how they impact on the city of Washington D.C. In this section, I reflect on my main takeaways from my research, and again split up these takeaways into research findings about Washington, about the SIPs and about the SIP-participants. I have summarised these findings in Figure 14 (p. 198).

Washington

The first aspect about Washington is that SIP-participants see it as a stepping stone for their careers and specifically decide for Washington due to their interests in politics, government, lobbying, law and other branches. Whether D.C. actually can be this stepping stone often depends on the connections that the SIP-participants make, what careers they pursue, how they sell themselves and on timing. But in the end, it does not play such a significant role whether D.C. actually is this ‘stepping stone’, because many SIP-participants asserted that it does and believe this to be the case. The ambiguity between what Washington is, and what it is perceived to be, transcends and makes both views ‘a reality’ that catalyses SIP mobilities. This relates to the second aspect of D.C.,

that of it being often characterised as a very transient city. My research indicates that many people (including SIP-participants) come to the city for a limited amount of time (often less than five years). Apparently, this fluidity and transience is reflected in social relations being short-lived and in social interactions being often dominated by networking aspects. Over the last twenty years, the number of SIPs in D.C. has increased exponentially and they have become an integral part of its Higher Education infrastructure.

A third aspect that became apparent in my research was the importance of images of power (including narratives such as the beltway). The creation of narratives that emphasise the idea of D.C. as a restricted place, in which the elites live, consume and govern, is elementary to branding Washington and attracting future workforce. Fourth, Washington is experiencing a process of neoliberal urban redevelopments. The SIPs are a small piece of the puzzle of processes that have contributed to gentrification and increasingly turn Washington from the Chocolate City to the Cappuccino City (Hyrá, 2017). They have also set a pathway for increasing influx of the ‘creative class’ (Florida, 2003). Fifth, my evidence has shown that Washington’s image is changing from being a mundane government town to being a more attractive, cosmopolitan city for the creative classes. The SIPs are a part of D.C.’s social landscape and they add something to its general cosmopolitanism. My sixth conclusion on how Washington is affected by the SIPs is that they provide short-term cheap workforce, or possibly a future workforce, and that they constitute a niche market for short-term housing and consumption.

To summarise, the SIPs do not have strong visible effects on Washington and it is clear that they are a niche industry that has been growing significantly. My research has revealed the processes that are taking place in Washington that contribute to the mobilisation of students and future workforce to the city which then affect the city in manifold ways.

SIPs

The SIPs are spatial moorings of power and actors in the global organisation and structuration of student flows, and are thus part of Higher-Education mobility industries (cf. Cranston et al., 2017). They act as recruitment mechanism for the graduate schools (when they are SIPs of Universities) and for future workforce in Washington.

Moreover, they bring cheap labour force into the city, and the programmes act as a filter

for the internship sites in their intern search. The SIPs and their admission criteria influence the intern market in Washington and decrease the chances of students without SIPs to land internships. In their efforts to recruit students, the SIPs have an interest in recreating the idea of D.C. as a place with many elitist spheres of influence. Therefore, they contribute to reemphasising elitist ideas of the city, such as the 'beltway narrative'. Marketing these ideals serves to establish the city in the US and brand its image globally in competition for Higher Education students and within the broader neoliberal cityscape. The SIPs emphasise that they can provide access to these elitist spaces and the decision-makers that frequent them, and I assert that this is the key non-materiality that the programmes offer and 'sell'. I interpret the role of the SIPs as that of a negotiator or mediator that connects the interests of the SIP-participants and the interests of the city and which shape each other. Nonetheless, it should not be forgotten that the SIPs are independent actors with independent agendas.

SIP-Participants

Through SIP-participation, the SIP-participants want to individualise and distinguish themselves on the global labour market. One component that is very important to this process of individualisation is that the SIP-participants learn to (re)tell narratives of Washington (the beltway and their elite access), and also learn how to embody this privilege and how to behave on the labour market and in particular professional situations. This knowledge can be regarded as the transformative impact of SIP-participation: students learn how to sell themselves, and they establish their own career narratives. Access to the elite places in Washington is evidenced in the resumes of the SIP-participants and also embodied by the participant's habitus. Through their SIP-participation, they learn the 'codes of conduct' of D.C. and how they can embody their familiarity with Washington's cosmopolitan lifestyle in their habitus. Evidencing cosmopolitanism and an aura of belonging into the beltway indicates their 'beltway-insider' status and is a labour market signal.

SIP-participation can have a catalysing effect on careers and the students' mobilities, as it exposes its participants to new issues and topics and further future mobilities. What struck me about SIP-participants is that they appear strategic and at the same time non-strategic in their mobility and career decision-making. While they carefully considered some aspects of their mobility, other aspects were neglected and subject to circumstances and rather random factors. That emphasises how layered these decision-making processes are and how they differ from one another. Often personal factors

(VFR mobility), previous mobility experiences, particular career expectations play a role. In my research interviews, I noticed that particularly SIP-participants who were first-generation Americans, sent to Washington or encouraged to take part in an SIP by their parents in the hope of furthering their careers, saw Washington as a stepping stone. Moreover, I noticed that some SIP-participants were experiencing strong mobility pressures and pressures to have successful careers that strongly affected their decisions of coming to D.C. Showcasing how these mobility pressures, or the idea of a ‘mobility burden’ operate and what effects they have on individuals might be one of the most important findings in my research but also an idea for future research.

Based on my own experience and data collection, I assert that how much students learn in their SIP-participation depends on their level of previous studies and knowledge (from an academic perspective). In terms of intercultural skills and professional skills, the internships and internship classes contribute to shaping the students’ understandings of the American job-market and networking. My research has shown that one of the main takeaways for students is to learn how they can sell and market their experiences, often in a similar rhetoric, using similar narratives as those used by the SIPs (cf. section 7.3, p. 187). This skill is an immateriality that I consider as the main takeaway for students from SIP-participation, as it is a skill that can be used to indicate and skilfully negotiate labour market signals and thus shape one’s own future mobilities and career path.

Washington:

1. Is regarded as a Stepping Stone for some SIP-participants
2. Is perceived as a fluid and transient city
3. Images of power and narratives of the beltway and power are recreated (on purpose) and mobilise people to D.C.
4. Neoliberal urban developments are taking place in Washington of which the SIPs are both a result and a catalyst
5. Washington's image is changing and makes it more attractive for SIP-participants and other 'creatives'
6. Washington profits from the SIPs as their participants are a part of a cheap labour workforce and consumers with niche markets such as short-term housing

SIPs:

1. Universities and the SIPs are spatial moorings of power and actors in organising global elite-student flows => Mobility Industries
2. Act as a recruitment mechanism for graduate schools and future workforce in Washington, but also for cheap labour
3. Are interested in (re)establishing Washington's beltway/elitist image in order to market their programmes and stand out globally
4. Promise access to elite spaces and decision-makers which is the key non-materiality that they offer
5. Become a bridge or a mediator that connects students and the city of Washington vice versa

SIP-Participants

1. Access to certain elitist places is transferred into the CVs and narratives that students develop and students learn how to embody 'beltway habits' => labour market signal
2. Individualisation through programme participation? Importance of Narratives and Storytelling (this may be the transformative impact of the SIPs)
3. Catalysing effect and exposure to new issues through SIPs and being in Washington (example of NGOsphere) => partly contributes to elitism
4. Many SIP-participants are both strategic and unstrategic at the same time => paths to SIP-participation very different and individual?
5. Often have parents who are first-generation immigrants => Stepping Stone Washington?
6. Some SIP-Participants might come to D.C. because of experiencing 'mobility pressures'

Figure 13: Main Research Findings

8.1.2 Research Objectives Revisited

I revisit to the research objectives which I have set in section 1.2 (p. 5) of this thesis. In the following, I first present the respective research objective and add a comment on how I have addressed this objective in my thesis. I also provide short summaries of what conclusions I draw from each research objective.

1. *Develop an analytical framework for study-internship programme mobility.*

In chapter 3 I have developed an analytical framework for SIP-mobilities research that I present in section 3.6. My strategy was to review the literature of related topics, and to consider which theories, ideas and concepts are beneficial to conducting SIP mobilities research. I came up with five main conclusions that build the foundation of my analytical framework for SIP research. In the literature I reviewed, the concepts of individualisation, cosmopolitanisation as well as human capital acquisition are all included and characteristic.

2. *Analyse how and whether SIP mobilities are affected by (im)materialities.*

The SIPs can be regarded as a mediator between the city and the students but also as an independent actor with its own agenda. The SIPs market and position Washington's image as a city for decision-makers and the global and cosmopolitan elites and contribute to bringing students to the city. Furthermore, the SIPs shape ideas of what can be expected from college graduates on the labour market. In catalysing SIP mobilities, the narratives of 'the experience of a lifetime' and access to elite-places and decision-makers are the key immaterialities. In combination with the infrastructures of the universities, organisations involved and a loose network of connections and donors these are the (im)materialities that catalyse SIP mobilities. The SIPs contribute to reinforcing the idea of the Beltway as an elite sphere of influence into which they provide access for their participants. These conclusions come from the research presented in chapter 6, but are also influenced from insights from chapters 5 and 7. By combining the insights from my in-depth interviews, ethnographic observations and secondary data analysis, I was able to address this research objective.

3. *Explore if and how the student-internship industry and SIP-participants have contributed to the changing landscape of Washington D.C.*

Particularly in chapter 5, I have addressed the rebranding process that Washington is experiencing as cities try to position themselves globally. The SIPs have contributed to the wider cosmopolitanism of Washington D.C. and changing the urban landscape and the social landscape of the city. This includes the intangible nature of the landscape, the 'felt landscape', the way in which the environment and the atmosphere become more cosmopolitan and then attracts more SIP-students. The SIPs contribute to processes of defining D.C. as a more international, diverse, cosmopolitan city, but also to processes of exclusion. These attributes increasingly replace the old stereotypes about the boring, administrative, elitist, criminal and dangerous beltway city. The SIPs do not have directly visible outcomes for most visitors of Washington, but they are pieces of a puzzle of processes that have turned the 'Chocolate city' into the 'Cappuccino city'. As part of this process more affluent groups move into Washington's city centre, while the traditionally African-American neighbourhoods get gentrified and long-time residents are subject to displacement to the 'second suburbs'. Within Washington, the SIPs create demand for short-term housing and are themselves, a small-scale industry.

4. *Examine the reasons why the participants chose to go participate in study-internship experience(s) in Washington D.C.*

There is a variety of factors that cause students to participate in a SIP in Washington and in most cases, there is a mixture of various factors that motivates the SIP-participants which I have addressed in chapter 7. In 7.1.4, I present a model in which I include these different layers of factors that go into the SIP-participants' decision-making of coming to D.C. This model, which builds onto Murphy-Lejeune's model (2003, p. 79), includes a processual character and by representing long-term predispositions as well as the resulting components from the mobility experience, it provides both context and a timeline in conceptualising this form of mobility.

5. *Determine if SIP-participants regard their mobility as elitist and see themselves as elites.*

I have addressed this research objective in sections 6.4 and 7.2. My research participants did not identify themselves as members of the elite and probably do not want to associate with this term. The SIP-participants are members of Khan's new elite because they embody elitism in very different ways. SIP-participants learn the skills to be successful on the global labour market and particularly in Washington and gain an advantage over those who are not able to take part in similar mobilities. From the classical elite research perspective, the SIP students are not elites, nonetheless, they are part of a new elite that distinguishes itself from others on the basis of mobility capital.

6. *Identify what and whether specific competitive advantages and 'transformative' effects are gained by SIP-participants.*

I have addressed this research objective in section 7.3. SIP-participants acquire ways to embody their mobility and cosmopolitan capital through SIP-participation. They market their SIP-participation as a way of individualisation and as evidence of their cosmopolitanism and mobility capital. Learning how to tell narratives and how to market themselves and their SIP experiences is the biggest immateriality gained from their mobility. The narratives are evidenced in the participants' resumes and can be presented and elaborated on when needed, and adapted to the audience.

7. *Develop a conceptual model of SIP mobility.*

In section 8.1.3 (p. 202) I compare and apply my analytical framework to the findings from my research. I look at each single one of five assumptions of my analytical framework for SIP research and reflect on how I was able to adhere to them in carrying out my research. I summarise my conclusions from bringing together theory and data in the next section.

8.1.3 From Analytical Framework to a Conceptualisation of SIP Mobilities

In chapters 5, 6 and 7, I have outlined the individual components that constitute SIP-mobilities. There are the SIPs themselves, then there are the participants of these programmes and there is the city of Washington D.C. In this section, I bring these three components together and compare the conclusions that I have drawn from these chapters with the analytical framework of SIP mobilities that I developed in chapter 4. My research objective 7 was to develop a conceptual model of SIP mobility. I reflect on whether these guidelines helped me to conduct my analysis and I consider which results from the research are not reflected in my theoretical model and might add value to it.

- *Student Mobilities and mobilities research need to be contextualised by showing the actors involved, mobility-decision making processes and by providing a timeline of these processes.*

In this thesis, I have broken up the analysis into chapters addressing the city, the SIPs, and the SIP-participants. While all three are connected and influence each other, analysing their importance individually builds a stronger and multi-dimensional case for these SIP-mobilities to Washington. In my in-depth interviews with SIP-participants and experts, I have provided enough space for my interviewees to address the wider circumstances in which they made their mobility-decisions, and to provide some context, such as previous mobility experiences. I have attempted applying a processual perspective of these mobilities and refrain from using a static concept of mobility. The inclusion of (im)materialities in this analysis is an integral part of a wider perspective of mobilities.

- *I have decided to use mobility capital as a concept that can be used to explain the mobilities of young individuals. Mobilities researchers should consider ways of making mobility capital and the ways that it is being embodied more visible.*

My decision to rely on the idea of mobility capital in my research and of making the ways that it is embodied more visible has a mainly analytical function. I assert that the choice of one of the terms – mobility capital, cosmopolitan capital, social capital – only has meaning from an analytical perspective, but for the research subjects the components that these all these human capital concepts represent blur and are all desired. Probably more important than deciding between these terms is to make them visible. One should be aware that these

concepts exist in parallel and my participants emphasised various components of these terms in different situations. The SIP-participants had learned which key words and terms needed to be used in which social situations. In political and after-work conversations they might highlight their cosmopolitan capital more, in other situations the emphasis might be more on mobility. Analysing how, which and with what intent certain aspects of their biographies were highlighted, emphasised more about the 'true nature' of their agenda in SIP mobilities and how the SIPs transform students.

- *Study-Internship research, similarly to lifestyle mobilities research, should address practices, questions of identity, meaning and individualisation and refuse giving dichotomic explanations.*

To portray individualised mobilities in more detail, studies are required that focus on portraying one to three individuals. I have sought to highlight these practices and how they are connected to processes of individualisation, but my bigger aim was to provide an overview of SIP mobilities. Therefore, I add this point as a suggestion for future research in section 8.4. Nonetheless, I have refused giving dichotomic explanations that have long dominated migration studies and I have sought to highlight how different layers constitute SIP mobilities.

- *In researching SIPs, I rely on a relational understanding of the term elites, in which elites can exist in different spheres, as a web of social relations, and they do not necessarily have to be the top echelon (Woods, 1998; Savage & Williams, 2008)*

My relational understanding of the SIP-participants as elites might be misunderstood and criticised by researchers coming from a more traditional sociological perspective on elitism. Nonetheless, this understanding of SIP-participants as part of a new elite is adequate in representing outcomes of today's neoliberal education systems and the resulting completion among students. As I explain in sections 8.3 and 8.5, researchers need to address the long-term consequences of private higher education and how these can be made accessible to more students. I strongly believe that elite research should not only

be restricted to researching the top 5% of a society, but we should use a relational understanding of elites, and showcase how elitism exists in various aspects of societies.

- *Likewise, to analyse the transformative effects of volunteering, the same can be researched in study-internship programme research.*

The difficulty of analysing the ‘transformative effects’ of mobilities is to make them visible. Only in combination with considering (im)materialities is it possible to explain these effects and to analyse them. Through analyses of very distinct (and from a global perspective rare) forms of mobilities, such as SIP-mobilities and volunteering mobilities, researchers are able to learn more about our societies, and values that represent broader trends in human interactions and global mobilities.

8.2 Contribution to Knowledge

In this thesis, I have developed several theoretical contributions to knowledge. I sometimes gained the impression that in the field of mobilities research, approaches building on migration research were neglected. I also observed a stronger interest in non-representational theory and respective research subjects than in issues of migration and humans on the move. My research shows that approaches that combine perspectives from both mobilities and migration studies approaches are possible and combining the two can have synergistic effects. Moreover, a mobilities paradigm perspective means providing the wider context in which movements take place and not neglecting the (im)materialities that produce and are produced by these movements. In this thesis, I have framed and contextualised the movements of the SIP-participants well and have shown how they are both embedded in and produced by Washington and the SIPs.

By developing an analytical framework for SIP-research and refining them with insights from my data collection and developing a conceptualisation of the SIP-mobilities, I have provided a theoretical toolkit for mobilities research on SIP-participants.

Developing the analytical framework and the conceptualisation helps in situating SIP mobilities theoretically. Moreover, it emphasises how SIP-mobilities are related to other mobilities but also how they differ. I have developed these models with the idea of breaking down main pillars of this form of mobility, and with the purpose of

essentialising it. SIP-mobilities are indicative of wider mobilities trends and mobility pressures experienced by young people in the Western Hemisphere. Volunteering mobilities, study abroad, internship mobilities are all forms of mobility capital acquisition in order to individualise and to further one's chances on the labour market. A less theorised and researched idea is that of mobility pressures or the mobility burden (Shove, 2002). My research indicates that the fear of not being able to compete on the labour market is a factor that mobilises some SIP-participants to D.C.

Through my research, I contribute the insight that SIPs are a part of the global migration and mobility industries (Cranston et al., 2017, pp. 1-2). Ploner has argued that universities and other Higher Education institutions are “meaningful ‘moorings’ which go beyond being mere entry, transit and exit points and instead provide ample space for individuals to (re)order, negotiate and make sense of haunting life experiences as well as to envisage possible futures” (2015, p. 15). I assert that the SIPs are ‘small-scale’ moorings that organise and order elite study-internship mobilities. This insight results in analyses such as those presented here and there need to be more studies on global Higher Education mobilities and how they are produced via various (im)materialities (cf. section 8.5, p. 210). Nonetheless, my research is a blueprint for how the different layers involved in these mobilities can be analysed. It is essential to present the interrelations between the individual factors involved in these mobilities and to make them visible.

Perlin argues that nepotism still plays a significant role when young people want to get into internships in Washington and the fact that many internships are unpaid only emphasises the elitism of being able to afford coming to D.C. and interning (2013, pp. 102-107). Perlin suggests that the SIPs are a way of overcoming students (non-SIP) buying their way into internships (2013, p. 110). My research constitutes the biggest qualitative research data collection on SIP-participants in Washington, providing insights on this group and their mobilities. Thus, my research is unique in terms of its specific topic, as well as in terms of providing an overview of this topic that is situated in the wider field of Higher Education mobilities and mobilities industries.

8.3 Policy Implications

The SIPs provide exciting experiences for young people and are beneficial for their development. Nonetheless, these programmes are too elitist and could be more diverse and inclusive. My evidence has shown that taking part in an SIP in Washington helps young people to develop a better understanding of who they are, what career paths they want to pursue and how they can market themselves and learn to tell ‘success stories’. The programmes evidence that professional training, internship experience combined with the study of particular subjects in a cosmopolitan city has very positive effects on young people. I do not think that simply by making more bursaries and financial funding available for students it is possible to improve how inclusionary these programmes are. Instead we should consider whether narratives of endless mobility and investing in one’s own mobility as a young person, ‘just to be mobile for the sake of it’, to volunteer, to take part in a SIP or similar forms of movement can benefit more people than just the individuals that take part in these mobilities. I fear that these forms of mobility do more harm to all those that are excluded from such mobilities than can be argued for by those that are able to take part in them. Nonetheless, since mobilities for young people constitute powerful mobility industries a deconstruction of all these mobility narratives for the public will be difficult and take time. Therefore, researchers should make more people aware of how unjust access to forms of mobility can be and how it would be possible to overcome these injustices.

From the perspective of city planners and from a city marketing standpoint, there are various implications from my research. In recent years, some cities are trying to move away from being tourist cities to being educational cities instead, as students tend to stay longer, invest more money (compared to tourists), are more likely to be engaged with locals and also can represent a future workforce. I think that forms of cooperation could be established between universities and cities that would be supported by public and private funding in order to widen access. The examples of Singapore as an education hub (Ministry of Trade and Industry Singapore, 2016) and the ‘academic city’ Dubai (Dubai International Academic City, 2017) indicate how certain states push to attract academic institutions and academics. Moreover, it shows how some states that have few other resources are trying to gain a head start in the global education market. It remains to be seen whether these tendencies will spread on a more global level, with more states and cities following these examples. Regarding Washington, I have not found public planning documents that present similar strategies, or address the SIPs.

The SIPs also play a role in transforming Washington's image in the world. The more young people come to the city and communicate the image of it being an exciting city, the more does its image change and new students are attracted. So, both the city, and the Higher Education Institutions in the City, as well as the internship sites and future employers of SIP-participants, profit from this mobility. Therefore, my research has also shown how process-assemblages can change the image of a city and how they are related to furthering and decreasing mobility to a city.

8.4 Limitations and Recommendations for Future Research

I have identified some limitations to my research and suggest future research on these issues. Due to the lack of academic literature on SIPs, particularly the programmes in Washington, I felt that it made sense to make my research exploratory and with the aim of providing an overview of these programmes. In order to conduct a thorough mobilities research analysis, I decided to focus on the city of Washington, the SIPs and the SIP-participants instead of focussing on just one of these three. This decision affected the depth of analysis on these individual topics. I suggest that future research addresses some of these individual topics in more depth. Such research could focus on highlighting practices and how they are connected to processes of individualisation, and exploring how (im)materialities play a role in these mobilities. In this thesis, I also considered taking a narrative approach in which the participants present their biographies and career-decision making, and this is a suggestion for further research.

When setting out to do this research, my idea was to focus on SIP-participants who wanted to have Third-Sector careers. Based on my personal experiences and observations, I felt like this was an increasingly elitist sector which I found contradictory to its humanitarian and grassroots agenda. Moreover, as there are many studies on 'classic elites' in the financial or economic sector, I found it interesting to analyse a branch that is not usually associated with being elitist. I still find these ideas relevant and intriguing; nonetheless, when conducting my fieldwork in D.C. I realised that fewer participants of the programmes take part in them with the clear perspective of a third-sector career in their minds. My interviewees seemed less strategic, and were younger and perhaps a bit more naïve than I had imagined or remembered from my own time in a SIP (probably because I was young myself). Another factor that made me decide to refocus and not pursue this path was that adding the topics of third-sector

careers and humanitarianism would have made this thesis theoretically more complex, and perhaps too theory-loaded. My interviewees claimed to be interested in issues of development and most of them considered NGOs and other third sector options, but I often found their interest vague. Due to all of these reasons, it made more sense to provide a more general perspective on SIP-participants and not focus on this specific perspective. Nonetheless, once there is more research about SIPs, it would be interesting to conduct further research on third sector careers, possibly catalysed through SIP-participation.

Another limitation is that I conducted more interviews with Alumni of the SIP than with current students. It seemed that the Alumni were more interested in participating in my research than the current SIP-participants at the time. Maybe the alumni saw it as more of a chance to reflect on their experiences, or maybe they were more interested just because they were older and more mature than the current SIP-participants. I was also able to reach out to a non-university affiliated organisation that runs a similar study-internship program in Washington and interview one of their higher executives. Other researchers might also consider my methodological cosmopolitanism perspective and address the limitation of me partially neglecting the SIP-participants nationalities. I would have liked to include another perspective from a different hemisphere. At first a Japanese participant was interested in taking part in my research but then withdrew. Also, another South American, or Asian SIP-participant would have given an interesting and complementary account but during my fieldwork stage in Washington no one was willing to participate. So, future SIP mobilities research should attempt to be more diverse in the sampling; both in terms of nationalities as well as trying to include more research data from a broader variety of programmes.

In order to compare the results from my research to SIPs in other cities and countries more effectively there needs to be more research about SIPs in other global cities. There are programmes in London, New York, San Francisco, Singapore and other cities that also combine study with an internship component. With this thesis, I have developed an analytical framework and a conceptualisation for SIP research. This analytical framework and the conceptualisation are intended to be adapted and improved by future research from other places and contexts. I am aware that the case of Washington has some unique aspects due to the development of Washington and its status of being the US capital. Perspectives from other cities, countries and cultural contexts (particularly in the 'global south') can provide interesting and contrasting experiences. Particularly

interesting could be how career and mobility pressures are perceived by young people in different parts of the world. A different question for further research is to consider how similar programmes could be developed in different education markets that teach similar values, are accessible to more students and are not intended for profit. For example, an education system such as the state-funded German system might be able to develop similar ideas of combining theory and practice (study and internships) while making them more accessible.

An aspect in my research that I found very relevant in describing today's current political climate in countries such as the US, Germany and the UK is the beltway idea, because it embodies the contrast between elites and the rest of a population. In the interview with my participant Andres, a comparison of Washington with Brussels 'the capital of Europe' was made. One can say that apart from Andres' comparison, in Europe there also exist similar ideas of 'beltway politics'. How much antipathy towards these cities and 'the elites' are related to a resentment of cosmopolitanism by some would be another interesting suggestion for further research.

Another aspect in my research that I find very relevant is that of mobility pressures (cf. section 7.1.3, p. 175). Research on forms of mobility as a means to acquire human capital are more common than research that addresses how mobility pressures can mobilise individuals. More research on how expectations of the labour market and competition on the labour market shape mobilities would be interesting. Such research can show how labour market demands and competition structure international mobility flows.

8.5 Personal Reflections and Final Thoughts

Throughout this thesis, reflecting on my own experiences as a SIP-participant but also finding my academic voice to analyse SIP mobilities, has been important to me. I hope to have provided an analysis that is both close to my own experiences and insights into the nature of SIPs and also analytical. Also new to me as someone coming from the German academic system, in which the third-person 'objective' voice is prevalent, was the fact that in mobilities research writing in first-person is not uncommon.

For me, the biggest challenge in writing this PhD thesis was balancing my interest in the various factors that influence SIP-mobilities. The decision to divide my analysis into the different aspects of SIP-participants, Washington D.C. and the SIPs helped me to structure the analysis and to elaborate better on how these factors influence each other. My own experiences in Washington as an WSP alumni both helped and complicated my research. On the one hand, I was an insider to Washington and to the SIP landscape, which helped me a lot in conducting my fieldwork. On the other hand, it made it more difficult to be surprised by some developments and to make observations about this phenomenon, then if I was starting from square one.

By writing this PhD thesis I have gained a better understanding of the development of the schools of thought that have shaped social science and have led to the creation of mobility studies. Moreover, I have developed a deeper understanding of qualitative research and was able to gain more experiences in conducting my qualitative in-depth research interviews. I am a geographer and Americanist by training, so adapting my perspective to mobilities research and developing a thorough knowledge of sociologist theories took some time. I am convinced that the post-disciplinary approach of mobilities research can benefit social science by bringing together researchers from various disciplines and backgrounds and developing synergetic effects. Moreover, the biggest strength of mobilities research is the focus on the 'processes' of movements, as opposed to a migration studies perspective which often neglects the processes that happen alongside spatial movements. Nonetheless, I feel like the very specific language that is prevalent in mobilities research scares off some academics who are more used to the terminology used in migration studies. I hope that my research, in the line of poststructuralist research, has merged these two perspectives well, and that I have set an example of research on migration phenomena from a mobilities studies perspective.

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Appendix 1 Informed Consent Form for Research

Participants

RESEARCH SUBJECT INFORMATION SHEET

Prospective Research Subject: Read this consent form carefully and ask as many questions as you like before you decide whether you want to participate in this research study. You are free to ask questions at any time before, during, or after your participation in this research.

Project Information

Project Title: Career Paths and Travel Biographies of Washington Semester Students	Project Number:
Principal Investigator: Felix Schubert	Organization: Leeds Beckett University
Location: Leeds, UK + Mainz, Germany	Email: F.M.Schubert@leedsbeckett.ac.uk
Supervisor: Kevin Hannam	Organization: Leeds Beckett University
Location: Leeds	Phone: 202-378-4280

1. PURPOSE OF THIS RESEARCH STUDY

You are being asked to participate in a research study in which current and previous participants of Washington Semester Programmes will be interviewed about their

participation in this programme, their time in Washington D.C., as well as their careers and personal life, and migration and mobility patterns before and after living in Washington. Hence, I would like to find out who takes part, why young people take part in these programmes and how participation in these Washington Semester Programmes affects their lives, careers and mobility.

2. PROCEDURES

You will be asked to talk about your experience with the Washington Semester Programme, your life in Washington D.C. as well your career. I will try to find out a bit more about who you are, what your ambitions, goals are and how mobile you are (mobile as in migration). If you now work in the developing assistance or NGO-sector or aspire to work in this field I would also like to talk to you about your work and this branch.

I expect the interviews to last between one and two hours. Depending on your consent - I will record the interviews. It should be emphasised that the participant does not have to respond to a question/task if they do not wish to.

3. OWNERSHIP AND DOCUMENTATION OF DATA

De-identification of transcripts will follow the standard process in qualitative research. Names will be replaced by pseudonyms, names of places, organisations and services will be replaced by generic terms and any phrases that could identify individuals, places, organisations or services will be replaced by generic descriptors. Copies of un-edited transcripts will not be kept. Unedited transcripts will be disposed of through a confidential waste service. In the period between production of the transcripts and the waste disposal they will be stored in locked filing cabinets. Tapes and printed transcripts will be kept in locked filing cabinets and their electronic files will be stored in password protected computers. The informed consent forms will be kept separately from the interview tapes and transcripts. Only the researcher and his assistants will handle the data.

4. POSSIBLE BENEFITS

A summary of the results of the study to the participants will be handed out to the participants after completion of the project.

Participation in this study might be a good chance for participants to reflect on their own experiences while taking part in the Washington Semester Programme and on their careers and personal development. Furthermore, this study could possibly improve conditions for future WSP participants. In addition, the study will hopefully contribute to insights into the developments of student mobility and career paths in the process of Internationalisation in Higher Education.

5. FINANCIAL CONSIDERATIONS

There is no financial compensation for your participation in this research.

6. CONFIDENTIALITY

Your identity in this study will be treated as confidential. The results of the study, may be published for scientific purposes but will not give your name or include any identifiable references to you.

However, any records or data obtained as a result of your participation in this study may be inspected by the Leeds Beckett Institutional Review Board, or by the persons conducting this study, (provided that such inspectors are legally obligated to protect any identifiable information from public disclosure, except where disclosure is otherwise required by law or a court of competent jurisdiction). These records will be kept private in so far as permitted by law.

It should be clear that there are limits to confidentiality. If participants should report serious illegal activities, confidentiality will not be guaranteed.

7. TERMINATION OF RESEARCH STUDY

You are free to choose whether or not to participate in this study. There will be no penalty or loss of benefits to which you are otherwise entitled if you choose not to participate. You will be provided with any significant new findings developed during the course of this study that may relate to or influence your willingness to continue participation. In the event you decide to discontinue your participation in the study,

Please notify Felix Schubert of your decision, so that your participation can be orderly terminated.

8. AVAILABLE SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Any further questions you have about this study or your rights as a research subject will be answered by:

Name: Felix Schubert
Phone Number: 202-378-4280

Email: F.M.Schubert@leedsbeckett.ac.uk

For other concerns, you can also contact my supervisor:

Professor Kevin Hannam

Phone Number: +44 113 81 25805 (UK)

Email: K.M.Hannam@leedsbeckett.ac.uk

9. DISSEMINATION

My work will be published and disseminated through articles in academic journals and presentations at academic conferences.

Dissemination activities will include:

Doctoral thesis

Presentations at relevant conferences

Refereed papers submitted to relevant conferences

Paper(s) in refereed journal(s).

The information from this study will be used to produce my PhD-thesis. The people who are likely to read the final report in an official capacity are, my Supervisors Kevin Hannam and Rhodri Thomas and other examiners.

Appendix 2 Consent Form for Research Participants

Leeds Beckett University

School of Events, Tourism and Hospitality

Church Wood Avenue, Leeds, West Yorkshire LS6 3QS, United Kingdom

CONSENT FORM

Title of the Project:

Conceptualizing the Career Paths and Travel Biographies of Washington Semester Students

1st October, 2015 – 15th December, 2015

Lead Researcher: Felix Schubert, PhD Student

1. I confirm that I have read and understood the participant information sheet for this study. I have been able to consider this information, ask questions and have had these answered satisfactorily.
2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason. I understand that I will not be named in any reports or discussions (except between the research team). I understand that my consent does not take away any legal rights in the case of negligence or other legal fault of anyone who is involved in this study. I further understand that nothing in this consent form is intended to replace any applicable Federal, state, or local laws.
3. I agree to take part in one or two taped interviews.

Participant name (Printed or Typed)

Date

Signature

Felix Schubert

12.10.2015



Name of person taking Consent

Date

Signature

Appendix 3 Interview Guidelines for SIP Participants

Guiding Question:	Tell me a bit about your background and yourself		
Substantive Questions	Further Questions		Further Inquiries
Age	How old were you when you took part in the WSP?		What did/do you study at your home institution (which one)?
Interests	Academically?		Career?
Career			
Family Background	How did you finance WSP participation? Maybe later in the interview		What do your parents do? (work)
Guiding Question:	Why did you decide to participate in a WSP? Decision-Making		
Substantive Questions	Further Questions		Further Inquiries
Which WSP?	Why Washington DC?		Alternatives?
Individualise cv/resume?			Recommendations from friends / professors?
Previous Existing knowledge of D.C.?	Image of D.C?		Hopes?
Hope for Ngo/Development assistance career?	Expectations what can/could be gained from internship?		Why the interest? Motivation?
How did you finance your WSP participation?	Scholarship/Private/Regular Tuition/Exchange Agreement?		Idealist?
Guiding Question:	How was it to live, study and intern in (Life in) Washington?		
Substantive Questions	Further Questions		Probes
How did you like the WSP?	Compared to your studies at home?		Academically/Career/Personal Experiences
Did you benefit from the WSP?	In what regards? Which would you emphasize?		No Benefits?/What did you like the most?
Which aspects did you dislike about the WSP?	Why specifically?		What did you do?
How was your Internship?	Did you make connections which might help/helped you?		
What do you find unique about Washington DC?	Positive/Negative?		
How did it feel?	Did you feel special/ important?		
Friends / social contacts => relationship?	Connections/Networks to other Students/Course Leaders?		
Did you take part in extra-curricular activities	Which ones?		
What did you do in your leisure time?			
Alumni: The people that you are in touch with that were in the program, would you say they are all doing pretty fine?			
What happened afterwards?			
Guiding Question:	What do you think about taking part in the WSP now? (Review years later)		
Substantive Questions	Further Questions		Probes
Did it catalyse your career?	Benefits?		Downsides?
Did your internship/connections prove to be profitable/helpful?	Code of Conduct in Washington?		Changes in Behavior/Adaptions?
Would you participate again?	Did you get what you paid for?		
Do you have the feeling (in and afterwards job interviews) that WSP participation is appreciated?	Something well known? I E an internship in D.C.?		
Guiding Question:	Did your WSP help you to get your current job/ a job in the NGO/Developing Assistance Sector?		
Substantive Questions	Further Questions		Probes
Current job / position	Did WSP help somehow in getting this position?		Connections/Networks?
What Obstacles did you face in pursuing that career?	Alternatives to your job that did not work out?		Pressure to fit job requirements?
What are your experiences with the NGO/Development Ass Sector?	Do you like it?		Terms? foreign language?
International work experience?	International outlook?		Motivation for Dev Ass
Guiding Question:	Travel Biography		
Substantive Questions	Further Questions		Probes
How did you like Washington	Advantages of living there?		Disadvantages of living there?
Living in Washington D.C. / area?	Visits to Washington D.C.?		Issue of transience?
Cosmopolitan?			
Travel behavior? Do you move/travel a lot?			What do you associate with mobility? Being able to move?
Do you think that being mobile is optional?			

Appendix 4 Interview Guidelines for SIP Staff and Experts

Guiding Question:	What do the programs offer?	Further Inquiries
Substantive Questions	Further Questions	Further Inquiries
Why should students come to Washington DC? Individualise cv/resume?	Who specifically should come to D.C. - with what interests/aspirations	Competitive Advantage of Washington D.C.
Ngo/Developing Assistance Career?	What can/could be gained from internship?	How many applications do you have to decline?
Scholarships?	Who is accepted on the Programme? Criteria?	Exclude people?/Further Diversity and Inclusiveness?
Popular Countries?	New Agreements?	
Exclusiveness?	Elites?	
Developing Private/Professional Networks	Connections/Networks to other Students/Course Leaders?	Impression of the people/city?
Feedback from Students after WSP participation	Negative	Positive?
What are your experiences with the NGO/Developing Ass Sector?	What kind of student pursues this career?	
How did participation in the programs develop over the last years?	Economically	
Competition with other programs/universities in DC	Development of off-branch campuses?	Problems?
Goals/Aims for the Programme?	Expansion?	Networks?
Alumni?	Including them?	
Does it catalyze careers?	High Promises? Living up to them?	Many students still very young...
Students as a good/commodity		
Guiding Question:	Travel Biography	
Substantive Questions	Further Questions	Further Inquiries
How did you like Washington Living in Washington D.C. / area?	Advantages of living there?	Disadvantages of living there?
Travel behavior? Do you move/travel a lot?	Did it change?	

Appendix 5 Researcher Identity Memo

Before addressing why I chose this PhD topic, I summarize my personal experience with the SIP in order to explain how these experiences influence my research. In 2009, I was a third-year student of American Studies and Geography (two majors) at the Johannes Gutenberg-University in Mainz. In American Studies it was strongly suggested to spend at least one semester as a study abroad student in the United States. Especially as I had not spent previous time living abroad as a high school student (which would have been an option if I wanted to) and specifically to improve my command of the English language I chose to spend my year abroad in the United States. Not having been successful in a different application for a direct student exchange program, a friend as well as a study abroad office employee suggested for me to study abroad in Washington D.C., at American University. In my case I did go there with the intention to be a “normal” study abroad student for one year, but learnt about the SIP after I arrived in Washington and decided to transfer to the SIP for my second semester, in order of being able to do both: study abroad and being able to intern in the city. From January until May 2010 I participated in the SIP in Foreign Policy.

It has to be stated that I was only able to study abroad and participate in the SIP because my parents were able to afford paying the tuition for two semesters at American University. This most certainly is one of the key factors that lead me to choose this topic for my PhD. The fact that most other students seemed to be either on scholarships, recipients of the (German) Federal Law on Support in Education (which can be enough for paying the tuition of an American University when studying abroad) reminded me of how fortunate my situation was. With my parents being from a German Middle-class background it still did not seem to be (according to the reactions of my friends) the most ordinary decision for parents to send their son to the US for a whole year (while receiving no additional financial support). While being appreciative of my situation, even more so in recent years, I thought about the advantages that I might have gained over fellow students who did not have the possibility to participate in this kind of student mobility (a student exchange program like the Erasmus programme in Europe is definitely more of a mass program compared to a SIP).

In addition, I would like to explain that, approximately from 2008 until 2011, my main career aspiration was to either work in development assistance or in the NGO sector. While the decision to spend my year abroad in Washington D.C. was not entirely based on the importance of Washington D.C. in development assistance and the NGO sector,

it was definitely a nice extra benefit. Not only from my own experience, but also friends who had similar career aspirations, the NGO sector turned out to be relatively elitist in terms of being able to secure an internship or to get on a trainee-programme. Some organisations require or suggest to have at least interned in one of the bigger global organisations (UN, WHO,) in a global city. Having that in mind, an internship in Washington D.C. seemed to be a good decision anyhow, being fully aware that this would be a “prestigious” point in my resume or maybe even a stepping stone.

As Maxwell suggests (2012, p. 24) I want to break up the reasoning behind this PhD into

- a) personal,
- b) practical and
- c) research purposes.

a) Personal Purposes

I start by explaining my personal purposes in pursuing this topic; as Maxwell explains:

„Personal purposes are those that motivate you to do this study; they can include such things as a political passion to change some existing situation, a curiosity about a specific phenomenon or event, a desire to engage in a particular type of research, or simply the need to advance your career. These personal purposes often overlap with your practical or research purposes, but they may also include deeply rooted individual desires and needs that bear little relationship to the "official" reasons for doing the study“ (2012, p. 15).

Having done previous research about Erasmus students in my Magister thesis, I intensified my interest in student mobility. While writing my Magister thesis I also spent considerable time reflecting on my own student mobility. Especially, because I was also involved into a project that highlighted not only Erasmus student mobility, but also their employability, I thought about the SIP as a more elitist and more restricted form of student mobility. Foremost, because our course leader in the SIP advertised and emphasized (maybe partly as a joke but partly serious) how we would later turn out to

be elites, I kept wondering to what degree that was true. And then again, I considered the consequences of these differences in higher education and its direct connection with the labour market. Just because many German and international companies, NGO's, and other employees – in recent years – have increasingly emphasised the importance of international experience (ideally having both studied, interned or worked abroad), it has become an unwritten law for most students that they need to internationalise. Hence, many of my friends and fellow students sought to either study and or intern abroad.

The feeling that, even after accumulating various kinds of international experiences, the job market in development assistance was still very difficult and it was still hard to be accepted on an internship with one of the more important organisations. Most of my personal encounters with people working in this area left me rather unsatisfied and painted to picture of a rather elitist group or sector of decision makers, that seemed really hard to access. For me this notion stood in contrast to the grassroots history, especially of the NGO-sector, but also of developing-assistance, which definitely seemed less idealistic than it was rational and business-oriented. This observation and personal experience increased my drive and anger about this matter, and led me to the conclusion that I wanted to address some of these matters from a more scientific perspective.

b) Practical Purposes

According to Maxwell, “Practical purposes are focused on accomplishing something—meeting some need, changing some situation, or achieving some goal” (2012, p. 16). I want to address the paradigm that young people are almost (subconsciously) being forced to internationalise as well as to accumulate human, cultural and mobility capital – while sometimes not being able to reap the benefits. I got the impression that other parties involved profit more from this cycle of capital accumulation than the individuals themselves, which are often left disillusioned and confused. In this PhD-thesis I would like to inform and enlighten people about patterns of neoliberal education practises and the mantra of seemingly infinite internationalisation for young students as exemplified by the SIP. While internationalisation, study abroad experiences, and internships are not redundant; students should question the ways in which they participate in this ‘cycle of human capital acquisition’. As a society, it should be questioned how much it is necessary to develop young elites and if it is the right (or most beneficial) path for young individuals to make expensive investments in their own education.

Otherwise, by buying into this mantra of neoliberal education as well as the constant need for young students to find ways of individualising their resumes, education becomes commodified, hierarchical and anti-egalitarian. Students and young people with better financial background are more likely to become successful on the job market and in their careers. I feel that by participating (and thereby supporting or accepting the premise, that young students need to have taken certain loosely defined steps in order to become employable) in this cycle of human capital acquisition certain job markets become restricted to the elites that—either by chance or investments—were fortunate enough to have made all the right career-decisions.

While historically, there have always been different tiers within education and wealthier families have always been able to secure more prestigious school places and internships for their children. Hence this tendency itself is not new. Nonetheless, with specific regards to the NGO and development assistance sector it should be questioned whether they have increasingly become more elitist and how this might be linked to internationalisation processes in higher education.

c) “Research purposes, on the other hand, are focused on understanding something, gaining some insight into what is going on and why this is happening” (Maxwell, 2012, p. 16). In the case of my PhD-thesis, I set out to explain the processes involved in elitist forms of student mobility. Today, students can choose from a broad variety of programs, internship placements and study abroad options. I am interested in finding out how students come up with the idea to go to Washington D.C. and to what extent the decision to go to Washington is linked with career aspirations. As often suggested do the study abroad students in Washington D.C. have a specific interest in international careers? In order to be more specific I want to limit my research to students who are interested in NGO-sector and development assistance careers. While there are certainly students who come to Washington with a number of different career aspirations (probably foremost US-politics, finance, economy, law) I set out to focus on the SIP programs that fit to the NGO-sector and development assistance (foremost Foreign Policy, Peace and Conflict Resolution and Sustainable Development). Do these students consider themselves to be elitist?

By also talking to students who have participated in a SIP in recent years, and have already begun working I want to address and analyse the effects of SIP participation on the career paths and mobility biographies of these individuals. Then again, I also want to see whether the SIP actually helps and intends to (re)produce elites. It should be

emphasised that my research interest is not only in the individuals and the SIP, it is also in Washington D.C. and how they are interconnected. As one of my hypotheses in this PhD, I see the SIP as medium that negotiates the mobility of students and the interests of Washington D.C as a global (and mobile) city. The interplay of these various factors and parties should be analysed and highlighted in my thesis. Hence, I also focus on the effects of young mobile elites onto the mobile place Washington D.C. Furthermore, I seek to find out whether and what competitive advantages the city Washington D.C. gains by acquiring these young students and whether they enable the city to be a mobile place.

Appendix 6 NVivo Nodes: Coding Expert Interviews

Coding category	Sources	References
Admissions	4	12
Advantages of Washington	5	11
Competition	4	10
Elitism	5	16
Expansion	3	3
Gender	2	2
Good Quotes	2	2
History of WSP	3	20
International Students	3	6
Internships	4	17
Networks	3	6
NGOs	4	14
Opportunities	4	12
Parents	1	1
Partnerships	2	7
Personal Experiences	3	10
Privatisation of HigherEd	2	4
Professionalism	1	2
Prominent Alumni	1	2
Scholarships	5	19
Students	4	25

Appendix 7 NVivo Nodes: Second Round of Coding

Coding category	Level 1 sub-codes	Level 2 sub-codes	Level 3 sub-codes	Sources	References
Not Useful for Analysis Chapter				18	173
	Alternatives to WSPs and Washington			17	22
	Attitude Changes			7	11
	Attitudes regarding National Identity			10	20
	Attitudes towards Travel			11	22
	Decision to go Study Abroad			2	2
	Downsides of the Program			13	24
	Mobility and Transport in DC			6	6
	Own Vocabulary			6	7
	Skills			4	6
	Travel Experience and Attitudes			17	53
Sidenotes in Analysis				18	203
	Downsides of DC			12	28

Coding category	Level 1 sub-codes	Level 2 sub-codes	Level 3 sub-codes	Sources	References
	Internship Experience(s)			13	40
	Jobs			7	17
	Positive Reviews of WSP Participation			14	37
	Previous Knowledge			4	5
	Problems with Development			3	7
	Problems with NGOs			10	23
	Social Relationships			14	46
The Participants				19	291
	Attitudes			17	69
		Attitudes regarding Development or NGOs		10	24
			New Interest in Issues of Development Career	10	24
		Experiencing Pressures		16	45
			Fear of Competition	11	21

Coding category	Level 1 sub-codes	Level 2 sub-codes	Level 3 sub-codes	Sources	References
			Not afraid of competition	5	5
			Student Loan Debt as a Factor	7	9
			To be successful	5	10
	Career Catalysts			11	22
	Career Decision Making			19	122
		Actively Networking		8	13
		Attitude towards Development Career		8	26
			Clear Plan to Pursue Career in Development or NGOs	4	10
			Different Career Trajectory	1	3
			No clear Trajectory	6	13
		Changed Trajectory		9	21
		Curiosity		5	6
		Gain Experiences		8	13
		Individualisation		13	20
		Planning Strategically		13	23

Coding category	Level 1 sub-codes	Level 2 sub-codes	Level 3 sub-codes	Sources	References
	CV			14	31
	Mobilities			12	21
		Likelihood of Future Move to DC		8	10
			Higher	4	4
			Lower	5	6
		Reasons for Moving back to DC after Program		4	9
	Obstacles			11	22
Washington				18	206
	People of DC (Characteristics)			8	10
		Career Storytelling		7	16
		DC Code of Conduct		3	4
		Elitism		10	18
			Elitism in NGOs and Development	10	15
			Experienced no Elitism	2	4
		Networking Culture in DC		15	42
	Perceived Image of DC (of Power)			16	46
		Business		3	3
		Opportunities		6	11

Coding category	Level 1 sub-codes	Level 2 sub-codes	Level 3 sub-codes	Sources	References
		Policy and Politics		13	32
	Positive Views of DC			18	55
		DC as a Stepping Stone		12	22
		Fun City		12	13
		Young City		4	5
	Unique Characteristics of DC			17	81
		Inside the Beltway		4	6
		Aspect of Getting In(side the Beltway)		3	10
		International Atmosphere		11	14
		NGOsphere		16	45
		Transient City DC		10	16
Washington Semester Program(s)				18	86
	Career Advice through WSP			7	11
	Decision for Participating in WSP			12	38

Coding category	Level 1 sub-codes	Level 2 sub-codes	Level 3 sub-codes	Sources	References
	Issue of Privileged Access			7	13
	Participants Feeling Privileged			7	10
	Professional Code of Conduct			6	14

Appendix 8 Publication

Cosmopolitan Education, Travel and Mobilities to Washington DC

Felix Schubert⁶ and Kevin Hannam⁷

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⁷ Kevin Hannam has a PhD in geography from the University of Portsmouth, UK and is currently Professor of Tourism Mobilities in the Business School at Edinburgh Napier University, Craiglockhart Campus, Edinburgh, EH14 1DJ, email k.hannam@napier.ac.uk

Cosmopolitan Education, Travel and Mobilities to Washington DC

Abstract

This paper examines the cosmopolitan mobilities of young elites that take part in study-internship programmes in Washington DC, US. In the case of Washington DC a large study-internship industry has been developed and this is an important example of how cities can become instrumental in organizing specialised elite mobilities. These study-internship programmes (normally called Washington Semester Programs (WSP)) give both US and international students the chance to study and intern in Washington DC. Similar programmes exist in many global cities, however, Washington DC has arguably become a central hub for those that wish to pursue careers in the fields of development politics or in the NGO sphere. The paper illustrates how ideas and stories of mobile careers and the importance of 'being mobile' on the job market catalyse student mobility into Washington DC. Significantly, student mobilities to Washington DC combines education with aspects of tourism and lifestyle mobilities. Moreover, these programmes allude to ideas of global citizenship through increasing participant's human capital by enhancing their cosmopolitanism through this educational experience. Likewise, the participants in these programmes buy into those ideas of cosmopolitanism and the added value to their mobility capital through experiencing the political landscapes of Washington DC.

Keywords: Education; Cosmopolitanism; Elites; Mobility; Development; Politics

Introduction

With the election of President Donald Trump Washington DC has become the focus of current media attention. Washington DC is well established as one of the most important centres of power in the Western Hemisphere and mostly owes this reputation to its role as the capital of the US as well as being the residency of US presidents. For many tourists that is about the extent of the city's image. According to the US Census Bureau the Washington DC metropolitan area has an estimated 6 million inhabitants and a student population of over 450,000 (Erickson, 2012). It is the most educated and regarded as the most affluent metropolitan area in the US (Marchio & Berube, 2015). According to Trujilo & Parilla (2016) 48 % of the population had tertiary education degrees. In 2014, tourism to Washington DC set an all-time record with over 20 million visitors, partly due to a 16 percent increase in international visitors over the previous year (Reuters, 2015). Around 90 percent of the city's visitors, however, still come from within the US (Erickson, 2012).

Since the 1990s Washington DC has experienced ongoing gentrification and ethnic and racial transformation (Knox, 1991; Jackson, 2015; Maher, 2015). Moreover, for many US residents, Washington DC and everything within the beltway (physically embodied by the Interstate 495 that encircles Washington, including parts of Maryland and Virginia) stands for an elitist sphere of influence:

'Inside the Beltway' is an expression we Americans hear all the time, yet routinely I'm asked what it means. Geographically, it's everything within the capital beltway, a sixty-six-mile loop of deadly asphalt that, when not at its customary standstill, carries speeding motorists around Washington. But more often it refers to a mindset, or a malady. A person inside the Beltway can be devoid of common sense, on the take, out of touch with reality— out of touch with America (McCaslin, 2004: 77).

It is significant that in this comment the beltway symbolises a spatial limitation and also a mind-set that the author describes as being perhaps out of touch with the everyday reality of many US residents as well as visitors including students and tourists. In a subsequent interview McCaslin described how you "get caught up in Washington and all the politics, all the shenanigans, and it's like a syndrome" (C-SPAN, 2004).

In the American election of 2016 Donald Trump was able to gain the support of many American citizens by a rhetoric that included many attacks against the elites and political establishment. As populism is on the rise, there have been growing resentments against elites, and with special regards to Washington and the US there are the terms of the beltway politics and “inside the beltway” which both stand for the ruling elites in Washington DC. Nonetheless, ‘getting into Washington’, being able to live in Washington, and having a successful career in Washington seems something that has been, and still is, attractive for many young people from all over the world. Thus, the significance of elitism and the power of Washington DC works in different ways, both positively and negatively. Both leftist (Bernie Sanders also tried to brand and promote himself as an outsider to the US politics establishment) and right-wing US politicians have tried to gain votes by targeting the elites of Washington DC.

This paper examines the cosmopolitan mobilities of young elites that take part in study-internship programmes in Washington DC, USA. In the case of Washington DC a large study-internship industry has been developed and this is an important example of how cities can become instrumental in organizing specialised elite educational and tourism mobilities.

Educational Mobilities, Tourism and Cosmopolitanism

From a mobilities perspective, tourism is seen as integral to wider processes of economic and political development processes and even constitutive of everyday life (Hannam & Knox, 2010). It is not just that tourism is a form of mobility like other forms of mobility such as commuting or migration but that different mobilities inform and are informed by tourism (Sheller & Urry, 2004). Thus we need to continually examine the multiple mobilities in any situation: mobilities involve the movement of people such as students as tourists, but also the movement of a whole range of material things as well as the movement of thoughts and ideas – including educational ones (Williams, 2006; Allen-Robertson & Beer, 2010; Hannam & Guerenio-Omil, 2015).

The mobilities paradigm also calls for a shift of focus, a more in-depth look at the process of mobility itself and the circumstances in which mobilities takes place, maybe constituting the most innovative component of the mobilities paradigm (Adey, 2010: 36-37). As Adey et al. (2013: 21) state, “Mobilities, cultures and identities can best be approached through an attention to routes and paths, flows, and connections”. An essential idea to understanding the purpose of the mobilities paradigm is that mobility has to be interpreted in more than “its usual connotation – movement” (Adey, 2010: 34). Because movements always take place within a framework and have multiple consequences, to reduce their meaning to the sole act of a move from A to B is not adequate. Oftentimes mobility is just stripped of its meaning by interpreting it purely as the study of movements, therefore making it a more descriptive field of studies: thus, “mobility is movement imbued with meaning” (Adey, 2010: 34).

A great deal of mobilities research has analysed forms and experiences of embodied travel involving the blurring of spaces of work, leisure, family life, migration and, indeed, education, organized in terms of contrasting time-space modalities (ranging from daily commuting to attend university or a once-in-a-lifetime round the world trip).

In particular, the concept of lifestyle mobility has been developed to describe “lifestyle migration is the spatial mobility of relatively affluent individuals of all ages, moving either part-time or full-time to places that are meaningful because, for various reasons, they offer the potential of a better quality of life” (Benson & O’Reilly, 2009: 2). As Benson and O’Reilly (2009: 5) emphasise, the belief “that spatial mobility in itself enables some form of self-realization” is key to understanding the concept of lifestyle migration. The concept of the lifestyle migration or lifestyle mobilities have predominantly be used to describe the mobilities of people that want to escape Western lifestyles, consumerism and materialism (Benson & O’Reilly, 2009: 4). Nonetheless, the lifestyle component and hunger for individualisation are themes that are very prominent in this kind of research.

For many students internship and volunteering experiences have become ever more popular and a means to raise their social and cultural capital. While there have been critical analyses of volunteer tourism (see for example Butcher & Smith, 2015),

research on study abroad and internship programmes have been mainly focused on the educational and cultural benefits of such programmes with little recourse to the wider political ramifications (see for example, Lam and Ching, 2007; Root & Ngampornchai, 2013). Internship as a form of student mobility seems particularly significant as it combines many aspects that are usually subsumed into education, tourism and /or labour mobilities. In particular, we want to critically elaborate how ideas, stories, and perceptions of Washington DC mobilise students to the city as young cosmopolitan consumers and how their mobilities have helped to change the city.

Research Methodology

This paper is based upon qualitative data collection which took place in Washington DC during 2015. This included interviews with various stakeholders (5), students (19) and observations of urban change in Washington DC. The interviews were transcribed verbatim and inputted into the software NviVo for analysis. We then used textual analysis a method of analysis method (Hannam and Knox, 2005). Hannam and Knox (2005: 24) explain that textual analysis is a “qualitative technique concerned with unpacking the cultural meanings inherent in the material in question” while the researcher has to draw upon his or her “own knowledge and beliefs as well as the symbolic meaning systems that they share with others”. This analytical method requires the researcher to deal with the collected data and the text very closely, and even more importantly, it requires the reflexivity of the researcher in order to maintain the validity and credibility of the research. This means that the researcher needs to keep assumptions and preconceptions in check and highlight their impact on his or her research, as well as carefully explaining the steps that were taken in the data analysis (Hannam and Knox, 2005).

The Washington DC Internship Industry

In this section we begin by explaining what study-internship programmes are and what the scope of this industry is. In Washington DC, a number of study-internship programmes were developed in the course of the last century. These programmes usually combine internships with topic-specific study courses. There are a variety of actors that offer study-internship programmes in Washington DC, including the

universities based in DC that offer these programmes, non-university organisations that offer them and also off-branch campuses of universities that are located somewhere else in the US.

The largest universities in the Washington DC area that have significant study-internship programmes are American University (with about 700 participants per year and more than 40,000 alumni since it was founded in 1947 (American University, 2014: 2), Georgetown University and George Washington University (founded in 1995). These programmes are open to both American and international students (who can fulfil the admission requirements). Then there are also off branch campuses of universities that are not based in Washington (for example the Universities of California System). In 1982 the University of California, Irvine set up the UCDC programme that claims to have more than 10,000 alumni; other examples are Harvard and Stanford who have set up their own programmes in Washington. Stanford University bought a property in north western Washington in 1988 and consequently set up their own programme with about 1300 alumni to date (Stanford in Washington, 2016; UCDC, 2016). There is no official register for these programmes, which makes it difficult to differentiate between universities that physically built off-branch campuses and those that just co-operate and affiliate with existing programmes. Nonetheless, the fact that a significant number of universities offer their students the chance to participate in study-internship programmes in Washington DC speaks for the success and the demand for this kind of student mobility.

There are also some non-university actors such as the Fund for American Studies (TFAS), which was established in 1967 and claims to be “a leader in educating young people from around the world in the fundamental principles of American democracy and our free market system” (DC Internships, 2016). There are also other funds, associations or organizations such as the Washington Center (founded in 1970, with “140 professional staff, associate faculty and Alumni in Residence, 1,600 interns plus several hundred seminar participants each year” and about 50,000 alumni (Washington Center, 2016), the Washington Internship Institute (established in 1990, 2500 alumni). In addition to all of these programmes, there are summer schools and internship

placement programmes that operate with similar aims. This internship placement and study sector emphasizes the size of this industry in Washington DC.

There are broad estimates that in total about 20,000 interns come to Washington each summer, of whom 6000 intern in Congress (Politico, 2009). According to Johnson (2010) the annual number of interns in Washington ranges from 20,000 to 40,000, of which about 2500 interns are participants of placement programmes. Johnson (2010) estimates that over the past 40 years, “the programs have collectively placed more than 60,000 interns. Some of them participate in alumni networks that function like college alumni associations, fundraise for the programs, join Facebook groups, volunteer to mentor or take on interns of their own.”

As its website states, American University’s Washington Semester Programme (WSP) (in Washington DC) is described as an “academic experiential learning programme”, established in 1947, enabling students to “spend a semester or an academic year in the dynamic, cosmopolitan city of Washington, D.C., where you will have access to some of the most influential people and organizations in the world” (American University, 2016). Furthermore, at their internships, which are a part of the programme, students are told that they will “gain invaluable work experience through an internship at a local organization and meet the movers and shakers of Washington, D.C.” (American University, 2016). While there are increasingly more programmes (both in Washington DC but also in other global cities and hubs of education), the WSP is one of the older programmes and is deeply embedded into Washington DC’s political landscape and was hence chosen as the main focus of this case study.

Promoting Cosmopolitanism and Global Citizenship in Washington DC

Apart from the unique study and networking opportunities of participation in one of these programmes, increasing one’s cosmopolitanism and global citizenship plays a significant part in the promotion of these programmes. As both, cosmopolitanism and global citizenship develop in global cities, the global impact of Washington DC is

strongly advertised and moreover, the cultural and touristic opportunities of the city are highlighted. For instance, the Osgood Centre, a not-for-profit educational foundation, describes Washington DC as an intern city where youth and power meet (Osgood Centre, 2016):

If there is an internship capital, it is Washington DC. If there is a city where youth have extraordinary power, authority, and influence, it is Washington DC. The District of Columbia is host to thousands of interns each semester and tens of thousands in the summer. It is an extraordinary place to network, to make new friends, have once-in-a-lifetime experiences, and to watch (or be a part of) history in the making. With one of the best educated populations in the world, Washington is a place where you begin to synthesize all you learned from your college education and recognize the alternative paths to your future leadership endeavors.

The opportunity to intern and live in Washington is clearly marketed as a once-in-a-lifetime opportunity to grow both as a person as well as career-wise. The way that DC is described as one of the best educated populations in the world suggests that it is in fact more than a city but a space that holds the qualities of future leadership and ambition. One could interpret this space as a key node in globalisation that breeds and furthers cosmopolitan capital. The sentence that refers to “thousands of interns each semester” has a variety of functions. It makes the reader aware of his or her competition but simultaneously raises awareness for this ‘special’ opportunity to watch or “be part of history in the making”. Moreover, it soothes young students who might be scared and intimidated by this rhetoric of power and influence, arguing that they are following in the footsteps of others who have started as interns in Washington. After all, they are coming to the “internship capital”. Clearly, cosmopolitanism and global citizenship are values that are reflected and utilised in this quotation.

American University’s advertisement materials for their Washington Semester Program also emphasise Washington’s cosmopolitanism, pace and influence. The programme states that Washington, DC, is:

more than the dynamic and cosmopolitan city that is home to President Obama and your U.S. Senators and representatives. It’s an international cultural center loaded with opportunity and teeming with go-getters anxious to share life experiences, debate the day’s most timely topics, and weigh in on policies that

help shape the world we know. The DC population is savvy and the pace is faster here, but if you can jump in and hang on there's no better place to discover what you're made of (American University, 2010, 2).

There is a certain tone of warning in this quotation, as it alerts that the DC population "is savvy and the pace is faster here" but this test will show participants of the programme whether or not they are ready and prepared for such an environment. In this cosmopolitan atmosphere of the city, opportunities may come for those that work hard and are ready for this city. This quote can actually be read as an updated American or Global Dream and visualises an imagery of a moving train, pulling away from the observer the student seeking opportunities) that is trying to get a hold of this chance.

While American University's WSP only slightly hints at the cultural opportunities of Washington and focusses more on the career aspects of a participation in the programme, the Washington Center promotes it as a very cultural city:

At The Washington Center, you get not only great work and learning experience but also great life experience. Living in the U.S. capital is like nothing else in the world. The city's energy is remarkable at both work and play. There's so much to see and do, and it's all at your doorstep as a TWC intern (Washington Center, 2015, 12).

Here the exclusivity of the chance of being able to live in Washington is emphasised and it is asserted that it can compare to nothing else worldwide. Thus, the opportunities of Washington, not only for one's career but also personally, as life experience are marketed. They elaborate more specifically that:

Washington offers impressive architecture and monuments, incredible museums, World-class theatre, great nightlife, a rich international community and restaurants with a wide range of cuisines. Throughout your time with TWC, you'll experience the city in a way that tourists never could. Best of all, you'll get to know fellow students from the United States and around the world. You'll participate in a variety of social activities, trips and adventures together. And by the time the program concludes, you'll have created friendships that remain strong for many years in the future (Washington Center, 2015: 12).

The aspect of “not being a tourist” and authenticity that can be found here in this quote are essential to branding the participation in this programme. The study programmes argue that participants will have more of an experience, a better, more sustainable and worthwhile experience than as a tourist, because participants are there for a longer amount of time and are able to utilise recommendations from locals and programme staff. The networks that are formed in these ‘adventures’ will then lay a foundation to further adventures and travel, as the friendships may well be international, according to the Washington Center advertisement.

These examples work in showcasing the allegedly rare opportunity the students acquire in participating in these programmes and thus getting ‘into’ Washington DC and its opportunities. The rhetoric works in order to cast DC as a space of political globalisation, hence something common for today’s students, but also something fleeting, something that moves and possibly overtakes them and a chance that they will not get a hold of. The space of Washington DC is described as the other, an extreme out of the ordinary as its benefits and its connections to the world (as a key node in globalisation) and to the decision-makers and elites that inhabit this space are highlighted. The language used emphasises the uniqueness of the opportunity to get into this space of global decision-making. We next focus on student’s actual experiences of Washington DC.

Student Mobilities to Washington DC

One of the interviewees was a twenty-two year old intern for a Congresswoman at the time of the interview and he was extremely concerned about his professional future. Moreover, he stated that he did not enjoy the internship that much because of a lack of responsibility but that this was not that important because “Here’s what is great about it though, even though a lot of what I am doing, I am not enjoying, it still looks good in a resume; as much as I hate to admit that it is the truth” (Interview with Martyn, 2015). He also asserted that he was scared of the job market due to its competitiveness:

Terrified, mhh it is super competitive. I mean, yeah you have kids going to Stanford, you have kids going to all the Ivy League schools, you know there are so many great schools out there and so many smart kids. Someone like me, how do

you compete? How do you compete, so, my whole thing is, I do programs like this to try to compete. (...) And my edge is gonna be experience and exposure and professionalism” (Interview with Martyn, 2015)

He was clearly aware that being able to have the proof for his internship in Washington, a letter of recommendation and a certificate from the Washington Semester Programme would be the proof he needed for his mobility experience in a place of power which would then help him to further his career. Moreover, as this quote suggests while claiming to not be as clever as some of his competition, he indirectly saw himself in competition with students who went to the more elite universities in the US. His solution to this competition was participation in programmes like the Washington Semester Programme in order to become more experienced and professional. Thus he concluded that a time in Washington, at a University and in an internship was a way to replace studying at an elite university. As Perlin suggests, there might be a case to be made for Martyn’s reasoning as in recent years,

dozens upon dozens of schools have set up their own Beltway operations in the last few decades, largely to position their students for the internship feeding frenzy. Among the most prominent are programs run by Cornell, Claremont McKenna, the University of California system, Syracuse, Boston University, Harvard Law School and Stanford, but there are many more. Between these university beachheads, the massive nonprofit internship centers, and personal connections, young people on their own stand little chance of landing a well-placed internship in DC, if they can even afford it to begin with—given an estimated cost of living around \$1,500 per month—on a responsible student’s budget (Perlin, 2012: 111)

As some government departments increasingly source out their internship recruitment to programmes at the Washington Center (Perlin, 2011, 109), individual internship opportunities become sparse and students are indirectly forced to rely on study-internship programmes in Washington to find internships. Ploner (2015: 2) while acknowledging the number of cosmopolitan study and learning opportunities that have been developed in the global knowledge economy also notes that “it is also characterised by uneven affordances and power relations which marginalise those who are ‘immobile’ due to social, financial or political reasons“. Frändberg (2013: 148) further explains that there is a negative side to the increasing number of mobility opportunities for students:

...the 'freedom to explore' has another side, which is mobility as a strategy for handling increasing labour market insecurity and perhaps also for fulfilling expectations of becoming a (geographically) flexible adult. In certain social groups, transnational mobility competence is increasingly seen as a precondition for employability...

One danger of mobility programmes is that as there are many families and students who are not able to afford these programmes and are not able to invest in their children's cultural and human capital such programmes will lead to further socio-economic divisions.

The notion of mobility as a means to prepare for the labour market and increase employability options might also be seen as impacting mobility-decision-making and restricting the freedom of choice. As the example of Martyn shows these programmes are utilised as a means of increasing student's human capital value and employability. The idea of the 'mobility burden' (Shove, 2002), the implicit necessity to be mobile, becomes important here as increasingly students like Martyn feel they are expected to join such global study internship programmes in order to become valued members of society in competition with elites. Conversely, for other young people the concept of home and the local may regain popularity as the pressures to be mobile become too much or may not fit into their value systems.

As many young people try to go to Washington for an internship or for undergraduate or graduate studies, in the interviews conducted the city was often described as an extremely transient place, as people tended to live there for a couple of years or months.

What I find difficult about Washington is that there are many people mmm that move to DC after um, after finishing their Masters or maybe for their Masters and then they stay for a few years and then they move on. So in a way it's not a place where you have like many real neighbourhoods. I feel and it's not a place um where really people um, um stay to live. They come for a career and they might leave again (Interview with Aaron, 2015).

Here Aaron suggests that many people do not associate and measure Washington that much by terms of quality of living but rather in terms of usability for their careers.

Aaron highlights that DC is not a place where people ‘stay to live’. He showcased a perspective that emphasises the value of career aspects in his value system. This confirms Frändberg’s argument that, “at least for large groups in the world’s richer countries, long-distance temporary moves have become a significant part of the transition to adulthood“, especially as they help young people in “exploring future social and professional opportunities as well as part of the ‘project of the self’” and may substantially impact their future mobilities (Frändberg, 2013: 149).

This description of Washington DC as a transient city was developed by a number of other research participants. For example, George elaborated on the culturally attractive factors of Washington and the cosmopolitan atmosphere of the city and social interactions.

Yeah, socially it’s great. Everyone that you engage with, I mean there is like a big , you know the nightlife scene is totally thriving here, there is a lot of young people, you know most, I don’t know what the stat was, some ridiculous stat about everyone living here from like twenty to thirty years old, it’s like a place for young professionals, so. People are always out and engaging in the city, with events and music, you know going out to the bars and the restaurants. When you do engage it is, it is (...) when you engage with them, you like it is really stimulating. Everyone’s very smart, everyone kind of has a role, if you are in the city, you are kind of, you are not here to you know just work and live a normal job like there is something that you are gonna be doing in the city because, just the chance you have of meeting someone that is doing something cool in the city is so high, so you can always have a conversation about what they are doing, what you are doing, somehow it relates and you have a great rich conversation, often intelligent and it’s fun (Interview with George, 2015).

What is significant about George’s remarks is how interwoven the cultural aspects that he highlights are with career aspects of getting to know people and networking. He notes the chances of meeting someone ‘cool’ is very high and he finds engaging with the city and its people stimulating. This helps depict a culture of constant networking that is present in the leisure nightlife of the city. It also re-enforces the image that ‘outsiders’ might have of life within the beltway, as it describes a bubble in which the inhabitants of Washington DC take themselves very seriously and have very political debates that might seem strange to other Americans. Moreover, it is interesting that

George highlighted the city as very young and fun, an image that might in some ways contradict images of the 'old elites' that run the US and the city. Also, the emphasis on how many people might possibly be interesting or relevant to George also showcases the transience of the city as well as how fluent and short-lived personal relationships are in George's experience. In addition, to these factors these remarks show that career aspects are a dominant theme in the WSP participant's mobility-decision-making, but once the students arrive in Washington the factor of personal development, opportunity for individualisation and participating in global citizenship lifestyles in Washington play a significant role in this form of student mobility and experiencing Washington DC.

While George, who was still very new to the city was excited by these aspects, other interviewees who had lived in Washington for a couple of years found the aspect of constant networking very exhausting and tiring. Alice, stated that her reasons for coming to Washington were:

I studied abroad a year ago, and I was studying in El Salvador, when I returned I was in this kind of middle space where I had a very positive experience abroad, I spent a lot of time in the community of women and children, very impoverished community. (...) Back at school, and so I came back and I knew that I wanted to be a child studies major (...) but as far as careers mhh, I knew that that it was never to early to start thinking about that, and feeling that I knew that exposure, I heard about the WSP, my school has a partnership with AU, which makes it really easy to come here (...) wanting to explore specifically the area of policy, but at the same time had that component of (unintelligible) which is why I had an internship at a non-profit. And so having heard how the program really did a good job of combining the two, and giving us exposure to, being in DC, you see the policies, you see the politics, how that plays in, in with communities, and then how those communities, how non-profits fill in the gap, so that's what I was really looking in and for. Mhh, and I wasn't sure I was gonna get that elsewhere. So it was really about coming to DC for me (Interview with Alice, 2015).

The direct exchange agreement between her home school and American University seemed to her as a simple way to gain this experience, as she only needed to pay the regular tuition of her home school. Moreover, she wanted to gain more experience in the field of community work. It should be mentioned that the vocabulary that Alice used

was very specific and seemed to reflect the language that is used in the programme's brochures, as well as her class teacher of in the sustainable development class and in generally in Washington DC.

Alice had been to Washington before participation in the programme because her sister was living in the city, and she stated that her "sister did a lovely job of showing me around DC and from that trip, I knew I wanted to see more of DC, I knew I wanted to come back" (Interview with Alice, 2015). There were also other participants who highlighted previous trips to family members or friends in Washington as well as high school trips to Washington DC. VFR (Visiting Friends and Relatives) connections and associations with Washington DC were a key factor for their decision making (see Boyne et al., 2002).

Conversely however, Nathalie, who was nominated for the programme asserted that there were other more cultural reasons for coming to Washington DC:

There is a great live music scene in DC, there is poetry which I really like. (...) One big thing, a factor when I am deciding to move somewhere is how easy it is to get around on public transportation, because at that time; although I had my driver's license I did not have a car; so I knew that I would be able to get around just fine. And I knew that my cousin would still be there, so I would have someone that I; I at least knew one person; I did not know anyone who was going to participate in the program but I know if I wanted an out I had family in the city that I could go and hang out with; so I think that made the decision a little bit easier, too.

(Interview with Nathalie, 2015)

So, in her case there were many factors, the nomination for the programme that made her aware of the programme in Washington, as well as the general possibility to go and take part in a programme at a different university. As her family received no tertiary education in the US, she did not have the cultural capital and required knowledge about these opportunities. An attraction to the cultural possibilities in Washington as well as a more practical mundane mobility reason, the accessibility of Washington DC via public transport, because she did not own a car all factored into Nathalie's decision of taking part in this programme in Washington. Also in this case there was a family member that

was living in the city and alleviated her decision to move into a different city. Nathalie's case exemplifies the multitude of factors that play a role in educational mobility decisions.

Conclusions

Washington DC is an extremely transient city but with the election of President Trump it remains to be seen whether DC will remain a focus for international students. In a recent interview the political philosopher Zizek (2016) argued that Donald Trump becoming President would interrupt the normal order of political events and make the US think seriously about their political system as, he argued, it had become mainstreamed to the extent that it left little room for criticality. In this paper we have explored how Washington DC has become a hub for student's seeking to become part of the global elite through participation in study internships which are promoted as enabling them to become global political citizens. In particular, we have shown that apart from the unique study and networking opportunities of participation in one of these programmes, increasing one's cosmopolitanism and global citizenship plays a significant part in the promotion of these programmes.

Moreover, career aspects are a dominant theme in the participant's mobility-decision-making, but once the students arrive in Washington the factor of personal development, opportunity for individualisation and participating in global citizenship lifestyles in Washington play a significant role in this form of student mobility and experiencing Washington DC. While the study internship programmes emphasise that students will experience more of Washington DC than a tourist, this has conversely helped to re-create Washington DC as an increasingly transient city experienced by both students and tourists as a place that you would not 'stay to live' long term. This highlights the mobilities of both place and people as Washington DC has become a city of mobile global citizenship where the inequalities of access to power are often hidden within networks of cultural capital and cosmopolitanism.

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