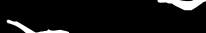
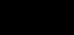
United Nations
Educational, Scientific and
Cultural Organization

Mahatma Gandhi Institute
of Education for Peace
and Sustainable Development

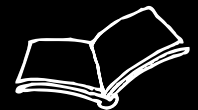
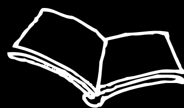
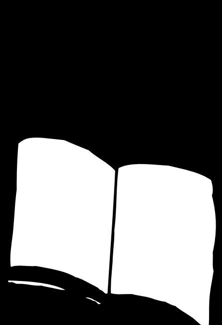
WORKING PAPER 2015 - 02 | DECEMBER 2015





THE ELUSIVE AND EXCLUSIVE GLOBAL CITIZEN

Jill Koyama
University of Arizona

THE ELUSIVE AND EXCLUSIVE GLOBAL CITIZEN

UNESCO MGIEP
United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization | Mahatma Gandhi Institute of Education for Peace and Sustainable Development

35 Ferozshah Road, ICSSR Building,1st Floor, New Delhi- 110001, INDIA.

December, 2015

© UNESCO MGIEP

Author:
Jill Koyama
University of Arizona

ISBN 978-81-89218-49-2

The UNESCO Mahatma Gandhi Institute for Education for Peace and Sustainable Development (MGIEP) Working Paper Series critically explores contemporary issues related to learning and teaching for a more peaceful and sustainable world. With a special focus on pedagogies and policies, the authors seek to spark conversation, generate debate, and foster innovation that will eventually lead to systemic change. Each paper undergoes a rigorous peer review process before publication. The views expressed are the sole responsibility of the author, and do not necessarily reflect the position of UNESCO MGIEP

Any communication concerning this publication may be addressed to:
Mathangi Subramanian
m.subramanian@unesco.org

Printed in India

THE ELUSIVE AND EXCLUSIVE GLOBAL CITIZEN

Jill Koyama

University of Arizona

Abstract

In this paper, I interrogate the notion of global citizenship, both as an aspiration and an improbable practice, by situating it within contemporary understandings of citizenship and globalization. It is a conceptualization that suffers from the dangers inherent in the term "citizenship" and misconceptions of the terms "global," and it is rooted in the West's long engagement in normative undertakings in non-Western countries. I refute ideas of the autonomous and agentic global citizen. I encourage a rethinking of global citizenship and global citizenship education (GCE) and offer recommendations for redirecting attention to contemporary global stratifications and issues of human rights to address the issues of social justice and inequality that, due to the problematic definition of global citizenship, are currently inadequately covered in existing GCE curricula.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR POLICY AND RESEARCH

Recommendations for Policy

- Focus future educational approaches aimed at cultivating global membership on global-oriented issues and actions, rather than on citizenship
- Encourage national citizens to exert their rights to challenge nationalist policies that violate human rights and create further stratification
- Re-examine and interrogate practices that result in the marginalization of certain groups and/or inequitable access to rights associated with citizenship

Potential Future Research Questions

- In what ways are hegemonic discourses enacted, negotiated, and challenged in citizenship education programs and practices?
- What are the linkages between global capitalism and notions of global citizenship? Can the network of connections be traced and interrogated?
- What alternative forms of belonging and not belonging are critically considered in citizenship education?
- In what ways can e-citizenship—or the engagement in politics and society through online information technology and social network platforms—be understood as part of a transnational collective?

Introduction

The unprecedented migration of people, the altering of borders, the interconnectedness of economies, the transnational borrowing of policy, and the broad integration of ideas, discourses, and material objects—or broadly, globalization—muddle the once stable link between citizenship and the nation-state. The physical, psychological, and ideological conflicts that rage across the world challenge fidelities to geographically and politically bounded regions and countries. Simultaneously, "alliances and allegiances to individuals, families, cultural groups, and political networks across the earth have never been so powerful, so immediately tangible as technology now allows them to be" (Knight Abowitz and Harnish 2006, 679). However, as Matthews and Sidhu (2005) argue, "the economic, political and cultural changes associated with globalization do not automatically give rise to globally oriented and supra-territorial forms of subjectivity" (49), even though they call into question historical notions of citizenship.

Alternative forms of citizenship have emerged as ways to explain, understand, and interrogate belonging and the affordance of rights in ever-changing relationships between states and multi-faceted and fluid societies. These include: "postnational citizenship," (Soysal, 2001), in which rights and identity are decoupled; "cosmopolitan patriotism," (Appiah, 1997), in which a shared sense of citizenship abroad includes "different local ways of being" (p. 621); "transnational citizenship" (Fox, 2005), in which cross-border (not necessarily, global) relations or multiple affiliations are emphasized; "flexible citizenship" (Ong, 1999), in which citizens respond fluidly to transnational capitalism and political change; and "global citizenship," in which identities/ institutional arrangements of governance and political organizations extend beyond the borders of countries. Of these, "global citizenship," the focus of my critique, is the most expansive as an aspiration and least possible as a practice.

Proponents of a world society populated by global citizens argue that global citizens must be cultivated in order to attend to issues shared across the globe, and the injustices that accompany global integration and mass migrations. Thompson (1998), for example, posits that world citizens will emerge from a global redistribution of resources. In contrast, scholars like Carter (1997) align global citizenship along a continuum between values and actions associated with liberal nationalism. In this way, such status is positioned as a form of liberation against persistently oppressive national structures and practices that result from nation-states straining to regain control over the flows of people, material products, ideas, knowledge, and currency across their borders. However, as pointed out by Myers and Zaman (2009), the discourse surrounding global citizenship is "situated between the extremes of postnationalism, which denies the relevance of the nation-state, and of liberal nationalism, which denies the increasingly global nature of civic affiliations and the unequal experiences of groups outside the dominant culture" (2592). Conceptualizations of global citizenship can be understood as idyllic responses to, rather than lived realities within, these oppositional perspectives.

As an idealized world resident, the global citizen understands how the world works; upholds a universal set of rights, enacts responsibilities that contribute to the world community (even in on a local scale); and is outraged by social injustices within a worldwide democratic public sphere.[1] Oxfam (2006), a developer of global citizenship education curricula and programs,

1 For expanded definitions of the global citizen, see Fricke, Gathercole, and Skinner (2015), Gibson, Rimmington, and Landweher-Brown (2008) and Noddings (2004).

defines the global citizen as some who:

> *Is aware of the wider world and has a sense of their own role as a world citizen; respects and values diversity; has an understanding of how the world works; is outraged by social injustice; participates in the community at a range of levels from the local to the global; is willing to act to make the world a more equitable and sustainable place; [and] takes responsibility for their actions. (3)*

The archetypical global citizen simultaneously holds his global identity with, if not above, his national, regional, or local memberships. He claims belonging, membership, and participation in the world. Here, I purposefully use masculine pronouns when referring to the global citizen as men, in general, are more likely than women, because of inequitable social structures and laws, to exert rights associated with citizenship. At one extreme, the global citizen is situated as the antithesis of a national citizen; at the other, he is one who adds a global identity to his regional, state, and national citizenship (Gibson, Rimmington, and Landweher-Brown 2008). The aspirational global citizen transcends national borders, is self-actualized and integrated, and exerts agency on behalf of the global good. He is both critical of himself and responsive to others (Glass 2000; Papastephanou 2003). He is open to the fluidity and multiplicities of his own identity, as well as those of others. He knows who he is through knowing others, and uses his self-knowledge to assist him in taking action, sometimes first and foremost, on a global level.

In reality, global citizenship is rooted in the advantages afforded to legally recognized membership in a state. In practice, the agency of the aspirational global citizen is defined, and most often, constrained, by the rights afforded to him as a citizen of a particular nation. Noncitizens are disadvantaged in their protections and rights even though, according to Article 15 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, everyone should have equal protection against discrimination (Howard-Hassman, 2015, p. 3). Global citizenship—a condition that Bowden (2003) describes as sharing similarities with being stateless—guarantees none of the same "rights and security that are generally taken for granted by citizens of stable sovereign states" (p. 350). Even within countries, there can be great heterogeneity among formal citizens—with some having the full rights and ability to participate conferred upon them and others being excluded from those same privileges by race, gender, religion, sect, language, or sexual identity.

In other words, the notion of the global citizen as a citizen-subject does not adequately problematize the particular conditions of social situations under which positions are made available and salient. It fails to account for the daily realities of living within nation-states, which not only aim to organize, maintain, and control social structures within their geographic borders, but also continue to wield political power across world structures, as well.

In this piece, I interrogate the notion of global citizenship, both as an aspiration and an improbable practice. It is a conceptualization that suffers from the dangers inherent in the term "citizenship" and misconceptions of the terms "global" or globalization. It is shackled by its association to the West's long engagement in normative undertakings in non-Western countries and fraught with naïve conceptions about the realities of interconnectedness and belonging, in which nation states are no longer loci of power and regulation. While it is advantageous to have a globally-concerned or globally-oriented world populace, I argue that those of us who study, and work for, justice and rights, should not aspire to be globally-categorized citizens, nor should we develop, implement, and support educational programs that have as their core aim, the construction of global citizens. Instead we should invest in educational programs aimed at attending to global stratifications and inequities that prevent the idealized global citizenship of being viable in practice. Given that the ideal

global citizen has "orginate[d] from deep within Western academia" (Bowden 2003, 350) and spread through education programs by those who have legal, political, and societal privileges, we should shift our focus from citizenship rights to human rights.

I offer my critique of global citizenship in five sections. In the first two, I discuss contemporary understandings and limits of citizenship and globalization. I integrate the scholarship on global citizenship, delving more deeply into the discussion begun in this introduction. In the aggregate, the literature does not differentiate between, nor adequately account for, the disparate experiences of citizenship, in which an elite few have multiple nation citizenship, but far more live as internally displaced persons, refugees, and asylum seekers lacking stable citizenship status. In the third section of this piece, I refute ideas of the autonomous and agentic global citizen and provide an account of global citizenship education as an effort to develop world citizens. I pay attention to the ways in which global citizenship education is mostly undergirded by "Western," normative, and sometimes, elitist, conceptions of the citizen-subject. In the fourth section, I continue my argument by showing how the potential practice of global citizenship is nearly improbably for all, except perhaps the global elite. Finally, in the fifth section, I encourage a rethinking of global citizenship and global citizenship education and offer recommendations for redirecting attention to contemporary global stratifications and issues of human rights to address the issues of social justice and inequality that, due to the problematic definition of global citizenship, are currently inadequately covered in existing GCE curricula.

The Contestations of Citizenship

Citizenship, theoretically, confers some combination of membership, identity, responsibilities, and rights to those who claim it. It is multi-faceted—including, at a minimum, legal, sociological, and political elements. Legally, a citizen is one who is governed by shared laws that guarantee a particular set of rights, and, in theory, has "a meaningful say in the public and political arena" (Bowden 2003, 351). One's status as a citizen, noncitizen, or migrant is both legal and political. However, as pointed out by Turner (1993), citizenship also includes "practices (juridical, political, economic and cultural) which define a person as a competent member of society, and which as a consequence shape the flow of resources to persons and social groups" (p.2). Informed by Enslin (2000), Knight Abowitz and Harnish (2006), state:

> *Citizenship in a democracy (a) gives membership status to individuals within a political unit; (b) confers an identity on individuals; (c) constitutes a set of values, usually interpreted as a commitment to the common good of a particular political unit; (d) involves practicing a degree of participation in the process of political life; and implies gaining and using knowledge and understanding of laws, documents, structures, and processes of governance; and e) implies gaining and using knowledge and understanding of laws, documents, structures, and processes of governance. (653)*

The rights and obligations placed on citizens are part of a social contract with the state in which national borders define ideas of citizenship and the citizen-subject.

In their review and discourse analysis of English-language texts relating to citizenship and citizenship education from 1990 to 2003,

Knight Abowitz and Harnish (2006) identify seven unique, but overlapping frameworks that shape our current notions of citizenship. They note that the term "citizenship" is complex, fluid, and historically embedded variably in social, political, and economic domains. Among the seven frames they identify, they find that the term is most influenced by the "civic republican" and the "liberal" frameworks. Civic republican perspectives center on the allegiance and service to one's political community. Importance is placed on the boundaries of the community, resulting in patriotism and a love of one's country. Liberal citizenship highlights individual rights and liberties, and to some extent equality. It positions geographic borders as necessary, but as more fluid than the civic republican conceptualization of borders. Still, liberal citizenship is premised on the viability of the state and situated as a discrete entity based on shared understandings, allegiances, and behaviors associated with it.

> The borders of nations, in particular, are spaces of multiple enactments of inclusion and exclusion. It is often at these edges where the jurisdiction and authority of nations are teased and tested not only by neighboring states, but also by those within a nation's borders who feel inadequately defined or made illegitimate by them.

Citizenship, though, has been a complex concept developed in modernized, increasingly ethnically and culturally diverse nation-states, and Banks (2008) draws our attention to the ways in which group differences have not been considered in universal conceptions of citizenship even when the nation-state serves as the unit of political organization. Banks (2008) states that "the differences of groups that have experienced structural exclusion and discrimination—such as women and people of color—are suppressed" in formal allotments of citizenship (131). In order for marginalized and oppressed groups to gain the full rights and recognition afforded to citizens in a stratified society, Banks argues that a universal concept of citizenship "results in the treatment of some groups as second-class citizens because group rights are not recognized and the principal of equal treatment is not strictly applied" (131). There is a hierarchy of citizenship within a framework of universal statist citizenship, where multiplicities of citizenship—from the official and institutionalized conceptions of citizenship that are codified in policy to the enacted forms of belonging and participation—simultaneously exist. When the rights of universal citizenship are identified, defined, and customarily enacted by groups with power, marginalized groups remain excluded from participating in civic discussions and actions. When public interest is defined by those with power and influence there is a lack of equity even among those who hold official and legal citizenship.

Accelerated migration across national borders and increasing diversity in countries throughout the world exacerbate already stratified enactments of statist citizenship, in which different groups, subjected to xenophobia, linguicism, and racism, are required to concede their first languages and cultures to the dominant one. Movement across borders is a defining constituent of globalization, but the borders between countries and those circumscribing regions within and across a group of nations cannot be dismissed in discussions of globalizing citizenship and society. Rajaram and Grundy-Warr (2007) assert that "borders between nation-states demarcate belonging and nonbelonging and authorize a distinction between norm and exception" and "the authority accorded by the territorial border vindicates a curtailed conception of justice... (ix). Borders

are sites of conflict and zones of resistance, where power is differentially exerted; where rights are disparately conferred and recognized; and where the exertion of control and authority is uncertain.

Increasingly, power relations across borders have become reconfigured in ways that result in greater disparities between countries, institutions, corporations, and individuals robustly participating in the global capitalism and nation-states, institutions, organizations, and individuals that are not. Much of the difference centers on the non-transferability of citizenship across national borders, but we must also consider implicit and explicit limits within nations and regions. These internal constraints illuminate the ways that notions of global citizenship exclude a large portion of the world's population, who may hold formal citizenship rights in "countries that formally grant such rights in their own constitutions and which subscribe to international agreements on human rights, the environment, etc. and which, at this formal level might comply with the normative requirements of desired forms of citizenship" (Balarin 2011, 360), but who are excluded from enacting these rights in their everyday lives.

There are tension between the citizen-subject's lived experiences and imaginations of citizenship. Rosaldo (1994) advises:

> *If you want to know about first-class citizenship, don't run to a dictionary. Go instead and ask the person concerned. In low-income neighborhoods, the people concerned will speak of goods and services, jobs and wages, health care and housing, education and income segregated neighborhoods. Without the material conditions that give people reasonable life chances other questions of vernacular citizenship may recede into the background. In more favorable material circumstances, people will speak about well-being, thriving, dignity, and respect. Or, by contrast, they speak about feeling unsafe, violated, humiliated, and invisible (402).*

Balarin attributes the variability of rights afforded to those who have legal state citizenship to weakly enforced policies, unfair structures, biased institutions, and the changing role of the nation-state amidst globalizing forces.

As posited by Howard-Hassmann (2015), in the introduction to *The Human Right to Citizenship: A Slippery Concept*, citizenship is not a set of neither neatly-bounded nor enacted categories. She writes:

> *Citizenship is a slippery category. At the top of the slippery slope of citizenship are those who enjoy both de jure and de facto citizenship in wealthy, democratic countries—in effect, the lucky holders of hard citizenship rights. At the bottom are those who are stateless, enjoying neither de jure nor de facto citizenship anywhere. Along the slope are documented ("legal") migrants, undocumented ("illegal") migrants, trafficked and smuggled individuals, recognized ("legal") refugees, and unrecognized ("illegal") refugees, living in various degrees of precariousness in both wealthy and less wealthy countries. Also along the slope are those who's de jure citizenship rights are undermined by de facto restrictions and those whose citizenship is in poverty-stricken and/or undemocratic countries that cannot or will not protect them. Finally, vulnerable social categories such as minority ethnic groups, women, children, and persons of minority sexual orientation enjoy fewer citizenship rights than adult heterosexual males (pp. 5-6).*

Citizenship is further complicated by criteria—such as bloodline or birth—by which membership is legally granted various countries.

The Conundrums of Globalization

Belonging and membership are but two aspects of citizenship; the responsibility and ability to take action and participate in a civil society are others. Where, we might ask does the global citizen's allegiance lie? And where does he take action? With the country in which he is granted rights or with the world, in which rights are variably associated? Pogge (1992) argues that the global citizen can have "political allegiance and loyalty... widely dispersed over these units: neighbourhood, town, country, province, state, region, and the world at large" (58). Similarly, Nussbaum and Cohen (1996) imagine the global citizen to have a range of loyalties, which emerge concentrically from the self and family to "humanity as a whole" (91). We can envision that there might be conflicting loyaltiesthe allegiance to a state will still remain, even if mediated by a broader polity.

One may argue, as Nussbaum and Cohen (1996) do, that we are evolving into a more global, less nation-centered reality, where the commitment to, and participation in, the state is trumped by the needs of greater humanity. Certainly, I can support polities and organizations of rights that traverse national borders; however, the construction of a future global citizenship is problematic in its dependence on the fundamentally flawed premise that we are moving linearly from national to world citizenship forms. In fact, the "recourse to the ideal of equal citizenship will not be a straightforward affair at the global level" (Armstrong 2006, 356). Globalization does not naturally nor inevitably result in worldwide citizens, nor does the nation lie in opposite to the global form; the relationship is best typified as a fluid and emergent network of often strained and multifaceted interactions. Relationships between the nation-state and the world are complex negotiations, characterized by adjustments and accommodations. Ong (2006) argues that in late modernity, "[t]he realignment of political, ethnic, and personal identities is not necessarily a process of 'win' or lose,' whereby political borders become 'insignificant' and the nation-state 'loses' to global trade in terms of its control over the affiliations and behavior of its subject" (3). The geographic and social positioning in shifting political landscapes is impacted, but not determined, by globalization or regionalization.

World politics, economics, and social structures are intertwined with those of the state, and conceptions of global citizen and citizenship, to date, are difficult to locate outside of existing state models, which have historically shaped our understandings of citizenship. As noted by Sassen (2003): "Globalization makes legible the extent to which citizenship, which we experience as some sort of unitary condition, is actually made up of a bundle of conditions, some of which are less connected to the nation-state" (16). Even the newly conceptualized public sphere, with which the world citizen is to engage, encompasses expanded spaces or imaginative "scapes" (Appadurai 1996) that extend across, and also include, nations. Paradoxically, these new political spaces and subjects are, according to Myers and Zaman 2009) "less articulated with the nation-state" (2594), but still bound to them.

The imagined public sphere, a global civil society, "is [by its proponents] envisioned as a new public and democratic category of organization and politics, capable of transcending statist orientations. This society, according to Armstrong (2006), "is the place where human rights connect with human responsibilities as individuals and groups seek to mediate the terms of global integration and interdependence" (352). Corry (2006) suggests that a global social order has the potential to undermine "statist assumptions...by advancing a framework of interpretation which neither has the state as its

pivotal point, nor as it's defining Other" (322). Corry, along with other proponents (Kaldor 2003, Keane 2001), argues that while the state model continues to fill "our collective political imagination, [it] is not the only feasible way of organizing power legitimately" (Corry 2006, 304). Proponents (e.g. Kaldor 2003, Keane 2001; Linklater 2002) argue that a global civil society is superior to its national equivalents.

Contemporary critiques (see for example, Armstrong 2006 and Bartelson 2003) draw our attention to how such a world social order is still understood and rooted in state paradigms in three interrelated ways. First, some ideas of global civil society fall prey to a "domestic analogy" (Corry 2006, 304), in which the global is the expanded version of the national. In his critical examination of global civil society, Armstrong (2006) argues that global civil society is an internationalization of the nation-state and that "the nation state remains a crucial locus of identity, social meaning, and to some extent political power" (356). The United Nation's Security Council as a global governance body is a powerful example of this analogy in action. Only the five permanent members—China, France, Russia, the UK, and the US—and 15 non-permanent members are permitted to vote on issues before the Council and veto power is held solely by the five permanent members. This particular worldwide social order amplifies and mimics the discourse of the nation-state's conceptualization of civil society, but on an international stage.

Second, the world society is perceived as "beyond" the state, where the state is imagined to be a discrete and bounded entity with decreasing ability to influence matters beyond its borders. Yet state boundaries are increasingly blurry, and in some cases, exist in perpetual states of contestation.

Third, a world governing and political order is often defined in opposition to that of the state; it is positioned as a replacement to nation-centered society in an either/or framework. This understanding, like the previous two, assumes that globalization renders the state and national citizenship "obsolete as a category of political and economic life" (Armstrong 2006, 355). Corry (2006) dispels this separation, pointing out that nation-states and the world are convolutedly connected; they are, in his vision, inextricably intertwined, and globalization and nationalism are connected through dialectic tension. This poses a conundrum for the theoretical global citizen who can become caught between the rights constrained by national sovereignty and the international human rights codified by bodies such as the United Nations. We can only discuss and understand political organizing and governance in places where one country does not hold sole jurisdiction or legitimacy through a consideration of both nations and the world, as well as the messy borders between the two.

> A global civil society conjures up visions of a "borderless world" (Ohmae 1990), in which economic, political, and cultural borders are rendered meaningless, and global landscapes (Appadurai 1996) prevail, but in reality, the world is made of borders that are more malleable and porous, but also increasingly exclusionary. Political and economic borders, most often associated still with nations, or regions (such as Europe), continue to wield influence, creating uneven movements of people, goods, and currency.

The Criticisms of Global Citizenship Education

Global citizens, as pointed out by Matthews and Sidhu (2005) "are not automatically initiated by processes of internationalization and globalization" (50) and processes to develop such citizens have become the domain of educational efforts, namely through international education, transnational social studies, civic education, human rights education, peace education, and global citizenship education. Here, I examine some examples of the latter. In global citizenship education, the global citizen-subject is the student-subject. Global citizenship education, according to UNESCO (2015), "aims to be transformative, building the knowledge, skills, values and attitudes that learners need to be able to contribute to a more inclusive, just and peaceful world" (13). Students engaged in global citizenship education (i.e., students who are being cultivated as global citizens) should: develop an awareness and understanding of global structures and systems; understand the interconnectedness between national and global processes; recognize and embrace differences and multiple identities; cultivate care and respect for others and the environment; commit to social justice and critically evaluate inequalities; and participate in contemporary global issues at multiple levels, including locally.

Different programs of global citizenship education vary, but as Davies, Evans, and Reid (2005) make certain, global citizenship education that aims to add international or global awareness to a nationally-based curriculum is insufficient. They write: "We should not be content with educational responses to citizenship in a globalizing world that do little more than add international content into citizenship activities or global education activities into citizenship programmes" (73), nor should we exclude programs, including peace education (see Bajaj 2010; Brantmeier and Bajaj 2013; Hantzopoulos 2011) that in fact, can meet many of the intended aims of global citizenship education. Fricke, Gathercole, and Skinner (2015), agree that we should not look at global citizenship education with a narrow lens. In a review and synthesis of "education for global citizenship" (EfGC), they find that development education, global education and global learning, human rights education, and education for sustainable development have several commonalities, including an engagement with diverse ideas and understandings, a valuing of advocacy, a development of creativity, a building of skills and capacities through lifelong learning (8). These commonalities, they suggest provide the basis for reimagining and evaluating future EfGC programs.

In her review of recent English scholarship on global citizenship education, Pashby (2011) points out that:

> *[T]he prevalence of a discourse of globalization and of a need to respond educationally to 'global problems' has led to a sense of a global imperative in education wherein schooling is being increasingly pressured to respond to and engage 'the global'. In this sense, the global imperative is associated with a heightened discourse of global responsibility and a heightened call for explicit responses to contemporary globalization in educational theory and practice… (428)*

Myers and Zaman (2009) suggest that meeting this heightened call for responses is limited by current civic education that is mired in "legalistic understanding of citizenship that emphasizes patriotism and the structures and functions of the government" (2589). So too is the call to action hampered by global studies, which to date, have often relied on a comparative and historical study

of the US and other countries, and international programs, such as the ones studied by Matthews and Sidhu(2005) that perpetuate hegemonic ideas of belonging.

In their mixed-methods case study of immigrant and dominant culture students attending a US school for international studies, Myers and Zaman (2009) offer a comparative glimpse at youth's experiences and understandings of citizenship. They pose the question: "How do adolescents from immigrant backgrounds understand the tensions between national and global civic affiliations, and do they differ from dominant-culture adolescents' understandings" (2598)? Their findings reveal that students from immigrant backgrounds were in favor of more global conceptions of citizenship, while the majority of the dominant-culture students prioritized national affiliations and responsibilities. The most interesting finding, however, is that of the 100 students, half switched between national and global positions around issues of global citizenship and human rights, indicating the complexity of the issues and the tensions, often contestations, between national and global affiliations and commitments.

Concluding that neither national nor global oriented citizenship education is sufficient alone, Myers and Zaman (2009) recommend different forms as necessary to attend to multi-faceted, fluid, and controversial relationships between nation-states, citizenship, and globalization. They also purposefully avoid the use of the term global citizenship. Although they recognize that it can connote an optimistic positive imagine of world engagement, they find it vague and overreaching. Instead, they use "transnational citizenship" to capture the experiences and insights of immigrant youth, to attend to the nuances of border-crossing statuses, and to recognize the simultaneous political linkages immigrants maintain to their countries of origin and establish in their new countries of residence.

In their study of international education in two state run schools in Queensland Australia, Matthews and Sidhu (2005) take an even a stronger stance against applying notions of global citizenship to the students in the study. They argue that international high school students "are placed, thrown, located under and subject to positions which precede and exceed them" (49); opportunities to become global citizens within the context of school practices and policies, the authors find, are highly constrained. Drawing on data collected through interviews and focus groups with 56 international students from ten different countries of origin, they find that students did not experience the schools as contexts in which new forms of global subjectivity were nurtured.

While Matthews and Sidhu set out on a "desperate" search for the global subject, their work points out that we cannot assume that having international students attending international schools automatically results the production of global citizens. International schools do not necessarily quell racism, xenophobia, or linguicism among students; instead, "the normalizing discourses of nationality, race and ethnicity permeate international education to reinforce old ethnic and national affiliations" (50) rather than generating a global collective centered on social justice and compassion for others.

Pashby (2011) posits that "the conceptualization of global citizenship education assumes a particular normative national citizen" (427). It does not challenge the power relations embedded in the growing inequalities associated with globalization sufficiently, but rather mostly extends the identity of the citizen subject from the

local and national to the global. Pashby argues: "the assumed subject of GCE [global citizenship education] pedagogy is the autonomous and European citizen of the liberal nation-state who is seen as normative in a mainstream identification as citizen and who must work to encourage a liberal democratic notion of justice on a global scale by 'expanding' or 'extending' or 'adding' their sense of responsibility and obligation to others through the local to national to global community" (430). Even Glass (2000), who theorizes a global citizen education that simultaneously embraces and fosters multiple, and sometimes contradictory identities that traverse local, regional, national, and global contexts, does not interrogate the privileged Western national citizen who is self-aware, reflective, and agentic.

Further, Matthews and Sidhu (2005) challenge the ways in which global capitalism impacts international education efforts aimed at producing global citizens. They state: "… [G]iven its economic rationale, practices of international education uphold the global spread of hegemonic social practices such as the marketiziation of education,' (50), which they note is at odds with notions of the global citizen because it is disengaged from issues of social justice and global public good. Balarin (2011) concurs that the "political economy of education and (global citizenship" (359) imitates global developments, which accentuates not only the differences between those at the top and bottom of global capitalism, but also the differences between idealized notions of the global citizen and reality for many.

The Contradictions of the (Im)Probable Practice of Global Citizenship

I now attend briefly to the improbability of global citizenship as a practice. There exists across the aspirational ideas of global citizenship "an inherent assumption that citizen identities are neutral and transferable to any local, national or global context" (Pashby 2011, 438), and the global citizen is often theorized as an extension, expansion, or enhancement of national citizen, albeit one who is self-critical and engaged with different others. The normative aspects of citizenship are accentuated; the global citizen is a better, newer personification of transnational belonging and participation, unrestrained by political and geographic borders, who should, and will, take action on current economic, political, and sociocultural issues worldwide. However, we know that these issues are variably identified and interpreted depending on one's position and positionality. We can imagine that what would be expected of/ by a citizen of one nation state could well be dramatically different from that expected of/by a citizen of a different country.

As a model, the global citizen is decontextualized. He is universally self-aware, integrated, responsible and able to mobilize his energies at multiple levels, including the global. It is assumed that the global citizen possesses and exhibits "individual autonomy, free choice and agency" (Matthews and Sidhu 2005, 49). For example, Golmohamad (2004) conceptualizes a "world citizen" as an integrated self that simultaneously serves a local, national, and global community with a "thick" rather than "thin" self-knowledge inextricable from social practices or service (134). She writes: "The concept of service to the community may well be considered as a voluntary act that can be perceived as an extension of oneself if one can accept the notion of the integrated self" (145). In her definition, Golmohamad relies heavily on the notion that the "integrated" global citizen will

have the agency to turn self-awareness into action transnationally (131) He will be positioned to act locally and globally. While Golmohamad's citizen is responsive, possibly flexible, and connected, he also appears to fit within what Pashby (2011) correctly notes is a hegemonic Western notion of the citizen-subject or one who has the privilege to act without great concern for retaliation.

In practice, the effects of global structures and power on the movement of people with wealth—the individuals with citizenship in multiple countries who are part of "the transnational capitalist class" (Sklair 2001) or transnational elite—are dissimilar from those who make up what Balarin refers to as "the new transnational class of marginalized citizens" (359). Transnational elites are mobile, often "enjoying freedom of physical movement and communication" (Matthews and Sidhu 2005). Following Szerszynski and Urry (2002), Matthews and Sidhu critique the notion of the mobile world citizen. They write: "Cosmopolitan elites can choose to disconnect themselves from the local, including severing their responsibilities to contribute to local or national states" (53). They perpetuate global capitalism and become part of a new transnational capitalist class which some (see, for example, Mitchell 2001) warn is increasingly distant from, and harmful to, the experiences of those who are geographically and economically confined. In the aggregate, while elites have the means and mobility to be global citizens, it is unclear if they do, in fact, live up to the ideal tenants of global citizenship, or if, on the other hand, they contribute to its improbability for others.

Balarin (2011) points out that the initial conditions of citizenship in a liberal-democratic context is taken for granted in its application to global citizenship, which fails to consider those who lack rights and responsibilities of legal citizens. Instead, they are marginalized in the global citizenship discourse has become, as Balarin argues, the "*hidden other*" (358) of global citizenship. In fact, it is the lives of these "confined" citizens and residents which best demonstrate the impracticality, if not impossibility, that the majority of the world's population can live as global citizens. In reality, most individuals are minimally mobile, especially through legal means, and they are institutionally and structurally excluded from participating safely as citizens. Their multiple marginalizations within their home countries render them less likely to be able to act as world citizens: their ability to act on a local level, let alone a worldwide level, is constrained.

In the aggregate, while elites have the means and mobility to be global citizens, it is unclear if they do, in fact, live up to the ideal tenants of global citizenship, or if, on the other hand, they contribute to its improbability for others.

Balarin's (2011) study, which I discuss here at some length, shows how disconnected are the aspirations and potential practices of global citizenship. Her argument centers on how education impacts the formation of citizens, including the discourse and imagination surrounding citizenship. Broadly, she asks:

> *[H]ow do new discourses on citizenship, including that on global citizenship, relate to or deal with the structural inequalities that are emerging or becoming deeper in the context of globalization? and to what extent do material living conditions enable or hinder access to these new discourses (to this imagination of citizenship) and, more importantly to the practices they seek to promote? (357)*

Framing her study around the political economy of global citizenship, Balarin interrogates the ways in which discourses of global citizenship are

undergirded by liberal-democratic conditions of citizenship. She critiques the normativity underlying the development of a global forms of citizenship and offers empirical evidence that the focus on changing individuals' beliefs and values through global citizenship education is misguided, if not dangerous.

The youth in Balarin's (2011) research experience and imagine citizenship as de-narrativized, de-historicized, and de-politicized. Not only do they have difficulty articulating the role of the nation-state in creating opportunities for citizens, they also "expressed barely any experience of commonality with fellow citizens, very little knowledge of places where they live and of their family histories, a very weak (if any) sense of place, not to mention a broader knowledge of national history…" (362). Although the youth shared the hegemonic view that meritocracy, in which an individual effort, especially through education, offers a chance to progress toward reaching one's goals, they also said that citizen rights can be purchased legally by using private educational, health, or other services, or corruptly through bribing government officials. This led them to conclude that citizens need money more than formal rights or social programs. This is, understandably, reflective of their reality; however, Balarin suggests that these findings undermine the collective action necessary for some form of global citizenship. Therefore, she claims that the challenge for global citizen education should be to "attempt to re-politicise education aims by contributing to the formality of a new policy hegemony" (365) that more critically considers the linkages between individuals, localities, regions, and nation-states within broader frames of the global. I agree.

BOX 1: RECOMMENDATIONS FOR POLICY AND RESEARCH

Recommendations for Policy

- Focus future educational approaches aimed at cultivating global membership on global-oriented issues and actions, rather than on citizenship
- Encourage national citizens to exert their rights to challenge nationalist policies that violate human rights and create further stratification
- Re-examine and interrogate practices that result in the marginalization of certain groups and/or inequitable access to rights associated with citizenship

Potential Future Research Questions

- In what ways are hegemonic discourses enacted, negotiated, and challenged in citizenship education programs and practices?
- What are the linkages between global capitalism and notions of global citizenship? Can the network of connections be traced and interrogated?
- What alternative forms of belonging and not belonging are critically considered in citizenship education?
- In what ways can e-citizenship—or the engagement in politics and society through online information technology and social network platforms—be understood as part of a transnational collective?

Moving Beyond Notions of Global Citizenship

Whether or not global citizens exist now, or may exist in the future, is of great debate (Pashby 2011). An answer to the question "do global citizens exist?" clearly depends on one's investment, imagination, and positionality in global capitalism and politics. The question I find more salient, and the one that emerges from this paper, is "what are the dangers of constructing and teaching notions of the global citizen and citizenship?" Bluntly, since global citizenship is rooted in statist, Western, and normative systems that selectively dole out rights and justices, I do not necessarily see it as a desirable goal. In contrast, as currently conceived and taught, it dangerously adds another level of exclusion to a world that is already highly hierarchical with regard to citizenship and belonging.

The assumptions undergirding and bolstering the notions of the global citizen are flawed. We must be clear that globalization does not necessarily result in a category of self-aware, justice-seeking, agentic citizens of the world, and that global citizenship has the potential to be used for divisiveness. The nation-state continues to be a relevant organizing and political entity and as Koopmans et al (2005) note: "...there so far is nothing beyond the nation-state that can serve as a new anchor for collective identities and can renew the sense of control" (4). Any discussion of our contemporary forms of citizenship must include critical considerations of state, region, and global interactions and flexible fissures.

Conceptions of global citizenship, and, by extension, global citizenship education, do not take into account the fragmented and tenuous forms of citizenship within countries, the contested forms of legal belonging and non-belonging, nor patterns of marginalization and stratification. Banks (2008) accurately notes that "[c]onceptions of citizenship and citizenship education around the world face challenges from a number of historical, political, social, and cultural developments [and] worldwide immigration, globalization, and the tenacity of nationalism have stimulated controversy and new thinking" (129). However, I urge additional critical deliberation on the contestations and conflicts between the ideas of global citizenship and the realities of state conferred or refused citizenship. The stratifications of legal citizenship and informal senses of belonging and not belonging within nation-states, regions, and the word need further consideration. Armstrong (2006) states that "[t]he global human rights regime, for instance, is....a (more or less) universal system of national rights, to be claimed against the nation-state in which one happens to reside" (350). Conversely, Pashby (2011), in her review and critique of global citizenship education, cautions that future education projects of this nature must avoid expanding forms of citizenship, namely those associated with the nation-state. The relationships between citizenship at the levels of the nation-state and the imagined global domain are messy and must be formally taken into account in any conception of global citizenship education.

In addition, global citizenship education must acknowledge and address the increasing presence and influence of multinational corporations in globalizing processes. Whether or not such an education can contribute to human rights depends on how well it attends to a "future that may offer the internationalization of the ideals of a democratic education or may reduce education, and civic participation, to narrow instruments of remote and seemingly ungovernable market forces" (Torres 2002, 364). There is some evidence that educational programs and institutions that promote global citizenship are viewed as hegemonic and kindred

with other multinational organizations, mostly Western, that have monetary agreements with governments, but that may do little for local individuals. Pani (1999) offers one example in South Asia where educational programs, "such as Friends World appear as 'registered companies' in governmental ledgers, operating in major cities as institutions that primarily serve students from advanced Western countries" (161). Often, in Western study-abroad programs, international schools, education-centered development aid, and peace education discourse, global citizenship is mobilized as "a form of empire that perpetuates fantasies of supremacy, entitlement and global expansion" (Zemach-Bersin 2012). Such education is often driven by market forces and is at odds with democratic citizenship.

> Perhaps oxymoronic and paradoxical conceptions of citizenship might be what are needed to move current discourses and pedagogies of global citizenship education away from Western hegemonic ideals. If future considerations of a world collective must include notions of citizenship, these notions must take seriously the importance of simultaneously existing and multiple conditions and enactments of citizenship.

However, because the idea of "global citizenship," is fraught with assumptions, I encourage educators to develop future forms of education aimed at cultivating global membership and engagement focus not on citizenship, but on global-oriented issues and actions. Although peace education has been criticized for a lack of theoretical assumptions about particular meanings of conflict, peace, and education (Bajaj 2008; Zembylas and Bekeman 2013), it still offers important examples in re-centering global education programs without a reliance on ideas of citizenship or other universal goals and achieved statuses. Critical peace education in particular aims to provide students in any setting with ways of working toward social justice and comprehensive peace (Reardon 1988). At its best, and most critical, this approach acknowledges complex historical, economic, and political processes; makes serious commitments to peace and social justice; provides support for eradicating violence; and teaches skills for reforming structures that perpetuate inequitable social conditions. As well, peace education aims to create safe participatory spaces for students, allowing for various, often locally-defined interpretations and understandings to be honored.

Rather than focusing on a hypothetical move from the national to the global, from the citizens of nations to global citizenship, we should encourage national citizens to exert their rights and responsibilities to challenge nationalist policies which do not uphold human rights, and which further stratify the world. As argued by Parekh (2003): "Apathetic citizens who have no interest in the conduct of their government are neither good national nor good global citizens" (55). We are also better served by examining the coexistence of various flexible, cultural, and transnational citizenship forms. These reflect emergent subjects and structures, and attend to the long-standing stratifications (by class, gender, language, ethnicity, race, religion, and sexual orientation) within current official/legal citizenship schemes. An understanding of the multiple forms of citizenship can inform globally-oriented education programs aimed at producing proactive world citizens.

Instead of a universal education for the development of global citizens, I recommend context-specific and culturally-relevant forms of globally-oriented education that center on the intersection of human rights, resource use, and global sustainability. Such education would:

- acknowledge disparities and social stratifications as persistent and unacceptable;
- interrogate social structures and institutions rather than focusing on transforming individuals;
- challenge transnational capitalism and the rise of self-serving multinational corporations;
- contest the war-making capacities, bureaucratic apparatuses, and juridical-legislative systems of all nations;
- demand a restructuring of worldwide governance bodies, such as the UN to distribute power among a greater number of countries; and
- problematize normative and Western discourses about education and citizenship,

It should emphasize counter narratives and multivocality informed by notions of critical citizenship, as well as support diverse forms of civic engagement, including e-activism, or the use of the internet and social media in civic praxis.

Globally-oriented education programs must be grounded in the day-to-day struggles of local people and centered on emergent global issues, such as violence or environmental degradation, the consequences of which are differentially experienced and enacted locally. There should be an explicit commitment to global education, supported by critical and culturally-informed pedagogy situated in localized and contextualized interactions of everyday life in their multiple and conflicting forms, rather than falsely secured by Western, normative, and elitist ideas that promote universal and straightforward narratives of citizenship. A persistent need to essentialize and idealize notions of global citizenship only pushes these notions further out of reach for the majority of the world's population, rendering such ideas not only elusive, but also dangerous.

References

Appadurai, Arjun. (1996). *Modernity at large: cultural dimensions of globalization*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Appiah, K. A. (1997). Cosmopolitan patriots. *Critical Inquiry*, 23(3): 617-639.

Armstrong, Chris. (2006). Global Civil Society and the Question of Global Citizenship. *Voluntas: International Journal of Voluntary and Nonprofit Organizations*, 17(4): 349-357.

Bajaj, Monisha. (2008). "Critical Peace Education" In *The Encyclopedia of Peace Education*, Ed. Monisha Bajaj, 135-146. Greenwich, CT: Information Age.

Bajaj, Monisha. (2010). Conjectures on Peace Education and Gandhian Studies: Method, Institutional Development and Globalization. *Journal of Peace Education* 7(1): 47-63.

Balarin, Maria. (2011). Global Citizenship and Marginalisation: Contributions Toward a Political Economy of Global Citizenship. *Globalisation, Societies and Education*, 9(3-4): 355-366.

Banks, James A. (2008). Diversity, Group Identity, and Citizenship Education in a Global Age. *Educational Researcher*, 37(3): 129-139.

Bartelson, Jens. (2003). On the Redundancy of Civil Society. In J. Hallenberg, B. Nygren, & A. Robertson (Eds.) *Transitions. In Honour of Kjell Goldmann (111-122)*. Stockholm: Department of Political Science.

C, Pierre, and Jean-Claude Passeron. 1990. *Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture*. London: Sage.

Bowden B. 2003. The perils of global citizenship. *Citizenship Studies*, 7(3):349–62.

Brantmeier, Edward J and Monisha Bajaj. (2013). *Peace Education Praxis. Educating About Social Issues in the 20th and 21st Centuries: A Critical Annotated Bibliography* 2. 139-159. Information Age Publishing.

Carter, April. (1997). Nationalism and Global Citizenship. *Australian Journal of Politics & History,* 43(3): 67-81.

Corry, T. Olaf. (2006). Global Civil Society and Its Discontents. *Voluntas: International Journal of Voluntary and Nonprofit Organizations,* 17(4):303-324.

Davies, Ian, Evans, Mark, and Alan Reid (2005). Globalising Citizenship Education? A Critique of 'Global Education" and "Citizenship Education'. *British Journal of Educational Studies,* 53(1): 66-89.

Enslin, P. (2000). Education and democratic citizenship: In defence of cosmopolitanism.In M. Leicester, C. Modgil, & S. Modgil (Eds.), *Politics, education and citizenship* (pp. 149–150). New York: Falmer Press.

Fox, Jonathan. (2005). Unpacking Transnational Citizenship. *Annual Review of Political Science* 8:171-201.

Fricke, Harm-Jan, Gathercole, Cathryn, and Skinner Amy. (2015). *Monitoring Education for Global Citizenship: A Contribution to Debate*. Brussels: DEEP.

Gibson, Kay. L., Rimmington, Glyn M. and Marjorie Landweher-Bown. (2008). Developing Global Awareness and Responsible World Citizenship with Global Learning. *Roeper Review,* 30(1):11-23.

Golmohamad, Muna. 2004, "World citizenship, identity and the notion of an integrated self." *Studies in Philosophy and Education* 23(2-3): 131-148.

Hantzopoulos, Maria. 2011. Institutionalizing Critical Peace Education in Public Schools. A Case for Comprehensive Implementation. *Journal of Peace Education* 8(3): 225-242.

Kaldor, M. (2003). *Global Civil Society: An Answer to War.* Cambridge:Polity.

Keane, J. (2001). Global Civil Society? In H. Anheier, M. Glasius, & M. Kaldor (Eds.) *Global Civil Society*, 23-47. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Knight Abowitz, Kathleen , and Jason Harnish. 2006. "Contemporary discourses of citizenship." *Review of Educational Research* 76(4): 653-690.

Koopmans, Ruud, Paul Statham, Marco Giugni, and Florence Passy. 2005**.** *Contested citizenship: Immigration and cultural diversity in Europe*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Linklater, A. (2002). Cosmopolitan Citizenship. In B. Turner and E. Isin (Eds.), *Citizenship Studies: A Handbook*, 317-322. London:Sage.

Matthews, Julie and Ravinder Sidhu. (2005). Desperately Seeking the Global Subject: International Education, Citizenship and Cosmopolitanism. *Globalisation Societies and Education,* 3(1): 49-66.

Myers, John, and Husam Zaman. (2009). "Negotiating the global and national: Immigrant and dominant-culture adolescents' vocabularies of citizenship in a transnational world." *The Teachers College Record* 111(1): 2589-2625.

Nussbaum, Martha Craven, and Joshua Cohen. (1996). *For Love of Country? Debating the Limits of Patriotism*. Boston: Beacon Press.

Ohmae, Kenichi. (1990). *The Borderless World: Power and Strategy in the Interlinked Economy, Management Lessons in the New Logic of the Global Marketplace.* New York: Harper Business.

Ong, Aihwa. (1999). *Flexible Citizenship: The Cultural Logics of Transnationalism*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Oxfam. (2006). *Education for Global Citizenship: A Guide for Schools*. Oxford: Oxfam Development

Education. Available at http://www.oxfam.org.uk/education/global-citizenship/global-citizenship-guides

Pani, Rajini. (1999). The Pangs of Global Citizen Participation. *Peace Review: A Journal of Social Justice*, 11(1):161-164.

Pashby, Karen. (2011). Cultivating Global Citizens: Plant New Seeds or Pruning the Perennials? Looking for the Citizen-Subject in Global Citizenship Education Theory. *Globalisation, Societies and Education*, 9(3-4): 427-442.

Pogge, Thomas W. (1992). Cosmopolitanism and Sovereignty. *Ethics*, 3(1): 48-75.

Reardon, Betty. (1988). *Comprehensive Peace Education*. New York: Teachers College, Columbia University.

Rajaram, Prem Kumar and Carl Grundy-Warr, Eds. (2007). *Borderscapes: Hidden Geographies and Politics at Territory's Edge*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Rosaldo, Renato. (1994). Cultural Citizenship and Educational Democracy. *Cultural Anthropology* 9(3): 402-411.

Sassen, Saskia. (2003). Citizenship Destabilized. *Liberal Education*, 89(2): 14–21.

Sklair, Leslie. (2001). *The Transnational Capitalist Class*. Vol. Oxford: Blackwell.

Soysal, Y. (2001). Postnational citizenship: Reconfiguring the familiar terrain. *The Blackwell companion to political sociology*, Kate Nash and Alan Scott, eds. 333-341.

Thompson, Janet (1998). Community Identity and World Citizenship. *Re-imagining Political Community: Studies in Cosmopolitan Democracy*, D. Archibugi. D. Held and M. Kohler, eds. Stanford University Press.

United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). (2015). *Global Citizenship Education: Topics and Learning Objectives*. Accessed 8/10/2015 at http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0023/002329/232993e.pdf Paris:UNESCO.

Zembylas, Michalinos and Zvi Bekerman. (2013). Peace Education in the Present: Dismantling and Reconstructing Some Fundamental Theoretical Premises. *Journal of Peace Education* 10(2):197-214.

Zemach-Bersin, Talya. (2012). Entitled to the World: The Rhetoric of U.S. Global Citizenship Education and Study Abroad. In de Oliveira Andreotti, Vanessa, and Lynn Mario TM de Souza, eds. *Postcolonial Perspectives on Global Citizenship Education*. New York: Routledge.

United Nations
Educational, Scientific and
Cultural Organization

Mahatma Gandhi Institute
of Education for Peace
and Sustainable Development

UNESCO MGIEP
35 Ferozshah Road, ICSSR Building, 1st Floor, New Delhi 110001
Phone +91 11-23072356-60
W: **www.mgiep.unesco.org**
F: facebook.com/mgiep
T: twitter.com/UNESCO_MGIEP
E: mgiep@unesco.org