Education as Care of the Self: Identity and Meaning in the Global Era

by William M. Sullivan

The Poynter Center
for the Study of Ethics and American Institutions
Indiana University
Education as Care of the Self: Identity and Meaning in the Global Era

by William M. Sullivan
Professor of Philosophy
LaSalle University

The Poynter Center
Indiana University
410 North Park Avenue
Bloomington, Indiana 47405

July 1994
Education as Care of the Self: Identity and Meaning in the Global Era

I. The Global Era as a Challenge to Identity

Ours are indeed interesting times. No one knows if that will turn out to be a curse or a blessing. A new global economy is emerging and with it new political and social forms, but these changes are ambiguous, at once creating possibilities and destroying steadying guides and safe harbors. As people, goods and ideas flow among nations and places at an accelerating rate, a cosmopolitan way of living is being forced upon everyone, but rarely is it complemented by corresponding dispositions or adequate understanding of the complexities of the new situation. These trends heighten the urge for cultural exploration and everywhere add intensity to the struggle for identity. It is a difficult moment for educators. What follows is intended as an exploration of some of these issues, with attention to their bearing on the development of a philosophy of education -- particularly higher education -- that can successfully address the need for an effective, responsible approach to globalism.

In our situation, many, perhaps especially the young, have become reflective. Many ask about the nature of the changes in which they find themselves enmeshed, but even more they seek to know which purposes may be viable and worth pursuing, nervously wondering if any of the inherited meanings of life have value. In such a context, the "I," the self, cannot but be a central concern of education, as of the whole moral life. The big questions, however, turn on how we understand the self, particularly the ways in which the self is related to other persons, institutions and the world, as well as the
kinds of self that should be cultivated: their loyalties, dispositions and aims.

The theme of selfhood is connected to that of identity, which is receiving a great deal of scholarly and popular attention. In the form of concerns with "diversity" and multiculturalism, the contemporary academy echoes with cries for attention to previously ignored or undervalued aspects of identity.

Nationalism, the most potent political force of our time, is in important part about the search for respectability and satisfactory identity. It is no exaggeration to argue, as has Charles Taylor, that with the collapse of the ideological stand-off of the Cold War, much of contemporary politics is best seen as a "struggle for recognition," the continuing search for a "politics of equal dignity" that began with the Enlightenment and the Romantic Movement.

Running through much of this discourse, but also extending far beyond it, into the popular cultures of religion, entertainment, therapy and politics, is the notion of the individual as the value-laden focus of attention. The self seems to be a theme of compelling interest, one far from exhaustion. However, individuality and personal identity are hardly new themes in moral philosophy or liberal education. What is novel, or at least more salient, is the centrality these ideas have acquired for both critics and proponents of modern culture.

At the core of this discussion lies the heady idea of freedom as fashioning of the self. In this understanding, shaping one's life means taking charge of one's destiny, becoming the subject of one's life rather than a passive object at the mercy of the whims of others and fate. At the same time, this freedom is tinged with anxiety. Self-awareness and sensitivity to one's freedoms and dignity are traits of a heightened reflexivity, a more self-conscious way of living. These traits, among the most central to the culture of modernity, are stimulated by the lure of novel possibilities, but they can also be responses to social decomposition and cultural disorientation.

Contemporary intellectuals remain deeply divided about which of these tendencies -- toward emergent possibility or toward entropic decomposition -- is the more powerful factor in the development of modern self-consciousness. For those who see increased reflexivity as a symptom of disintegration, attention to the self tends inevitably toward psychic and social pathology, with nihilism its ultimate destination. For such thinkers, often self-described cultural conservatives, the remedy is the reassertion of "traditional values" and the reimposition of "traditional" institutional guides and constraints upon the anarchic forces of individualism. Others see the growth of self-reflexivity not only as the mark of liberation from illegitimate, extraneous bonds on the self, but as a measure of a growing maturity. For proponents of autonomy, the besetting danger is repression or coercive control of the creative possibilities of human existence.

Here liberals and liberationists make common cause against restraint and social discipline, sometimes in the name of autonomous reason and sometimes for the sake of a spontaneity said to be rooted in the organic subsoil of personality. The familiar cultural debate as engaged by these contrasting positions has proven unresolvable. Each point of view embodies an evaluative judgment that can make plausible appeals to certain cases, as each illuminates certain important
dimensions of contemporary life. Their very one-sidedness, however, undermines their pretensions to define the present discussion in their own terms. Yet it is possible to understand these positions as describing a deep tension in modern life, a tension virtually constitutive of modernity as such.

On the one hand, modern life is characterized by the continuing expansion of possibilities for individual exploration and achievement. The philosophical doctrine of natural right as protection from arbitrary interference ranks among the powerful cultural projects that have sought to expand the realm of self-conscious choice and action. On the other hand, theorists of the division of labor from Adam Smith onward have shown how enhancement of the powers and freedom of the individual depends upon a social undergirding of expanding communication and commerce.

This dependence means that the growth of individuation requires an expansion and intensification of social networks of interdependence and cooperation. Individual freedom, that is, depends upon social supports. It seeks confirmation in human relationships and reaches fulfillment in shared purposes. Furthermore, because being recognized as a possessor of prized qualities and abilities is itself a chief part of human satisfaction, the fluid conditions of modern life make persons particularly dependent upon winning the esteem of others. The same intensification of social interconnections that make modern choice possible, however, often operate coercively, creating new forms of dependency as well as providing platforms for self-enhancement. The modern self thus emerges as simultaneously struggling to define its own identity and yet deeply dependent upon large-scale, impersonal patterns of relationships with others, which frequently seem to dwarf and overawe the individual.

The contemporary quest for self-definition is thus precarious and threatened on two sides. One threat is familiar. It arises from the many social forces that block or distort, overtly or more subtly, the potentials for self-reflectivity and the individual's assumption of responsibility for his or her own development. Much of modern political culture since the liberal Enlightenment has been focused upon devising strategies for emancipation of the self from these restraints. More recent movements of liberation politics are species of the same long-term political project.

The other threat to self-definition is equally serious, but far less understood or popularly recognized. It arises from the existential vertigo that often results when escape from confining patterns of social dependency is not accompanied by effective new forms of social solidarity and support. The exhilaration of life without its old restrictions gives way to a sense of alienation and meaninglessness, preparing the ground for the variety of "escapes from freedom," individual and collective, that litter twentieth century history and the contemporary scene.

Secure personhood demands of the individual some reciprocity with others as well as concern for maintaining the conditions upon which individuation depends. The great challenge to moral philosophy is to develop understandings of individuality that recognize that personal agency is enmeshed with interdependency, therefore embracing the social conditions of freedom and taking active responsibility for them. Because the modern context is
so complex, making it supportive of aspirations to selfhood is especially demanding. Along with and beyond struggles against oppression, aspirations toward equality demand that cooperation be embraced and promoted through mutual trust and an ethos of responsibility. This aim has formed the moral core of the other great historical project of modern politics, the development of civic culture. Absent an effective civic culture, the struggle for liberation degenerates, first into mutually hostile anarchy, finally into tyranny.

Self-reflective capacities and active agency together form the Archimedean point of modern politics and morality, whether under the banners of democracy, identity politics or the politics of meaning. However, a viable educational philosophy for our time must go further than the exaltation of freedom of choice. It must embrace the idea that reflective agency can be sustained only within a social situation characterized by participatory institutions that are animated by civic values. Unfortunately, the rapid growth of global interdependence is, by a kind of perverse irony, making these very interrelationships harder to grasp and embrace and significantly raising the practical stakes at issue.

II. "Born To Shop": The Paradox of Globalism

Growing global interdependence, evident in the areas of economics, national security and the environment, now reaches down into the details of everyday existence. The effect in American society has been a disorientating confusion about national purpose and identity that is affecting our educational institutions with particular vehemence. These developments have not been intended nor planned. Rather, they have grown up, as Theodore Von Laue has put it, "over everybody's head." Von Laue describes the result graphically:

In the great metropolitan centers especially in their intellectual circles (or their peripheries), the world's great religions vie with each other; lifestyles from different parts of the world are on display.

The result is that the world has become a shopping mart crammed full with humanity's riches, ranging from items for the most crass sensual self-indulgence to compendia of practical knowledge, labor-saving devices, industrial machinery, and psychological advice and spiritual values.

That means, von Laue observes, that "the present generation is born to shop -- or at least window-shop -- in the world's supermarket, challenged but also bewildered by the choices offered and increasingly overtaxed by the decisions to be made."

The current generation of students is encouraged in the sense of being "born to shop" by the increasing convergence between the curricular structure of higher education and the imperatives of the image-driven consumer economy in which all students who are entering higher education have already received considerable instruction. As knowledge is rendered ever more technical, it can be marketed as instrumental to the obvious need to make one's way in the global marketplace. Cultural learning now often
appears as a set of potentially interesting choices, on the model of a cable TV menu.

Usually missing or given little serious attention is the vital question of how it might be possible to make sense of life in the emerging global epoch. This lack is especially serious since most students sense a harder edge beneath the soft sell of the consumer culture, as beneath the easy-going atmosphere of the youth culture. As Von Laue notes, the development of technology and the sheer complexity of modern society enforces "yet greater specialization at the price of a corresponding shrinkage of overall awareness; more attention is given to machines and organizational technicalities than to human need." In this unstable environment, the great imperatives of the world market -- to stay alive and remain competitive -- become more consuming than ever, narrowing the psychic space needed for choice and leisure reflection. The result is overload. "The range of intellectual and spiritual outreach," Von Laue argues, "as well as the capacity for mutual adjustment" shrink just at the moment when "enlargement of perspectives and flexibility are needed more urgently than ever."

Rather than inciting a growth in mutual responsibility, the growing interdependence within and between nations has engendered "a mood of frustration, helplessness, and fatalistic escapism." In retreat from the increased demands for responsibility and solidarity, "people become more immorally self- or even body-centered." At the same time, "the pacesetting workaholics, absorbed in their specialties, make poor citizens in communities where public well-being used to depend on civic participation."

Summarizing, Von Laue concludes that "the globalization of life is encouraging a counteruniversalist contraction of human awareness, an aversion to globalism." A clear manifestation of this aversion is the retreat from commitment and serious engagement. Long a major problem of adolescence, chronic fear of engagement has become endemic throughout American life. To a surprising degree, American society has become reluctant to endow its future. This trend is visible in the long-term decline in public investment in physical infrastructure such as roads, railroads and cities, as well as in the concern over the effectiveness of American business in the new competitive environment. The same pattern is equally evident in the nation's growing social disintegration: inadequate health care for many, weakening education, poor social supports for children, the nightmare world of violence and urban decay.

Here is where the dependence of personal agency upon effective social ties emerges as the salient fact. The enemies of global responsibility are individual disorientation and the collapse of self-confidence, which results from an uncomprehended social change that wreaks havoc upon established communities. But globalism is also threatened by another response to rapid change: the narrowing of focus to technical and instrumental skills that is everywhere apparent, especially in educational institutions. In their anxiety and near-panic, these efforts to cope mistake short-term utility for long-term adaptability. Because they ignore the crucial intellectual orientation and moral habits that can make sense of and direct technical skills, these efforts frequently become maladaptive, imprisoning individuals and organizations within
obsolete technical knowledge that has lost its usefulness in the rapidly changing global marketplace.

Other responses to disorientation, such as the cultivation of irony, cynicism, even nihilism, can be appealing responses to a chaotic and overwhelming situation. These responses become especially attractive to the young when many “in the know” seem to wink or to shrug with an air of detached resignation. "Look to yourselves,” they seem to say, "cultivate the right kind of image -- tongue-in-cheek, of course -- and you may get what you want, or at least have a good time trying.” As a serious basis for experiments in living, however, this response is wildly inadequate to the challenges that prompt it. It is also curiously lacking in self-reflection. It ignores the social and cultural subsoil of personality, those inherited and borrowed purposes and meanings through which we shape our identities. Individuality is always improvisation on common themes. Without these themes, there is no music to develop, only psychic noise.

In the absence of an educational philosophy able to address the complexities of becoming adult in the emerging global era, it is likely that such cynical strategies will proliferate, with predictably frustrating outcomes. We confront the large task of focusing a disoriented educational system on encouragement of the knowledge and virtues needed to respond to the challenges of the global era. Where might we look for a viewpoint from which to carry on that task? Perhaps a look backward can help us steady our balance.

III. Cosmopolitanism and the Care of the Self

Ours is not the first age to confront such problems. As historians of the ancient world have reminded us, "the creation of a uniform world-wide civilization and of similar social and economic conditions” now going on before our eyes "is not new. . . [T]he ancient world also lived, for a series of centuries, a life which was uniform in culture and politics, in social and economic conditions.”10 If one approaches historical similarities in order to gain insight rather than with an intent to imitate, then a historical glance at an earlier cosmopolitan era may shed light on the challenges and possible responses available in our own.

The world of Hellenistic and Graeco-Roman civilization, ranging for several centuries on either side of the beginning of the Christian era, was not the only ecumenical civilization. It knew itself to be coexisting and interacting with the older high cultures of the Middle East and India and, more dimly felt, the empire of Han Dynasty China. However, the Graeco-Roman world provides the spectacle of a broadly similar conjunction of a unified commercial and political order supporting a common high culture, within and through which cultural exchange and conflict went on among vastly varied peoples. Significantly, it was not a national culture in the modern sense. Like the other major civilizations stretched across ancient Eurasia, the Graeco-Roman world thought not so much in terms of nations as through the dichotomy civilized-barbarous, where civilization meant a shared, flexible, ecumenical form of life, which was sometimes united into one imperial state and sometimes more
diffuse. The civilizational order, that is, was in many ways more fundamental than political or national organization. The humanist tradition was rooted in the life of the civic community of the Greek city. In time, however, it evolved into a complex understanding of life, aspects of which could appeal across cultural and religious boundaries to individuals as well as to nations and groups. One of the central axes of that humanism was philosophy, which in the Hellenistic era placed "strong emphasis upon the individual and a 'nature' shared with humanity at large." The common horizon was the individual's search for identity and purpose through reasoned exploration, but the responses that resulted could be strikingly diverse. A. A. Long has commented that "Epicurus' renunciation of civic life and the Stoics' conception of the world as a kind of city may be viewed as two quite different attempts to come to terms with changing social and political circumstances."

Recently, Michel Foucault has opened further dimensions of that classical paideia, which highlight surprising connections to the contemporary search for selfhood under complex global conditions. Foucault is best known for his unmasking of the supposedly enlightened and humane institutions of modern society as systems of power and "regimes of truth," which shape the body and mind through "normalizing" practices. In his late work, however, particularly the project on the history of sexuality, Foucault came to emphasize the historical reconstruction of other modes of self-fashioning in which individual decision played a more important role. An important part of this project was his retrieval of the ancient theme of le souci de soi, the care of the self.

Some of his most perceptive interlocutors say that Foucault introduced this theme of ancient Greek and Roman culture in his late work in part as a gesture toward an alternative conception of culture and education. Foucault's effort at the retrieval of Hellenistic "care of the self" was meant to stand at variance with the "normalizing" disciplinary culture of Western modernity in which knowledge is deployed as a means of taming and remaking individuals toward the goal of greater collective efficiency. By contrast, this alternative kind of culture emphasizes "shared exemplars in taking up scattered practices, focusing them, and giving a direction to the strategies implicit in them."

In particular, Foucault seems to have found the Stoic practice of l'écriture de soi, or self-scripting of one's life, a particularly suggestive tool, a device not so much of emancipation as of the formation of the self as a work of art. Foucault took the theme of "care of the self" from the Greek phrase, heautou epimeleisthai. This theme gained prominence in the cosmopolitan world of Hellenistic and Graeco-Roman society. Cultivation of the self, in Foucault's account, arose in the new social context of a confident and cosmopolitan culture.

In Foucault's conception, that was a world much vaster, much more discontinuous, much less closed than must have been the case for the small city-states, it was also more flexible, more differentiated, less rigidly hierarchized than would be the authoritarian and bureaucratic Empire that people
would attempt to organize after
the great crisis of the third
century.

It was, in short, a historically novel kind of
complex space in which "the centers of
power were multiple; in which the
activities, the tensions, the conflicts were
numerous; in which they developed in
several dimensions; and in which the
equilibria were obtained through a variety
of transactions."\textsuperscript{16}

In that context, which had certain
resonances with our own, a new cultural
paradigm was gradually elaborated. It was
expressed in the philosophy of the Stoics,
in the medical treatises of Galen, and in
Roman jurisprudence, among other sources.
Foucault was at pains to point out that this
new way of living occasioned "not a
withdrawal into the self, but a new way of
conceiving oneself in relation to one's wife,
to others, to events, and to civic and
political activities -- and a different way of
considering oneself as the subject of one's
pleasures." In this context, Foucault
concluded, the cultivation of the self
"would not be the necessary 'consequence'
of these social modifications; it would not
be the expression in the sphere of
ideology; rather, it would constitute an
original response to them, in the form of a
new \textit{stylistics of existence}."\textsuperscript{17}

Style, as in "life-style," has become
one of the commanding features of
contemporary society. Through the media
of advertising, public relations and
entertainment, style -- the "look" of things,
the aesthetic dimension severed from its
ethical or social embedding -- has come
ever closer to dominance as a standard of
evaluation. Not only consumer goods but
people, including political leaders, have
come to be evaluated on the basis of their
style or their lack of it.

While posed in opposition to much
in this culture, it is hard to see how
Foucault's aesthetic interpretation of care of
the self can avoid being coopted into
becoming one of the slick surfaces of
postmodern consumption, one perhaps
especially marketable to discontented
intellectuals.\textsuperscript{18}

\section*{IV. Learning From Stoicism}

The Stoic trope of self-care had
several important dimensions that receive
little attention in Foucault's account. The
aesthetic quality to Stoic ethics and
thinking generally is certainly one of its
salient characteristics. However, the Stoics
did not differentiate what we call the
aesthetic from the true and the morally
good. Their "stylistics of existence" was
always played out against a civic and
cosmological backdrop in which one came
to discover one's ends and shape one's
identity by seeing oneself as a part within
a larger whole, a part moreover whose
fulfillment lay in contributing to the
harmony of that whole. Here we come
upon a broader understanding of the Stoic
fashioning of the self, which is importantly
suggestive for the modern global era.

The promise of Stoic philosophy, in
words ascribed to the school's founder,
Zeno of Citon, lay in "the virtue of the
happy man and a good flow of life," which
stemmed from the decision to aim at
"harmony between his own spirit and the
director of the universe."\textsuperscript{19} This aspect of
the doctrine of the part within the whole
was understood to mean that human beings
were, as the Stoics said, made for others.
This notion resonated with themes
advanced later by the world religions,
especially Christianity, many of whose
early figures were influenced by Stoic
thought.

The notion of whole and part,
generalized and extended by Stoic thought
in ethical as well as cosmological
directions, had its source in the experience
of the civic life of the ancient city. Hans
Jonas explicates the moral core of Stoicism
by noting that in civic life citizens could
affirm the city's status as superior to
themselves while also knowing that "they
were not only dependent on the whole for
their being but also maintained that whole
with their being." The civic whole was
thus committed to the care of the
individual, so that in this reciprocal
relationship he could affirm himself
through service to a whole, which "in
surpassing him and outlasting him was also
his supreme vindication." 20 Through
serving the common welfare, the individual
established an identity and achieved a
personal dignity.

In the ancient world, such
experiences, which provided a kind of
experiential confirmation of the Stoic ethic,
were far from universally available.
Those who had no access to the life of the
cities, suffered exploitation, or for various
reasons grew alienated had other concerns.
Jonas has articulated one very different
sensibility in his theory of Gnosticism, a
religion and philosophy he felt had
important resonances in contemporary
culture. 21 For the Gnostics, the reality of
social life was not reciprocal nor genuinely
participatory. The city, or more precisely
the empire, was indeed like the universe
itself, which for the Gnostic meant that it
was simply an "external, inaccessible
force." The individual's main task in life
was to wake up to the intrinsically coercive
reality of this world. The point was to
realize a hidden potential to escape the
recalcitrant features of society and the flesh
by activating hidden "spiritual" potentials
inherent in the mind. Jonas wrote that he
saw "something comparable" to the
Gnostic religion at work in modern
conceptions of a "trans-essential, freely
self-projecting existence," a self
intrinsic beyond any civic or natural
law, since "only where there is a whole is
there a law." 22

By contrast to Gnostic efforts to
negate and escape the world of time,
institutions and society, the Stoics took
their stand on the aspiration to achieve a
genuinely universal community of being
within the world. This community was to
be the "cosmopolis," or world-as-city, of
which the ideals of the self-governing city
ruled by law, justice and friendship were
understood as a kind of imperfect
approximation. In its early days, Stoicism
drew radical implications from this vision,
questioning slavery, war and the
subordination of women within the
patriarchal household. 23 Even after it made
peace with the surrounding society, the
Stoic philosophic community remained
open in theory to all. Among its great
figures we find the Roman emperor Marcus
Aurelius and the freed slave Epictetus.
Granted the limitations placed upon Stoic
moral vision by having chosen to play the
role of "moral missionary" for a
"prestigious counterculture within the
elite," 24 Stoicism was for centuries able to
administer jolts of positive energy to a
civic culture beset from inside and out by
debilitating entropic attacks.

As a provocative idea, Stoic care of
the self has several relevant features.
First, Stoicism addressed individuals who,
then as now, had become conscious of
their freedom to shape their own
personalities. The Stoics insisted that freedom meant taking responsibility for one's own well-being. The fundamental choice was how one invested one's energies: either living off other persons, society and the world or living with them by cooperating toward the common benefit. Existence was potentially beautiful, as the world was good, but only for "the wise," who had found the elusive secret to happiness -- that the self had to undergo transformation. Individuals had to learn detachment from their unreflective wishes, instead achieving a more active fulfillment by developing friendships amid larger networks of interdependence, helping establish the "friendly sympathy" the philosophers believed the true value in the world.

Second, Stoicism urged the individual to discover by personal experience the value of a life of active service as a citizen of the great community of being. To "find oneself" in that understanding required knowledge of the world in its full complexity. This approach to self-understanding was summed up in the Stoic virtue of wisdom, which enjoined a life-long effort to enlarge one's vantage point on oneself and one's desires, even as the individual learned to be useful in the contexts of everyday existence. Moreover, the pursuit of wisdom was not conceived as a solitary search. It required "friendship," a sustained engagement with others. Thus, wisdom was to express itself in the cultivation of the civic virtues of trust, tolerance and commitment to the common welfare, pushing the boundaries of community toward concern for the whole human world.

Third, in a civilization largely innocent of a work ethic, Stoicism strove to infuse ordinary social functions with ethical, even religious responsibility. The concrete relationships and obligations of a specific social identity were thus made the occasions for both cognitive growth and moral-psychological transformation. For the individual, Stoicism thereby offered the fulfillment of a challenging and meaningful life, one that would employ all the person's talents in furthering a high cause. To society it held out the prospect of human beings who were psychically integrated and attuned to furthering justice and the common good, self-reflective and able to criticize courageously when necessary.

Marcus Aurelius reflected on his experience of living this approach to life in terms remarkably like those Zeno had used to imagine it nearly five centuries earlier. Marcus wrote that his conviction of being an intelligent participant in the great whole of nature led him to seek to "direct my every impulse to the common good and divert it from the opposite. . . . While achieving this," he observed, "life will of necessity flow easily, just as you would judge the life of a citizen to flow easily as he proceeds to benefit his fellow citizens by his actions, and welcomes whatever his city assigns to him."25

IV. Living the Cosmopolitan Paradox

The contemporary challenge of globalization is enormous: to work out a viable cosmopolitan ethic of common respect and mutual responsibility that can be made effective across an interdependent world of political, economic and cultural tensions. However, if nothing else, our common dependence upon a fragile ecosphere is making vividly clear that hopes for a livable future hang on the development of capacities very like Stoic wisdom, civic loyalty and vocational
responsibility. Yet, what Theodore Von Laue calls "aversion to globalism," engendered by the vertigo of uncomprehended change, hobbles all efforts in this direction. Is there anything to be learned from the experience of ancient Stoicism that might render our situation more tractable, or at least less overwhelming? Despite the Stoics' evident failure to reshape the social reality of the Graeco-Roman ecumene into anything close to their understanding of a good society, the conflict between their ideals and actual social experience highlights a parallel challenge that confronts all advocates of strengthened global cooperation in our time.

A cosmopolitan ethic must stand for general standards of justice and inclusion. It must affirm particular social and cultural differentiations, but it must also demand that these differentiations finally support the stability and inclusiveness of a larger interdependent order. Wisdom, as the Stoics understood it, means both taking the widest possible point of view, identifying with the search for the general good, and knowing how to value and relate to the particularities of custom, history and place. These two aims strain in different directions and are not easy to reconcile. Yet, a cosmopolitan ethic is most concerned to foster persons able to mediate this tension. As the Stoics saw their task, they were trying to lessen the gulf between two "cities." One was universal, seeking inclusion of all within attunement to the cosmos as they saw it, the aim of their aspirations, while the other was the polymorphous agglomeration of actual societies, often mutually suspicious or indifferent.

We, too, experience a profound tension between loyalties to particular identities and the need for cooperation across differences in order to support the coexistence, not to say the flourishing, of the particularities. Individual development requires mediation between the struggle for particular identity and the need to embrace the interdependence upon which all depend. If successful, individuation culminates in taking responsibility for relationships and purposes through which the self can affirm its freedom and uniqueness within a richer life. In the same way, groups and societies find themselves challenged by the extraordinary expansion of intercultural interaction in our world to undertake a parallel growth toward new and more complex identities.

Growth into the global society will leave no particular identity untouched, but if the participants can share some measure of guidance over the process, the many particularities will not only contribute to the general pattern but enrich themselves as well. This positive outcome will not be possible without the development of something like civic attitudes on a wide scale. That is finally the only antidote to the destructive potentials of violent nationalism. Today the same global economic and political system that propels demands for dignity and opportunity is also generating increasingly invidious inequalities marked by resentment, anger and frightening possibilities of violent collision. When the guardians of the ruling order refuse inclusion or change in that order, nationalisms and militant particularisms of all stripes march forward to provide confidence and purpose to those who stand outside or below the emerging world civilization. Unless each believes that they are really building a common city, all will suffer the ravages of rage born of fear and resentment. In such
circumstances, a cosmopolitan wisdom with civic intent is needed more than ever. Here we encounter paradox. For the dispositions of loyalty and trust, so essential for any stable cooperative order, develop most naturally in local and particular climates. The civic virtues of commitment and responsibility seem to strain against claims of wisdom to openness to others. "After all," ask the localists, "how can civic responsibility thrive except in delimited contexts of mutual accountability?"

Yet, cosmopolitans might rejoin, "How can such citizens, loyal to place, people, craft or religion, also be citizens of cosmopolis?" Concretely, the norms of the larger city, which enjoin recognition of the claims of all others as human beings, must leaven the practices and beliefs of specific places and peoples. At the same time, while the virtues of particular loyalties provide the essential moral intelligence upon which the practices of global citizenship must draw, the aspiration toward more inclusive norms must also be affirmed as a conscious moral purpose. That is, both social practices and intentional ideals must work together for positive development to take place. At their best, the ancient Stoics exemplified this effort, as, on a much wider scale, did the Christian congregations, local associations that understood themselves also to be members of an ecumenical community.

Our contemporary transnational networks are already far developed, ranging from global communications nets and intergovernmental organizations such as UNESCO to multinational corporations to professional linkages and social movements of conscience. One outcome is an international public opinion that has already become a potent force in politics everywhere. It can no longer be ignored by any state or business corporation.

Even as these global organizations draw upon the spirit developed in more particular communities, the wider networks of cosmopolitan spirit can work to liberalize and democratize the local centers of civic life, without supplanting or undermining them. In time, such networks of loyalty can give moral meaning to the expanding nerve pathways of global communication and commerce, building up a groundwork of mutual responsibility for the future cosmopolis. But the core of this development must be the nurturing of citizens who are at once of their own city and many others, capable of the kind of practical discernment and responsible decision making demanded by living the global paradox. Educating such citizens is the key challenge for leadership in our time, as it defines the great educational task of the era now dawning.

We need two different but complementary developments. On the one hand, we must foster vibrant, coherent -- but not closed -- civic cultures that inculcate dispositions of trust and mutual responsibility. On the other hand, no automatic socialization can replace the conscious cultivation of selves able to contribute to the common life in its full dimensions. One instance of the latter is the ethic of vocational responsibility. As will be described below, the spirit of the calling can act to mediate individual aspirations with social needs in ways that can promote not only effective human bonds but the reshaping of institutions as well.
V. How "Civics Matters"

In confronting the cosmopolitan paradox, the United States has valuable resources to draw upon. American institutions have been remarkably successful in the past in fostering -- in native and foreign-born citizens alike -- a civic culture that has shown an extraordinary synthetic capacity over time. It has nourished an ideal of self that has been remarkably tolerant by comparative standards and yet willing to engage in constructive cooperation for the common good. This civic heritage provides us with a moral core to be drawn upon and expanded toward more effective global citizenship.

Central to the American civic tradition has been the realization that participation in public institutions can teach and even transform identity. By joining others for the sake of enhanced personal opportunities, individuals are helped, precisely by these enhanced opportunities, toward commitment and voluntary self-investment in the institutions of cooperation. Enacted daily in a myriad of boards, commissions, juries, religious bodies and voluntary associations, this activity is an example of what Alexis de Tocqueville called "self-interest rightly understood," an educational process through which the self grows toward solidarity and responsibility. Through sometimes bitter struggles among contending notions of national purpose, this tradition has developed a greater inclusiveness and a fuller practice of justice. One of the enduring strengths of the American civic tradition has been its celebration of figures who contributed to social justice and the vision of betterment for all rather than dreams of power resting upon others' humiliation.

Recent social-scientific investigation has provided empirical evidence to confirm Tocqueville's point about the collective strength of active civic cultures. In confronting emerging world conditions, the virtues of the civic tradition, especially an understanding of social complexity complemented by willingness to cooperate over the long haul, have perhaps become the most crucial national resource. Societies that can balance competitive enterprise with a spirit of cooperation for social justice achieve both a higher standard of material welfare and greater loyalty among their citizens then societies less civically developed. That was the conclusion of a recent landmark study of Italian regional governments by Robert Putnam and colleagues.26

Successful modern societies, Putnam discovered, are civic societies. In civic regions, the customs that govern everyday life, the norms embedded in a dense network of organizations and associations, simultaneously sponsor enterprise and support concern for the common good. There, social expectations sanction engagement in public issues, a concern for fellow citizens, and a willingness to tolerate differences while working together through a variety of organizations. These shared expectations establish the common horizon of meaning within which individuals, families and organizations conceive and pursue their purposes. Strong civic norms tend to "acculturate" newcomers, so that civic communities benefit from the influx of new energy contributed by immigration.

By contrast, Putnam discovered that regions poor in civic practices not only tend to be xenophobic and suspicious, but
are significantly poorer in material terms as well. That is, a strong civic culture turned out to be the best (in fact, the only strongly significant) predictor of economic success for a locality. "The social capital embodied in norms and networks of civic engagement," Putnam wrote, "seems to be a precondition for economic development, as well as for effective government. Development economists take note: civics matters."  

A curious convergence with these findings is occurring in the business world. Both theorists and practitioners tell us that increasing numbers of businesses are replacing rigid top-down control with more participatory -- and more effective -- organizational patterns. It seems that the new economic climate demands managers and workers who are neither would-be despots, nor lone rangers, nor sullen "hired hands." Rather, the need is for greater flexibility and initiative, complemented by the development of trust and cooperation throughout the workforce.

In order to succeed, organizations that undertake such reform find that they must nurture loyalty to credible shared goals. But loyalty cannot long be manipulated; to elicit trust, one must be trustworthy. Thus, the implication of active participation on the part of employees is that business organizations must become more like small civic communities rather than the rigid, militarized firms of the earlier industrial age. Properly adapted, the traditional focus of the liberal arts on humanistic skills and civic arts ought to become an increasingly sought-after asset for educating the economic actors in such an economy. The long-term effects of such developments are hard to predict, but a stronger symbiosis between business practices, civic values, and liberal education would certainly be a major societal advance likely to produce not only the rewards of enhanced economic development but greater social cohesion as well.

It is important to be realistic about the conditions and limitations of the American civic tradition. Despite real progress, it has never fully overcome the legacy of racial oppression and prejudice. Moreover, this flexible civic paideia owed much of its success to exceptionally favorable circumstances: the relative abundance of economic and social opportunities and the general security of life enjoyed by the United States for most of its history. As Tocqueville saw, it also depended upon a strong ground-level consensus on moral value and religious hope, which has been the sustaining contribution of Christianity to American life. In world-comparative terms, these enabling conditions, of course, appear quite rare if not unique. They may not be replicable or fully renewable. However, the fostering of like conditions is today everywhere the definition of the civic project.

VI. The Civic Challenge of Global Networks

The proliferation of many "stylistics of the self," like the more spectacular resurgence of ethnic, religious and cultural particularisms, is a potent indicator that a new global era has arrived. Even the resisters of what are perceived as homogenizing global processes do so through concepts and by means of organizing strategies that have become common coin along the transnational networks. But for all the ubiquity of the processes and patterns at work,
differentiation accompanies the pressures of growing interdependence. The potentials for conflict and breakdown are real.

The question at all levels is thus a recognizably common one: Is it possible to enhance opportunities for unique self-definition and strengthen habits of tolerance and cooperation at the same time? This question is, of course, a recognizably civic theme. The still only vaguely discerned challenge is to foster ways of life that, while cosmopolitan in outlook, are also local and specific in concern. To respond effectively will require persons able to affirm their uniqueness by making distinctive contributions to values beyond the self, individuals who strive to complete themselves within rather than against the larger human and ecological whole. The long-term success of this project depends upon the success of efforts to institutionalize such attitudes. More immediately, the need is to articulate the project and its potentials.

There are many causes of the exacerbation of ethnic, religious and personal self-consciousness, but certainly few are more powerful than changes in the conditions and practices of work. The transnational, high technology market system is rapidly emancipating itself from the familiar forms of social regulation by national governments. As capital has become freer of legal and political restraints, including the enforcement of human and social rights within particular nations, so have the international markets for labor. The rapid transformations of technology and economics has freed -- or forced -- increasing numbers of individuals from traditional patterns of work and family life. In the United States and Western Europe, once reliable educational and career paths have suddenly begun to give way to an inviting but risky frontier of opportunities without guarantees or guidelines. At one end of the spectrum, international business has developed a vast appetite for technical expertise, and those who possess the desired skills are taking active parts in shaping the new system. This system and pattern of work are less tied to place and more linked by transnational networks of interest and sympathy.

In the modern workforce, a relatively small but growing population of highly trained manipulators of knowledge, expert in technique and communication, has moved to the forefront, forming an increasingly transnational professional class. At the other end of the spectrum, the acceleration of capital and technology flows, often engineered by ascendant transnational professionals who are personally insulated from the effects of their handiwork, has set in motion vast international labor migrations. The participants in these migrations of less skilled workers come from societies all over the world. They are less likely to live in traditional bounded places, but rather within networks that link them and their changing views with their "home" societies and cultures.

The members of the highly educated professional stratum are also becoming less tied to the traditional organizational cultures of specific national societies. Instead, they become more technique-focused, single-mindedly intent upon improving their position through the facilitation of technological and economic innovation. They specialize in scientific technologies of all kinds, in communications, business and legal
expertise, and the plethora of new skills that Robert Reich has termed "symbolic analysis." Anthony Giddens has described this most advanced sector of the modern workforce as recapitulating distinctive features of the culture of modernity. It is self-reflective and technically innovative. It is an occupational stratum that contributes to and benefits from the expansion of highly complex "expert systems" of production and research.

The result has been that these crucial actors in the global economy are becoming increasingly "disembedded," less related to local life. In American history, this process has gone on for a century, as locally rooted entrepreneurs and professionals have gradually yielded prominence to their more nationally oriented peers. Both within and beyond the borders of the nation, experts have thereby become more exclusively concentrated upon the hybrid cultures generated by networks of specialized competence. Here is a modern cosmopolitanism with a vengeance, though one that thinks too little about its relation to the larger human community upon which its own success is in large part based.

The civic challenge is to develop within the organizational and professional networks the sense of responsibility commensurate with their actual situation of interdependence. The global networks of expertise must be, to use Giddens' terminology, "re-embedded" within a meaningful moral whole. The consequences of failure to achieve this re-embedding will be serious. Like unregulated economic competition, disembedded technical growth becomes destructive of its own natural and social environments, including the civic matrices upon which its own further development depends.

To be humanly beneficial, technological advance, like economic growth, must finally be guided by a common sense of meaning. Meaning is a function of participation within an interdependent and coherent setting, of which a civic culture represents an advanced form. But can civic dispositions and practices be sustained in a system of networks rather than in bounded places? Probably not entirely. Indeed, evidence suggests that the most innovative sites in the global communications networks are specific, highly interactive places, not unlike Putnam's civic regions. The professional networks are themselves most intense at certain nodal points, especially the "world cities" in which actors interact face-to-face and draw upon inherited cultural referents and forms of civility. In time, stable growth of the global economy will necessitate the erection of new transnational as well as local institutions that can provide common norms and structures of action. In the meantime, however, the power of advanced technology will doubtless continue to compress and disorganize the "locations" of economic and professional life.

Expert network cultures are thus likely to be with us for some time and indeed to play a major role in reshaping the global order. It is therefore critical that those features of network cultures that point toward concern with equity and security be identified and fostered. International commercial law provides an example. It seems clear that the opening of traditional boundaries among distinct national legal traditions and professional organizations is facilitating the
transformation of law into a business, bringing it closer to becoming just one other technique of smoothing commercial activity. This opening is generating real interest among practitioners in establishing new legal processes, even new legal principles to be applied transnationally.

The new situation, in other words, is highly ambiguous. In the absence of new stabilizing institutions, increased competition is both forcing the expansion of purely instrumental techniques and also leading many of the more enterprising competitors toward genuine concern with evolving new patterns of cooperation, if only to ensure the continued viability of their own enterprises. However, this kind of self-interest, like Tocqueville's "self-interest rightly understood," strains beyond itself. To the degree that these emerging elites become concerned with the stability and equity of the conditions of their own flourishing, they will be pressed to expand their viewpoint from purely strategic thinking toward the recognition of interdependence. This recognition will begin to connect their long-term interests with those other, less favored, networks of migratory labor around the globe. In this possibility lies the seed of both a responsible professionalism and strands of transnational civic connection.

VII. Professionalism, Education, and Leadership

In fluid conditions, the exploration of possible identities and purposes plays a much larger role than during times when inherited rules pre-establish the harmony of individual decisions. Not surprisingly, in the face of the "thinness" of identity and meaning afforded by "disembodied" network cultures, ours is a time of heightened concern with culture at all social levels. Few can live by the goals of competitive success or instrumental efficiency alone, or at least not for very long. For these reasons, higher education is likely to become an especially important site at which the future of globalism will be worked out. The university is everywhere the training ground for most of the elites, and, especially in the United States, for large numbers of their assistants, who will shape our world.

Like the experience of work, involvement in higher education shapes individuals in more ways than by the imparting of formalized knowledge. Colleges and professional schools are beyond all others the critical places where future members of the elites acquire the general cultural understanding they will espouse and the ideals of character to which they will devote themselves. If we add the noticeable fact that increasing numbers of aspiring professionals from the developing world are coming to these schools in the rich nations for training, the importance of the universities is only enhanced. Furthermore, higher education is itself in the process of adapting to the confusing demands of the new situation. As an institution centrally concerned with the expansion and transmission of culture, the university once again finds itself at the vortex of conflicting impulses, toward global responsibility and away from it.

In the pluralistic conditions of the American democracy, universities and colleges have been the forcing-houses of novel vision and enlightened conscience at critical historical moments, and as recently as the 1960s. These institutions have realized important aspects of Thomas Jefferson's hope that higher education would foster a public leadership capable of
extending and enlightening civic understanding. In this connection, the names of Harvard and Radcliffe, Yale and Smith come to mind, but so do Michigan and Indiana, Morehouse and Spelman, Brandeis and Notre Dame. Our contemporary need to understand our possibilities in the widening global context presents a new and enormous challenge to our institutions of higher learning.

Today's prevailing educational philosophy in higher education does not articulate well with the needs for a more adaptable and cosmopolitan civic culture. The university as we have known it developed as part of the institutional order of industrial society around the turn of the present century. Like industry and large-scale commerce, the university has been organized on the basis of a specialized division of labor. This structure has worked to separate the teaching of the capacities needed for wisdom and civic virtue from the teaching of the technical competencies demanded to get along in the world. The consequent threat of intellectual and moral incoherence has usually been judged a necessary price to be paid for the efficiency and progress that such organization was thought to produce. A host of problems with the inherited university system, however -- including new skepticism about the value of many accepted divisions of academic life -- makes it increasingly likely that major changes are in the offing. 33

Both the new economy and the challenge of globalism demand greater cooperation, flexibility and, above all, the capacity for individuals and collectivities to reflect and learn. To a considerable degree, there is a convergence of challenges to the rigidities of the old paradigm of isolated specialization, which has often promoted a narrow and privately focused perspective. The capacities needed by the emerging "practical" world are surprisingly compatible with the traditional virtues of citizenship and the civic intention of liberal education.

It is perhaps the moment to rethink how critical perspective and ethical concern might reconnect with more open and reflective efforts at what is sometimes sneeringly called "career" or "vocational" education. Under the ambiguous conditions of the emerging network cultures, a reflective approach to so-called vocational education might provide a linchpin for the development of the kind of cosmopolitan citizenship that is badly needed in those settings -- that is, if the experience of personal significance can be connected with the exercise of judgment demanded by contemporary expert practice. Fortunately, important psychological research suggests the importance of just such a connection, a link between inner and outer that could perhaps form the psychological counterpart to the institutions and practices underlying civic dispositions.

VIII. Care of the Self: Personal Meaning Through Engagement

Growing evidence suggests that the key source of significance and identity in life is coherent, committed engagement in activities, relationships and social purposes. The often elusive sense of meaning in life is an internal awareness of involvement in integrated practices that exhibit the growing, balanced complexity typical of what we call aesthetically whole experiences. That is because the self is actually not so much a thing as a function of the ways in which human beings focus their energies. The self grows by
cultivation. But paradoxically, self-cultivation demands a focus outward, upon activities, things and persons that invite and demand our attention. In taking care of these things and persons, we are literally making ourselves.

Social practices, by focusing attention in shared and patterned ways, are thus the primary determinants of the kinds of selves a given group of people will develop. The uniquely personal and the socially choreographed are thus not opposing forces so much as opposite but interacting poles of a common process. Through learning to take part in social practices, the individual self expands its boundaries, broadens its range of identification, and becomes more differentiated. Through the same process, the self also achieves a higher degree of integration. That is why the daily activities of family, social groups, cultural and religious organizations, and workplaces are so crucial. They provide not only external development but the basis for inner development and transformation as well. Engagement is made possible in part by the cultivation of inner discipline. But ultimately, learning is a deeply social process that depends heavily upon the communities of practice in which the individual participates.

Engagement itself can be intrinsically motivating. Provided that their capacities are well matched to the demands of the activity, and that the practice can provide clear clues as to quality of performance, individuals often describe the experience of involved activity as highly enjoyable. Mihaly Csikszentmihaly has termed this state "flow," the term his subjects have often used to describe their experience. When in a state of "flow," subjects are wholly concentrated on the activity at hand. Their self-consciousness tends to disappear, time seems to slow down, and they become willing to engage in the activity for its own sake, even when it is difficult or dangerous. Successful practice develops a disposition to engage in activities prized for their own sake. This psychological phenomenon has considerable social consequences. For example, the flow experienced in engaged practice is the chief motivational force driving the development of expertise. It also accounts for the deep love for the activity found among so many of the practitioners of sports, crafts and professional skills.

These findings help explain the often observed fact that deep involvement in focused ways of life tends to permanently mark the character of the participants. Physicians, teachers, athletes, performing artists, craftspersons all exemplify aspects of character that set them off from the public at large, traits they share with others of their field or calling. Through repeated practice, the engaged person develops an increased capacity for flow, so that the activity, seen as good in itself, becomes self-reinforcing. The individual literally grows into a more complex human being by transforming potential into realized capacities.

The ethical and educational implications of this psychology support the values of the civic life. The well-developed practitioner of any art or skill exhibits several of the qualities the Stoics identified with virtue. Such persons understand that well-performed actions are their own reward, precisely because these individuals have internalized the skills of focused attention that enable the exhilarating qualities of the flow experience. Such persons are on their way
toward becoming "non-self-conscious individualists," who are "bent on doing their best in all circumstances," while not "concerned primarily with advancing their own interests." 37 Rather, their interests have become harmonized with the goods realized through the practice in question.

Repeated practice of socially oriented activities leads toward transcendence of the confines of one's self-image. It allows the person to grow into a larger identity, shaped by the dimensions of the art, skill or form of life being engaged. The premise of developing wider identifications and more complex relations to the world is thus a kind of self-forgetful engagement. Self-forgetful engagement is also the root of creativity. It enables persons to respond resourcefully with all their capacities to the task or situation at hand. In this way the development of the virtues of engagement is the essential stuff of life. For the individual it provides motivation and, through the overcoming of challenges, ever richer kinds of exploration and enjoyment. For society, it provides social energy and resourceful vigor, particularly on the part of those involved with socially important and demanding functions, such as the professional fields.

Here, then, is a contemporary "care of the self." It is at once reflective and yet becomes most fulfilling as persons develop their capacities in the public service. This pedagogy of the self expresses the inner spirit needed to realize the human potentials of modern work and social life. Among its concrete expressions one finds examples of civic professionalism that unify the inner desire for self-expression with the responsibility required to meet the needs of a complex society. However, in contemporary life these directions often remain mere possibilities. In social as well as individual life, the whole is always more than a summing of parts, however alluring and exciting these parts may be. Apart from a well-integrated whole, particular experiments, like individual opportunities, constantly confront the specter of futility.

No matter how intense, however, the experience of flow alone cannot provide well-being for the person who lacks that sense of the wholeness of life we call meaning. 38 Meaning provides the individual with the indispensable substratum of existence, the experience of being part of a whole whose over-arching purposes give point to particular strivings. As John Dewey pointed out, meaning in this sense is also the cognitive basis for investigation and knowledge. 39 It provides the imaginative context for what we call vision or sense of possibility. As the great educators have long known, meaning is more fundamental than instrumental or technical rationality and lies at the root of all creative exploration and discovery.

Meaning is itself a social phenomenon. For example, vocational commitment can provide the kind of fulfillment many seek in the modern world. However, this kind of engagement is greatly facilitated by a vital civic culture. The mutual trust provided by civic cultures makes it plausible for individuals to risk investing considerable amounts of time and effort in demanding communities of practice. The focused attention represented by these communities in turn strengthens the civic culture. The effect is virtuously circular. Collective trust facilitates individual engagement in shared practices, which then augment the endowment of collective loyalty upon which other individuals may draw for guiding and enriching their lives.
As we have seen, however, the instability induced by globalization has weakened the reservoir of social trust in many places. The danger of this era of global economic networks is precisely that these highly differentiated systems may fail to integrate harmoniously with the aspirations of very unevenly developing world. As the ancient Stoics discovered, realizing the humane potentials of the engaged life under such conditions depends heavily upon conscious intention and effective leadership. What is crucial is finding points of leverage. An educational philosophy drawing inspiration from the three Stoic virtues discussed earlier might provide one such point. Wisdom, the civic virtues of justice and friendship, along with vocational engagement, plot three essential and mutually reinforcing features of a good life in the global era.

By focusing on the dependence of parts upon larger, more complex wholes, Stoic wisdom emphasized the priority of meaning and context over specialized but limited awareness. Regaining this insight is perhaps the most important yet most difficult change needed in contemporary education. The teaching of specialized knowledge without a grasp of context and relevance is often a misleading, even a counterproductive enterprise. Trying to live without exploring the significance of existence as a whole is like trying to cope with an array of physical symptoms without a coherent and compelling diagnosis. Each symptom might be addressed by a particular treatment that promises relief. But without a diagnosis of the whole situation, the treatments are likely to be approached too tentatively to do much good, or when taken seriously, may work against each other. In thought as in practical living, the whole is indeed greater than the sum of its parts.

The civic virtues of the Stoics, justice and friendship, can signal to us the importance of loyalty and participation in creating the context for the good life. All education needs to remember its civic dimension, the vital partnership of school and university with the other educative spheres of society: the family, the workplace, the community. Education is civic in yet another way. All education is the invitation of the young or inexperienced to join communities of practice, a process that needs renewed attention today in forms of apprenticeship, or "service learning," and what is called "mentoring." At the same time, the Stoics' cosmopolitan aspirations can remind us that intensive civic loyalties need to be tempered by an openness toward bringing diversity within a wider integration. Finally, for us as for them, dedication to a particular form of worldly vocation can provide a concrete focus for the educational process, not as an independent goal, but as a focal point at which to apply the perspective and strength supplied by wisdom and civic commitment.

Reliance upon conscious intention also has its limits. Without the support of shared practices and communities of hope, no intention can long survive, let alone prevail. Yet, times of disorientation are also moments of opportunity for groups who have discovered new possibilities of human identity in constructive and fulfilling ways of life. At such moments their very integrity and breadth of sympathy can initiate powerful social movements and render such persons attractive leaders. More than once in history, creative groups practicing previously marginal ways of life have come to the fore, enhancing and improving
the moral life. The process is exemplified not only by the Greek philosophical schools and the Christian communities in the ancient world, but by the early Confucians in China, the religious orders in the Middle Ages, the Reformers in early modern Europe, and a host of others.

The new age now upon us also needs creative and experimental minorities to spark institutional advance by exploring the possibilities of a cosmopolitan citizenship for the global era. No task is more important, unless it be the attempt to prepare the ground for such developments by raising these concerns to the top of the agenda in education.
NOTES

1. See, for example, the Summer 1993 issue of Daedalus, "Reconstructing Nations and States," especially Liah Greenfield, "Transcending the Nation's Worth," Daedalus 122 (No. 3): 47-62.


4. This point is emphasized by Charles Taylor in The Ethics of Authenticity (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1992).


8. Ibid., p. 352.


34. These sections draw upon the work of Mihaly Csikszentmihaly, especially *Flow: The Psychology of Optimal Experience* (New York: Harper Collins, 1990), and *The Emerging Self: A Psychology for the Third Millennium* (New York: Harper Collins, 1993). It is significant that this work, based upon twenty years of empirical research, strikingly corroborates ideas put forward earlier in the century by the Pragmatic philosophers, especially John Dewey and George Herbert Mead.


36. The importance and difficulty of developing practices that can sustain socially positive forms of the "focused life" under contemporary conditions has been usefully explored by Albert Borgmann, *Crossing the Postmodern Divide* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992).


38. For a developed treatment of this observation, see Csikszentmihaly, *The Emerging Self*, pp. xv ff.