Rethinking GLOBAL CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION *from* ASIA-PACIFIC PERSPECTIVES

Edited by Hyun Mook Lim, Sunmi Ji, and Yoon-Young Lee

APCEIU
Asia-Pacific Centre of Education for International Understanding

Rethinking Global Citizenship Education From Asia-Pacific Perspectives

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Editors
Hyun Mook Lim (Director, APCEIU)
Sunmi Ji (Acting Head, Office of Research and Development, APCEIU)
Yoon-Young Lee (Assistant Programme Specialist, Office of Research and Development, APCEIU)

Contributors
Sicong Chen (Associate Professor, Kyushu University)
Suzanne S. Choo (Associate Professor, Nanyang Technological University)
Thippapan Chuosavasdi (Lecturer, Chulalongkorn University)
Aigul Kulnazarova (Professor, Tama University)
Mousumi Mukherjee (Associate Professor, O.P. Jindal Global University)
Tania Saeed (Associate Professor, Lahore University of Management Sciences)
Tanya Wendt Samu (Senior Lecturer, University of Auckland)
Kyujoo Seol (Professor, Gyeongin National University of Education)
Jun Teng (Professor, Beijing Normal University)

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Contact
Office of Research and Development at APCEIU
120, Saemal-ro, Guro-gu, Seoul, Republic of Korea, 08289
Tel: (+82-2) 774-3981, Fax: (+82-2) 774-3958
www.unescoapceiu.org
rnd@unescoapceiu.org

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Foreword

This book seeks to rethink global citizenship education (GCED) in a time when its relevance is becoming genuinely global. As complex crises such as worsening economic polarisation, mounting hatred and exclusion, war and geopolitical confrontations, climate change, massive loss of biodiversity, and disruptive technological development transcend national borders and threaten the peace and sustainability of humans and non-human beings alike, the importance of GCED is today acknowledged in almost every corner of the world.

Despite such global relevance and importance, however, discussions on GCED have not always been conducted in a well-balanced manner. It is fair to say that the perspectives of particular regions, cultures, and/or linguistic communities have been represented more prominently than others in such discussions. Thus, for GCED to be truly global, other underrepresented perspectives will have to be heard with more frequency and greater urgency. And for this to happen, the work of reinterpreting or rediscovering the meaning of such marginalised voices in relation to GCED should be carried out first. This volume is the result of just such an attempt at this lofty objective, as it tries to rethink GCED from Asia-Pacific philosophies, religions, cultures, and political contexts by reexamining these underappreciated ideas and knowledge systems for their potential to contribute to enriching viewpoints on and approaches to GCED.

Of course, the Asia-Pacific region is not homogenous. In fact, we might well question the validity of treating Asia and the Pacific as one region, and the material in this book demonstrates this heterogeneity of perspectives and contexts in the Asia-Pacific region. Nevertheless, the chapters still shared an interesting commonality: they attempted to reinterpret GCED and suggest innovative approaches to it moving forward. This aim enabled all the chapters to come together with a cohesive narrative. Readers will be captivated by revitalised outlooks and ideas that have been developed in the region's long history but neglected in the recent period of modernisation, as well as by

accounts of how they enable a vibrant reinterpretation of GCED.

All this has been made possible thanks to the commitment and contribution of a team of Asia-Pacific scholars who have joined our project for rethinking GCED from a mindset oriented towards Asia-Pacific perspectives: Sicong Chen, Suzanne S. Choo, Thippapan Chuosavasdi, Aigul Kulnazarova, Mousumi Mukherjee, Tania Saeed, Tanya Wendt Samu, Kyujoo Seol, and Jun Teng. Everyone at the Asia-Pacific Centre of Education for International Understanding (APCEIU) is extremely grateful to this wonderful team of experts for sharing their profound insights and also for their sense of humour, which has made our work more joyful.

I would also like to express our gratitude to the peer reviewers—Sohyun An, Emiliano Bosio, Amber Carpenter, Libby Giles, Kevin Kester, and Min Yu—for providing constructive feedback that has significantly enhanced the quality of the manuscripts. In addition, my heartfelt thanks go to Minji Ham and her team at Hollym Publishing, who worked hard to ensure that all the manuscripts were published in the most professional way possible. I also extend our appreciation to the proofreader, Richard Harris, for meticulously reviewing all the written material for this book. Furthermore, I would like to acknowledge my colleagues from APCEIU, Sunmi Ji and Yoon-Young Lee, both of whom worked tirelessly to coordinate the project throughout the entire process, including the editing of the book, as well as the hard work of Jihyun Lee, Seulbee Lee, and Mingyu Sin to support the project and review the final version of the manuscripts. Also, I would like to thank Jooyeon Han for improving the quality of the book through her fastidious work on the indexing.

It is my sincere hope that this book will be widely read both within and beyond the Asia-Pacific region. Educators, policymakers, scholars, community actors, and the general public throughout the Asia-Pacific region will be able to gain new insights into the cultures, education, religions, and philosophies of this region as a result of this publication. For readers outside the region, this book will serve as a gateway to understanding the diversity of the Asia-Pacific region, while also providing an opportunity to learn about new ways of thinking and new forms of education that have often been overlooked in discussions of GCED up until now.

Ultimately, my greatest hope is that discussions on the meaning of GCED from diverse perspectives—including those of Asia-Pacific—will lead to a deeper understanding of how to construct a culture of peace throughout the world.

Hyun Mook Lim
Director of APCEIU

About the Contributors

Sicong Chen is an Associate Professor at the Department of Education, Kyushu University, Japan. He specialises in citizenship education at the intersection of education and politics. His research focuses on the policy, practice, and politics of citizenship education in East Asian contexts. He has published work on global citizenship education (GCED) and social justice education in Japan and China. He is the author of *The Meaning of Citizenship in Contemporary Chinese Society* (Springer, 2018). He also co-wrote the *Common Curriculum Guide for Peace Education in Northeast Asia* (APCEIU, 2023).

Suzanne S. Choo is an Associate Professor and Head (Research) at the Singapore Centre for Character and Citizenship Education, National Institute of Education, Nanyang Technological University. She is also Lead Editor of the *Asia Pacific Journal of Education*. She completed her PhD at Teachers College, Columbia University, in the United States. Her research has been published in various peer-reviewed journals, such as the *Journal of Moral Education*, *Harvard Educational Review*, *Reading Research Quarterly*, and *Critical Studies in Education*, among others. Her book, *Reading the World, the Globe, and the Cosmos: Approaches to Teaching Literature for the Twenty-First Century*, was awarded the Critics' Choice Book Award by the American Educational Studies Association. Her research interests are in the areas of GCED from the perspective of cosmopolitan ethics and Confucian philosophy, as well as ethical criticism and pedagogy. Her website is https://suzannechoo.com

Thippapan Chuosavasdi is a Lecturer at Chulalongkorn University, Thailand. Her research centres on Buddhist philosophy, virtues, and emotions as part of her wider interest in a good life. She currently explores topics such as the Buddhist views of shame, trust and *śraddhā*, and humility in Thai society. Recognising education as pivotal in cultivating a good life, she advocates for

integrating ethical knowledge, values, and attitudes into formal education, akin to the principles of GCED. She believes that with effective design and pedagogy, this aspect of GCED can nurture individual agents who contribute to the flourishing of society.

Aigul Kulnazarova joined Tama University, Japan, in 2008 as a Professor of International Relations and International Law at the School of Global Studies. Prior to this appointment, she served as Dean of the Law School at Kazakh-American University and held visiting professorships at MGIMO University and RUDN University in Moscow, and was honoured as a Japan Foundation Invited Fellow at Nagoya University and as a Visiting Senior Researcher at Aalborg University in Denmark. Her research intersects global peace studies, security, human rights, global citizenship, and global governance. She has authored and edited numerous publications, including *UNESCO Without Borders: Educational Campaigns for International Understanding* (Routledge, 2018) and the *Palgrave Handbook of Global Approaches to Peace* (Palgrave Macmillan Cham, 2019). Currently, she serves as Editor of the *Global Governance* and Editor of the Routledge book series *International Relations in Southeast Asia*. She holds a PhD from Kazakh National University, an MPhil from Pune University, and an MA from Almaty State University.

Mousumi Mukherjee is an Associate Professor and Deputy Director of the Centre for Comparative and Global Education at the International Institute for Higher Education Research and Capacity Building, O.P. Jindal Global University, India. She is an Honorary Senior Fellow in the Faculty of Education, University of Melbourne, Australia. She is a Fulbright alumna with more than 20 years of experience in the higher education sector of India, the United States, and Australia. She is the Vice-President of Research and Partnerships Development of the STAR Scholars Network, an Executive Committee Member of the Indian Ocean Comparative Education Society (IOCES), and a Research Standing Committee Member of the World Council of Comparative Education Societies (WCCES). She teaches a course titled Global Citizenship and International Understanding and has published articles on GCED in India.

Tania Saeed is an Associate Professor at the Lahore University of Management Sciences (LUMS), Pakistan. Her research focuses on citizenship, identity, and education in the context of Pakistan and the South Asian diaspora. Saeed has contributed to policy research on education, citizenship, and Islamophobia. She is the author of *Islamophobia and Securitisation: Religion,*

Ethnicity and the Female Voice (Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2016), the co-author of *Youth and the National Narrative* (Bloomsbury UK, 2020), and the co-editor for both *Exploring Education* and *Democratisation in South Asia: Research, Policy, and Practice* (Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2024) as well as the forthcoming *Critical Perspectives on Refugee and Migrant Integration in Education: Grassroots Narratives from Multiregional Settings* (Bloomsbury UK). She was awarded the Marie Skłodowska-Curie fellowship (2019–2021) and holds a doctorate in Education from the University of Oxford and an MSc in Gender, Development and Globalisation from the London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE).

Tanya Wendt Samu is a Senior Lecturer at the Faculty of Education and Social Work, University of Auckland, in Aotearoa New Zealand. She has over two decades of experience developing and leading courses in undergraduate, graduate teaching, and doctoral supervision. Her research is rooted in socio-cultural, historical, and critical perspectives of diversity in education, with a particular focus on Pacific/Pasifika education. This research is guided by the indigenous wisdom of Pacific scholar-elders and grounded in the belief that the education experiences of Pacific peoples are situated within inter-connected environments and contexts of the local, regional, national, transnational, and global. It is within these contexts where knowledge construction, languages, motives, values, societies, and cultures interact. She periodically contributes as a social sciences consultant for national school curriculum and teacher education projects. Past experiences include bilateral aid projects in Samoa, Kyrgyzstan, Nauru, and Myanmar. She identifies as Samoan and Maori.

Kyujoo Seol is studying and teaching pre-service and in-service teachers at Gyeongin National University of Education, Korea. His research interests lie in democratic citizenship education in the age of globalisation and localisation. He has conducted research in the field of citizenship education with researchers, teachers, and educational policymakers of various backgrounds, such as social sciences, humanities, and civic education. His recent publications include *Citizens in East Asia* and *Global Citizenship Education Beginning with Locality*. He also takes part in the Incheon Metropolitan Office of Education's teacher education programmes on GCED.

Jun Teng is a Deputy Dean in the Faculty of Education and a Professor at the Institute of International and Comparative Education at Beijing Normal University, China. She specialises in global governance in education, global

competence, international schools, and education aid, and has published more than 60 papers in peer-reviewed journals. Her latest monographs include *Preparing to Work in International Organisation* (Shanghai Education Press, 2018) and *Discourse Evolution of UNESCO's Education Policies (1945–2015)* (High Education Press, 2024). She was a visiting doctoral student at Columbia University in 2008 and a consultant for the Global Partnership for Education in 2016. She also serves as the Secretary General of the Chinese Comparative Education Society, as a member of the Financial Committee of the World Council of Comparative Education Societies, and as a Board Member of the Comparative Education Society for Asia. She plays an active role in promoting dialogues between China and UNESCO, the World Bank, the United States, Finland, and other countries, in both academics and educational practices.

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Introduction

The 21st century is characterised not just by increasing global interconnectedness and interdependence but also by complex challenges that cannot be tackled by individual nations. Against this background, the critical role of global citizenship education (GCED) has been underscored. Since fostering global citizenship was highlighted as one of the three pillars of the Global Education First Initiative (GEFI), launched by the United Nations (UN) Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon in September 2012, interest in GCED has increased considerably in the international education community. The GEFI campaign has propelled the education sector into a new phase that emphasises the role of education in cultivating a sense of global responsibility, in addition to its existing utilitarian objectives (Torres, 2018). Subsequent to the "Education 2030 Incheon Declaration and the Framework for Action" adopted at the World Education Forum, held in May 2015, Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) 4 was finalised at the UN General Assembly in November 2015 (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization [UNESCO], 2016b). As part of SDG 4-Education 2030, which aims to ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all, GCED is incorporated in SDG Target 4.7 and its global indicator 4.7.1 as below:

> 4.7 By 2030, ensure that all learners acquire the knowledge and skills needed to promote sustainable development, including, among others, through education for sustainable development and sustainable lifestyles, human rights, gender equality, promotion of a culture of peace and non-violence, global citizenship and appreciation of cultural diversity and of culture's contribution to sustainable development. (United Nations [UN], 2015b, p. 17)

* While this edited volume adheres to British English, direct quotations and the names of organisations are retained in their original style.

> 4.7.1 Extent to which (i) global citizenship education and (ii) education for sustainable development are mainstreamed in (a) national education policies; (b) curricula; (c) teacher education and (d) student assessment. (UN, 2015a, p. 6)

The inclusion of GCED in SDG 4 demonstrates the international community's recognition of the importance of GCED and its commitment to make concerted efforts to mainstream it in the education systems by 2030. Recently, this has been reconfirmed by UNESCO's revision of the "Recommendation concerning education for international understanding, cooperation and peace and education relating to human rights and fundamental freedoms." The revised "Recommendation on education for peace and human rights, international understanding, cooperation, fundamental freedoms, global citizenship and sustainable development" emphasises the importance of GCED, as reflected in its title (UNESCO, 2024).

In line with these developments, many international organisations and bodies have provided interpretations of global citizenship. UNESCO defines *global citizenship* as a sense of belonging to common humanity, viewing the local and national as connected to the global, understanding and engaging with others and the environment, while respecting diversity and upholding universal values (UNESCO, 2014). United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) sees global citizens as people who understand interconnectedness, recognise and respect the value of diversity, have the capacity to challenge injustice, and take action in meaningful ways (TeachUNICEF, 2013).

Similar efforts have been made to define *global citizenship competencies*. For example, UNESCO identifies five key competencies that GCED aims to foster: first, an attitude affirming multiple identities including a sense of belonging to common humanity and respecting diversity; second, in-depth knowledge of global issues and universal values such as justice, equality, dignity, and respect; third, cognitive skills of critical, systematic, and creative thinking, including a multi-perspective approach; fourth, non-cognitive skills, including social skills such as empathy and conflict resolution and the ability to communicate with people from different backgrounds; and fifth, the ability to act collaboratively and responsibly to find collective solutions to global challenges (UNESCO, 2014).

While these definitions attempt to provide a common understanding of global citizenship and GCED, how different education systems conceptualise, interpret, and practise GCED greatly varies due to their different national and local contexts and their responses to the impacts of globalisation (Ho, 2018). Moreover, the global challenges that GCED focuses on are intricately inter-

twined with local realities and manifested in particular ways within those local contexts. Thus, if GCED is to be relevant to local realities, one will have to reinterpret and find its meaning in such a particular context.

Conversely, for GCED to be relevant beyond specific regions of the world, it must be open to reinterpretations and redefinitions from diverse outlooks of different regions. Without these, GCED may remain to be an abstract concept, bound by fixed meanings and lacking relevance to the lives of people on the ground. Only when both GCED and global citizenship are reinterpreted through local perspectives and contexts will people view them as rooted in their lives and therefore a matter of personal and collective concern. As a result, it is necessary and desirable to rethink and reinterpret the meanings of GCED in the specific context of countries or regions.

Despite the need to rethink GCED through local mindsets, however, there is a dearth of theoretical discussions in that regard in the Asia-Pacific region. Much of the conceptualisation of GCED and its approaches are heavily influenced by Western perspectives (Andreotti & De Souza, 2012; Ho, 2018). Although the importance and legitimacy of *epistemological pluralism* are widely recognised, an imbalance in knowledge construction persists, shaped by regional, cultural, ethnic, and linguistic factors (Andreotti et al., 2011, p. 235). Consequently, certain bodies of knowledge have been rendered invisible and marginalised within mainstream educational discourses, reducing the scope for meaningful dialogue between diverse knowledge systems.

Rethinking Global Citizenship Education From Asia-Pacific Perspectives

Bearing the above-said situation in mind, the Asia-Pacific Centre of Education for International Understanding (APCEIU), a UNESCO centre based in Seoul, South Korea, specialising in the promotion of education for international understanding and global citizenship, has carried out an initiative to revisit GCED from Asia-Pacific points of view. Scholars from different parts of the Asia-Pacific region have joined the project, which aims to contribute to theoretical discussions on GCED by drawing on Asia-Pacific philosophies and religious traditions, while also taking into account the region's political and cultural conditions.

This project builds upon the preliminary study conducted by APCEIU in 2023, which reviewed the existing literature on the conceptions of global citizenship or global citizenship *competencies* developed in the Asia-Pacific region conducted by APCEIU. This study aimed to identify major trends in

theoretical discussions on global citizenship competencies in the Asia-Pacific region and find experts to be invited to the project. At the outset, there was a concern over whether it was appropriate to view global citizenship through the framework of competency. While advocates argue that the notion of competency integrates knowledge, skills, values, and attitudes into a holistic set of qualities that learners should acquire in the 21st century, critics point out that the meaning of *competency* is vague and that it reinforces a neo-liberal perspective on education.

Nevertheless, the preliminary study did cover the literature on global citizenship competencies, given that most countries had already reformed or were in the process of reforming their curricula from content-based to competency-based models. It was therefore considered worthwhile to explore the literature related to global citizenship competencies. In addition, it was expected that narrowing down the concept of global citizenship to competencies could make theoretical discussions on GCED less abstract.

Consequently, the project was launched in early 2024 under the original title of "Redefining Global Citizenship Competencies from Asia-Pacific Perspectives." Over the course of the project, however, the contributors raised questions concerning the appropriateness of using the terms *redefining* and *competencies* for the project. It was pointed out that their contributions were related to *rethink* GCED in broader frameworks, including moral and or critical approaches, rather than redefining global citizenship solely within a competency framework. APCEIU shared this concern and agreed to change the project title to *Rethinking GCED from Asia-Pacific Perspectives* to better capture the participants' contributions.

The project aims to rethink and reinterpret global citizenship and GCED in light of the cultural and historical contexts and political and economic conditions of the Asia-Pacific region. More specifically, the objectives of the project are as follows:

- To rethink global citizenship through the lens of various philosophical traditions, such as Buddhist, Confucian, Islamic, and Pacific philosophies, as well as other indigenous thoughts that have flourished in the region, to address and overcome tensions or shortcomings present in the existing conceptions of global citizenship;
- To reconceptualise GCED to harmonise national identity or nationalism with global citizenship, ensuring a balanced and integrated perspective;
- To redefine GCED to enhance its relevance for countries under authoritarian rule or those prioritising nation-building or economic development, especially after ethnic, religious, or ideological conflicts.

The project is expected to contribute to making GCED practice more relevant to the Asia-Pacific region by providing localised views and concepts. For this, follow-up projects will be needed to develop practical guides for teachers and practitioners to apply these perspectives and concepts to GCED practices in schools and communities.

Insights From Existing Research on Global Citizenship Education in Asia-Pacific

The 2023 preliminary study, entitled *Defining Global Citizenship Competencies from Asia-Pacific Perspectives*, as demonstrated in Figure 1, classified the existing literature on global citizenship *competencies* in the Asia-Pacific region into five categories as presented below:

1) Critical studies on the localisation of global citizenship competence/education discourses and frameworks led by international organisations;
2) Research demonstrating the potential for reverse localisation of global citizenship competence discourses and frameworks led by international organisations and grounded in indigenous philosophies;
3) Studies that seek the origins of global citizenship competence/education within indigenous philosophies and thoughts of the Asia-Pacific region;
4) Research identifying the intersections between Western cosmopolitanism and indigenous philosophies and thoughts of the Asia-Pacific region;
5) Studies attempting to engage in a dialectic synthesis between Western cosmopolitanism and indigenous philosophies and thoughts of the Asia-Pacific region.

One notable finding from the preliminary study was that there have been few studies exploring the fifth category. This is particularly problematic because this type of research is most helpful for making GCED more relevant to local contexts. Although each category holds its own significance, a focus on the synthesis of Western perspectives on GCED and Asia-Pacific philosophies would provide theoretical resources for GCED practices that are more relevant to local realities.

Another important finding was that studies reflecting the regional context of the Asia-Pacific region were notably scarce with a few exception. In fact,

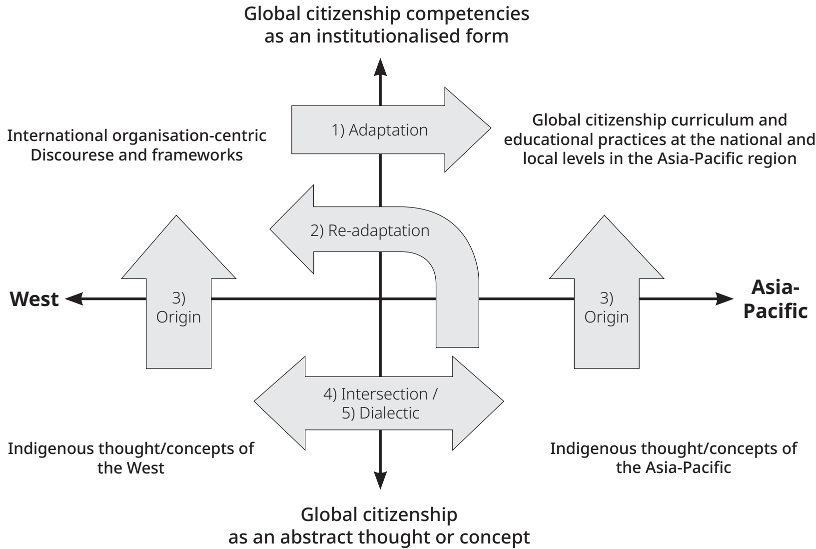

Figure 1 *Analytical Framework for Global Citizenship Competencies in the Asia-Pacific Region (APCEIU, 2023, p. 51)*

there have been only a few attempts to conceptualise global citizenship in the Asia-Pacific region. In 2019, the Southeast Asian Ministers of Education Organisation (SEAMEO), and UNICEF tried to assess global citizenship alongside reading, writing, and mathematics skills of primary fifth graders in six Southeast Asian countries (i.e., Cambodia, Laos, Malaysia, Myanmar, the Philippines, and Vietnam). In this study, the term *global citizenship* was defined as an attitude of understanding and appreciating the interconnectedness and importance of all life on Earth, while acting on that awareness and relating to others to make the world a more peaceful, just, safe, and sustainable place (UNICEF & SEAMEO, 2019). However, this definition of global citizenship is rather abstract and does not have strong regional tones.

Through a study in 2015, UNESCO Regional Office in Bangkok (UNESCO Bangkok) sought to understand the extent to which teachers in various countries in the Asia-Pacific region were prepared to implement the complex analytical and communication skills required in 21st-century societies, known as *transversal competencies*. Here, transversal competencies were defined as skills, values, and attitudes such as critical thinking, cooperation, creativity, self-discipline, wisdom, and respect for the environment (UNESCO, 2016a). In 2019, UNESCO Bangkok conducted a subsequent study on the assessment of transversal competencies, in which *transversal*

competencies were broadly referred to as critical and innovative thinking, self-reflective skills, interpersonal skills, and global citizenship. Interestingly, global citizenship was seen as one of the components of transversal competencies and was considered to include open-mindedness, tolerance, and respect for diversity, responsibility and conflict resolution, intercultural understanding, democratic participation, respect for the environment, and a sense of national identity and belonging (UNESCO, 2019).

Unlike many of the conceptualisations of global citizenship discussed above, the 2019 study by UNESCO Bangkok is notable in terms of stressing national identity within the framework of global citizenship. This emphasis appears to reflect the fact that there are many countries in the region where nation-building is still an important task, and also the fact that the majority of countries in the region have strong state control over education, with the promotion of national consciousness being the primary purpose of education. While UNESCO Bangkok's study is commendable in that it attempts to interpret global citizenship in the context of the Asia-Pacific region, the inclusion of national identity as an important element is not convincing. Given that national identity is already heavily emphasised in education throughout the region, the study should have included values and attitudes that could harmonise national identity and global citizenship.

The emphasis on national identity and national consciousness in education in many countries in the region is also related to their authoritarian rule. In these countries, education is tightly controlled by the state, and its content has a strong tendency to instil respect for and obedience to the state and its rulers. How to conceptualise global citizenship competencies and reflect them in education in this situation is a challenging question, but it would not be desirable to exclude these countries from GCED. Indeed, if GCED is fundamentally about nurturing the capacity to live together, then citizens of authoritarian states also need to develop the capacity to live, dialogue, and cooperate with citizens of other states. At the same time, citizens of other states need to develop the capacity to dialogue with citizens of authoritarian states to better understand their plight and aspirations, and to work together for a better future.

In addition to authoritarian rule, nationalism is another important context for conceptualising and practising GCED in the Asia-Pacific region. Most countries in the region have experienced colonisation, and this historical experience provides fertile soil for nationalism to grip the minds of people in many areas, including education. Given this, it is neither possible nor realistic to deny nationalism. Quite the opposite, it may be necessary to accept a certain degree of nationalism and conceptualise a GCED model that is compatible with it.

Many countries in the region are grappling with the task of nation-building after ethnic conflicts and civil wars. For global citizenship to have any serious meaning in this context, it must be able to contribute to overcoming past tragedies and promoting reconciliation to build a shared identity. This is also true for relations between nation-states, as some countries in the region have historical and geopolitical conflicts and tensions with their neighbours. Thus, it is important to build the capacity to resolve these conflicts peacefully so that they do not escalate to war.

In addition to these political situations, religious and cultural contexts must also be considered. For example, the indigenous cultures of the Pacific contain wisdom and sustainable ways of life that honour nature and live in harmony with it. Furthermore, Buddhist cultures in East Asia and South Asia have established relationships between human beings, as well as between humans and nature, with the underlying idea being that all entities are interconnected and interdependent. In the Asia-Pacific region, GCED needs to fully reflect the views of nature and humanity developed by the region's diverse cultures.

The Interplay Between Global Citizenship and Asia-Pacific Philosophies and Cultures

In line with the project's mandate, this edited volume has been designed to explore the interplay between the notion of global citizenship and Asia-Pacific philosophies and cultures. It is noteworthy that this project was conceived in the Asia-Pacific region, authored by Asia-Pacific scholars, and deals entirely with Asia-Pacific themes (Akkari & Maleq, 2020; Misiaszek, 2019; UNESCO, 2018; Wiksten, 2021). Although a few publications have attempted to contextualise GCED from national and regional mindsets, there remains a significant lack of initiatives focusing specifically on Asia-Pacific perspectives in relation to GCED. For instance, UNESCO (2018) identified several national concepts that resonate with the core ideas of GCED, which include:

- La Charte du Manden (Mali): "The Charter of Manden";
- Ubuntu (South Africa): "I am because we are, we are because I am";
- Shura (Oman): "Consultation";
- Hurriya, Karama, Aadala, Nithaam (Tunisia): "Freedom, Dignity, Justice, Order";
- Gross National Happiness (Bhutan);
- Hongik-Ingan (South Korea) "To broadly benefit all humanity";
- Multiculturalism/Interculturalism (Canada);

- Liberte, Egalite, Fraternite (France): “Liberty, Equality, Fraternity”;
- Buen Vivir (Bolivia): “Living well”;
- Sumak kawsay (Ecuador): “Well-being.”

While these examples show that the idea of GCED can be drawn from those concepts that are embedded in local cultures and traditions (UNESCO, 2018), they do not offer an in-depth analysis of how indigenous philosophies and cultures can be related to GCED or how GCED can be interpreted and conceptualised by such philosophies and cultures.

This volume explores more deeply how pre-existing knowledge systems in the Asia-Pacific region have shaped the interpretation and enactment of GCED and how particular contexts of the Asia-Pacific countries have influenced the understanding and practice of GCED. Although these questions have been addressed to a certain degree before,

> there is a need to recognize both the historical absence and invisibility of certain knowledges in important debates in education and in society, and the resulting ethnocentric blindness and arrogance in mainstream knowledge systems in the belief that only one knowledge system can ‘get it right’. (Andreotti et al., 2011, p. 235)

While aiming to contribute to deconstructing such asymmetry, the project is not intended to merely reproduce or reinforce the binary *East-West* framework. Rather, it seeks to shed light on often marginalised Asia-Pacific perspectives with respect to GCED, fostering greater interplay between different knowledge systems and enabling Asia-Pacific viewpoints to contribute more significantly to the understanding and practice of GCED. This echoes what scholars have conceptualised as the “multiplication of reference points” (Chen, 2010, p. 227) or the “expan[sion of] … frames of references” (Andreotti et al., 2011, p. 235). Chen (2010) has also articulated an approach to enrich this diversity as follows:

> Asia as method means expanding the number of these meeting points to include sites in Asia such as Seoul, Kyoto, Singapore, Bangalore, Shanghai, and Taipei. (p. 212)

Along this line of thought, the project attempts to make Asia-Pacific views, perspectives, and approaches to GCED more visible and present in the international education community’s endeavours and to provide more meeting points between Asia-Pacific and other parts of the world. By doing so, it will help to

open a new horizon for knowing and doing, while also encouraging the exploration of "other ways of being" (Andreotti et al., 2011, p. 235).

Situated in the Asia-Pacific region, the project also aims to contribute to deepening the region's self-understanding and correcting the excessive attention to external references with more reflection on internal realities and ideas. Additionally, it will enliven much disregarded insights into the rich diversity of Asia-Pacific cultures, religious traditions, and philosophies and, in turn, enhanced mutual understanding within the region. The nations and societies collectively referred to as the Asia-Pacific region, in effect, not only exhibit a remarkable degree of diversity but also display extraordinary political, economic, social, and cultural diversity across nations and communities. This heterogeneity in history, economy, religion, and politics has been seen by researchers as a challenge when making generalisations, identifying patterns, or drawing simple comparisons (Ho, 2018). While Japan, South Korea, and Taiwan are classified as "liberal democratic systems," Singapore and Malaysia are categorised as having "a mixed and evolving set of systems" (Diamond, 2011, p. 301). And even though the reconciliation with and rights of indigenous populations are regarded as primary concerns in countries like Australia and New Zealand, this is not the case in all countries throughout the Asia-Pacific region (Peterson et al., 2018).

The priorities in GCED are closely linked to the societal context which encompasses political and economic issues as well as the philosophies and values of the society (Davies et al., 2018). Likewise, points of view and approaches to GCED may well vary to a significant extent from society to society. As a result, this project, which aims to rethink GCED from Asia-Pacific perspectives, must endeavour to better understand each other within the Asia-Pacific region.

Structure of the Book

This volume offers an in-depth exploration of global citizenship and GCED through the contributions of nine scholars who examine the subject from a range of cultural, historical, and theoretical perspectives. Each chapter brings to light the complexities involved in fostering global citizenship in an era defined by both growing interconnectedness and intensifying political, social, and economic divides. This book is structured into three parts. The first part examines how various philosophical traditions from the Asia-Pacific region, such as Confucian cosmopolitanism, Tagore's mindset, Pacific indigenous wisdom, and the Tianxia system, can inform and enrich the concept of GCED.

The second part delves into the foundational ideas of global citizenship embedded within Asian religious and spiritual traditions, including Buddhist and Sufi perspectives. The third part provides case studies from Central and East Asia, highlighting the practical application of GCED in local contexts such as Kazakhstan, China, Japan, and South Korea. Together, these chapters offer a comprehensive analysis of the evolving challenges, opportunities, and innovations within GCED from Asia-Pacific viewpoints, emphasising the need for education systems to adapt and respond to the multifaceted nature of global citizenship.

By engaging with local and global contexts, these chapters provide a nuanced understanding of how GCED can be reimagined to meet the aforementioned challenges. The chapters examine philosophical frameworks, educational practices, and case studies that demonstrate how GCED can be adapted to address the complex challenges of our increasingly interconnected world. One of the key themes running through this volume is the recognition that global citizenship must be cultivated not in isolation but in dialogue with local histories, cultures, and social structures. Several contributors emphasise the importance of rooting global citizenship in local realities, arguing that effective GCED begins by addressing specific local concerns before expanding to encompass broader universal values. This approach challenges the one-size-fits-all models of GCED and instead advocates for a more context-sensitive pedagogy where students engage with the global by first understanding and reflecting on their immediate environment.

Moreover, this volume highlights the need for a more ethically grounded and holistic approach to GCED, one that goes beyond the mere transmission of knowledge to foster moral development, empathy, and active engagement with global issues. The chapters collectively argue that GCED must incorporate diverse cultural perspectives, ethical principles, and philosophical traditions in order to build a more inclusive vision of global citizenship.

Towards Reimagined Visions of Global Citizenship Education

Ultimately, this collection advocates for a reimagining of GCED that embraces plurality and complexity, recognising that global citizenship is not a static or monolithic concept but a dynamic process of engagement with the world. The contributors argue for a form of global citizenship that is grounded in ethical responsibility, critical reflection, and active participation in local, national, and global communities. Through their diverse outlooks and innovative approaches, the contributors offer new pathways for educators, policy-

makers, and scholars to rethink how we educate for global citizenship, urging us to create educational frameworks that not only address the needs of today but also anticipate the challenges of the future. This volume, therefore, serves as a vital contribution to the ongoing discourse on GCED, offering fresh insights and practical recommendations for advancing global citizenship in an increasingly complex and interconnected world.

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PART I

Global Citizenship Education Viewed From Asia-Pacific Philosophies

1. The Significance of Confucian Cosmopolitanism for Global Citizenship Education in Countering Political Wokeism, Post-Truth and Postmodernism of the 21st Century

Suzanne S. Choo

Abstract

Today, the primary challenge faced by countries all over the world is related to the paradox of political and economic anti-globalisation alongside technological hyper-globalisation. This means that the world is becoming more politically and culturally divided even though it is now more digitally connected than before. In this context, global citizenship education (GCED) plays an even more fundamental role in reiterating a common humanistic vision through the cultivation of cosmopolitan dispositions of empathy, hospitality, and harmony. The first part of this paper elaborates on three fundamental challenges to humanity today occurring at the global-cultural level. This is encapsulated in the 3P's of postmodernism, post-truth, and political wokeism. The second part of the paper discusses the significance of Confucianism in supporting a vision of cosmopolitan harmony as the ultimate purpose of GCED. Such an approach is distinct from current discourses of GCED, which are dominated by an explicit critical social justice agenda. The third part of the paper discusses the implications of a cosmopolitan virtue approach to GCED in conceptualising policy, curricula, and pedagogical priorities. The paper concludes by showing how a cosmopolitan virtue approach to GCED, informed by Confucianism, can effectively respond to the 3P's and go beyond critical social justice by supporting a justice of being, seeing, feeling, and doing that is grounded on an ethics of cosmopolitan harmony.

Introduction

Historically, worldwide recognition of the importance of global citizenship education (GCED) occurred during the period known as the third wave of globalisation. Each wave of globalisation is at the same time driven by a particular phase of the industrial revolution (Vanham, 2019). The first two waves of globalisation occurred from the 18th to mid-19th centuries and the late 19th to early 20th centuries, respectively. These earlier waves coincided with the first and second industrial revolutions, where innovations in transportation (steamships, railroads, airplanes), communications (telegraph, telephone, radio, television), international banking services, etc. contributed to increased global trade (Held et al., 1999; O'Rourke & Williamson, 2002). However, it was the period after the Second World War and later—the end of the Cold War—that precipitated the most intense phase of globalisation, known as the third wave of globalisation.

During the third wave of globalisation (from the mid- to late 20th century), the world experienced the third industrial revolution, also characterised as the digital or internet revolution. Production shifted to increasing automation and communicative practices became digitised, leading to the growth of new markets. Transnational organisations played an influential role in establishing policies for global exchanges. For example, the World Trade Organization encouraged nations to enter into free trade agreements and most newly independent nations did (Vanham, 2019). In education, the emphasis on education as a universal right came to be included in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948, and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) was established to support this right. In one of its influential early reports, known as the Faure report, *Learning to Be: The World of Education Today and Tomorrow* (UNESCO, 1972), emphasis was placed on lifelong education where the aim of education was not just about preparation for employment but "to 'optimize' mobility among the professions and afford a permanent stimulus to the desire to learn and to train oneself" (p. xxxi). This was a humanistic vision of GCED that centred on the welfare of a human being as an end in itself and the full development of his/her capacities. Worldwide, governments and policymakers began to recognise the importance of GCED. By the 1960s and 1970s, a number of GCED-related movements emerged, including peace education, human rights education, multicultural education, and education for sustainable development. These movements provided greater awareness of key problems transcending national borders and the need to apply a global-oriented perspective to addressing

Table 1.1 *Influential Frameworks on GCED (1980s–1990s)*

Pike and Selby (1988)	*Hanvey (1982)*	*Kniep (1986)*	*Case (1993)*
• Spatial dimension (networks of links, interactions, relationships around the world) • Temporal dimension (interdependence across time and in anticipation of the future) • Issues dimension (issues that have macro and micro implications across many parts of the world) • Human potential dimension (character and wellbeing of individuals and the global society)	• Perspective consciousness • State of the planet awareness • Cross-cultural awareness • Knowledge of global dynamics • Awareness of human choices	• Human values • Global systems • Global issues and problems • Global history	• Substantive dimension (universal and cultural values and practises, global interconnections, present worldwide concerns and conditions, origins and past patterns of worldwide affairs) • Perceptual dimension (open-mindedness, anticipation of complexity, resistance to stereotyping, empathy, non-chauvinism

issues facing humanity. Early approaches to GCED emphasised the importance of strengthening global consciousness, with a particular emphasis on knowledge and perception. Some influential frameworks are shown in Table 1.1.

As we are now midway into the second decade of the 21st century, the third wave of globalisation has given way to a fourth wave of globalisation, a term coined by the World Economic Forum in 2018, along with another term, the Fourth Industrial Revolution (4IR) (Schwab, 2018). Unlike its previous phase, this fourth wave is paradoxically characterised by the tensions of political and economic anti-globalisation alongside technological hyper-globalisation. On the one hand, various countries around the world have returned to nationalist and conservative political and economic policies, as demonstrated by events such as Brexit in Europe and the protectionist and anti-immigration policies in the United States. Researchers have shown that while global trade, capital flows, and immigration have slowed down, what is concerning is that government policy and public sentiment began to shift towards deglobalisation around 2015 as advanced economies began to turn inward, reducing their reliance on foreign exports (Goldberg & Reed, 2023). *The Economist* (2024) ran a report titled “The world’s economic order is breaking down,” which pointed

to signs of deglobalisation. Some of these include governments resorting to isolationist policies, the increasing imposition of trade sanctions on foreign countries, and the ineffectiveness of global institutions such as the International Monetary Fund and the World Trade Organization. Despite the trends of political and economic anti-globalisation, the reverse is observed in the form of technological hyper-globalisation. This means that 4IR is characterised by new technologies such as artificial intelligence and robotics, both of which are becoming more intensely integrated into people's everyday lives, fusing physical, digital, and biological worlds, while also changing entire systems, ways of working, and human orientations (Schwab, 2017).

Ironically, the more hyperconnected we are, the more polarised the world has become. These two paradoxical trends of anti-globalisation and hyper-globalisation suggest a concerning implication: the world is becoming more politically and culturally divided even though it is now more digitally connected than before. This concern means that intensified digital connectivity can in fact strengthen social fractures and intolerance among different groups rather than serve as a force for harmony. The rise of post-truth is another phenomenon and exacerbated by deep fake technologies and artificial intelligence that have intensified ethnocentrism and xenophobia.

In this context, GCED plays an even more fundamental role in reiterating a common humanistic vision. While earlier phases of GCED paid more attention to substantive knowledge, as shown in Table 1.1, what is now equally important for GCED is the cultivation of cosmopolitan dispositions of empathy, hospitality, and harmony. To tackle the dangers of post-truth, ultranationalism, and forms of intolerance, GCED must also strengthen students' civic commitment to the fundamental principles of the common good. The first part of this paper elaborates on three fundamental challenges to humanity today occurring at the global-cultural level. This is encapsulated in the 3P's of postmodernism, post-truth, and political wokeism. The second part of the paper discusses the significance of Confucianism in supporting a vision of cosmopolitan harmony as the ultimate purpose of GCED. Such an approach is distinct from current discourses of GCED, which are dominated by an explicit critical social justice agenda. The paper shows how a cosmopolitan virtue approach to GCED, informed by Confucianism, can effectively respond to the 3P's of our time. The paper concludes with discussing the implications of a cosmopolitan virtue approach to GCED in conceptualising policy, curricula, and pedagogical priorities.

Key Challenges Today (Postmodernism, Post-Truth, Political Wokeism) and Renewed Attention to Critical Global Citizenship Education

Depictions of global waves and industrial revolutions often draw attention to the technological innovations of the time. What is less visible and yet more potent concerns the ideologies that are influentially globally. Ideology refers to a set of beliefs and discourses used to justify social and political action, and a global ideology is one that gains traction around the world through the perpetuation of a worldview or circulation of a concept (Schwarzmantel, 2008; Therborn, 1999). In order for GCED to remain relevant to the world today, what are the influential cultural phenomena and global ideologies it needs to respond to? I characterise this in terms of 3P's: postmodernism, post-truth, and political wokeism.

Postmodernism was an ideology that emerged in the West via European philosophies which gained dominance in the fields of art, literature, philosophy, and other disciplines. The events of the Second World War, particularly the Holocaust, resulted in a loss of faith in claims that science and religion could contribute to human progress. The French philosopher Lyotard (1979) defined the spirit of postmodernism as follows: "Simplifying to the extreme, I define postmodern as incredulity toward metanarratives" (p. xxiv). In other words, postmodernism entails a scepticism towards all metanarratives or truth claims such as science, truth, progress, religion. It is thus an ideology that is anti-foundational (Sim, 2011). Postmodern scepticism extended towards cultural phenomena as a response to the intensification of globalisation during the third wave of globalisation, which also saw the proliferation of neoliberalism, consumerism, and commodification of all spheres of society. In parallel with postmodernism were related movements such as critical pedagogy and poststructuralism. Here, the attitude of postmodern scepticism was practised through the application of critical approaches to deconstructing and uncovering systemic injustices. These approaches have been termed a "hermeneutics of suspicion" (Ricoeur, 1970) based on the view that all "truths," including historical narratives and ideological concepts, are constructed by those in power to secure their hegemonic dominance. Prominent scholars in education include Foucault, who analysed the deep systems of power governing all expressions of authority. With reference to education, Foucault (1975/1995) highlighted how citizens internalise authority through everyday techniques of control in schools, where teachers were technicians of behaviour through the management of time (lateness, absences), space (arrangement of students), speech (appropriate words), body (appropriate gestures), etc. Another influ-

ential thinker was Freire (1970), who initiated the movement of critical pedagogy through his praxis of conscientisation, in reference to the deepening of awareness of historical and social conditions of oppression.

Postmodernism and its related fields of poststructuralism, critical pedagogy, as well as others including postcolonialism, Marxism, and feminism, have also influenced citizenship education. In relation to GCED, critical GCED has gained dominance over the last few years and commonly features prominently in many GCED typologies. For example, Oxley and Morris (2013) distinguished two main forms of global citizenship: advocacy types (which includes social, critical, environmental, and spiritual) and cosmopolitan types (which includes political, moral, economic, and cultural). Advocacy types often adopt a critical and sociological tone, emphasising the strengthening of global civil society, resistance to oppressive structures, and enhancing rights-responsibilities to humanity and the environment, in contrast to cosmopolitan types that tend to emphasise more universalistic values. Similarly, Pashby et al.'s (2020) meta-review of typologies of GCED have identified three discursive orientations and the dynamic interactions across these three: neoliberal (market imperative, human capital-driven, commercialisation, commodification), liberal (democratic values, cultural equality, individual development), and critical (social justice, critiquing power structures and systemic injustices, counter hegemonic approaches). The critical aspect of GCED has been theorised by Andreotti (2014), who contrasted this with soft GCED. Soft GCED focuses on development education and resources that can support moral, normative principles of a common humanity for the purposes that everyone achieves harmony, tolerance, and equality. Conversely, critical GCED focuses on critiquing complex structures, systems, assumptions and power relations that create and maintain exploitation and disempowerment for the purposes of addressing injustices. Along similar arguments about critical GCED as essential for a world-centred education, Biesta (2022) argued that it is important to develop students' subjectivities so they can employ their rational capacities and learn to think for themselves. Biesta suggested that emphasising subjectification over socialisation as the ultimate aim of education ensures that individuals are empowered with the agency, alongside the courage to apply critical capacities, to find their way and act in the world.

To a large extent, critical GCED has been influenced by postmodern scepticism and poststructuralist approaches. On the one hand, postmodern, post-structuralism, and other critical post- movements have powerfully served to promote awareness of various forms of symbolic and systemic injustices. On the other hand, taken to the extreme, postmodernism can lead to an anti-foundational rejection of morality and reversion to what Bauman (1993)

describes as a "re-personalization of morality" at the heart of postmodern ethics (p. 34). Since there can no longer be any subscription to universal truth claims, the individual then becomes the locus of truth. Postmodern scepticism becomes a challenge particularly when it is connected to two other dominant cultural phenomena: post-truth and political wokeism.

"Post-truth" became the Oxford Word of the Year in 2016 and denotes "circumstances in which objective facts are less influential in shaping public opinion than appeals to emotion and personal belief" (Oxford Languages, 2016, para. 2). Associated terms, such as alternative facts and fake news, became prominent in mainstream news following Donald Trump's presidential elections from 2017 onwards. Post-truth has also been exacerbated by the rise of sock puppets or online accounts masking real identities, deep fake technologies, and implicit bias in artificial intelligence. Even more concerning is the entrenching of confirmation bias. A study by researchers from Yale University found that when faced with a flood of information, individuals will filter what they read to reinforce their own existing beliefs (Manshadi, 2022). At the same time, algorithms on social media are programmed to present information based on what the individual already subscribes to. Individuals may then solidify their beliefs and be less open to different perspectives. Furthermore, these algorithms can inadvertently impose social biases based on majority views (such as by highlighting what is trending) or on the views of one's affinity groups.

More worrying is the rise of political wokeism, as catalysed by movements such as Black Lives Matter, #MeToo, and climate activism. Interestingly, the term "woke" became popularised around the same time as "post-truth" and was added to the *Oxford English Dictionary* in 2017. Woke refers to being attentive and alert towards social injustice, especially racial discrimination (Murray, 2023). On its own, woke is not a negative phenomenon and can be a force for constructive social change. In fact, it is heartening to see that civic activism is on the rise, especially among youths around the world. In the World Youth Report on Youth Civic Engagement, published by United Nations (UN), reported that worldwide, youth's today are "much more concerned than previous generations with human rights and environmental causes" (UN, 2016, p. 74). Many of the role models that youths look up to today are young activists. Some examples are Malala Yousafzai, who fought for girls' education and is the world's youngest Nobel Peace Prize laureate; Greta Thunberg, a passionate campaigner against climate change and the youngest Time Person of the Year; and the Parkland teens from the United States, who have given voice to gun control and were awarded the International Children's Peace Prize. However, more recently, woke culture has been

associated with the political agendas of left-wing groups fighting against racism, sexism, and inequality, as well as weaponised by those on the right to attack opponents for compromising on conservative, often nationalistic and ethnocentric, values (Murray, 2023; Rose, 2020). Politically, wokeism is often expressed aggressively on social media through acts of calling out and cancelling. The danger here is when politically wokeism is tainted by post-truth. Thus, acts of social justice may be based on half-truths, misinformed truths, or fake truths.

Ironically, while youths today have been characterised as digital natives, well versed in myriad technological tools and social media apps, studies have shown that youths rarely apply critical analysis to the messages they read (Kahne & Boeyer, 2019). In one study examining 7,804 middle school, high school, and college students across 12 states in the United States, researchers found that students were easily duped by eye-catching and misleading information and took data provided at face value (McGrew et al., 2017). Another study conducted of first-year students at an urban public university in the United States found that students often trusted online sources offered by search engines and did not verify the credibility of the content (Hargittai et al., 2010). These studies are concerning because surveys show that youths are more dependent on online media for news. Among youths in Singapore, a survey by the National Youth Council (2021) showed that nearly 1 in 2 youths go online daily in areas such as communication, entertainment, and searching for information. Yet, without the application of critical analysis, youths may be susceptible to disinformation, especially since they may not have the depth of knowledge or experience to properly process the rapid streams of content on social media feeds. Once again, critical GCED becomes crucial in equipping students with discernment and critical literacy to distinguish fact from opinion, to evaluate the credibility, reliability and accuracy of sources, and to uncover underlying agendas of groups.

In summary, contemporary global-cultural phenomena today have given renewed emphasis on the importance of critical approaches to GCED. In fact, a critical, poststructuralist approach now dominates scholarly articles on citizenship education, including GCED. In one research study I conducted, I carried out a systematic review of the scholarship on citizenship education from 1990 to 2024 utilising bibliometric methods. I highlighted that scholarship continues to be dominated by scholars in the West. Out of a corpus of 41, 958 documents drawn from the Scopus database (including final published articles, books and book chapters), 72% were from authors in Europe and North America, with 15% from Asia and 12% from other continents. I conducted author co-citation analysis, which examines the frequency

by which two authors are cited in the reference lists of the documents in the corpus (Hallinger, 2020). By looking at the references of the documents in the database, co-citation analysis is able to foreground the intellectual sources that have influenced the field (Small, 1999). In this case, the dominant intellectual cluster or school of thought in the scholarship on citizenship education comprises such philosophers as Foucault, Freire, Bourdieu, Habermas, and Dewey. This provides objective evidence of a critical school of thought dominating the literature on citizenship education. More concerningly, this appears to be a popular lens utilised to critique forms of citizenship education in Asian countries (see, for example, the application of Foucault and Bourdieu to critique citizenship education in Singapore: Baars, 2017; Koh, 2007, 2010). All this raises the question about whether there can be alternative paradigms other than the critical paradigm. More significantly, in examinations of GCED in Asian contexts, the question is whether such an alternative paradigm can be drawn from influential Eastern philosophies that have informed the ways citizenship education is conceptualised.

In *Asia as Method*, Chen (2010) argued that a new research approach is needed that utilises Asian history, culture, and politics as reference points rather than a reliance on Western ideas. The push to decolonisation knowledge should not be aimed at reinforcing essentialisms via binaries such as East versus West, since this assumes that these are monolithic and discrete cultures. In reality, cultures should be perceived from the lens of intermixing and hybridity over the course of history. Instead, one purpose of decolonisation is to strive towards equality by giving equal attention to marginalised concepts and philosophies, such as those from Asia, that in the past may have been considered less scientifically rational or critically rigorous compared to those from Europe and North America. As such, in the next part of my paper, I propose to utilise Confucian cosmopolitanism as an alternative perspective to critical GCED, where the latter is grounded on Western philosophies, particularly from a postmodern, poststructuralist paradigm. A Confucian perspective offers what I term a cosmopolitan virtue approach to GCED that provides a different perspective from critical GCED currently dominating the field.

Confucianism as the Grounds for a Cosmopolitan Virtue Approach to Global Citizenship Education

Philosophy: Harmony as the Telos or Ultimate End of Human Endeavour

Confucian philosophy has been influential in shaping the value systems of

some of the major economies in Asia, particularly those from what is regarded as Confucian Heritage Cultures—China, Vietnam, Singapore, Korea, and Japan. In Singapore, for example, the nation's five shared values have historically been influenced by Confucianism: 1) Nation before community and society above self; 2) Family as the basic unit of society; 3) Community support and respect for the individual; 4) Consensus, not conflict; and 5) Racial and religious harmony (Government of Singapore, 1991). When these shared values were first announced in parliament in 1991, the paper included a section with the heading "Relationship with Confucianism," reiterating that "many Confucian ideals are relevant to Singapore" (para. 41), such as the importance of human relationships, placing society above self, and governance by honourable men. Hence, scholars have observed the strong influence of Confucianism in Singapore's national values (Chua, 1999, 2011; Tan, 2012). Given that Singapore is a multiracial society comprising about 74% Chinese, 14% Malays, 9% Indians and 3% other ethnic groups, references to Confucianism have been downplayed over the years. Even in the early Shared Values paper, the government reiterated that Confucianism evolved from a rural, agricultural society and "needs to be brought up-to-date and reconciled with other ideas which are also essential parts of [Singapore's] ethos" (para. 42). Despite this, it is still worthwhile to distill some of the core ideas of Confucianism, given that its broad principles remain influential to the ethos of Singapore along with many other Confucian Heritage Cultures.

Today, there are many forms of Confucianism—classical, neo, and new—though this paper will focus on classical ideas drawn from the writings of Confucius, Mencius, and Xunzi. The latter two are regarded as the second and third great Classical Confucian thinkers, after Confucius himself. These early Confucian scholars proposed an anthropocosmic vision marrying the anthropological (the idea that human beings are embedded in the practical realities of the world) and cosmological (the idea that we are also spiritually integrated with nature and the cosmic process) (Tu, 2024). Like Aristotle, Confucianism proposed a teleological philosophy, where telos refers to an ultimate end or conclusion and corresponds closely to the Latin *perfectum*, which means to reach a completion that constitutes the perfect actualisation of a thing (Oswald, 1962). Thus, the telos of a seed is to grow into an adult plant. What of the human being? For Aristotle (1985/350 BCE), the human being's telos is encapsulated in the concept *eudaimonia*, otherwise translated as happiness or human flourishing. A human being's telos is directed at human flourishing, which for Aristotle occurs through the full cultivation of virtues—intellectual and moral—that allows an individual to reach his/her fullest potential. This strand of thought continued through the Western medieval period and beyond

(see Arthur, 2020). Up until today, human flourishing is commonly referenced as a key goal in influential policies and frameworks by transnational organisations. For example, the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD)'s (2019) Learning Framework 2030 justifies important transformative competencies as leading to "individual development and 'well-being', and to cultural and societal flourishing" (p. 34). UNESCO's (2021) vision of a social contract is established on the view that "education builds common purposes and enables individuals and communities to flourish together" (p. 7). When human flourishing is conceived as the telos of education and all other human activity, it makes logical sense to emphasise human agency, freedom, and opportunities for individuals to develop competencies (including critical and creative) in order to live fully the life an individual chooses. In fact, this is at the heart of arguments for a human capability approach to education grounded on wellbeing and flourishing, as opposed to a human capital approach where the individual is subservient to the goals of economic and national development (Choo, 2022; Nussbaum, 2011; Sen, 2008).

However, I would argue that Confucianism proposes a different perspective. Here, human flourishing is not the telos but a means to an even more ultimate end, which is cosmopolitan harmony. At the heart of Confucianism is a spiritual humanism that conceives of heaven, earth, and human beings as part of a cosmological order. *Tian,* or heaven, is described as a creative force that seems nowhere and everywhere, as well as a metaphysical principle that sustains the universe (Liu, 1972; Tucker, 1998). Unlike a transcendental being such as God in Christianity or other monotheistic religions, heaven is immanent in human beings who are observers, participants and co-creators in the cosmic process (Tu, 2011). The telos of human beings is therefore not merely to flourish as though this were an end in itself. Rather, human flourishing is a means to reach and support cosmological harmony. This occurs in two main ways.

First, if cosmological harmony is the ultimate end of all existence, then for the human being, this is reached by following the *dao* (moral way or way of heaven) that is equivalent to the metaphysical principle of the universe. Right at the start of the *Doctrine of the Mean*, one of the key classical works on Confucianism, the connection between heaven, humanity, and harmony is established:

> What Heaven (*tian*) imparts to man is called human nature. To follow our nature is called the Way (*dao*). Cultivating the Way is called education … Equilibrium is the great foundation of the world, and harmony its

> universal path. When equilibrium and harmony are realized to the highest degree, heaven and earth will attain their proper order and all things will flourish. (Chan, 1963, loc. 2325)

Man's purpose is to cultivate the way through learning and practice in order to reach harmony in heaven and earth, the essence of cosmological flourishing. In the *Analects,*[1] Confucius said, "It is humans who can enlarge the Way [*dao*]. The Way cannot enlarge humans" (15.29, p. 161). In other words, the moral way is not something out there, exterior to human nature that humans try to attain, as is the case with other forms of religious thought where humans try to become more like the image of God. Rather, it is humans who expand their understanding of the way by cultivating the virtues and practising these in everyday life. Thus, self-cultivation is repeatedly emphasised throughout the *Analects* and the noble person [*junzi*] aims to fully realise the way in life by consciously developing his/her nature through involvement in relationships and the social affairs of life. Mencius and Xunzi[2] disagreed about the inherent nature of humans. Mencius observed that "a man is capable of becoming good" and "the heart of compassion is possessed by all men alike; likewise the heart of shame, the heart of respect and the heart of right and wrong" (VI.A, p. 125). And while Mencius believed that humans are inherently good and thus should nurture this goodness in order to support a harmonious order, Xunzi disagreed. He argued that humans are inherently bad, as they are "born with desires of the eyes and ears, a fondness for beautiful sights and sounds" and "if they follow along with these, then lasciviousness and chaos will arise" (p. 248). Whether one agrees with Mencius or Xunzi, what is common between them is that they both emphasised the importance of continual cultivation throughout one's life. Hence, the very first lines of the *Analects* emphasise learning: "Is it not a pleasure to learn, and, when it is timely, to practise what you have learned?" (1.1, p. 1). Self-cultivation is tied to life-long learning and habitual practising of virtues.

Second, to reach cosmological harmony, self-cultivation requires a cosmopolitan, other-centric, rather than self-centric, emphasis. This appears prominent throughout the *Analects*. For example, one of the key virtues, mentioned most often in the *Analects* is *ren*, translated as benevolence, kindness, or love for others (Chang, 2013). The roots of *ren* boil down to love for family and fraternal responsibility (see Ames & Rosemont, 1998, p. 71). Once, when Confucius's disciples asked what *ren* means, Confucius said, "love others." When one of the disciples asked about wisdom, Confucius said, "know others" (12.22, p. 193). On another occasion when a disciple asked if there is a single word that can serve as a guiding principle for life, Confucius replied,

"It is perhaps the word *shu*. Do not impose on others what you yourself do not want [others to impose on you]" (15.24, p. 259). This principle is commonly known as the negative golden rule, where *shu* is akin to empathy for others.

The emphasis on an other-centric orientation is also observed in the character of the noble person [*junzi*], as one who does one's best to benefit someone else (1.4, p. 3), serves his parents with utmost effort (1.7, p. 5), is fair-minded and generous (2.14, p. 18), helps others reach their goal[s] (6.30, p. 96), and helps others realise what is good in them (12.16, p. 189). Thus, self-cultivation is not for the purposes of self-interest but for the benefit of others. Indeed, Kim (2020) has suggested that Confucian notions of wellbeing differ from more instrumentalist forms tied to external goods, such as wealth, reputation, power, and comfort, which all profit an individual. Indeed, Confucius upheld the noble person as one who is more concerned about pursuing moral virtue and displaying the virtue of *ren,* or love for others, than pursuing wealth or reputation. The noble person is described as one who is not worried that other people do not know him, but is more concerned that he does not know them (1.16, p. 11). He finds contentment in pursuing *ren,* and so is able to reject wealth and high positions if he cannot attain them by proper means, even if this places him in poverty and low positions. (4.5, p. 45). Indeed, the pursuit of profit is seen as leading to much unhappiness for oneself and others (4.14, p. 49). Similarly, Xunzi proposes other-centricity as an end that should mask self-seeking agendas:

> To profit the people first and then profiteer from them is not as profitable as profiting the people and not profiteering from them. To show the people care first and then work them does not produce as great accomplishments as showing them care and not working them. He who can profit the people and not profiteer from them, show the people care and not work them, will win over all under heaven. (p. 93)

Crucially, the other-centric orientation at the core of self-cultivation is one that is cosmopolitan in nature. Confucianism has been associated with the promotion of filial piety. Indeed, the family is seen as the first moral training ground for the individual in which the individual learns to wean him/herself out of self-centredness by placing the interests of their parents and siblings above their own. In very practical ways, Confucius advised children to go beyond duty to demonstrate sincere respect to their parents (2.7, p. 15); to remain gentle and not openly challenge their parents when trying to dissuade them from wrongdoing (4.18, pp. 53–54); and not to travel to distant places when their parents are alive so as to tend to their needs (4.19, p. 54). As such,

rather than a universalistic form of cosmopolitanism, which subscribes to the view that one should demonstrate moral responsibility equally to others without favouring one's family, Confucianism proposes a more realistic view. It acknowledges that one has a natural fidelity to one's family, and thus, it is more akin to "rooted cosmopolitanism" (Beck, 2003) or the "cosmopolitan patriot" (Appiah, 1997), where one can maintain both rootedness to home and openness to the world.

At the same time, Confucianism also encourages love and duty to extend beyond the family. The principle of moral extension is explored further by Mencius through the use of analogical thinking. On one occasion, Mencius told the king that he heard of how the life of an ox was spared. It happened one day when the king noticed someone passing by and leading an ox. When the king asked where the ox was going, he was told that it would be used for a ritual sacrifice. Unable to bear seeing the animal's fear, the king then ordered that the ox be spared. Mencius used this example to affirm the king's heart for compassion. Mencius then pushed the king to consider extending this same compassion to the people. At the end, he reiterated the point that compassion and benevolence can be expanded from those who are close to those who are distant:

> Treat the aged of your own family in a manner befitting their venerable age and extend this treatment to the aged of other families; treat your own young in a manner befitting their tender age and extend this to the young of other families and you can roll the Empire on your palm. (I.A, pp. 9–11)

Thus, the essence of self-cultivation is to "transcend privatized self-centredness in preference for the public good" (Tu, 2024, p. 152). Gradually, a cosmopolitan, communitarian ethos is internalised when the self learns to overcome egoism, the family learns to overcome nepotism, the community learns to overcome parochialism, the state learns to overcome ethnocentrism, and the world learns to overcome anthropocentrism to attain harmony among heaven, earth, and all things (Tu, 1998).

Essentially, the ultimate end of cosmopolitan harmony encompasses peace among all people and nature in the world. At the same time, this is what Li (2024) described as a dynamic harmony which is antithetical to uniformity and conformity. Drawing from other classical texts in the Confucian tradition, Li (2024) showed how harmony (*he*) is in contrast to sameness (*tong*) in embracing heterogeneity akin to harmonising different notes to create a beautiful piece of music. Such a view perceives differences as transformative

and generative, where various parties mutually grow together through learning from one another. Harmony is thus in contrast to conformity, which leads to statis and oppression. Nor is harmony a superficial act of synthesis. Rather, harmony is cosmological and has deep metaphysical roots hearkening to the intersubjective essence of nature and generative change in the universe.

Praxis: Habitual Practising of Cosmopolitan Virtues and the Role of Rituals

Philosophically, the *telos,* or the ultimate end of human endeavour, including education, is to support cosmopolitan harmony, characterised as other-centric, communitarian, and which operates through extending love and moral responsibility towards one's family to diverse others in the world. Confucianism is neither a completely spiritual nor a de-spiritualised philosophy. Tu (2024) described Confucianism as a form of "spiritual humanism" where the self is not the centre of the universe but rather part of an integrated cosmological universe where human beings, nature and heaven dialogically interact. In relation to spirituality, the self is seen as innately connected to heaven and earth and finds meaning as a partner in the cosmic flows of life where the highest aspiration of self-realisation is reaching ontological unity with *dao,* or the way of heaven (Cheng, 1991). In relation to humanism, Confucian spirituality is premised on an understanding that heaven contains both transcendental and immanent dimensions. Heaven, though operating as a transcendental force, is immanent as it penetrates the natural order of all living things and the moral order of human beings (Liu, 1972). Confucianism is different from a religion in the sense of a faith-based system governed by institutions and dogmas (Tan & Tan, 2016). Unlike monastic asceticism, whereby the individual lives a life of intense contemplation to transcend the material world, Confucian spirituality is humanistic in the sense that it perceives the self as embedded in social and material realities. The immanence of heaven in human beings is what pushes the self to fully realise the way of heaven through his/her relations with others and with nature. As Chan (1963) observed, one of Confucius's greatest contributions to Chinese philosophy was in establishing a humanism concerned with good government and harmonious human relations. Throughout the *Analects*, Confucius is more concerned about restoring harmony at different levels of society and is less concerned about spiritual beings or the afterlife. Hence, Confucius is regularly observed conversing with his disciples and evaluating various kings and officials on their moral character and the extent to which they served the good of the people. Often, he is seen discussing the character of the noble person as one who cultivates virtue and demonstrates a commitment to fairness and a concern for others.

Essentially, Confucianism subscribes to neither individualism nor collectivism but personhood, where identity is not perceived as autonomous nor conformist (as associated with individualistic and collectivist identities) but is developed through a person's roles and responsibilities in social life (De Barry, 1998; Rosemont & Ames, 2016). The self is not an isolated being but understands his/her identity in relation to the multiplicity of roles he/she inhabits. Thus, Rosemont and Ames (2016) described this as a form of "role ethics" where roles are not mechanically to be followed but internalised, where "Confucians would insist that I not play or perform, but am and become the roles I live in consonance with others" (p. 53).

In Ancient China, roles were fundamental to a well-ordered society and when Confucius was asked about the proper way of governing, he replied, "Let the ruler be a ruler, the subject be a subject, a father be a father, a son be a son" (12.11, p. 186). In the *Doctrine of the Mean*, these roles are embedded with moral responsibility as part of the universal order:

> There are five universal ways [in human relations] … The five are those governing the relationship between ruler and minister, between father and son, between husband and wife, between elder and younger brothers, and those in the intercourse between friends. These five are universal paths in the world. (Chan, 1963, loc. 2481)

Understanding the roles one plays in society is important for a well-ordered society, though some may consider such a society as too rigid. Hence, our understanding of Confucian role ethics must also take into account that roles and virtue cultivation are inter-related. In other words, we grow in moral character by practising virtues within the social spaces we inhabit. Thus, roles are not meant to be about the imposition of power where one utilises one's status to rule over another. Rather, roles provide the context and parameters for us to nurture the virtues and practise moral benevolence for others.

Aside from *ren*, some of the other core virtues of Confucianism are *yi* (rightness or justice), particularly the disposition of being fair-minded (Cline, 2013); *zhi* (wisdom/knowledge), especially acquiring knowledge about others and other cultures and discernment, particularly in evaluating moral character and motives, including one's own; and *xin* (trust/integrity) by being sincere and truthful towards others.[3] These virtues are cultivated through *li* (rituals/routines) that are not meant to be rigid rules to be followed but are primarily meant to facilitate moral development and allow a person to relate appropriately to others in the different roles he/she plays. A good example is when one of Confucius's disciples asked about being filial and he replied, "Nowadays

this is taken to mean being able to feed your parents. But dogs and horses can do as much. If you are not respectful, how are you different?" (2.7, p. 15). In other words, it is not enough to follow norms and rituals; virtues such as respect and reverence are more important and should go beyond mechanistic actions by imbuing actions with feelings of care and sincerity towards others.

The emphasis on routines is also important for another reason—it emphasises that practising virtue should occur in everyday, ordinary spaces in all the social roles that we play. Hence, Confucianism proposes an embodied understanding of praxis, where there is an integral connection between roles, virtues, and routines in everyday realities. How do roles, virtues, and rituals work together? They provide both opportunities for moral development but also place limits for self-expression. For example, in the context of rulers and subordinates, the principle of remonstrance states that the subordinate has a moral duty to correct a superior when he/she compromises on moral issues. *Yi* (rightness/justice) is an important virtue and the subordinate who practises this has no choice but to speak up when he/she observes his/her superior doing something morally wrong. Andrew and LaFluer (2014) highlighted that Confucian scholar-officials often instructed the emperor by speaking up to rectify the ruler's behaviour even though this could lead to their deaths. This then debunks the stereotype that Asian philosophies such as Confucianism promote authoritarianism. At the same time, it should be noted that practising the virtue of remonstrance was also limited by the rituals of propriety. Thus, Confucius said, "When a state is governed according to the moral way, be exact in speech and action. When the state is not governed according to the moral way, be exact in action but soften your speech" (14.3, p. 220). Here, we see that the subordinate had to be conscious of his social standing and therefore pay attention to the manner by which he remonstrated with the ruler. If the ruler was an immoral person, he had to "soften his speech," which means to critique in a way that would be acceptable and deferential. Presumably then, if the ruler were more moral, he had more freedom to be open in his speech. Hence, we see that the subordinate was not free to critique openly like an activist or in a manner that would disrespect the ruler. He/She had a moral duty to engage in critique but required wisdom as to how to convey this appropriately in various contexts. More importantly, while criticality is encouraged in Confucian philosophy, it is not an end in itself. Rather, it is a means to support cosmopolitan harmony. Hence, the subordinate is tasked to remonstrate with the ruler not to assert or destabilise power but to support a more harmonious social and world order, including strengthening moral governance, to ensure that people and nature are properly cared for.

Generally in social relations, the routine practising of virtues would

support harmonious relationships established on a communitarian, other-centric concern for the other. Confucius thus spoke about the importance of not speaking carelessly on issues (4.22, p. 55) and not overstepping one's role, such as by meddling in affairs which are beyond one's position (8.14, p. 124). In one example concerning competitors in an archery competition, Confucius described how "on such occasions, they bow and yield to each other as they ascend the steps to the hall; afterward, they descend the steps and drink together" (3.7, p. 28). These rituals reinforce virtues of empathy and remind competitors of the moral purpose behind the competition—not to validate the ego or contribute to contentious, competitive behaviour but to deepen understanding. In the family, the rituals are meant to express and deepen care for one's parents. Hence, Confucius explained that children observe the rites by serving their parents when they are alive and by burying and sacrificing to them when they die (2.5, p. 14). Essentially, everyday rituals are necessary to turn abstract moral principles into practised virtues and when habitually practised, they condition the self to overcome self-centredness. Confucius's own journey may be described as a lifelong quest of learning through rituals that attune one's heart and mind to understanding the way of heaven:

> At fifteen, I set my heart on learning. At thirty, I found my balance through the rites. At forty, I was free from doubts [about myself]. At fifty, I understood what Heaven intended me to do. At sixty, I was attuned to what I heard. At seventy, I followed what my heart desired without overstepping the line. (2.14, p. 13)

In summary, at both the levels of philosophy and praxis, cosmological harmony as the teleological or ultimate end de-centres our goals from a human-centred orientation to flourishing to a cosmological, ecological vision of flourishing where human beings are partners in facilitating the flourishing of others and of nature and in securing a peaceful, harmonious order in the universe. The means through which this occurs is primarily centred not on the acquisition of knowledge and skills but on cosmopolitan virtues and the habitual practising of these in daily life so that these virtues become part of one's being and internal DNA.

Implications for a Cosmopolitan Virtue Approach to Global Citizenship Education

Having discussed Confucianism in terms of its core philosophy and praxis,

this final part will focus on its implications for GCED in terms of policy, principles, and pedagogies. In my conclusion, I discuss how a cosmopolitan virtue approach to GCED, informed by Confucianism, can address some of the key challenges of our time as outlined in the first part, namely postmodernism, post-truth, and political wokeism.

First, in the area of GCED policy, the ultimate end of cosmopolitan harmony is attained by adopting an ecological systems approach to education. Too often, in many popular education frameworks, attention is typically paid to the teacher or the student. Take, for example, frameworks on 21st-century or future-ready competencies. These are often framed either as "the skills, knowledge and expertise students must master to succeed in work and life" (Partnership for 21st century skills, 2009, p. 1) or competencies that teachers are expected to facilitate in the classroom (Choo, 2020). The burden of accountability then falls on students or teachers rather than the entire school community.

Conversely, an ecological perspective sees the school as a microcosm of the cosmological order. Bronfenbrenner's ecological systems theory is perhaps one of the most influential models. In it, he (1979) outlines five key systems: the microsystem, involving interpersonal interactions with an immediate level of influence (e.g., the family, peers, school); the mesosystem, involving relations among two or more systems (e.g., child-teacher, parent-school); the exosystem, involving the larger social system (e.g., community, mass media); the macrosystem, involving political-economic systems, laws, societal values, and culture; and the chronosystem, involving systemic changes in social conditions over time. To this model, there is also the nanosystem, which is unique to schools and involves relations among various groups (e.g., classroom culture and peer group relations) (Rudasill et al., 2018). Instead of the nested model that Bronfenbrenner proposes, Neal and Neal (2013) have outlined a networked model that involves patterns of social interaction among different systems. Such networks should also encompass the global system where students interact with other peers, transnational groups, and movements, particularly through online social networks.

When GCED policy takes on an ecological approach undergirded by a vision of cosmopolitan harmony, every entity plays a role in supporting this through mutual accountability and responsibility to the flourishing of others. In Confucian role ethics, every person understands his/her role in the larger context and the moral influence of the roles they play in the larger social system. The point is not to reinforce hierarchy, order, or power. Rather, it is to reinforce the moral influence one has within that social role and to use this wisely to support the flourishing of others within one's circle of influence. A

principal, for example, has the moral influence to support the flourishing of his/her teachers by providing a good balance between guidance to teachers on their professional growth while granting them autonomy and agency to explore and innovate. Likewise, teachers have moral influence over students and students over their peers.

Additionally, moral influence and responsibility is not uni-directional but bi-directional. Those in subordinate positions can influence those in higher positions, especially when space is given for constructive disagreement and dialogue. For example, students should not only consider how they are responsible for peers in the class but how they can support school leaders and teachers in governing and teaching well, just as school leaders and teachers are also morally responsible for students' cognitive, affective, and moral development. Furthermore, moral influence and responsibility is multidimensional in nature. For example, education from a neoliberal logic sees parents as clients that school leaders and teachers are accountable to, but a cosmopolitan ecological approach sees partnership in two ways where parents are also responsible in supporting school leaders and teachers so that the whole school community can flourish. At all times, there should be a shared vision and common language around how every person from school leaders to parents, teachers, students, school caretakers, and the community all play a part in helping all others in the ecosystem of the school to flourish.

Second, in the area of principles, GCED that is informed by Confucian cosmopolitanism is other-centric in nature. This is a different orientation compared to child-centred progressive education that came to prominence in the United States from the 1980s, drawing on philosophers such as Jean-Jacques Rousseau, John Dewey, and Jerome Bruner, among others. Rousseau (1975) proposed that education should be strongly connected to the nature (including needs, interests, abilities) of the child. Dewey (1938) advocated situating learning with the instincts of the child and relating knowledge to the children's social and physical worlds. Similarly, Bruner (1961) argued that teachers should encourage students to discover on their own and to engage with play and experiential learning.

Over time, child-centred education has been criticised for various reasons, especially the recognition that the concept of child-centredness is problematic, given that it assumes a unified, reified subject at the centre of the world that can be taught apart from his/her diverse inter-relationships (Ang, 2016). More significantly, it is the telos, or a philosophy of ultimate ends, that appears missing in child-centred education. That is, to what end should the full flourishing of the child lead to? Without a clear articulation of an ultimate end, the consequence could be the promotion of egocentrism. If, from a Confucian

perspective, the ultimate end of education is cosmopolitan harmony, then an ecological systems approach necessitates an other-centric orientation. Here, the child is not the centre of education but rather he/she flourishes to enable other people and nature to flourish. The child is no longer the centre of education but is a participant in his/her community, society, and world. The child has a larger purpose beyond self-interest and this pushes the child to consider how to develop his/her abilities to the fullest so that he/she can use these to defend the marginalised, to uplift those in his/her sphere of influence in the school and community, and to contribute to sustainability efforts for the planet.

GCED informed by other-centric principles would emphasise virtues that support cosmopolitan harmony at the ecological level of the whole school, society, and the world. In many global education frameworks today, the emphasis is on 21st-century or future-ready competencies, defined broadly to encompass knowledge, skills, and values. While such frameworks may be useful in making educators aware of fundamental capacities, they should focus on preparing students for the future, and what is absent is the priority given to these capacities. I would argue that, in fact, virtues are key and should anchor the acquisition of knowledge and skills. While values refer broadly to a set of beliefs that individuals or groups determine as important to hold, virtues denote good, long-term, and stable habits, all of which, when regularly practised and internalised, are values that form the character of a person in pursuit of living a life of excellence (Arthur, 2020). Moreover, drawing on Confucian cosmopolitanism, such virtues should be other-centric. Harmony is not merely a metaphysical concept; it is also a meta-virtue containing an umbrella of related virtues (see Figure 1.1). As mentioned previously, examples of such primary virtues in Confucianism include *ren,* or love for others; *yi,* or rightness or justice; *xiao*, or filial piety; and *xin*, or trust and integrity. Virtues should ideally be derived from ground-up discussions with the community rather than top-down impositions from those in authority. These virtues then serve as drivers and provide the moral purposes for the knowledge and skills that students are to be equipped with. This allows competencies such as critical and creative thinking to be directed towards ethical ends rather than ends that seek to maximise one's success at the expense of others.

Cosmopolitan virtues can also be integrated into school culture via dispositional routines (Choo, 2021). In schools, routines are commonly framed as rules to be obeyed and followed without question. However, based on the Confucian concept of *li*, routines are primarily meant to habituate the learner so that core virtues constitute his/her being and identity as a person. Hence, dispositional routines are those regularly practised in the everyday environment to enable the learner to internalise virtues in his/her relations with others.

Some examples include social routines such as learning to listen attentively when someone (a teacher or a peer) is speaking and learning to observe and notice others so as to be cognisant of the social situation before acting. When students are made explicitly aware of the moral purpose behind these routines and they are regularly practised, it is the ethical orientation that becomes ingrained in them rather than the routine itself. By implication, GCED frameworks should then articulate more explicitly what are essential cosmopolitan virtues and the ways these can connect and direct future-ready competencies, including knowledge, skills, and routines.

Finally, in the area of pedagogies, a cosmopolitan virtue approach to GCED subscribes to an embodied cosmopolitanism that recognises one's fidelity to the family, community, and the world. Such embodiment suggests that learning should not be primarily aimed at the accumulation of knowledge and skills for success in one's future career. Rather, learning should also focus on the practising of virtues within one's current context. Hence, to cultivate students as virtuous people, learning must encourage social and political engagement. In the process, students would acquire a social conscience, moral sensitivity to context, and become more engaged with social and global concerns of justice in the practical realities of life.

Cosmopolitan pedagogies should support both critical social justice and productive collaborations, and teachers will need wisdom to balance both criticality and harmony. An example of critical cosmopolitan pedagogies includes the pedagogy of interruption, in which knowledge that emphasises one culture is interrupted so as to provide a different cultural perspective and to disrupt "fixed" assumptions about others. For instance, "The Ugly Duckling" is a popular story told to children which typically features a brown or grey duckling that eventually turns into a white swan to convey the message that one should not judge a book by its cover. A more critical reading would consider that ugliness tends to be associated with darker colours while beauty is associated with whiteness. The pedagogy of interruption would entail being sensitive to repeated instances of such associations while seeking to disrupt these by offering a different cultural perspective. Could there be a story of an ugly duckling that transforms into a beautiful swan that is yellow, black, or multicoloured? As far as this author knows, such a version of "The Ugly Duckling" does not exist! Could there also be other stories that depict the beauty of a person—just as he/she is—without the necessity of transformation into another form? For students to become actively engaged in the world, education should encourage critical literacy that emphasises hermeneutical justice or the capacity to interpret and analyse symbolic, systemic, and other forms of injustices (Choo, 2024).

Cosmopolitan pedagogies need not only adopt a negative, resistant tone, but can support positive and productive forms of engagement. Some examples are bridge-building pedagogies that enable students from different classes, ethnic groups, or cultures to work together to tackle some of the major global challenges of today, such as those from the UN's 2030 Sustainable Development Goals. As Rizvi (2009) has argued, cosmopolitan learning involves learning about global connectivity, including awareness of students' own assumptions about other cultures, their situatedness in relation to other communities in the world, and understanding the dynamic interactions across cultures, including the flows, mixings, and mutual transformations that occur. Such understandings can occur not only through passive learning in the classroom but real exchanges with diverse others. Such cross-cultural exchanges provide powerful platforms for students to participate in democratic and dialogic conversations with others who have different beliefs and backgrounds as they collaborate to address global concerns and work towards the common goals of world-building and harmony.

Conclusion

In conclusion, GCED must continue to be a vital investment and commitment by governments and educators all over the world. I have outlined how GCED informed by Confucian cosmopolitanism can provide a conceptual basis to an ethical re-orientation characterised by the following:

1. a philosophy directed towards cosmopolitan harmony which implies an ecological systems approach to GCED where every person in the community is mutually accountable and responsible for the flourishing of others;
2. principles driven by other-centric, communitarian virtues that anchor and direct knowledge, skills, and routines to facilitate the ethical ends of communitarian flourishing;
3. pedagogies that facilitate critical engagements with social and global injustices, as well as productive and collaborative exchanges for the purposes of world-building and cosmopolitan harmony.

In a world that has become increasingly fractured due to the rising instances of postmodern scepticism, along with post-truth and political wokeism that have exacerbated forms of fundamentalism, ethnocentrism, xenophobia, and other forms of intolerance, GCED has a crucial role in resisting individualism and

neo-tribalism, as well as attacks on truth, human rights, and responsibilities. To counter these trends, GCED should be re-oriented towards the ultimate end of cosmopolitan harmony and cosmopolitan virtues should be framed as key drivers to facilitating this end. Forging cosmopolitan harmony entails helping everyone in the ecosystem of the school, community, and society to learn to live with differences through other-centric virtues such as empathy, compassion, hospitality, respect, and truth. Going deeper, a commitment to love for others entails building a sense of responsibility and investedness in engaging with real-world social and global injustices in critical and productive ways. This is a different orientation to the kind of "woke" social justice today, where action and reaction are prioritised. I suggest that a cosmopolitan orientation to justice supports a justice of being, a justice of seeing, a justice of feeling, and a justice of doing. This means that justice first and foremost flows from one's inner being and core other-centric identity of empathy, love, and concern for another. This provides the lens to a justice of seeing so that one sees the other who is suffering in both situated and spiritual ways – situated in the complexities of the other's specific sociopolitical and historical context, and spiritual in the sense that seeing the other as equally human also transcends the identity markers of race, class, gender, and nationality, among others. Justice of being and seeing informs a justice of feeling where, with reference to Levinas's (1974) argument of the interconnection between ethics and responsibility, one's empathy "culminates in a for another, a suffering for his suffering" (p. 18). When a justice of doing flows from being, seeing, and feeling for others, this guards against shallow and instrumental forms and gives justice an ethical basis.

In Confucianism, how one responds criticality and to justice is also important, and this suggests that the art of communication should be given equal attention. Here, education should attune one to what is appropriate, given one's role in the social context. This means lending attention not merely to the content and context of justice but the communication of appropriate action in ways that can draw diverse people to dialogue and work together for the common good. Let me end with a quote from Zhongyong, one of four Confucian canonical books:

> Centrality [balance] is the great foundation under heaven, and harmony is the great way under heaven. In achieving centrality and harmony, Heaven and Earth maintain their appropriate positions and the myriad things flourish. (Zhongyong, as cited in Li, 2024, p. 35)

Here, cosmopolitan harmony, as the ultimate end of human endeavour, is

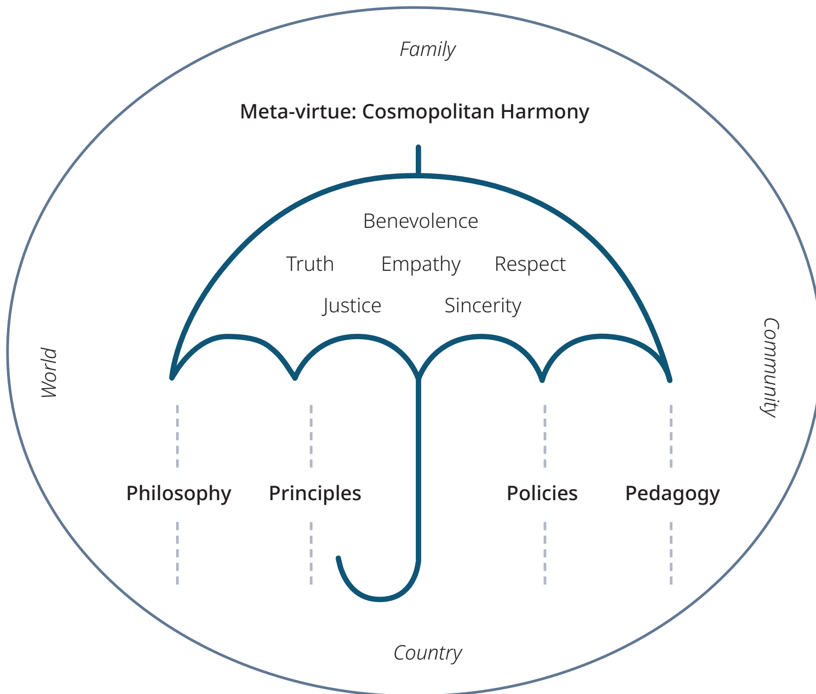

Figure 1.1 *Cosmopolitan Harmony as a Meta-Virtue*

not characterised by uniformity or conformity but with finding balance in the midst of diverse differences. Cosmopolitan harmony functions as that meta-virtue that is like an umbrella virtue for other associated sub-virtues (Figure 1.1). The more one practises and internalises these virtues, the more one is able to understand, negotiate, and dialogue with different cultures, belief systems, values, and practices. The cultivating of relationships does not mean a loss of rootedness but an expansion and deepening of intersubjective connections. When every participant in the cosmological order shares a vision of cosmopolitan harmony, the flourishing of human beings and nature becomes a natural consequence.

Notes

1 Translations from the *Analects* are taken from Chin (2014).

2 The writings of Mencius are translated from Lau (2004) and Xunzi from Hutton (2014).
3 During the Han Empire (206–220 CE), the three fundamental bonds and five constant virtues were used to guide people's behaviour. The three fundamental social relationships are between a father and son, lord and retainer, and husband and wife. The five constant virtues are benevolence, righteousness, propriety, wisdom, and trustworthiness (Knapp, 2009).

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2. "Home and the World": Rethinking Global Citizenship Education From Rabindranath Tagore's Perspective

Mousumi Mukherjee

Abstract

Rabindranath Tagore was the first non-European Nobel laureate in literature from Asia. He received this honour during the British colonial rule over the Indian subcontinent, in 1913. This was a major recognition for a colonial subject from the Global South who had opted out of the colonial education system and chose to write literature in his native language, Bengali, when just a single shelf of European literature was considered far superior to an entire library full of literature in native languages from the Global South, such as Sanskrit or Arabic, according to Lord Macaulay's 1835 "Minutes on Indian Education."[1] However, though Tagore became famous globally as a literary figure, he spent much of his adult life building his own school at Shantiniketan, in rural Bengal. Later, Tagore also established the first-of-its-kind international university in modern India: Visva-Bharati (World-Minded Indian) University, at Shantiniketan. After over a century following the global recognition of his literary work, only recently, in 2023, was Shantiniketan incorporated by UNESCO as a World Heritage Site for Tagore's pedagogic reform work. This chapter presents Rabindranath Tagore's philosophy of education and pedagogic practice that guided him to establish his school and university. Tagore's ideas and educational experiments were far ahead of his time during British colonial India. Their purpose and efficacy were often misunderstood at the time. Scholars have also raised questions about the sustainability of these progressive ideas and practices by labelling Tagore as an idealist whose ideas are hard to institutionalise in practice. However, this chapter demonstrates how Tagore's relational humanist philosophy of education and pedagogic practices are now more relevant than ever before, as our only home—all of planet

Earth—is facing a sustainability crisis. I draw on archival documentary evidence, Tagore's own writings, and the writings of scholars who have observed his work and written about it to argue how Tagore's pedagogic work during colonial British India was similar to the critical values-based perspective of global citizenship education (GCED) as discussed by critical GCED scholars. I further argue that the kind of world-minded, community-engaged responsible citizens Tagore was seeking to nurture in his school and university during British colonial India exhibit the characteristics of critical and compassionate *global citizens*. Hence, we can rethink GCED and competencies as enumerated by UNESCO (2014) from Tagore's perspective.

Introduction

> Where the mind is without fear and the head is held high
> Where knowledge is free
> Where the world has not been broken up into fragments
> By narrow domestic walls
> ….
> Into that heaven of freedom, my Father, let my country awake. (Tagore, 1913, p. 20)

The above lines from a poem by the first Asian Nobel laureate in literature, Rabindranath Tagore (1861–1941), demonstrate very well how Tagore sought to connect the home and the world, even while his countrymen were engaged in a freedom movement against British colonial rule to free their motherland. A humanist with a planetary consciousness, Tagore was against the man-made *narrow domestic walls* that the European concept of nation-state and citizenship signified. Hence, he sought to reform the education system by establishing his own school and university, where he launched a curriculum that integrated the 3H's—the head, the heart, and the hand—for community engagement and rural reconstruction, while also opening the minds of students to the world by teaching them multiple languages and engaging them in diverse cultural activities. This chapter discusses Tagore's philosophy of education and pedagogic reform work to demonstrate how it aligns with some of the policy recommendations in postcolonial India. The chapter further discusses how Tagore's philosophy of education and pedagogic practice aligns with India's National Education Policy (NEP) 2020 mandate for global citizenship education (GCED). It argues that engaging with Tagore's philosophy

of education and pedagogic reform during British colonial India can help rethink GCED from a colonial and postcolonial Global South perspective.

Tagore's Philosophy of Education and Pedagogic Praxis

> The highest education is that which does not merely give us information but makes our life in harmony with all existence. But we find that this education of sympathy is not only systematically ignored in schools, but it is severely repressed. ... we are made to lose our world to find a bagful of information instead. We rob the child of his earth to teach him geography, of language to teach him grammar. His hunger is for the Epic, but he is supplied with chronicles of facts and dates. He was born in the human world, but is banished into the world of living gramophones, to expiate for the original sin of being born in ignorance. Child-nature protests against such calamity with all its power of suffering, subdued at last into silence by punishment. (Tagore, 1917, pp. 142–143)

The above lines written by Tagore express very well his agony as a child in schools during the colonial period. Born into a wealthy family of landed gentry during colonial British India, Tagore was a misfit at school as a child. He is probably one of the most famous school dropouts in the world. If not for his wealthy, educated family and his father, who decided to homeschool him, Tagore would have probably remained illiterate like millions of illiterates in his native country. As is evident from the above quote, Tagore's schooling experience as a child was painful. His difficult childhood experiences in the colonial schools shaped his relational humanist philosophy of education and pedagogic practice at later stages in his life. Although he was the first Asian to receive the Noble Prize for Literature in 1913 for his book of poems, *Gitanjali*, and became renowned as a literary figure worldwide, he spent most of his adult life building his own school and university to reform the mainstream colonial education system in the early 20th century. A noted Tagore scholar, Ketaki Kushari Dyson (1996) states:

> He was a pioneer in education. A rebel against formal education in his youth, he tried to give shape to some of his own educational ideas in the school he founded at Santiniketan in 1901. There is no doubt that to some extent, he tried to revive the ancient Hindu concept of the place of learning as tapovana or a sacred grove, ... To his school he added a university Visva-Bharati, formally instituted in 1921. ... Through his work in

> the family estates, he became familiar with the deep-rooted problems of the rural poor and initiated projects for community development at Shilaidaha and Patisar, the headquarter of the estates. At Patisar he started an agricultural bank in which he later invested the money from his Nobel Prize ... in the village Surul, renamed Sriniketan, adjacent to Santiniketan, he started an Institute of Rural Reconstruction… (pp. 14–15)

Tagore's relational humanist philosophy of education and his pedagogic practice, therefore, emerged out of his own "embodied" experiential learning in the "factory-model" of colonial schools and in his family's estates, where he learnt about and empathised with the misery of the rural poor, who were doubly subjugated to hardship under the local zamindars (landed gentry) and the British Raj (Mukherjee, 2021; Dyson, 1996). Despite coming from an urban, educated zamindar family, as a highly sensitive individual with a reformist zeal, Tagore did not just become familiar with the deeply rooted problems of rural communities through his work; he experienced an inner urge to do something about it.

A "Rooted-Cosmopolitan[2]" Fighting for Freedom Through Education

To do something about the misery of the people, Tagore sought to fight for freedom through education. But unlike other freedom fighters during his time, he did not undertake armed rebellion or even passive resistance by marching on streets unarmed. Tagore armed himself with his pen. He did not just write patriotic songs to inspire the freedom movement; he sought to break free from the subjugation and shackles of colonialism through education. He truly believed in the wisdom of the ancient Sanskrit saying—"सा वदि्या या वमिुक्तये" (Sa Vidya Ya Vimuktaye)—Education is that which liberates. As a result, he made education reform his life's mission to fight for freedom of the mind and to gain knowledge to counter colonial social, economic, and political oppression. Education was armour for him to guard against racism, discrimination, and all forms of colonial oppression. Through education he sought to steer rural reconstruction and community development amidst darkness and despair among rural communities during the British Raj. In fact, Tagore (1928) once wrote:

> Today, economic power has been captured by a small minority. But it has acquired this power only by accumulating the productive power of others. Their capital is simply the accumulated labour of a million of working people, in a monetized form. It is this productive power that is the real capital, and it is this power that latently resides in every worker... (p. 27)

The above quote, from an essay by Tagore, is part of a larger series of essays he wrote between 1915 and 1940, in which Tagore envisioned a world where the best of the East and the West would meet to stop exploitation and work together, driven by an ethos of cooperation, to establish a more just and humane world.

This ethos of cooperation guided all his work at the Shantiniketan school and Visva-Bharati University. He invited scholars and teachers from across India and around the world to study and teach at his school and university. During a lecture titled "Rabindranath Tagore in Germany – a literary journey of discovery" (Einstein Forum, Potsdam), as part of a Tagore and Einstein workshop on July 8, 2011, a noted German scholar and translator of Tagore, Martin Kämpchen, stated that:

> In 1921 Tagore celebrated his greatest success in Berlin when he had to repeat his lecture on *The Message of the Forest* at the university on 2 June, because of the many people who could not find a seat in the hall had to be appeased with the promise of a repeat the following day. This was a lecture he gave in many places and described Tagore's vision of a "world university" where representatives of different cultures would introduce each other to their own culture. At the end of the same year, 1921, Tagore founded the Visva-Bharati University in Santiniketan. (Kämpchen, 2011)

The freedom for which Tagore was fighting through his pen and education reform work at Shantiniketan was a different kind of freedom compared to other freedom fighters during British India. His notion of freedom was not tied to a specific sovereign territory or geography. Though his patriotic songs spoke about his deep love of the motherland and expressed anguish about the shackles of colonial oppression binding Mother India and her children, Tagore was not a parochial nationalist. In fact, Tagore's decolonial thinking saw the very concept of nation-state and nationalism as the root of many world problems during his lifetime that led the major European countries, America, and even an Asian country, Japan, to wage wars against each other.

Tagore considered *nation* a Eurocentric concept compared to the native Indian concept of *desh* (country). Tagore expressed his scepticism about the suitability of adopting this European concept of *nation* in the Indian framework, notably in two essays, "Nation Ki" (What is Nation? 1902) and "Bharatbarshiya Samaj" (Indian Society, 1902), the former elucidating the emergence of the Western concept of the "nation," and the latter discussing the differences in the social and political structures of India and Europe, as well as the futility of replicating the foreign concept of the *nation* in India, which

had traditionally been a land of *no nations*. The following quote is from a letter addressed to his friend C. F. Andrews in London in 1928, in which Tagore also expresses his thoughts on nationalism and nation-state:

> Our fight is a spiritual fight, it is for Man. We are to emancipate Man from the meshes that he himself has woven round him, … these organisations of National Egoism ... If we can defy the strong, the armed, the wealthy, revealing to the world the power of the immortal spirit, the whole castle of the Giant Flesh will vanish in void. And then Man will find his 'swaraj'[3]. We, the famished, ragged ragamuffins of the East, are to win freedom for all Humanity. We have no word for Nation in our language. When we borrow this word from other people, it never fits us. (Tagore, 1928, as cited in Bhattacharya, 1997, pp. 60–61)

In his essay "Nationalism in India" (1918), Tagore opines that the real problem with India is not political, but social. Here he comes closer to Ambedkar's[4] ideas on Indian society:

> Our real problem in India is not political. It is social. This is a condition not only prevailing in India, but among all nations … In finding the solution of our problem we shall have helped to solve the world problem as well. What India has been, the whole world is now. The whole world is becoming one country through scientific facility. And the moment is arriving when you also must find a basis of unity which is not political. If India can offer to the world her solution, it will be a contribution to humanity. There is only one history—the history of man. All national histories are merely chapters in the larger one. …
> The most important fact of the present age is that all the different races of men have come close together. And again we are confronted with two alternatives. The problem is whether the different groups of peoples shall go on fighting with one another or find out some true basis of reconciliation and mutual help; whether it will be interminable competition or cooperation. (Tagore, 1918, pp. 23–24)

In the context of the recent Russian aggression in Ukraine, continuing conflict between Israel and Palestine, political unrest in Sri Lanka and even in Bangladesh, these words from Tagore's essays appear so relevant even today. Tagore's decolonial thinking stressed that the true spirit of Indian nationalism is in its broad humanistic concern, rather than constrained political strategy. The spread of fanatic nationalism during the First World War might have

forced him to interpret and blame nationalism as an evil epidemic. Thus, he tried to subvert the popular idea of Eurocentric nationalism, which was more a political justification that encouraged grabbing other nations and their resources.

Tagore considered that alongside political freedom, the freedom of mind is more important. The Eurocentric notions of freedom have forced Indians to consider political freedom as an ultimate destination in the journey of the freedom movement. He thought that blind faith in Europe would instead increase our greed for possession. Therefore, we should give up this narrowness and be more comprehensive in our inward and outward expressions that extend freedom of the mind.

To read Rabindranath Tagore's lectures on nationalism, delivered in 1916 in Japan and in America, is to feel that he positively detested it. And yet he himself was, in his own characteristic way, an eminent Indian patriot. The target of his attack was the political nationalism of the West, by which he really meant Capitalist Imperialism.

Hence, in his essay "Nationalism in Japan," Tagore emphasised the ancient culture of Japan, more than its nationhood. As Amartya Sen (2008) pertinently observed, Tagore shared the admiration for Japan widespread in Asia for demonstrating the ability of an Asian nation to rival the West in industrial development and economic progress. But then Tagore went on to criticise the rise of a strong nationalism in Japan and its emergence as an imperialist nation. Tagore saw Japanese militarism as illustrating the way nationalism can mislead even a nation of great achievement and promise (Ohsawa, 2023). Tagore's scattered writings on nationalism and three seminal essays on nationalism are a bold, rational, and humane critique of the idea of "nationalism" which has caused so much misery in the world and continues to do so.

The singular strain (if at all there is one) which runs through Tagore's concept of nationalism over the years is that of universal humanism and multiculturalism. In speaking up against the Eurocentric notion of nationalism, Tagore voiced his protest against a self-ravaging system of politics and organisation that is detrimental not only to India or the East but also to all of humanity at large.

He advocated the importance of the national freedom movement (which might as well transcend into the international), but one with a constructive ideal at its core, rather than a "spirit of violence." This is very well expressed by Tagore in the following lines from a poem:

> The Sunset of the Century
> (Written in Bengali on the last day of the 19th century, in 1899)

1
The last sun of the century sets amidst the blood-red clouds of the West and the whirlwind of hatred.
The naked passion of self-love of Nations, in its drunken delirium of greed, is dancing to the clash of steel and the howling verses of vengeance.

2
The hungry self of the Nation shall burst in a violence of fury from its own shameless feeding.
For it has made the world its food,
And licking it, crunching it and swallowing it in big morsels,
It swells and swells
Till in the midst of its unholy feast descends the sudden shaft of heaven piercing its heart of grossness.

3
The crimson glow of light on the horizon is not the light of thy dawn of peace, my Motherland.
It is the glimmer of the funeral pyre burning to ashes the vast flesh,—the self-love of the Nation—dead under its own excess.
Thy morning waits behind the patient dark of the East,
Meek and silent.

4
Keep watch, India.
Bring your offerings of worship for that sacred sunrise.
Let the first hymn of its welcome sound in your voice and sing
"Come, Peace, thou daughter of God's own great suffering.
Come with thy treasure of contentment, the sword of fortitude,
And meekness crowning thy forehead."

5
Be not ashamed, my brothers, to stand before the proud and the powerful
With your white robe of simpleness.
Let your crown be of humility, your freedom the freedom of the soul.
Build God's throne daily upon the ample bareness of your poverty
And know that what is huge is not great and pride is not everlasting.
(Tagore, 1918, pp. 117–119)

The above lines from Tagore's poem are illustrative of Tagore's faith in the cultural traditions of the East as harbingers of peace. As Kämpchen and Bangha (2015) wrote in the Preface to their book *Rabindranath Tagore: One Hundred Years of Global Reception*, "Tagore was convinced that India had something to offer to the world which no other country was able to give and which was encapsulated in his works, his lectures and in his personality. The Nobel Prize gave him the authority to speak up, and the intellectual and social elite of many countries realised the need to listen and to respond. Although a cultural or literary personality, Tagore emerged, as can be observed in this book, as an immensely *political* figure whose ideas inspired and moulded *social* movements in diverse countries in the twentieth century" (p. 15).

The exploitation of Mother Nature and the people that emerged with Capitalist Imperialism in the 19th century globalised in the 20th century. This has led all of us to the current Anthropocene Epoch we are now a part of in the 21st century, where our only home in the universe, Mother Earth, is crying for survival. Hence, I argue in this chapter that in the context of the sustainable development goals and the need for promoting global citizenship to tackle global challenges, it is once again necessary to be inspired by Tagore's *rooted-cosmopolitan* ideas, as they connect the home and the world through a sense of *cosmic consciousness*. As Kämpchen (2016) wrote:

> Reading his poems, reading his essays we realize that from his adolescence onwards he was immersed in a consciousness which was capable of viewing what is small and seemingly insignificant as part of a greater Whole, and conversely, he was capable of viewing the Whole as made up of a multitude of interconnected smaller parts. This consciousness of continuously moving to larger generalities and back to the small and particular, this constant shift of perspectives, is a characteristic feature of his poems and songs. One song begins:
> My freedom lives in all the lights across the heavens,
> Every speck of dust, every blade of grass celebrates my freedom. (Pūjā 339, as cited in Kämpchen, 2016)

Since the very concept of "citizenship" has strong legal and political connotations and can be a problematic concept in many countries of the Global South with colonial histories, notably those that continue with a colonial tradition and even authoritarian governments, drawing on Tagore's ideas and practices to rethink GCED from the perspective of the postcolonial countries of the Global South, especially India, is useful. Tagore creatively connected the home and the world to teach participatory democracy and active citizenship

through local community engagement and rural development even as a colonial "subject" without citizenship rights. He creatively integrated the home and the world, as well as the head (cognitive), the heart (social-emotional), and the hand (behavioural) in his philosophy of education and pedagogic practice at his own school and Visva-Bharati University.

The 3H's: The Head, the Heart and the Hand

As a rooted-cosmopolitan, visionary thinker and, I would say, as a true *global citizen* of the 20th century, Tagore combined the 3H's—the head, the heart, and the hand—to understand and empathise with the plight of students and the rural poor to become engaged in real action for change. He created learning environments and pedagogical practices at his school that fostered close relationships and bonding between the student, the teacher, and the peer group, as well as coordination of the head, the heart, and the hands of the student for local community engagement and development. Tagore emphasised social-emotional learning and the behavioural aspect of education at his school, as much as the cognitive aspect.

Tagore once wrote that "... our education should be in full touch with our complete life, economical, intellectual, aesthetic, social, and spiritual; and our

Figure 2.1 *Upasana Mandir (Temple for Universal Prayer) (Rabindra Bhavan Archives, 2019)*

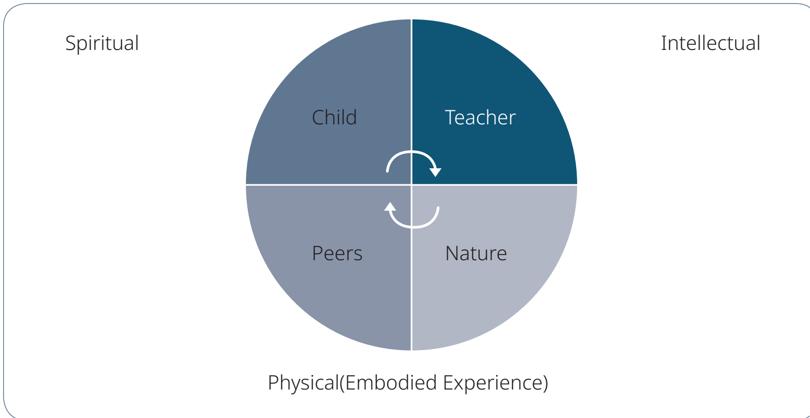

Figure 2.2 *Tagore's Relational Humanist Philosophy of Education (Mukherjee, 2021, p. 9)*

educational institutions should be in the very heart of our society, connected with it by the living bonds of varied co-operations. For true education is to realise at every step how our training and knowledge have organic connection with our surroundings" (Tagore, as cited in Dasgupta, 2009, p. 148). He further emphasised that "when there came the separation of the intellect from the spiritual and the physical, the school education put entire emphasis on the intellect and the physical side of man. We devote our sole attention to giving children information, not knowing that by this emphasis we are accentuating a break between the intellectual, physical and the spiritual life" (Tagore, as cited in Dasgupta, 2009, p. 96).

Hence, Tagore envisioned a model of school and university that emphasised holistic development of the student, involving social and emotional learning and spiritual development alongside cognitive development as is shown in Figure 2.1. He worked to institutionalise a community-oriented pedagogy that emphasised praxis, or practical application of knowledge, for community development.

Figure 2.2 demonstrates Tagore's relational humanist philosophy of education, whereby both the intrapersonal and interpersonal relational aspects are of utmost importance.

Inclusive Learning Amidst a Natural Environment

Although he modelled his school after the ancient Hindu concept of Tapovana[5]—a sacred grove, or "ashram school," surrounded by the natural environment—he redefined the concept of Tapovana as an all-inclusive space. All students, irrespective of their caste, class, religious, and gendered back-

grounds, studied at Tagore's school in close communion with nature. Class cohorts were small and had close relationships with the teacher and peers. Teachers would use examples from the natural environment, rather than text-books, to teach about history, geography, math, and science. Even today, Shantiniketan school still follows this kind of pedagogy, as is evident from Figure 2.3.

This kind of community-oriented pedagogy with experiential teaching and learning amidst nature arose out of Tagore's own rejection of textbook and test-oriented pedagogy in the "factory" model of colonial schools, as expressed in one of his essays:

> At half-past ten in the morning the factory opens with the ringing of the bell; then, as the teachers starts talking, the machines start working. The teachers stop talking at four in the afternoon when the factory closes, and the pupils then go home carrying with them a few pages of machine-made learning. Later, this learning is tested at examinations and labelled. One advantage of a factory is that it can make goods exactly to order. Moreover, the goods are easy to label, because there is not much difference between what the different machines turn out. … The schools are

Figure 2.3 *Open Air Classes (Rabindra Bhavan Archives, 2019)*

> little better than factories for turning out robots. (Tagore, 1906a, as cited in Dasgupta, 2009, pp. 112–113)

The above quote reveals Tagore's critique of the assembly-line manufacturing of educated workers in schools to meet the needs of the colonial political economy during British India. As Europe was at the cusp of the First Industrial Revolution, schools in Europe were being designed in the model of factories to reproduce educated workers for assembly-line jobs in factories and the industrial sector. This school model was also imported to the Global South to reproduce clerks to do routine tasks in colonial government jobs. As a critical thinker and creative person, Tagore could see through the problems of such a school model.

However, even in the middle of colonial oppression and the nationalist freedom movement, Tagore envisioned a spiritual unity of the people of the world. He expressed hope of reconciliation while delivering a talk to teachers: "In the East there is great deal of bitterness against other races, and in our own homes we are often brought up with feelings of hatred. … We are building our institution upon the ideal of the spiritual unity of all races" (Tagore, as cited in Dasgupta, 2009, p. 111). He worked to institutionalise these ideas at his school and university at Shantiniketan and Sriniketan, where he pioneered community engagement and rural reconstruction in collaboration with compatriots around the world. In his essay "A Poet's School" (1926), Tagore wrote:

> The minds of the children today are almost deliberately made incapable of understanding other people with different languages and customs. The result is that, later, they hurt one another out of ignorance and suffer from the worst form of the blindness of the age. ... I have tried to save our children from such aberrations, and here the help of friends from the West, with their sympathetic hearts, has been of the greatest service. (Tagore, 1926, as cited in Dasgupta, 2009, p. 83)

In this way, Tagore sought to establish an inclusive model of school that would not turn out robots but human beings with flesh and blood, people who could think critically about the problems of this world, feel compassionately the pain of *others*, and act ethically to solve problems.

Do we not also need these kinds of human beings in the world today, who can think critically, feel compassionately, and act ethically? Is the GCED framework not also talking about nurturing such human beings in our educational institutions today in the 21st-century Anthropocene Epoch and the age of sustainable development? The answer to the above questions is obviously

"Yes." However, the problem is that Tagore's humanist inclusive philosophy of education and the pedagogic practices established by him have remained in the periphery of society even in the postcolonial period. The colonial structures of educational institutions are still dominant within the mainstream system of education. As Sriprakash (2011) argues based on her research in rural India: "… learning [is] largely understood as knowledge assimilation (the acquisition of the syllabus) rather than knowledge construction. … The strong classification of the syllabus, as a significant aspect of the performance-based system which remained in place, did not support a more democratic approach to knowledge acquisition" (p. 303).

Indian Education Policies

Irrespective of the above-mentioned regressive colonial pedagogic practices continuing at mainstream schools, even in postcolonial India, there has been some effort to provide policy guidelines at the national level through successive national education policies and policies at the state level. Article 51 of the modern Indian Constitution states that India is committed to promote international peace and security by encouraging settlement of disputes through arbitration, maintain just and honourable relations between nations, and foster respect for international law and treaty. In fact, according to Panda (2005), the "National Policy on Education NPE (1986) and Programme of Action POA (1992) make a direct reference to the promotion of 'International Cooperation' and 'peaceful co-existence' as an important objective of education" (pp. 51–52). Yet the focus on decolonising Indian schools drawing on Tagore's ideas have been limited mostly to the promotion of education in the native mother tongue and curriculum focusing on the local context as opposed to the de-contextualised "topsy-turvy education" in English offered in colonial schools that Tagore critiqued in his essay শকি্ষার হরেফরে ("*Shiksar Herfer*," published as early as 1892 and later published in English by Visva-Bharati University as "Topsy-Turvy Education"). The postcolonial drive to indigenise the language and content of education missed the larger philosophical vision of Tagore to bring the "home and the world" together through holistic education and development of the child. The postcolonial Nationalist agenda to promote a strong Indian National identity through education in the mainstream schools overlooked the internationalist cosmopolitan vision and pedagogic practices of Tagore's school.

In fact, Tagore's school and university have also become integrated with the mainstream system. His progressive rooted-cosmopolitan vision, peda-

gogical practiceso, and community engagement work through the spread of loksiksha (mass education) lost their currency to keep pace with the teaching and testing-oriented mainstream system (Nussbaum, 2006; Sinha, 2017; Mukherjee, 2020). Even prior to independence from British colonial rule, there was indeed a major struggle between the visionary poet's vision in the 20th century versus the grounded reality during colonial British India. This has been documented well by a German Jewish scholar, Alex Aronson, who taught English at Tagore's school. As Aronson (1961) wrote:

> I was at all times conscious of the tension existing at Tagore's institution between ideals and their realization, a tension which contributed not a little to the formation of prejudices, if they may be called thus, regarding Tagore's attempt to infuse new blood into Indian education. Such a bias does not necessarily constitute a disadvantage; it is merely the mirror of that fundamental conflict between utopia and reality which is an integral part of all those educational experiments based on some idealistic assumptions opposed to the social and psychological reality from which these assumptions originated. It goes without saying that such a conflict is liable to increase in magnitude in the course of time, until indeed there remains little significant relationship between ideal and practice any more. In such schools as this the "practice" has ultimately to adjust itself to the demands of the age. (pp. 386–387)

Within the postcolonial Indian context, citizenship education became more focused on Indian national identity formation to subvert the precolonial educational agenda when Macaulay's dictum about Indians, who would be Indian only in appearance but English in education, culture, and temperament, was prevalent. Moreover, the concept of Indian national citizenship itself has also been the subject of many contestations following the partition of the Indian subcontinent during independence in 1947 to create India and Pakistan, with Bangladesh later emerging out of East Pakistan, followed by the mass migration of people based on religious affiliations, a process that still continues to this today. Is it possible to educate for global citizenship within such a context?

Yet, now more than ever, we need critical thinkers and creative problem solvers to save the planet and all forms of life on Earth. We have now entered the phase of the Fourth Industrial Revolution and an age of planetary crisis, when the sustainability of planet Earth, our home, is being questioned by scientists around the world. Hence, the new National Education Policy 2020 in India for the first time talks about educating for global citizenship.

> The Policy envisages that the curriculum and pedagogy of our institutions must develop among the students a deep sense of respect towards the Fundamental Duties and Constitutional values, bonding with one's country, and a conscious awareness of one's roles and responsibilities in a changing world ... [supporting] responsible commitment to human rights, sustainable development and living, and global well-being, thereby reflecting a truly global citizen. (Government of India, 2020, p. 6)

We can also find a strong interest in rediscovering Rabindranath Tagore's global vision in the Preface to the book *Reflections: Rabindranath Tagore's Educational Philosophy*, which was published under the aegis of India's University Grants Commission (UGC)'s Special Assistance Programme DRS (Phase-I) of the Department of Education, Vinaya Bhawan, Visva-Bharati, Shantiniketan, and written by the Director, Sabujkoli Sen (2017), in their preface:

> There could be none in India parallel to Rabindranath Tagore who dared to discontinue his school education as a rebel child against colonial education and later founded Visva-Bharati to practically experiment and demonstrate that an indigenous method of education in the spirit and culture of Tapovan of India is not only possible but quite potential and promising without being ever obsolete and outdated. … At the same time he has never imagined a system of education confined to the narrow domestic walls … In fact his grand vision of 'Universal Man' is over and above all kinds of short sighted nationalism, narrow nationalistic fundamentalism and extreme sentimentalism. Unlike others, he wanted to make Visva-Bharati a cultural hotspot where two streams of knowledge from east and west can merge and people from all over the world can make their home in a single nest. (Sen, 2017, para. 2)

Hence, I argue in this chapter that it is extremely relevant today to reflect on Tagore's philosophy of education and pedagogic practices during colonial British India with a rising nationalist freedom movement, as well as religious and racial tensions. The kind of world-minded, action-oriented, responsible citizens that Tagore envisioned to nurture at his school and university could provide a framework to rethink GCED from within the context of postcolonial India. As a creative person, a progressive, critical thinker, and a visionary educational reformer, Tagore could see far ahead of his own time. The factory model of schools, which were a product of the First Industrial Revolution in Europe and were transported to the former colonies of the Global South, are

redundant today in the Global North and to some extent in the Global South, which is still going through the process of transitioning from an agricultural to industrial economy in the middle of myriad contemporary sustainability challenges.

Tagore's philosophy of education and practice could also be beneficial for similar contexts of the Global South, where postcolonial nationalist *social imaginary* and a sense of national identity and belonging is very strong, as was evident from the UNESCO Bangkok study in 2019. Similar contexts in the Global South include India's neighbouring countries—Pakistan, Bangladesh, and Sri Lanka. Rabindranath Tagore wrote the national anthems of India, as well as modern-day Bangladesh (once part of the Bengal Province of British India and then East Pakistan between 1947 and 1971). The fact that the majority of international students at Visva-Bharati University[6] in contemporary times come from Bangladesh is a testament to the continuing cultural influence of Tagore in Bangladesh. His work has also inspired the national anthem of Sri Lanka, since the anthem was written and composed by Ananda Samarakoon between 1939 and 1940 while he was Tagore's disciple at Visva-Bharati University. At the same time, Tagore's cultural influence extends the sovereign boundaries of India as the first Nobel laureate in literature from Asia. While discussing Tagore's contemporary relevance, Bangladeshi-Australian academic Muhammad A. Quayum (2020) writes:

> Rabindranath Tagore is a legendary figure in world literature, highly acclaimed not only within India and Bangladesh, wherein his native Bengal lies, but in other regions of Asia and beyond. The first non-European to receive the Nobel Prize in 1913, he has been dubbed variously as *Biswakabi* ("world poet"), an "eagle-sized lark" (Roman Rolland), "a votary of Truth sensed through Beauty" (qtd. in Guha), the "flower and fruit" of the Bengal Renaissance (C.F. Andrews, in Das, Vol III: 222) and a progenitor and protagonist of the Asian Renaissance (Ibrahim 21). Ramachandra Guha describes him as one of the "four founders" of modern India (Guha); Albert Schweitzer called him "the Goethe of India" (Kripalani 295); and Ravi Shankar, a legendary musician himself, believed that had Tagore "been born in the West, he would now be [as] revered as Shakespeare and Goethe" (qtd. in Sen, "Poetry and Reason"). In a personal letter to his daughter, Indira Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru described Tagore as "a great writer and artist" (qtd. in Guha), while in his book *The Discovery of India*, he went on to praise the iconic poet as "India's internationalist *per excellence.*" (Nehru, 1946, p. 403, as cited in Quayum, 2020, p. 1)

Therefore, rethinking GCED from Tagore’s perspective has the potential of broader acceptance and application of his ideas and pedagogic practices in contemporary times, though they have remained outside the mainstream of postcolonial Indian education up until now. However, before we delve deeper into the ways in which we can rethink GCED from Tagore’s perspective and the challenges associated with it, let us first discuss some of the recent academic literature on GCED and let us consider the critiques of the concept.

Academic Debates on Global Citizenship Education

Citizenship education in every country has been part of civics education bounded within the framework of nation-states. However, over the past couple of decades, especially since the adoption of the Sustainable Development goals and framing of the GCED framework by the UN and other global organisations, there has been widespread interest in diverse countries around the world to educate for global citizenship. Policy documents and public discourse on education have become abuzz with statements about the need to educate for *global citizenship* without any clarity about how to do it and what it takes to educate students to become *global citizens*. Some scholars have argued that the concept has been alive since the fourth century BCE, when Diogenes, a Greek Cynic philosopher, proclaimed “I am a citizen of the world” (Appiah, 2007; Miller, 2013; Nussbaum, 1997, as cited in Massaro, 2022, p. 99).

Based on empirical accounts of teachers and classrooms in the United States and Asia that really focus on nurturing global citizens, Dill (2013) identified two main approaches to GCED: a global competencies (economic skills) approach and a global consciousness (ethical orientation) approach. Goren and Yemini (2017) synthesised the arguments in the existing literature on GCED in K–12 schools across several countries by drawing on Oxley and Morris’s (2013) typology to distinguish between types of global citizenship conceptualisation based on *cosmopolitan* and *advocacy* approaches. While the cosmopolitan approach incorporates four distinct conceptions of GCED—the political, moral, economic, and cultural—the advocacy approach incorporates four other conceptions, that is, the social, critical, environmental, and spiritual. They further analysed the research literature to state that the approach of UNESCO towards GCED is advocacy-based, whereas the approach of the International Baccalaureate Organization (IBO) and international schools is that of the cosmopolitan approach. UNESCO’s advocacy-based approach towards the promotion of global citizenship is also

quite evident from the following statement:

> Global Citizenship Education will help to connect the global and the local dimensions, synchronizing national educational policies to the global policies advocated by the United Nations. The sixty-ninth session of the United Nations Assembly set 17 Sustainable Development Goals and 169 targets demonstrating the scale and ambition of a new universal post-2015 development agenda. For global citizenship education, goal 4.7 is most relevant: "By 2030, ensure that all learners acquire the knowledge and skills needed to promote sustainable development, including, among others, through education for sustainable development and sustainable lifestyles, human rights, gender equality, promotion of a culture of peace and non-violence, global citizenship and appreciation of cultural diversity and of culture's contribution to sustainable development." (Torres, 2017a, pp. 8–9)

Massaro (2022) extended the systematic literature review of research on GCED in the higher education domain to also engage with the critiques of global citizenship as a Northern concept, especially since much of the literature is coming from the English-speaking countries of the Global North and led by the United States. Since the citizenship rights and duties are generally exercised within the sovereign boundaries of nation-states, Massaro (2022) highlights the conceptual and practical challenges of educating for global citizenship. He referred to Bowden (2003) to highlight the importance of the phrase "think globally, act locally" (p. 359) for global citizens.

Systematic literature review of research on GCED conducted by scholars, therefore, reveals that there is a lack of uniformity in the definition and understanding of GCED across different regions of the world and that there is a need for more research in non-English speaking countries and from the Global South (Goren & Yemini, 2017; Massaro, 2022; Singh et. al., 2023). Hence, it is critically important to rethink the concept of global citizenship and the pedagogical components of GCED from the Global South and non-English speaking perspectives. Torres (2017b) also argues for a need to move beyond the "cosmopolitan elite" to take a more critical approach towards conceptualising global citizenship from the perspective of those who are "struggling to make sense of global citizenship education and education for sustainable development" (p. x).

As a result, this chapter's engagement with Tagore's philosophy of education and pedagogical experiments in his Shantiniketan school is an attempt to fill that gap. Moreover, since Tagore's Shantiniketan school and Visva-Bharati

University were listed by UNESCO in 2023 as a World Heritage Site, I seek to rethink GCED based on the core competencies or characteristics of a global citizen that UNESCO (2013) enumerated, moving beyond narrowly defined global competencies as economic skills.

During UNESCO's two landmark meetings in 2013, it was established that GCED has a critical role to play in equipping learners with "*competencies to deal with the dynamic and interdependent world of the twenty-first century* [emphasis added]" (UNESCO, 2014). Even if GCED is offered in different ways and in different contexts, regions, and communities, it was agreed upon that global citizens would exhibit some core competencies. Here we can also refer to them as characteristics. These competencies are:

- an attitude supported by an understanding of *multiple levels of identity*, and the potential for a '*collective identity*' which transcends individual cultural, religious, ethnic or other differences;
- a *deep knowledge of global issues* and *universal values* such as justice, equality, dignity and respect;
- *cognitive* skills to *think critically, systemically and creatively*, including adopting a multi-perspective approach that recognizes the different dimensions, perspectives and angles of issues;
- *non-cognitive* skills including *social skills* such as empathy and conflict resolution, communication skills and aptitudes for networking and interacting with people of different backgrounds, origins, cultures and perspectives; and
- *behavioural* capacities *to act collaboratively and responsibly* to find global solutions for global challenges, and to strive for the collective good. (UNESCO, 2014, p. 9)

At the very core of *competencies*-based curriculum and assessment in the 21st century is the need to move out of the purely cognitive knowledge-centred curriculum and assessment to a mode of education and assessment that puts an emphasis on the *praxis*, or practical application, of knowledge. We can see from the list of global citizens' core competencies listed by UNESCO (2014) that there is strong focus on social-emotional and behavioural capacities in terms of collaborative responsible action alongside a sense of critical and creative thinking coupled with an ethic of care and empathy for *others*.

I argue here that these are indeed the characteristics of *critical global citizens*, rather than narrowly focused measurable competencies of *global human resource*, as critiqued by many academic scholars, such as Bosio (2023). Based on his empirical research on the perceptions of GCED in higher

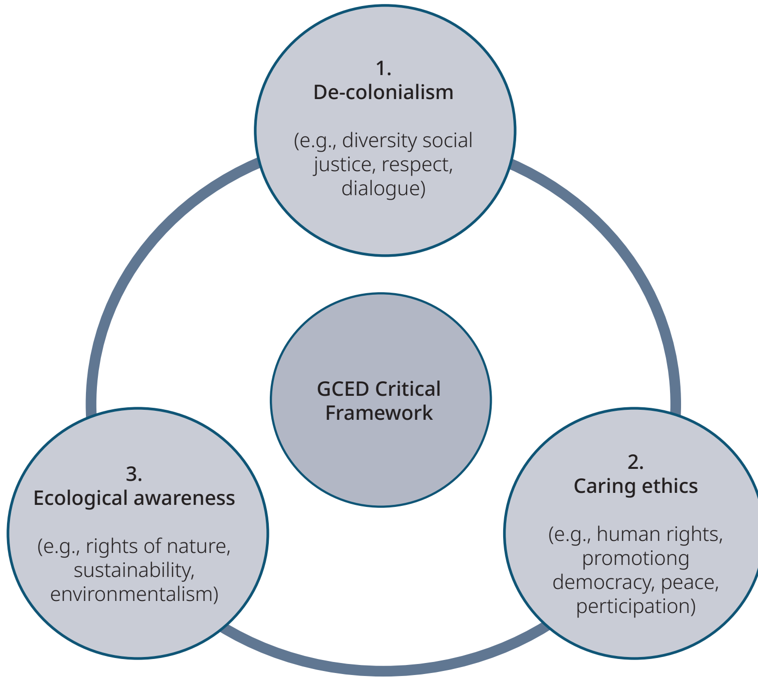

Figure 2.4 *GCED Critical Framework (Bosio, 2023, p. 3)*

education among senior educators from three countries of the Global South, as well as the literature on critical pedagogy and social justice, Bosio (2023) developed the GCED critical framework to highlight that GCED in the Global South contexts is rooted in critical pedagogy and social justice seeking to decolonise teaching and learning with a strong ecological awareness and ethic of care for *others*, as demonstrated in Figure 2.4.

Thereafter, Bosio and Waghid (2023) further refined the GCED critical framework to include a fourth pillar (or dimension) of GCED, Humanity Empowerment, as is shown in Figure 2.5, to develop the framework of GCED for critical consciousness development.

If we would now reflect upon Tagore's philosophy of education and practices, we would be able to identify that his thinking about education and the practical work of education reform aligns with GCED in terms of the critical consciousness development framework, with a strong focus on praxis in the form of local community engagement. He was indeed far ahead of his time. In the middle of rising nationalist sentiments during the freedom movement from British colonial rule, Tagore was seeking to nurture future citizens of the world with a cosmopolitan identity and world-mindedness valuing human rights,

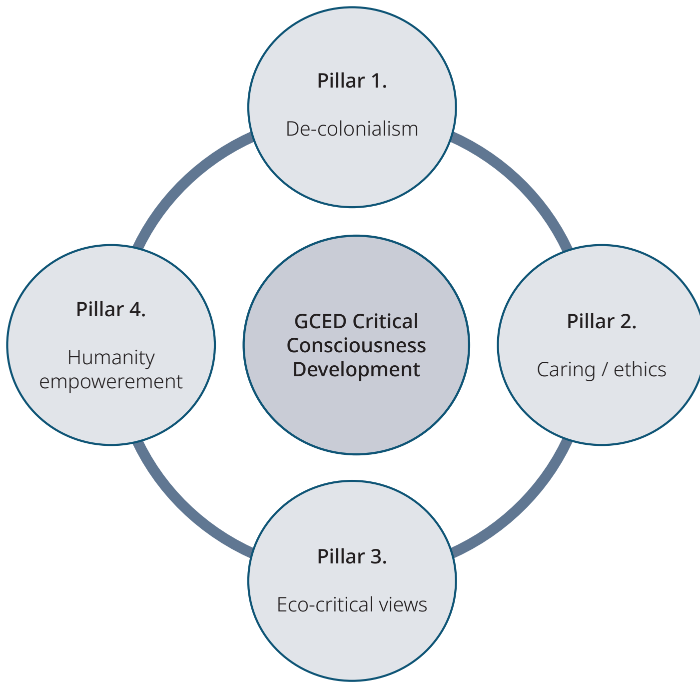

Figure 2.5 *GCED for Critical Consciousness Development (Bosio & Waghid, 2023, p. 19)*

diversity, social justice, and respectful dialogue while being rooted in their own cultural context. Through his relational humanist philosophy of education and pedagogic practices, he was seeking to nurture a sense of collective identity for all students and teachers in his ashram school and university who exhibited more than just a strong sense of ecological awareness. They were also relationally connected to the *natural environment* and community of *humans* through an ethic of care for *others* (Mukherjee, 2011). As Bosio and Waghid (2023) argued while describing the framework of GCED for critical consciousness development, Tagore was seeking to nurture eco-critical views and humanity empowerment with respect to interpersonal, personal, and socio-political development. Situated within colonial India, and observing the Imperial Capitalist destruction of the natural environment and human values, Tagore placed great emphasis on engaging his students in local community development.

Local *community development* and *rural reconstruction* was integrally embedded within the curriculum of his school and university, quite distinct from the larger mainstream education system, where rote-memorising academic knowledge and testing the retention of static knowledge in memory

for placement in colonial government jobs was prevalent. A 1949 Films Division-funded documentary titled *Shantiniketan: The Abode of Peace* provides historic evidence of Tagore's philosophy of education and pedagogic experiments in Shantiniketan alongside Tagore's own writings on education and writings of several Tagore scholars over the years (Sinha & Samarth, 1949; Dasgupta, 1998, 2009; Mukherjee, 2020, 2021). Hence, we can see that Tagore's philosophy of education and pedagogical approach combined both the *cosmopolitan* and *advocacy* approach of GCED. However, is it possible to also rethink the learning outcomes of GCED, in the form of core competencies as enumerated by UNESCO through Tagore's perspective? The following section of this chapter seeks to find an answer to this question by engaging deeply with the pedagogic praxis aspect of Tagore's educational philosophy.

Rethinking Global Citizenship Education From Tagore's Perspective

> Tagore was no professional educationist. All his pronouncements on education start with the assumption that education is not a profession, but an art. He himself came to education by way of his poetry. Intuition and experience rather than scientific investigation showed him the need for educational reform. It was the poet in him that demanded a creative approach to childhood. In other words, only as a creator, a dreamer, and by no means as a psychologist or a sociologist, did Tagore attempt to turn educational practice into a meaningful process leading to successful integration of the individual in society … From the foregoing it becomes obvious any purely academic approach to Tagore's educational ideals is bound to be misleading. His statements on education scattered throughout his work read indeed like poetry. Although modern educational science has proved them to be true, they have no scientific pretensions. They make use of a literary rather than an educational terminology … To speak about Tagore's educational ideals in the terminology of scientific publications in the West would indeed be a contradiction in terms. (Aronson, 1961, p. 385)

It might appear from the quote above from Alex Aronson (a German Jewish English teacher who worked closely with Tagore at his school and university in Shantiniketan) that it is probably a futile exercise to try and rethink GCED from Tagore's perspective, especially since the learning outcome of GCED is supposed to equip learners with specific skills, knowledge, and behaviours

that are considered by policymakers and educators as measurable *competencies*. However, in the following sections of this chapter, I will discuss how we can rethink GCED and global competencies or characteristics of *critical global citizens* as enumerated by UNESCO (2013) from Tagore's perspective.

> **Collective Identity.** According to UNESCO (2023), Santiniketan was "… [e]stablished in rural West Bengal in 1901 by the renowned poet and philosopher Rabindranath Tagore, Santiniketan was a residential school and centre for art based on ancient Indian traditions and a vision of the unity of humanity transcending religious and cultural boundaries. A 'world university' was established at Santiniketan in 1921, recognizing the unity of humanity or "Visva Bharati". Distinct from the prevailing British colonial architectural orientations of the early 20th century and of European modernism, Santiniketan represents approaches toward a pan-Asian modernity, drawing on ancient, medieval and folk traditions from across the region." (para. 1)

As is evident from the quote above and as was discussed earlier in this chapter, at the heart of Tagore's philosophy of education and pedagogic practice was the cooperative principle and a sense of collective identity as a citizen of the world. To overcome the subjugation of being a colonial "subject" without the rights of being a free citizen in British India, he aspired for world citizenship and felt at home in the world, wherever he travelled. He saw himself as a son of Mother India who was a citizen of the world.

Tagore sought to nurture a similar kind of rooted-cosmopolitan identity among young minds at his own school and university that he literally named "Visva-Bharati" (world-minded Indian) University in Shantiniketan. He invited scholars from around the world to reside and teach at his residential school and university. He created an inclusive learning space at Shantiniketan (abode of peace) for students from diverse religious, caste, class, gender, and national backgrounds. The following quote from a noted Tagore scholar from Germany, Martin Kämpchen (2012), about Alex Aronson, a German Jewish English teacher at Tagore's school who came to India as a refugee during the Nazi regime, is evident of the inclusive culture that Tagore was able to establish within Shantiniketan:

> Santiniketan provided Aronson a "shelter from chaos and disintegration", as he would later write, from the political and social turmoil of Europe which was embroiled in the Second World War, as well as of India. It created for Aronson the ideal setting for concentrated and creative work

> as a teacher, researcher and academic writer…
> In his letters and in his autobiography, he never tired of expressing his gratitude to the Santiniketan community for the warmth and affection he received. In one of his early letters to me, Aronson wrote emphatically, “The hospitality I received there goes beyond all praise. It is something I shall never forget and for which I shall be forever grateful.” (Kämpchen, 2012, paras. 3–4)

Similar sentiments were expressed by many scholars, artists, and students from various parts of India, as well as from England, France, Germany, the Netherlands, Japan, China, and other countries whom Rabindranath Tagore attracted to come to Visva-Bharati University in Shantiniketan to translate into reality his vision of a global centre of cultural study and educational exchange between 1919 and 1924. Bhattacharya (2017) writes:

> As is well-known Tagore had in mind three objectives for Visva-Bharati: to unite the different streams of culture in India and to link them all with the global civilization of mankind; to create opportunity for the generation of knowledge i.e. research, not merely its distribution, i.e. teaching; and thirdly, to connect the above endeavours with living reality through the application of knowledge to the daily life and work of common people outside of Shantiniketan. He took it upon himself to exhort repeatedly the ashramites and the larger public to respond to his invitation to bring his concept of Visva-Bharati into reality. (p. 55)

In the 21st century, we talk a lot about globalisation and an increasingly interconnected and interdependent world because of “neoliberal” economic globalisation. However, as a decolonial thinker and a visionary, Tagore deeply believed in the ancient Sanskrit saying अयं नजिः परो वेतगिणना लघुचेतसाम्। उदारचरितानां तु वसुधैव कुटुम्बकम्॥ (“Mine and not mine is a classification of the narrow-minded. For a noble soul, the entire world is family”) from Chapter 6, Verse 83, of the *Maha Upanishad*. Hence, the home, Bharat, and the world, Visva, were both interconnected and interdependent historically and philosophically for someone like Tagore. It was possible to think, feel, and act as a citizen of the world, or a *global citizen*, while being an Indian. Tagore promoted this sense of collective identity at his school and university among his students and teaching staff.

Aronson (1961) discussed at length how the school and Visva-Bharati University in Shantiniketan grew organically and nurtured students’ cognitive and social development based on *the principles of self-reliance and volun-*

tary co-operation among students and staff coming from different classes of society and even different regions of British India. After students acquired *emotional integrity and wisdom* through education in their mother tongue, which included playful activities amidst nature during early ages in school, they were put face to face with the economic and social realities of their own country through active local community engagement, and then with foreign cultures and foreign ways of life through the studies of foreign languages and literature (Bhattacharya, 2013; Dasgupta, 1998; Dasgupta & Guha, 2013; Ghosh, 2012, 2017; Mukherjee, 2021; O'Connell, 2010, 2017; Sinha & Samarth, 1949; Roy, 2017; Tagore, 1906a, 1906b, 1917b). This helped to nurture a sense of integrated collective identity based on native ethnic linguistic identity, a consciousness of social, economic, and environmental issues of their own country, as well as a global consciousness as a citizen of the world.

Universal Values. Universal humanist values were the foundation of Tagore's philosophy of education. The establishment of his school, and later Visva-Bharati University, were also founded on these values. In a letter written to his son Rathindranath in 1916 from Los Angeles, California, Tagore wrote:

> I have it in mind to make Shantiniketan the connecting thread between India and the world. I have to found a world centre for the study of humanity here. The days of petty nationalism are numbered- let the first step towards universal union occur in the fields of Bolepur. I want to make that place somewhere beyond the limits of nation and geography- the first flag of victorious universal humanism will be planted there. To rid the world of the suffocating coils of national pride will be the task of my remaining years. (Tagore, 1916, as cited in O'Connell, 2017, pp. 82–83)

Indeed, Tagore devoted the remaining years of his life to establish Visva-Bharati University as a non-sectarian centre for international cooperation at a time and age when universities were very much embedded within the fabric of nation-states and nation-building through education, which was top of the agenda at most universities in Europe and North America, while those established in the colonies of the Global South were intended to reproduce educated professionals to work as colonial civil servants and meet the needs of the colonial political economy. The Universal humanist values based on which Tagore established his school and Visva-Bharati University are further expressed in the following speech he delivered around 1917:

> I have in mind not merely a University- that is only one of the aspect of

> our Visva-Bharati,- but I hope this is going to be a great meeting place for individuals from all countries who believe in our spiritual unity and who have suffered from the lack of it, who want to make atonement and come into human touch with their neighbours … As I wanted this institution to be inter-racial, I invited great minds from the West. They cordially responded, and some have come permanently to join hands with us and build a place where men of all nations and countries may find their true home, without molestation from the prosperous who are always afraid of idealism or form the politically powerful who are always suspicious of humans who have the freedom of spirit. (Tagore, as cited in O'Connell, 2017, pp. 86–87)

The curriculum, pedagogy, and campus environment of Shantiniketan were all guided by these Universal humanist values that yielded some truly notable alumni, including Nobel laureate economist Amartya Sen, renowned film-maker Satyajit Ray, who won many international awards, and someone who is known as the "Father of Modern Indian Sculpture," Ramkinkar Baij, among many others.

Critical Thinking. Critical decolonial thinking from within the postcolonial contexts of the Global South often runs the risk of being orientalist in its own way. However, Tagore was an exception in this respect. Even when he was seeking to reform education during British colonial India by going back to India's roots and reviving the model of ashram schools in the Tapovan (sacred grove), he was critically conscious of the problems connected to ancient ashram schools and the fact that they were exclusive schools for the sons of priests, kings and noblemen.

Hence, he established his ashram school as an inclusive learning space for students from diverse socioeconomic, gender, and religious backgrounds. He sought to reinvent the ancient traditions and indigenous customs to meet the needs of his time. He also sought to inculcate such critical thinking among his students so that they could also critically reflect on their own history and reinvent the past for a better, more inclusive, and prosperous future. Critically conscious of the deep divisions of caste, class, and gender within contemporary Indian society back then, Tagore saw rural community festivals, fairs, and even popular entertainment such as *jatra* (plays) and *kirtan* (devotional songs) as a pedagogic opportunity where "the rural society could interact with modernity, where the home and the world could meet" (Sen, 1917, p. 94). Tagore states in his essay "Swadeshi Samaj"[7] (Local/Indigenous Society): "In these festivals the community forgets all its narrowness: to open its heart to a process of sharing and donating is its main occasion" (Tagore, 1908, p. 12).

Figure 2.6 *Ananda Mela, a Celebration of Gandhi's Birthday (Gandhi Jayanti), at Visva Bharati University Campus on October 2, 2024*

Even today, Visva Bharati University maintains this tradition by organising annual fairs, such as Ananda Mela (Fair of Happiness), organised on Gandhi Jayanti (Gandhi's Birthday), a national holiday celebrated on October 2 every year, where the students sell food and crafts items they made by themselves to raise funds for rural community development. Many people from Shantiniketan and Sriniketan (irrespective of socioeconomic backgrounds) gather on campus for this fair to eat food, buy handicrafts, and enjoy themselves.

Tagore was equally critical of the ills of his native Indian society as he was critical of colonial oppression and subjugation. His creative writings, in the form of essays, short stories, plays, and novels, give voice to his critical thoughts about his own home and the world. Sen (2017) discusses at length

how Tagore used cultural events, such as village fairs, *jatra* (village plays performed open-air), and "dance-dramas" (indigenous operas), to raise the critical consciousness of his students about the various injustices and inequities of indigenous society (See Figure 2.6).

He authored and produced dance-dramas such as *Chandalika* and *Chitrangada* to highlight injustices related to caste and gender. His novels *Ghore Baire* (Home and the World) and *Gora* shed critical light on the complexities of urban Indian society during colonial times and the struggles of individuals in a society caught up in the radical nationalist freedom movement. As Radice (2010) wrote, "Tagore was an educator in everything he wrote and did" (p. 41). Though much of his poetry is read through the lens of mysticism in the West and even in many Eastern countries, even his creative writings were expressions of his critical thinking as a pedagogue on the problems of individuals and the world. Through his creative work and critical arts-based pedagogy, he sought to stir the critical thinking of the students in his school and university.

Empathy & Intercultural Communication. Empathy and intercultural communication were also at the core of Tagore's arts-based and place-based critical pedagogy that he sought to establish in his ashram school and university. Students were made to care for each other and care for pet animals inside the ashram school campus. During lunchtime, students were made to take turns to serve each other food and clean up after lunch. Through the teaching of foreign languages and literature, as well as Indian languages and folk literature, Tagore sought to promote intercultural communication, understanding, and peace. The 1929 prospectus of Visva-Bharati University stated that:

> College students are expected to become familiar with the working of existing institutions and new movements inaugurated in different countries of the world for the amelioration of the social conditions of the masses. They are also required to undertake a study of international organizations so that their outlook may become better adjusted to the needs of peace. … The aim of this education is to ensure that they students should, in thought, emotion and action, attain truth and achieve the fullest development in all the various manifestations of the human spirit. (Visva-Bharati Bulletin No.12, as cited in O'Connell, 2017, pp. 89–90)

As is evident from the above lines taken from the prospectus, the Visva-Bharati curriculum, therefore, emphasised empathy, intercultural communication, international understanding, and peace. It is one of the earliest working

models of international education in modern times where a global identity has been championed over a narrow nationalist one, as argued by O'Connell (2017).

Collaborative & Responsible Action. As stated earlier in this chapter, Tagore's relational humanist philosophy of education had a strong component of praxis. For Tagore, the head and the heart needed to combine to guide collaborative and responsible hands-on action. The Institute of Rural Reconstruction was founded in Sriniketan in 1922. Through this institute, Tagore hoped to bring the students and teachers of Shantiniketan closer with the daily life of the common people through the activities of this new institute. Thereafter, Tagore began to emphasise the need to spread literacy and education to the masses, especially in rural areas. The genesis of community engagement in higher education in India relates to the establishment of Sriniketan and Visva-Bharati University (Bhatt et al., 2023).

Under the direction and editorship of Tagore, Visva-Bharati took the responsibility of publishing a series of books in Bengali and various subjects of scientific and general interest, written specially in a simple language for general readers. Roy (2017) quotes from the general introduction to the *Lok Siksha Granthamala* (*Mass Education Book*) series by Tagore, where he wrote:

> The purpose of this undertaking is to disseminate among the common people of Bengal all subjects worth learning. Accordingly, special attention has been given to the point that the language used should be easy and, as far as possible, free from technical terminology yet care has also been taken that the writings may not suffer from the poverty of the subject-matter. Most persons do not get the opportunity of receiving education requiring much expense and time and following difficult methods through arduous paths. That is why the light of knowledge falls on a very limited part of the country. The country can never advance along the path of freedom carrying the burden of such colossal ignorance. The most essential thing necessary for making the intelligence alert and free of stupidity is the cultivation of science. This matter has been specially kept in view in undertaking our publications. (Roy, 2017, pp. 182–183)

Thereafter, Tagore published the first book on science in 1937 and several other books on scientific, cultural, literary, and historical subjects. Needless to say, such an initiative from a poet is quite commendable. Alongside the *Lok Siksha Granthamala* series, Tagore began publishing another series of books called *Visva Vidya Samgraha* (*World Knowledge Collection*) to popularise global knowledge at an affordable cost for the local community—and in the

local language—for the purpose of community development. Along with mass education, he sought to bring back joy and happiness into rural village life by organising country fairs and cultural events. Roy (2017) quotes from Tagore to emphasise this: "Our object is to try to flood the chocked bed of village life with the stream of happiness. For this the scholars, the poets, the musicians, the artists have to collaborate, to offer their contributions" (p. 183). He further quotes from the last speech delivered by Tagore at the Institute of Rural Reconstruction, Sriniketan, in 1939 to highlight Tagore's vision for collaborative and responsible action for community development—a community that had been suffering from poverty, economic deprivation, and misery in life because of colonial oppression. Tagore envisioned that the work he had begun would be taken forward by others in the Shantiniketan-Sriniketan community to create ripple effect across India.

> … I cannot single-handed bear the responsibility for the whole of India. I shall conquer only one or two tiny villages. For that one must win their minds and gather the strength for working together with them. The task is not easy. It is a hard uphill journey. But if I can liberate two or three villages from the bondage of ignorance and incapacity, then on a small scale an ideal would be established for the whole of India … We must liberate these few villages in every respect so that all may receive education, a breeze of joy may blow once again, songs and music, recitation of epics and scriptures may fill them, as of yore. Mould just these few villages in this way and I shall call them my India. Then alone real India will be ours. (Tagore, as cited in Roy, 2017, p. 184)

Indeed, Visva-Bharati continues to play a leading role as an Institution of National Importance. We can observe reflection of Tagore's ideas in the recent initiatives of the Indian government, namely, Swacch Bharat (Clean India) and Unnat Bharat Abhiyaan (Developed India Mission). In recent times, Visva-Bharati University has adopted 50 more neighbouring villages under the Unnat Bharat Abhiyaan for community engagement and development. This was also reported in the *Visva-Bharati University Annual Report 2017–2018* (Visva-Bharati, 2018).

Conclusion

Bosio and Waghid (2022) began a critical discussion that brought contemporary academic debate about Southern Theory to GCED, especially because

much of the theoretical and empirical literature on GCED emerges out of North America and Western Europe. In this chapter, I have engaged with Tagore's philosophy of education and pedagogic practice to extend Southern theoretical understanding of the concept of GCED and the core competencies of a critical global citizen. By drawing on documentary archival evidence, Tagore's writings, and the writings of Tagore scholars, I have demonstrated how Tagore connected the home and the world (local and global) both conceptually and through the pedagogic practice in his school and university during British colonial India, as well as its contemporary relevance. Thereafter, I have discussed how postcolonial Indian national education policies have selectively drawn on Tagore's educational ideas because of strong nationalist social imaginary. I have discussed some of the academic debates about the definition and meaning of GCED and its learning outcomes enumerated in the form of global competences. I further discussed how the learning outcome of GCED has been described in terms of five core competencies by UNESCO (2014) and how they align with the characteristics of *critical global citizens* as discussed by Bosio (2023). Finally, I have demonstrated how we can draw upon Tagore's educational philosophy and pedagogic practice to rethink GCED for critical consciousness development (Bosio & Waghid, 2023) and the five core competencies as enumerated by UNESCO (2013) from a postcolonial Global South perspective.

As Pieterse (2001) argued:

> Theory is a distillation of reflections on practice into conceptual language so as to connect with past knowledge. The relationship between theory and practice is uneven: theory tends to lag behind practice, behind innovations on the ground, and practice tends to lag behind theory (since policymakers and activists lack time for reflection). A careful look at practice can generate new theory, and theory or theoretical praxis can inspire new practice. (p. 2)

In this chapter, I have carefully looked at Tagore's philosophy of education and pedagogic practices to theorise GCED from a postcolonial Global South perspective. Let us hope that Tagore's theoretical praxis will inspire new practices in schools and universities to nurture *critical global citizens*. Tagore was a visionary thinker and education reformer whose work was often misunderstood during his lifetime. Scholars have critiqued that over the years Tagore's school and university have been losing focus on progressive reforms and becoming part of the mainstream system of Indian education (Nussbaum, 2006; Sinha, 2017; Mukherjee, 2020). But, now more than ever, Tagore's

philosophy and pedagogic practices are relevant for nurturing a sense of collective identity, universal values, critical thinking, empathy, intercultural communication, and collaborative and responsible action for environmental protection and peace. We need to collectively take responsibility to fulfil Tagore's vision for sustainable development of India and the world.

Notes

1. See: https://home.iitk.ac.in/~hcverma/Article/Macaulay-Minutes.pdf https://english.washington.edu/sites/english/files/documents/ewp/teaching_resources/minute_on_indian_education_1835_by_thomas_babington_macaulay.pdf
2. The term "rooted-cosmopolitan" was adopted from philosopher Kwame Anthony Appiah's (1997) work in my previous article written on Tagore's "rooted cosmopolitanism" (Mukherjee, 2020).
3. 'Swaraj' means self-rule. "Although the word Swaraj means "self-rule", Gandhi gave it the content of an integral revolution that encompasses all spheres of life" See more: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Swaraj
4. Dr. B.R. Ambedkar was the chair of the drafting committee of the modern Indian democratic constitution.
5. This ancient concept of schools has been much critiqued, with these schools seen as exclusive places of learning imparted by learned Brahmins (priests and scholars) only to upper caste males, especially the Brahmins and Kshatriyas (warriors & royals).
6. This empirical reality became evident to the author of this chapter while conducting field research recently in Shantiniketan for another project on international students in India.
7. 'Swadeshi Samaj' means local or indigenous society. This essay was a response by Tagore to Gandhi's call for the "Swadeshi movement" in 1905 to inspire the production and use of local/indigenous goods as a political response to fight against the colonial agenda of taking raw material out of India and selling expensive foreign goods to the local community. See: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Swadeshi_movement

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3. Rethinking Global Competence in China: Perspectives From the Tianxia System

Jun Teng•

Abstract

The world is currently at a pivotal juncture, confronted with challenges arising from either division or interconnectedness. In this context, global competence emerges not as a luxury but as a necessity for future generations. This chapter seeks to explore how to rethink and expand the concept of global competence with the practices in the Asia-Pacific region, examining approaches to enhance its effectiveness and sustainability. We draw insights from the Tianxia System, which is rooted in Confucian tradition, to reconstruct a framework for global competence. The chapter is organised into four sections. First, we critically assessed current global competence discourse, highlighting its limitations, such as the neglect of human agency, insufficient explanations of civilisational conflicts, and the separation of *knowing* and *doing*. Second, we examined the differences in varied social contexts of global competence, including different major appeals for the globalisation, historical and cultural groundings, and situations of resource allocation brought about by international immigration. Third, we looked for key concepts from the Tianxia System, such as all-inclusiveness, co-existence, *shengsheng* (continuous and sustainable growth), relational rationality, *xiuqizhiping* (cultivating oneself, regulating the family, governing the state, and pacifying the world), and *zhixingheyi* (the unification of knowing and doing), addressing the limitations and contextual differences of global competence. We aim to identify potential solutions to re-establish a vision of a community of a shared future for mankind. Finally, we proposed a theo-

• Fanshu Gong at Beijing Normal University contributed to drafting this chapter.

retical model of global competence based on the perspectives from the Tianxia System, emphasising the importance of moral development as a foundation for self-cultivation. We highlighted the philosophy of co-existence as its core principle, clarified the interconnections among local, national, international, and global contexts, and strove for the ideal of *zhixingheyi* through individuals with agency to effectively coordinate and integrate intention, knowledge, capability, and action across all levels.

Introduction

In recent years, the world has faced increasing conflicts and divisions, alongside the challenges posed by globalisation, marking a critical turning point in our collective history. In an era characterised by efficient and close connections and collaborations, global competence should not be viewed as a luxury but a necessity that the next generation universally shares. Since the 1980s, the concept of global competence has emerged within the field of international education in the United States, rapidly developing in both theory and practice across the globe. In China, global competence has also gained traction in recent years. As noted, "China's rise is unstoppable, ... For Chinese educators, whether for the development of individual students or for China to better assume the responsibilities and obligations of a major country in the future world, we must start cultivating students' global competence from now on" (Teng, 2016, pp. 48–49).

However, current global competence theory mainly reflects the situation of the Western world. Thus, it is essential to initiate an endogenous theoretical reconstruction of global competence within the Chinese context, allowing for a continuous evolution of this theory based on a robust and dynamic foundation. To promote this theoretical reconstruction, we will critically reflect on the theoretical limitations of current global competence theory, analyse the differences in social context, and explore China's own cultural wisdom that can be used as theory foundation, with a particular focus on drawing inspiration from the Tianxia System. By deeply reflecting on global competence and achieving its theoretical reconstruction in China, the resulting insights may offer valuable inspiration and reference to other countries in the Asia-Pacific region that share similar cultural backgrounds, geographical contexts, and foundational demands.

It is also important to recognise that the use of the term *competence* in relation to other concepts reflects, to some extent, the discourse of neoliberalism. However, to express our viewpoint more clearly, we will continue to use the

term *competence* in this chapter, reconstructing it within the Chinese context. This reconstruction does not aim to deepen the divide between East and West, but rather to explore a new path that can benefit all humanity.

Reflections on the Western Global Competence Theory

The emergence, development, and widespread dissemination of the concept of global competence have been closely linked to the accelerated process of globalisation since the 1980s. Despite decades of refinement, there remain notable shortcomings in the underlying logic of global competence, particularly regarding the following three aspects.

Taking Human Beings as Tools and Neglecting Individuals' Agency

While global competence points to the comprehensive development of individuals, its ultimate focus often shifts away from the individuals themselves. Instead, it tends to use individuals as tools to achieve broader goals. By leveraging those with global competence, societies aim to mobilise a workforce ready to confront political, economic, social, and ecological challenges at both national and international levels. This reflects the principles of human capital theory, which are rooted in a neoliberal logic that often obscures more profound structural issues, placing undue pressure on individuals.

The study of global competence first emerged within the human resources departments of multinational corporations (Teng et al., 2018), reflecting the demand for talents with specific skills during the global expansion of neoliberal capital. In the realm of international education, where policies and practices related to global competence have flourished, the rationale for its development remains heavily influenced by human capital theory. At the micro level, global competence is viewed as a vital asset for individuals to secure better employment opportunities and enhance their labour market competitiveness. At the macro level, it is regarded as a remedy for national and global economic challenges.

Initially, the concept of global competence evolved significantly under the influence of human capital theory and was particularly emphasised at the national level, especially in the United States. In 1993, the Council on International Educational Exchange (CIEE) published key insights on global competence from the 46th International Conference on Educational Exchange, in which Karl Roeloffs, the Director Emeritus of the Deutscher Akadcmischer Austauschdienst, stated that "all regions of the world are prospective important markets and partners in a policy to maintain conditions that are conducive

to peaceful cooperation" (CIEE, 1993, p. 5). In 1998, the American Council on Education issued *Educating for Global Competence: America's Passport to the Future*, with one chapter titled "Higher Education's Role in Developing Human Resources" that discussed the necessity for graduates to function effectively in a global environment, emphasising the economic benefits of global competence (American Council on Education, 1998). This report underscored the dual objectives of enhancing individual employability and contributing to productivity.

As the concept of global competence has been popularised and universalised, U.S. federal and state governments have proposed increasingly refined requirements for cultivating it in international education, continuing to reflect human capital orientation. In 2018, the U.S. Department of Education updated the *Succeeding Globally Through International Education and Engagement* report published in 2012, requiring the cultivation of "citizens with global and cultural competence" to help individuals find meaningful employment and enhance the country's economic competitiveness (U.S. Department of Education, 2018). In 2022, the report was updated again, still focusing on the practical needs of "economic competitiveness and jobs" (U.S. Department of Education, 2022).

Moreover, the concept of global competence has gained widespread acceptance and has even entered international assessments that significantly influence education systems worldwide, further perpetuating the tenets of human capital theory. For instance, in 2011, the Asia Society and the Council of Chief State School Officers (CCSSO) published *Educating for Global Competence: Learning Redefined for an Interconnected World*, emphasising the need for global competence in response to a flattened global economy and changing workforce demands. They framed global competence as a complement to work readiness skills, essential for preparing students to be competitive, ethical, and efficient workers in the global economy.

Thus, while the prevailing concept of global competence acknowledges human development, it remains fundamentally rooted in neoliberalism and human capital theory, with its ultimate aim leading to economic production. This raises critical questions: it neither confronts individual agency nor adequately addresses larger structural issues. Human capital, by its nature, is challenging to measure, and assessments such as the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) risk reducing the rich individuality of people to mere two-dimensional data. The existing focus on economic efficiency within human capital theory often obscures the agency of individuals and fails to reflect on the essence of "being human" (Li & Zhang, 2020). Furthermore, Emrullah Tan argues that "human capital offers the comforting

illusion that for every complex social and economic problem there is one simple solution" (Tan, 2014, p. 431). This perspective attempts to shift societal structural issues onto education, placing immense pressure on individuals without addressing the fundamental problems.

Regarding the Term "Global" as Merely a Geographical Concept and Concealing Inequalities in the World

As previously discussed, Western global competence theory emerged during a period of rapid globalisation, often emphasising the importance of learning, working, and living on a global scale while addressing global issues. However, we must question what we truly mean by *global*. Under the current framework, global competence has yet to evolve into a powerful mechanism capable of fundamentally addressing global challenges; rather, it risks obscuring and even exacerbating inequalities and conflicts within the so-called "global" paradigm. This implies that the prevailing global competence theory tends to focus on superficial, geographical aspects of global issues, neglecting the deeper roots of these problems and the underlying causes of civilisational conflicts. Consequently, it struggles to consolidate all the efforts into an effective global force.

Authoritative dictionaries define *global* as pertaining to "the whole world," suggesting it encompasses all people, places, and things on Earth. The term *world* is similarly understood to refer to all locations on Earth and its inhabitants. Thus, the original meaning of *global*, or its nearly synonymous term *world*, primarily denotes a geographical concept. However, an ideal conception of *global* or *world* should transcend more than that. It encompasses three interconnected dimensions, that is, geographical, socio-psychological, and political. Zhao Tingyang notes that "real world history has not yet begun (Zhao, 2015, p. 7)" citing the anarchic state of the world due to the absence of a universally accepted world system or worldview. As a result, individuals tend to identify the world geographically, yet politically, they belong only to their respective nations. This leads to a world viewed merely as a shared resource, subject to exploitation and conflict (Zhao, 2015, p. 7).

In this context, the global concept employed in global competence theory not only obscures the fundamental causes of contemporary global problems but also hinders equality and interconnectedness. Economic globalisation has emerged from the advancement of human productivity and the global economic system. However, the neoliberal globalisation advocated by powerful nations extends beyond economics, manifesting as a comprehensive globalisation of the economy, politics, and culture, dominated by superpowers, which can be termed capitalist globalisation (Research Group on

Neoliberalism at CASS, 2003). This process perpetuates double standards and inequalities, masquerading as a pursuit of freedom that is framed as humanity's highest value, yet often serves to protect vested interests. It facilitates market monopolisation, especially in the global financial arena, compelling poorer nations to conform to the economic imperatives of wealthier countries and fostering political conservatism (Li, 2003). For instance, *Educating for Global Competence: America's Passport to the Future* asserts that "the continued prosperity of the United States depends increasingly on how other nations manage population growth, improve industrial practice and land and energy use, gain access to international markets, and build stable democratic institutions that are able to advance and defend human rights. ... such implied mutuality suggests a flow of goods and information to solve common problems. ...The benefits of these efforts help both the United States and the developing world" (American Council on Education, 1998, p. 9). While it implies mutual cooperation, the discourse remains centred on the United States, viewing the world through an American lens rather than adopting a truly global perspective. This illustrates how the current understanding of *global* remains at the geographical level, failing to bridge economic and political divides.

Meanwhile, the distinction and connection between global citizens and citizens of traditional nation-states, rooted in the Westphalian system, remain unclear. What identities and recognitions correspond to these two forms of citizenship? In the current world system, how should people with global competence still operating within the nation-state framework navigate the relationship and interests between the global and the national? The existing global competence theory has yet to provide satisfactory answers to these pressing questions. While global competence may aspire to promote the common good, contemporary people remain constrained by the nation-state framework. If individuals adhere to a rational pursuit of self-interest, conflicts between personal and national interests can jeopardise global commonality. Thus, the so-called global remains international, lacking the transformative power needed to address myriad issues, often concealing and exacerbating inequalities while triggering negative chain reactions.

The Mindset of Binary Opposition Leads to the Separation of Knowing and Doing

Western global competence theory also exhibits a methodological flaw characterised by binary opposition, particularly in the separation of knowing and doing, which also implicitly suggests an opposition between the self and others.

Initially, the concept of global competence only pointed to certain elements

or was often divided into several modules composed of different elements. Later, Richard D. Lambert, CIEE Conference Chair, proposed that global competence include five elements. Similarly, Roeloffs defined the goals of global competence as cultivating the next generation of graduates worldwide in "knowledge and expertise," "empathy and understanding," "favorableness," and "realization of responsibility" (CIEE, 1993). These approaches tend to be fragmented and lack a systematic framework. William D. Hunter later developed the "Global Competence Checklist," which divides global competence into 18 specific indicators across three dimensions. Despite the richness of these indicators, they do not clarify the relationships between "knowledge," "attitudes," and "skills" (Hunter, 2004, pp. 114–115); instead, they merely present these dimensions as separate entities. Consequently, the goals resemble a checklist for assessing effectiveness, yet the connections among the indicators and the pathways to achieving them remain a black box, leaving the practical cultivation of global competence without a solid foundation.

Although the concept of global competence has evolved to a model as depicted in Figure 3.1 (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development [OECD], 2018), the theory lacks a coherent internal logic that unifies

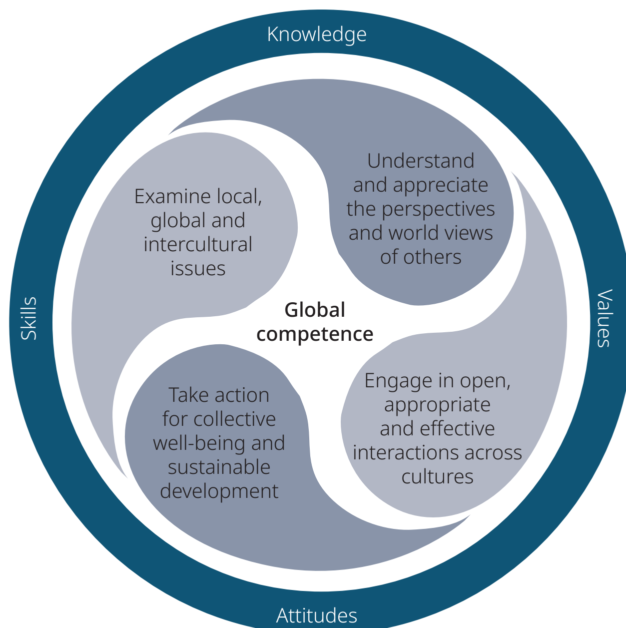

Figure 3.1 *OECD's Global Competence Model (OECD, 2018)*

knowing and doing, leaving the interconnections between knowledge, skills, attitudes, and values, as well as their transformation into action, inadequately addressed.

In assessing global competence, OECD employs two methods: a cognitive test focused on global understanding and a background questionnaire. The cognitive test evaluates the background knowledge and cognitive skills necessary for global competence, while the background questionnaire gathers self-reported information from students regarding their awareness of global issues, cross-cultural knowledge, cognition, and communication skills. However, the knowledge, skills, attitudes, and values assessed are not integrated, making it challenging to implement a comprehensive evaluation of action.

Moreover, the Western mindset of binary opposition often emphasises a subject-object dichotomy. This dichotomy is evident in various indicators of global competence, where distinctions between *self* and others, as well as one's own culture and other cultures, are frequently highlighted. The OECD attempts to define *culture* within the context of global competence, acknowledging its complexity. Citing scholars like Martyn Barrett, they describe culture as "a composite formed from all three aspects, consisting of a network of material, social, and subjective resources. The full set of cultural resources is distributed across the entire group, but each individual member of the group only uses a subset of the full set of cultural resources that is potentially available to them" (Barrett et al., 2014, p. 14). This definition suggests that any social group can possess a unique culture, and that individuals have multiple cultural identities and connections across various groups, with their cultural affiliations intersecting and dynamically evolving (OECD, 2016). Thus, the global competence promoted by the OECD is framed within a broad understanding of culture. In individual interactions, this approach increases the likelihood of cross-cultural encounters, reinforcing the understanding of others from one's own perspective. However, as previously analysed, what individuals ultimately know may reflect the thoughts and cultures of others, while the motivations and outcomes of their doing may primarily serve their own interests. This leads to a separation between knowing and doing, intensifying the differentiation and opposition between the self and others, as well as between one's own culture and other cultures.

Differences in Global Competence's Social Context

After acknowledging the shortcomings of the current Western global compe-

tence theory, it is crucial to conduct a more in-depth analysis of the differences between the Chinese and Western social contexts. By exploring these distinctions, we can identify practical needs and potential opportunities for reconstructing the theory of global competence in China.

Different Fundamental Appeals for Globalisation

In the context of globalisation, different countries' positions vary within the current world system, fulfilling distinct roles and harbouring diverse developmental aspirations. As globalisation deepens, some nations strive to ascend to the centre, others seek to reclaim former prominence, and some aim to consolidate and expand their advantageous positions.

For the United States, which is driven by a sense of crisis, the deep-seated pursuit of the *American ideal* serves as a powerful motivator and guiding principle. As Jacob Needleman articulated in *The American Soul: A History of Civilization*, America itself means the struggle to create an environment in real life that can freely explore these fundamental answers (Needleman, 2010). This ideal fosters a sense of superiority and mission, giving rise to both idealism and realism in American diplomacy: a lofty aspiration to create a perfect world, coupled with a pragmatic focus on maintaining national interests. While the United States attempts to reconcile these two impulses, it often prioritises immediate interests over lofty ideals when they conflict.

This context reveals that the foundation of global competence is rooted in the need for the United States to engage in global competition and solidify its advantageous position. By the mid-20th century, the United States had emerged as a global hegemon, with declarations such as "the 20th century is the American century" suggesting the realisation of its ideals. However, subsequent decades saw a decline in the relative strength of the United States, sparking ongoing debates about its rise and fall. The emergence of new economies in the 1980s introduced fresh challenges, prompting the United States to recognise the crucial role of education and talent development in globalisation and international competition. Consequently, the United States sought to cultivate global competence to secure its competitive advantage and further its *American ideal*. In 1993, Richard W. Riley, then the U.S. secretary of education, emphasized that "we need many voices to make the case for an America that is engaged in the world ... an America that meets the global challenges in the here and now, and on into the 21st century" (CIEE, 1993, p. 16). The 2005 report *Global Competence and National Need: One Million Americans Studying Abroad* stated, "There is, the Commission believes, a consensus among most Americans and many people abroad that the United States should be a global leader. If the world is to be a place in which Americans and their values

can be secure, America must lead. And if people throughout the world are to have the opportunity to live in democratic societies where they can achieve their aspirations for themselves and their families, America must lead. Today, many students and citizens are eager to take on the mantle of international leadership. ...They are issues of how we as a society prepare this and future generations for the leadership that will be a requirement for the American democratic experiment's ongoing success in the world" (Commission on Abraham Lincoln Study Abroad Fellowship Program, 2005, p. 8). More recent reports, such as *Succeeding Globally Through International Education and Engagement*, have highlighted "strengthening our national security and diplomacy" as a reason for promoting global competence. (U.S. Department of Education, 2018, 2022). Ultimately, the United States seeks to promote democracy globally while safeguarding its own interests.

In contrast, as we consider China's rise, it is vital to address the global flow of capital in the context of economic globalisation, cultivate talents that can actively participate in global governance, etc. Equally important is the need for China to transcend the dominant Western narrative, allowing its true image to be heard and understood. In this process, China embraces its responsibilities towards itself and the world. While striving for the rejuvenation of the Chinese nation, China recognises the dreams of other regions and peoples as interconnected with its own. China does not seek to impose its values but aims to create a peaceful and stable environment for development for itself and others. Together with the global community, China pursues and realises its dreams at various levels.

Different Historical and Cultural Foundations

Education is a vital aspect of culture, inherently influenced by both ethnic and temporal characteristics. The impact of culture on education is often deeper and more enduring than that of politics or economics (Gu, 2004). Similarly, history and culture help shape global competence's interpretation and application in various countries and regions.

The OECD's 2018 PISA assessment report traced the universal roots of global competence, noting that many philosophical traditions and cultures have equivalent concepts for global competence that fall under broader categories of humanism and humanness (OECD, 2020). This provides a foundation for the global dissemination of the concept. However, cultural differences also result in diverse forms of global competence. Boix Mansilla and Jackson highlight that many countries align their global education agendas with national priorities and traditions, which often converge on fundamental orientations (Boix Mansilla & Jackson, 2011). Thus, it is essential to examine the

historical and cultural foundations of both Western and Chinese societies to clarify the context for reconstructing global competence in China.

A significant distinction between Western and Chinese cultures is that the West is rooted in individualism, whereas traditional Chinese and East Asian societies are more communitarian. Individualism, central to Western culture, has evolved over centuries. Although the term itself emerged in the early 19th century, the foundations of individualism can be traced back to ancient Greek, Roman, and Judeo-Christian cultures, which all celebrated personal freedom and autonomy. This emphasis was further amplified during the Renaissance, Enlightenment, and Reformation, eventually becoming a widely accepted cultural belief. Individualism also underpins Western economic thought, where the pursuit of personal interests drives rational behaviour in competitive markets (Wei, 2003). In this context, neoliberal and human capital motives often dominate Western global competence theory, serving individual interests and exacerbating social inequalities.

Conversely, China's traditional culture is rooted in collectivism. The values of self-restraint, self-sacrifice, and selflessness are prevalent in a cultural milieu where Confucianism, Buddhism, and Taoism intersect, with Confucianism as the dominant influence (Wei, 2003). This does not imply a lack of self-awareness; rather, the concept of *self* is defined through relationships with others. As Tu Weiming describes, the Confucian self is not an isolated individual but part of a shared humanity, emphasising communal responsibility and connection (Tu, 1985). In agricultural societies, collectivism and group consciousness are deeply ingrained. Individuals find their identity within a web of familial, communal, and national ties, suggesting that "an individual's self is always situated within a certain ethical and political order" (Xu, 2017, p. 2). Thus, the aspiration for a harmonious community has long resonated with the Chinese people.

Chinese culture also encompasses traditions such as *xiuqizhiping* (cultivating oneself, regulating the family, governing the state, and pacifying the world), *he'erbutong* (coexistence amid diversity), and *zhixingheyi* (the unification of knowing and doing). These concepts reflect a rich cultural legacy that emphasises interconnectedness and ethical responsibility. Moreover, China's historical experiences, from periods of great power to the struggles of semi-colonialism, have shaped its unique perspective on inequality and development, differing significantly from the Western experience of sustained dominance.

Thus, the distinct historical and cultural foundations of China and the West not only nourish different worldviews but also influence the reconstruction and development of global competence theory.

Different Resource Allocation States Brought About by International Immigration

Globalisation has facilitated the worldwide flow and allocation of key elements such as population, capital, and technology, with large-scale international immigration serving as a significant force. International migrants, representing diverse cultures, carry with them various resources that promote changes in the global landscape.

International population mobility directly alters social structures and community environments. Many documents highlight global immigrants and multicultural communities as essential to cultivating global competence. For instance, the OECD and Asia Society, in *Cultivating Global Competence in a Rapidly Changing World*, state that "global competence is necessary for living cooperatively in multicultural communities ... Today's students are growing up in communities that are becoming much more diverse due to unprecedented global migration ... They will need to be able to make sense of these differences and learn to see them as potential assets that can benefit entire communities, rather than as threats" (OECD & Asia Society, 2018, p. 10).

The younger generation is increasingly integrated into diverse international communities. According to the *World Migration Report 2024*, approximately 281 million international migrants were recorded globally in 2020, equating to 3.6% of the global population. This number has risen significantly over the past five decades, increasing by 128 million since 1990 and tripling since 1970. The report notes that global immigration flows are uneven, forming distinct "migration corridors" (IMO, 2024, p. 3). Generally, Western developed countries are key destinations for immigrants. For instance, the United States has consistently been the leading destination, with the foreign-born population rising from less than 12 million in 1970 to nearly 51 million by 2019. In 2021, the United States welcomed 835,000 long-term or permanent immigrants, a 44% increase from 2020, primarily from Mexico, India, and China (OECD, 2023). From the perspective of immigrant origins, about 115 million international migrants (over 40% of the total) were born in Asia in 2020, with significant contributions from India, China, Bangladesh, Pakistan, the Philippines, and Afghanistan. Generally speaking, the largest migration corridors extend from developing countries to more developed economies (IMO, 2024).

In contrast to the United States, China, as of 2019, had become the world's third-largest source country for immigrants worldwide, with over 10 million citizens residing abroad. The primary destinations for Chinese immigrants include the United States, Japan, and Canada, with the China-U.S. corridor ranking 12th globally (IMO, 2024, p. 23). Additionally, data from China's

seventh national population census indicates that as of November 2020, there were 845,687 registered foreigners living in China, a 42.4% increase from the 2010 census (National Bureau of Statistics of China, 2010, 2021). In 2024, China introduced multiple visa-free policies to enhance its attractiveness to international migrants. Although China's international appeal is growing, the society exhibits less heterogeneity in population mobility compared to European and American countries. This difference influences the conditions for cultivating global competence in China.

Meanwhile, international immigration also has indirect effects on global society. Boix Mansilla and Jackson observed that international migration is occurring on an unprecedented scale, altering the demographics of classrooms and neighbourhoods. Migrants from developing countries bring ideas, practices, and skills that shape their integration into host societies (Boix Mansilla & Jackson, 2011). According to international remittance statistics, in 2022, India, Mexico, China, and the Philippines were the top recipients of remittances, with the United States and other high-income countries as primary sources. Thus, the influence brought by international immigration plays different roles in China and Western societies.

Inspirations From the Tianxia System for Rethinking Global Competence

As previously mentioned, China's historical and cultural foundation differs significantly from that of the West, offering a wealth of theoretical possibilities that merit deeper exploration. This repositioning can facilitate a more nuanced understanding of global competence that aligns with China's unique cultural and social dynamics.

Valuing Individuals With Agency and Advancing Towards a Community With a Shared Future for Mankind

Western global competence theory often treats individuals as tools, neglecting the essence of human beings. In contrast, traditional Chinese frameworks centre on the individuals with agency as the starting point and subject. The early Confucian classic *The Great Learning* outlines a path for cultivating an ideal Confucian personality, that is, investigating things, acquiring knowledge, making thoughts sincere, rectifying the heart, cultivating oneself, regulating the family, governing the state, and pacifying the world. This clearly defines a sequence of self-cultivation that relates the individual to the family, the country, and the world (Xu, 2015). By starting from the self and expanding

outward, it establishes a continuous framework encompassing family, country, and world. Mencius reinforces this idea, stating, "The world is based on the country, the country on the family, and the family on the individual."(Zhu, 1987, p. 399) Although this aspiration of "family, country, and world" is expansive, it fundamentally emphasises inward self-cultivation and the individual's conscious social responsibility (Lou, 2020), gradually extending outward to encompass the responsibilities and ideals of family, country, and world, thus achieving unity within this framework (Xu, 2015).

However, in traditional society, the self did not attain the authenticity or autonomy found in modern contexts. As social transformations occurred, the traditional framework was disrupted, leading to a disconnection of the self from the communal structure of family, country, and world. It created two possibilities, that is, individuals could either become subservient to a modern Leviathan state or adopt nihilistic tendencies (Xu, 2015). Thus, the theoretical reconstruction of global competence must fully integrate China's cultural traditions and practical needs, re-examine the individual, and appropriately position the self while building meaningful connections.

Within the continuous framework of "cultivating oneself to pacifying the world," both the "self-cultivation" and "pacifying the world" are crucial (Xu, 2017, p. 4). A deficiency at the individual level can undermine political protections for autonomy, while a lack at the world level can weaken the global political system (Zhao, 2016). Self-cultivation emphasises personal virtue, moral self-cultivation, and character improvement. Confucianism provides methods for self-cultivation, including "benevolence starts from oneself," "nurturing the heart," "introspection," "careful thinking and solitude," and "learning and practice," which encompass both moral awareness and moral behaviour (Du & Guo, 2008, p. 58). This cultural tradition is deeply rooted in Chinese society, making the act of establishing virtue and cultivating people a fundamental educational task. As individuals grow and engage in a complex relationship with the family and country, they undergo a process of re-embedding that shapes them (Xu, 2015).

With respect to pacifying the world, the ancient Chinese concept of Tianxia (close to the world) holds both abstract and concrete meanings, requiring the mediation of family and country to connect the individual with the world (Xu, 2015). Historically, Tianxia represented a hierarchical pattern centred on China. Although traditional Tianxia had its limitations, its value is universal and humanistic, not confined to a specific nation or country (Xu, 2015), which lays the groundwork for advancing towards a community with a shared future for mankind.

This aligns with China's current concept of building a community of a

shared future for mankind. On March 23, 2013, President Xi Jinping first introduced this concept to the international community. On June 22, 2018, he emphasised the need to "maintain world peace and promote common development to build a community with a shared future for mankind" (Xi, 2018, p. 538). This concept extends from China to the region and then to the world, requiring a focus on China while remaining globally aware. In summary, the concept of a community with a shared future for mankind emphasises that every country has the right to development and advocates for joint cooperation, mutual benefit, and win-win situations. It prioritises the fundamental rights of all nations and individuals, seeking to establish common ground for a better world. The central methodology involves "transcending civilisational divides through cultural exchange, transcending civilisational conflicts through mutual learning, and transcending notions of civilisational superiority through co-existence, thereby fostering mutual understanding, respect, and trust among all countries." (Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, 2023)

Viewing the World Through the Tianxia System Perspective and Pursuing All-Inclusive Co-Existence

In response to the one-sided understanding of the term *global* in Western global competence theory, the wisdom inherent in the traditional Chinese concept of Tianxia may offer a valuable solution.

In this new Tianxia framework, the true notion of *global* or *world* encompasses a trinity of meanings: geographical, social-psychological, and political. First, Tianxia signifies all the land beneath the sky, encompassing the entire world. Second, it represents the collective identity and shared aspirations of people worldwide, highlighting that this "identity and will of the people" holds greater significance than mere land ownership (Zhao, 2016, p. 61). Third, Tianxia pertains to the global political system, which defines the integrity and sovereignty of the world, thereby forming a complete political entity. This marks the intersection of the natural world, the social-psychological realm, and the political landscape (Zhao, 2016).

The new Tianxia System emphasises Peitian (respecting nature), which entails using institutional power to limit human actions that could lead to dire consequences, particularly those stemming from uncontrollable technological and political ventures. This ensures the survival and safety of humanity (Zhao, 2016). The guiding principle of Peitian aligns with the natural order, aiming for the flourishing of all life and achieving *shengsheng* (continuous and eternal growth) (Zhao, 2016).

The Tianxia concept encourages viewing the world as a political entity,

analysing issues through a holistic lens to outline a political order that reflects the realities of globalisation. This new Tianxia system is rooted in a co-existence ontology, positing that co-existence precedes existence. Without co-existence, existence itself is unattainable (Zhao, 2016). Achieving co-existence requires all-inclusiveness, which means eliminating externalities and fostering a world that genuinely accommodates diversity (Zhao, 2016, p. 25). Modern enemy-friend politics tends to emphasise division, seeking to identify and confront external threats, often creating new enemies through imagination. This divisive logic is incompatible with the goals of the new Tianxia system, which advocates for the elimination of the concepts of *outsider* and *enemy*. Instead, this framework envisions the world as an integral political unit, where no one is deemed an unacceptable outsider and no nation, culture, or identity is seen as an irreconcilable adversary. Here, any externality is treated as a challenge to be addressed rather than an enemy to be conquered. This stable cycle of virtuous co-existence fosters the realisation of an all-inclusive world (Zhao, 2016). Thus, co-existence and all-inclusiveness are interdependent, complementing one another in the pursuit of a diverse and integrated world order.

Sticking to Relational Rationality and Promoting the Unification of Knowing and Doing

Existing Western global competence theory often implies a binary logic rooted in individual rationality, which can exacerbate the *Us versus Them* division. To address this, the new Tianxia System Theory proposes a principle of relational rationality. This approach integrates relational rationality alongside individual rationality, with each playing a distinct role in reflecting different facets of rationality.

Modern individual rationality typically means that each person seeks to maximise their own interests, calculating gains and losses with a consistent preference order. While this concept is effective in idealised scenarios, it is ultimately incomplete and short-sighted, as it fails to account for the interactive and future-oriented nature of relationships. Individuals exist within relational contexts; without this co-existence, true existence cannot occur. If one adopts a harming-others-for-self-benefit strategy, they may achieve short-term goals. However, when this strategy becomes common knowledge through universal imitation, it can lead to collective irrationality. Thus, individual rationality is truly rational only when it aligns with collective rationality, which must be effective across interactions. Here, relational rationality complements individual rationality, allowing for a balance through competition and co-existence, while emphasising the minimisation of mutual harm (Zhao, 2016).

Relational rationality serves as a guiding principle, establishing benchmarks for navigating complex contradictions and articulating fundamental ethical standards. To effectively implement this principle, we can draw on the doctrine of the mean from cultural traditions, which provides methodological guidance. It offers a more pragmatic approach for interpersonal interactions and problem solving. It encourages a comprehensive understanding of issues by recognising their interdependence and mutual constraints while pursuing moderation.

Furthermore, in Western global competence theory, knowing and doing have not reached a point of unification. This raises important questions: What is the relationship between knowing and doing? Is doing meaningful without knowing, or knowing without doing? The Chinese cultural tradition emphasises the unification of knowing and doing, providing insight into these questions. Chinese classics like *Zuozhuan* highlight the importance of both. In Confucian self-cultivation, principles such as "studying extensively, inquiring diligently, thinking carefully, discerning clearly, and practicing earnestly" emphasise that knowledge must be translated into action (Du & Guo, 2008, p. 58).

Wang Yangming formally articulated the unification of knowing and doing, challenging the views of Cheng-Zhu. Wang proposed that doing is the foundation of knowing and true knowledge only emerges through action. He stated, "There is no knowledge without action. To know and not to act is not yet to know." (Chen, 2017, p. 19) Wang's framework also blurs the line between intention and action, suggesting that psychological activities, such as likes and dislikes, belong to the domain of action. He believed that "as long as you know where a thought starts, there is knowledge, and there is also action," (Chen, 2017, p. 119) highlighting that the desire to act is itself a form of intention that initiates action.

From these perspectives, the unification of knowing and doing encompasses more than mere concepts of knowledge and action. It involves the bridge of one's will (intention) and their capability, creating a continuous spectrum from knowledge to action. The development of morality, as a foundation for self-cultivation, plays a crucial role in this process, supporting and driving the interplay between knowledge and action.

Reconstruction of a New Global Competence Model

In response to the shortcomings of Western global competence theory and by integrating insights from Chinese cultural traditions and practical needs, we

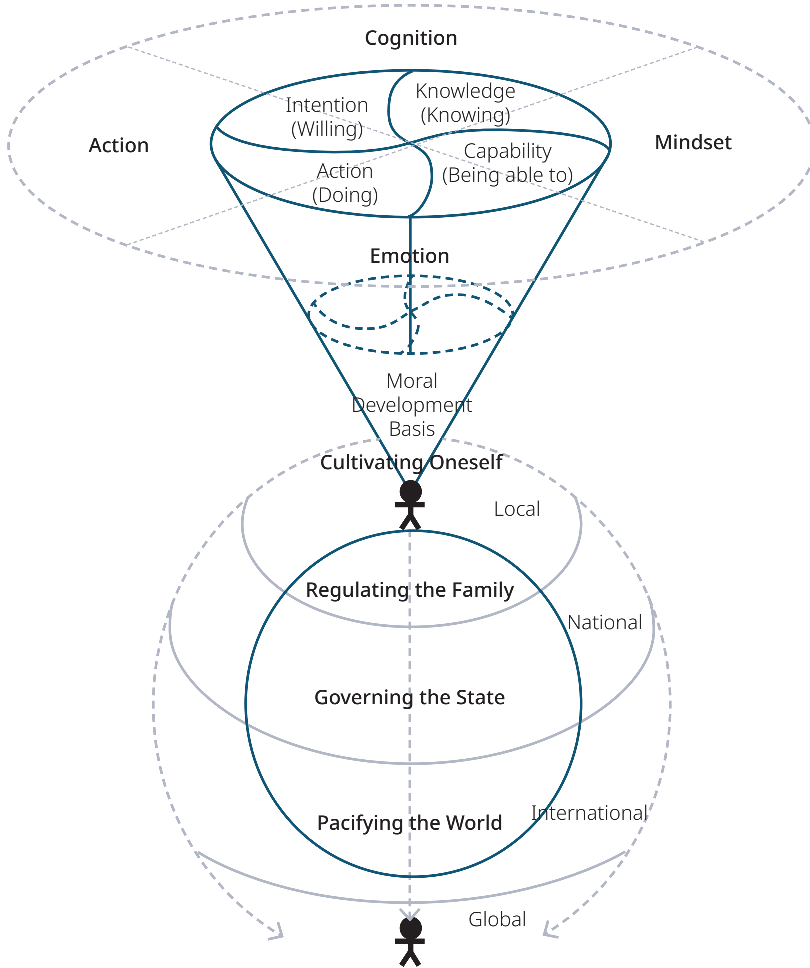

Figure 3.2 *The New Global Competence Model*

propose a new model of global competence within the Chinese context, as illustrated in Figure 3.2. This preliminary model seeks to address the unique challenges and opportunities present in promoting global competence in China.

Concept Definition

The reconceptualised global competence refers to the individual as an open entity, grounded in moral development and initiated through self-cultivation. Drawing on the pursuit of unifying cognition, emotion, mindset, and action in Chinese culture, this model integrates knowledge (knowing), intention

(willing), capability (being able to), and action (doing) into a holistic one. It adheres to the principle of relational rationality within the framework of family, state, and world. This competence operates across a spectrum of local, national, international, and global realms, facilitating movement towards a community with a shared future for mankind.

Key Dimensions and Their Interrelationships

Within this definition, two main levels emerge, reflecting the two ends of cultivating oneself and pacifying the world. The first level emphasises self-cultivation, while the second addresses the individual's co-existence within local, national, international, and global contexts. These levels are interconnected, representing a progression from inner development to outward engagement. An individual with global competence must continuously cultivate themselves while also stepping forward to connect with the world, highlighting the importance of agency at the core of this concept.

At the self-cultivation level, the moral development basis serves as the foundation and the four dimensions inspired by the unification of cognition, emotion, mindset, and action, that is, knowledge (knowing), intention (willing), capability (being able to), and action (doing) are integrated:

> **Knowledge (knowing):** this dimension requires individuals to acquire knowledge in areas such as language, culture, global issues, and the functioning of human society.
> **Intention (willing):** this dimension involves both the willingness to know and to act, fostering the growth of knowledge and the development of capability, and facilitating the transition from knowledge to action.
> **Capability (being able to):** this dimension emphasises enhancing literacy in mutual respect, problem solving at local and national levels, cross-cultural interactions, and global participation.
> **Action (doing):** this dimension is crucial for achieving practical results and for continuous improvement through feedback.

The interrelationship of these four dimensions can be summarised as follows: first, the value of knowledge must be affirmed as a prerequisite for enhancing intention, developing capability, and promoting action. Second, the transition from knowledge to capability and then to action necessitates the mediation of intention, which can be viewed as a broader form of knowledge. Lastly, action reinforces and promotes the development of intention, creating a feedback loop that consolidates a continuous cycle of transformation from knowledge to capability and ultimately to action.

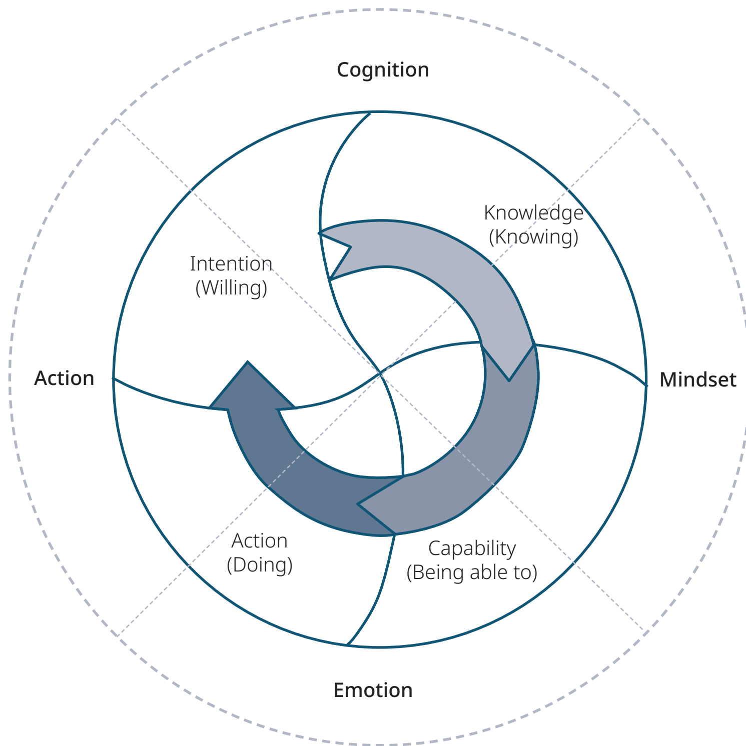

Figure 3.3 *The Self-Cultivation Level of the New Model*

In the second level, individuals must manage their relationships not only with themselves but also with others, paralleling their interactions with local, national, international, and global spheres. These relationships should be anchored in the principle of relational rationality, aiming towards a thriving community with a shared future for mankind and built on the foundation of all-inclusive co-existence. To be more specific, as is shown in Figure 3.3:

The relationships with the local community: it is the most accessible and immediate relationship for individuals. At this level, one's intention, knowledge, capability, and action are typically stronger due to familiarity and direct engagement.
The relationships with one's own country: similar to local relationships, this sphere operates within the framework of the nation-state, where individuals often have a greater understanding and connection.
The relationships with international society: engaging with this sphere involves crossing national boundaries, where emotions can be ignited,

leading to competitive or confrontational dynamics. Here, the principle of relational rationality becomes particularly crucial.

The relationships with global community: this relationship transcends national borders, fostering a stronger sense of commonality and internality. It aligns with the new Tianxia perspective, which emphasises the vision of a community with a shared future for humanity.

In navigating these relationships, the principle of relational rationality, which focused on minimising mutual harm, serves as a vital guideline. Additionally, the doctrine of the mean offers methodological guidance for interaction. By adhering to these principles, individuals can foster ideal all-inclusive co-existence, ultimately contributing to the concept of *shengsheng*, or continuous growth and flourishing.

Conclusion

The waters of the Yellow River and the Yangtze River will not flow backward. Rather than attempting to block or reverse the tide of globalisation, we should actively explore how to embrace this interconnected era. Global competence is the wisdom that education seeks to contribute to.

The theoretical reconstruction of global competence within the Chinese context addresses urgent local demands while also representing the Global South, offering potential paths for other developing countries to explore. This framework actively provides an approach from conflict to co-existence.

It is important to note, as Zhao Tingyang emphasises, that this reconstruction is not about delineating a predetermined way to success or crafting an idealised utopia. While humans can always envision more ideal concepts, reaching a consensus or common pattern among these ideas is challenging. Instead, this effort seeks to clarify the bottom line for humanity, aiming for co-existence without boundaries in this new world. It draws intentions from our historical context, establishes actionable boundaries, and fosters individuals with global competence in an open and dynamic manner.

Similarly, the community with a shared future for mankind we envision is not a political entity; it is an open intention where every person and every nation can find their place to thrive and achieve co-existence. The theoretical reconstruction of global competence in China represents a viable path towards our vision of a *Gongtuobang* (cosmopolitan community).

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4. Global Citizenship Education and Pacific Indigenous Ways of Being, Knowing and Doing: Exploring Possibilities

Tanya Wendt Samu

Abstract

This chapter explores global citizenship education (GCED) and considers global citizenship competencies through the lens of Pacific indigenous and philosophical perspectives. Such perspectives have been described by Sanga et al. (2022) as "ontological and epistemological gifts" from the Pacific "to those near and far who are interested in the dialectic of the local and global" (p. 434). Several key threads of thought (as gifts of Pacific knowing and being) are incorporated in the chapter in order to facilitate the interplay of *truths* between the local and global. These include a framework to help readers engage with Indigenous Knowledge in general terms, and provide insight into Pacific perspectives in particular, as well as the conceptualisation of terms such as *Pacific*, *Oceania*, *and Moana*, and the relationships that are built into such conceptualisations. A case for the need to present an argument for seeking Pacific youth voice and perspective for GCED and the development of global citizenship competencies is also provided.

Introduction

> *Moemoe a panako*[1]
> *The small fish which never goes properly to slee*p.

Reinterpreting and redefining global citizenship education (GCED), and then considering global citizenship competencies in the context of formal education and Pacific youth, is a challenging endeavour. Consider the diverse

complexities, let alone the expansiveness of a world region that covers one-third of the Earth's surface, features more water and languages than other world regions, and where oral tradition has been crucial for transmitting traditional knowledges, languages, and practices for aeons. *The Road Map to Implement UNESCO's Recommendation on Education for Peace, Human Rights and Sustainable Development in Asia-Pacific* describes the Asia-Pacific region in terms of strengths such as "rich social, political, economic, religious and cultural diversity and a strong sense of communal, connected values and responsibilities" (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation [UNESCO], 2024, p. 2). If applied solely to Pacific-specific contexts and settings, I wholeheartedly agree with this description.

The Asia-Pacific Road Map also identifies "unique challenges" in the Asia-Pacific region, such as "… numerous threats to its peace, human rights, equity, cultural diversity, and sustainability, particularly regarding the growing impacts of climate change" (UNESCO, 2024, p. 2). Again, these would be applicable if one took a Pacific-specific gaze. Other sources that report on the challenges experienced by Pacific island states include human security, transnational drug trafficking, geopolitical competition (McCready, 2024), as well as inter-communal conflict (for some island states) and very youthful national populations (Vision of Humanity, n.d.).

Context and Purpose

The Asia-Pacific Road Map is designed to support the UNESCO's Member States in the Asia-Pacific region to implement the aforementioned recommendation developed in November 2023. Member state representatives recognised the "urgent need" to "… *educate* [emphasis added] for peace, human rights, and sustainable development to enable peaceful and mutually societal transformations" (p. 2). Several important factors should be taken into account for such an education, including how "… global challenges … are intricately intertwined with local realities and manifested in particular ways within those local contexts" (UNESCO, 2024, p. 2). This chapter explores what this might mean and what could be involved for Pacific communities if Indigenous Pacific perspectives are utilised. Such perspectives have been described by Sanga et al. (2022, p. 434) as "ontological and epistemological gifts" from the Pacific "… to those near and far who are interested in the dialectic of the local and global." According to our APCEIU project proposal (2024, p. 2), context is the site where GCED finds meaning, "becoming a living education in local realities." Sanga et al. (2022, p. 448) offer this aspirational purpose of education, which is "to live well together". I suggest this as a starting point for the

consideration of both a Pacific-centric conceptualisation of global citizenship, and in turn, GCED.

Positioning and Organisation

I am Samoan through my father and Māori (Ngati Kahungunu)[2] through my mother. In this chapter, I situate myself as an academic practitioner-scholar of the Pacific/Oceania/Moana.[3] My main field of research, teaching, and service is education, particularly the development and well-being of Pacific-heritage peoples in Pacific countries and nations as well as the diaspora. I have carried out this work for over 30 years while based at a New Zealand university. As a member of this APCEIU project "Redefining Global Citizenship Competencies from Asia-Pacific Perspectives," I was invited to reinterpret and reconceptualise global citizenship from Pacific and other traditions of thought that have "flourished in the region and have the potential to contribute to overcoming tensions or shortcomings found in the existing conceptions of global citizenship" (APCEIU, 2024, p. 5). I seek to build a broad, contextual bridge between the Asia-Pacific Road Map and the possibilities of GCED within Pacific countries and nations.

This chapter was written with two broad audiences in mind. First, those located outside of the Pacific region whose knowledge and understanding of the Pacific is generalised. For the second broad audience, I see two subgroups: educators, policymakers, and scholars located geographically *within* the Pacific region; and those located in the northeast and southwest margins of the Pacific Ocean, such as Australia, New Zealand, Hawaii, and the United States, where significant numbers of Pacific peoples have settled. I expect there will be people within all groups who are unfamiliar with Pacific Indigenous perspectives and world views.

Four sections follow this introduction. The first section describes key features of Indigenous Knowledge and education; locates the primary sources of Indigenous Pacific theorising used in this chapter; and considers the implications for GCED. The second section draws on Pacific indigenous perspectives to conceptualise the Pacific, Pacific peoples, and their relationships. The third section draws attention to Pacific youth. The aforementioned UNESCO Road Map emphasises the importance of "substantive youth participation" concerning Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) 4, or the "Education SDG" (2024, p. 2). This perspective may not be shared by education decision-makers in some Pacific contexts and settings. Hence, the need to present an argument for seeking Pacific youth voice and perspective for GCED and the development of global citizenship competencies. The fourth section weaves intellectual insights and ancestral wisdoms into an exploratory discussion of the

possibilities for Pacific-centric GCED and competencies. The chapter ends with a reflective commentary, rather than a set of conclusions.

Indigenous Pacific Ways of Knowing, Doing and Being—and Global Citizenship Education Development

> *Fakataufata e mafiti he gutu mo e gahua he tau lima*[4]
> *When you speak with authority, make sure you follow through with actions.*

Villegas et al. (2008) investigated five decades of *Harvard Educational Review* (*HER*) journal articles. They searched for articles that

> … engaged in questions of knowledge and epistemological beliefs, offering insight into the importance of local and Indigenous ways of knowing and exemplars of how communities formed their education systems according to a specific set of values and ways of knowing. (p. 1)

They intended for the volume of essays and articles they compiled as a result of their research to introduce and engage a broader audience to some of the "domains, practices, and possibilities for Indigenous Knowledge in education" (p. 1). They articulated three goals for their study and subsequent publication: to introduce the concept of Indigenous Knowledge (IK); to provide an argument for the importance of engaging with IK in terms of education; and to explain the organisation of their book's content into the three broad sites of IK education. The types of sites were sites of strength, sites of struggle, and sites of survivance. I have drawn on Villegas et al.'s (2008) work to ensure readers have a shared understanding of how I have positioned indigeneity, Indigenous Knowledge, and IK education.

What Does Indigenous Knowledge Mean in This Chapter?

Villegas et al. (2008) made it clear that the conception of IK they subscribed to ensured that it (IK) was not an object to be "possessed, controlled or owned, and neither was it something that belonged to a 'traditional' past" (p. 2). They stated that knowledge from an Indigenous perspective "… is living, dynamic, active and fundamentally about our connections to each other and [the] world" (p. 2). In short, "The very expression of Indigenous Knowledge is inextricably linked to the relationships it emerges from. Thus, the significance of this kind of knowledge lies in both being and acting - being in relationship to and acting

in relationship with" (p. 2). The relational nature of IK recognises connections to people (both the living and the deceased) and plants, animals, and natural features (such as rivers, mountains, islands, and oceans).

Why Is Indigenous Knowledge Necessary in Terms of Education?

IK in education is essentially about action and authority (reflecting the proverb from Niue that begins this section). To have mana, or authority, means having sufficient depth and breadth of one's Indigenous Knowledge to theorise (and express ideas) and act accordingly (as in practice experiences). Villegas et al. (2008) explain that identifying and appreciating IK and education becomes more apparent when connecting to education practice and research (p. 3). This is particularly crucial in aspiring for an education system that is "a living education in local realities" (APCEIU, 2024, p. 2) and essential for the aspiration "to live well together" (Sanga et al., 2022, p. 448).

What Is Meant by "Sites" of Indigenous Knowledge Education in This Chapter?

"Site" is conceptualised as a place or location in which "… Indigenous education emerges from local ways of knowing, which are grounded in the values and insights of a local community" (Villegas et al., 2008, p. 3). It can be a physical place, a relational space, or even a digital space. For example, it could be a traditional maneaba (meeting house) in the heart of a Kiribati village. It could also be a relational space with distinctive cultural codes of behaviour and interaction. For example, the relationship between brothers and sisters in traditional Samoan families is known as the feagaiga, or sacred brother-sister covenant. Beliefs and practices confirm the revered status of the sister within the aiga (extended family) (Fepuleai, 2016). In addition, contemporary sites of IK learning involve the innovative uses of social media and digital technologies. For example, my extended family used to have a closed group website in which family histories, stories, and photos were shared with members spread across the globe.

Villegas et al. (2008) identified three specific types of sites of and for IK education. Sites of struggle are when aspects of education are in tension and are problematic. This includes school curriculum and the location of Indigenous Knowledge and experience. The question then becomes: Whose knowledge is valued (or devalued)—or even absent—within it? And whose language is privileged and why? Some sites are sources of strength. These are sites within which IK is used to "foster education based on their ways of knowing" (Villegas, et al., 2008, p. 4) and, by such approaches, nurture a sense of identity and belonging. A powerful example is the Kohanga Reo movement

that began in 1982 in Aotearoa New Zealand. (Aotearoa is the Maori name for New Zealand. In this chapter I opt for using both names together when referring to this country).[5] The fundamental purpose of these Māori immersion early childhood "language nests" was to curb language and cultural loss. The Kohanga Reo movement was a Māori initiative—for Māori and by Māori. The third type of site is survivance, a motivation that "describes the human drive for education and the vital purpose of exploring worldviews and epistemologies in education" (p. 4). Survivance is not a well-known term. Villegas et al. stated that the term "… evokes the relationship between past, present, and future through themes of remembrance, regeneration and envisioning" (p. 209). It is motivation profoundly shaped by historic events and experiences (often of a traumatic nature).

I now turn to a discussion of this chapter's primary sources of authority, because comprehensive coverage of Indigenous Pacific ways of knowing, doing, and being was not feasible given the parameters of the project that led to this chapter. In the interests of pragmatism, I delineated the geographic and cultural scope of the Pacific knowledge holders that I bring into this exploration of GCED and the Pacific. First, I turned to Pacific thinkers, scholars, and academics who identify with island homelands with shared (albeit broad) socio-historical connections with either Britain and/or Aotearoa New Zealand or Australia. Second, I sought those who have published in English, as English is one of the main languages of intercultural communication within the Pacific region. It is the primary language in some Pacific Island countries or the second language in others (Siegal, 1996). This meant closing off the Federated States of Micronesia in the Pacific Northwest, the French territories of New Caledonia and Wallis and Futuna (central-southwest), and French Polynesia (to the southeast). Rapanui, administered by Chile and located in the far-flung east, was also closed off from consideration.

The Elder Scholars of the South Pacific

> *Kotahi te kākano, he nui ngā hua o te rākau*.[6]
> *A tree comes from one seed but bears many fruits*.

First-generation Pacific thinkers, scholars, and academics, publishing in English, began to emerge in the southwest Pacific in the late 1970s and early 1980s. In this chapter, I defer and refer to them as the Pacific's elder scholars. Interestingly, several of these elder scholars were academic staff within the first regional university established in the region, the University of the South Pacific (USP), based in Suva, Fiji. USP was established in 1968. It was an

essential step towards the future autonomy of Pacific nations, several of which were either on the cusp of or in the process of independence. In other words, it was a strategy for human capital development for small island countries. According to USP's website[7] :

> After five decades, USP is a source of immense pride for the region, which has nurtured its development from simply being an autonomous university in the area to its current status as a world-class tertiary provider, research institution, and development organization designed to meet the needs and address the priorities of its Member Countries in an affordable, future-oriented manner that values and celebrates Pacific history, cultures and the natural environment. (2024)

The governments of 12 Pacific countries own USP: the Cook Islands, Fiji, Kiribati, Marshall Islands, Nauru, Niue, Samoa, Solomon Islands, Tokelau, Tonga, Tuvalu, and Vanuatu. The Aotearoa New Zealand and Australian governments have also been in partnership (as donors and via development projects) with USP since it began. As a regional tertiary institution with explicit aims to support social and economic development within individual Pacific nations, USP has understandably played a role in developing a shared regional identity.

Initially, USP staffing comprised expatriate academics from Britain and other Commonwealth nations, including Aotearoa New Zealand and Australia. However, by the mid- to late 1970s, academic staffing and leadership within USP reflected Pacific countries themselves. Several influential voices arose from the humanities, social sciences, and arts, critically reflecting on emerging issues and concerns within their home island nations and those shared within the region. One well-known Pacific voice was Albert Wendt (Samoan), regarded internationally[8] as one of the world's leading (Pacific) indigenous novelists and academics. His academic career began with USP in 1974 and continued until 1987.

In a seminal essay entitled "The New Oceania," Albert Wendt (1976) described the rise in critical voices from within the Pacific (particularly from those who were artists and writers) as "… a revolt against the hypocritical/ exploitative aspects of our traditional/commercial and religious hierarchies, colonialism and neo-colonialism and the degrading values being imposed from outside and by some elements in our own societies" (p. 59). Referring to the Pacific, he positioned himself as if the ocean was a female deity and described the nature of this region thus:

> I will not pretend that I know her in all her manifestations. No one – not even our gods – ever did; no one does (UNESCO 'experts and consultants' included); no one ever will because whenever we think we have captured her, she has already assumed new guises – the love affair is endless, even her vital statistics, as it were, will change endlessly. In the final instance, our countries, cultures, nations, and planets are what we imagine them to be. One human being's reality is another's fiction. (Wendt, 1976, p. 49)

Epeli Hau'ofa[9] (Tongan, Fijian) was another Pacific thinker and scholar. His career at USP spanned 37 years and in 1985 he wrote an essay entitled "The Future of Our Past," in which he sought to challenge the "educated, relatively wealthy urban-based local elites … locally instrumental in deciding the directions of change" (Hau'ofa, 1985, p. 163). He considered them paradoxically as both a potential threat to the survival of "the indigenous elements of traditions" and potential change agents drawing on "the rich heritage from the past" (p. 166) to produce new images and new voices for the Pacific. The spatial focus for both Wendt and Hau'ofa at the time of their respective publications (the late '70s, mid-'80s) was, without doubt, their Pacific home nations and that part of the Pacific region that involved their professional lives. At the time, their essays reflected the growing sense of political, economic, and cultural connection as Pacific peoples "towards" the rest of the world, including recognition of adverse external influences, particularly those from powerful and influential colonial/former colonial nations of the Pacific Rim, such as New Zealand, the United States, and Australia. If we were to apply Villegas et al.'s (2008) typology of sites of IK education, then as first-generation Pacific thinkers, theirs's was a site of struggle.

Serving as Academic Wayfinders

> *O le ala I le pule o le tautua*[10]
> *The path to authority is through service.*

The seminal essays and other creative works by elder scholars inspired and influenced subsequent generations of Pacific thought leaders and practitioners from various fields, disciplines, and professions, including myself in Pacific education (Samu, 2010, 2023). Those of us in these subsequent generations are now well established and playing a leading role in our respective fields. Interestingly, many of us are located at metropolitan universities in Pacific Rim nations like Aotearoa New Zealand (and not only within the Pacific

region). When we started in this field in the mid- to late 1990s, we represented some of the few Pacific people in our respective fields at the time. It was an intimidating position to be in. I once described this experience (Samu, 2010) and the importance of the work of the Pacific elder scholars as follows:

> I have looked up, out, and away from the metropolitan setting in which I live and the academy in which I work, searching for ideas and insights that I can draw on from Pacific thinkers, scholars, and academics, particularly from those who have established formidable regional and international reputations….
>
> Although these thinkers were responding to circumstances and conditions of another time and place, their ideas can serve as conceptual tools that can lift and illuminate our thinking about ourselves and our multiple realities within the metropolitan societies that we now live within and contribute to….
>
> As educators located in universities in Pacific Rim nations, their ideas and insights not only enable us to think in alternative and uniquely 'Pacific' ways, but they also lend credibility and support to our tentative (and under-exposed) efforts to create our own paradigms of meaning and analysis. (p. 2)

The words of our first-generation Pacific elder scholars metaphorically became like different components of our traditional navigation systems and processes, just as the ocean swells, the flight patterns of certain birds, and the stars in the night sky used to serve. We who looked up and out towards them to become Pacific academic wayfinders also learnt how to read the unfamiliar territory of Western academia and how to guide others through it. We learnt through the example of our elder scholars about the importance of mentoring and capacity-building of Pacific-heritage students, and about working within our organisations to help them become more inclusive and to develop and grow our fields and disciplines, particularly in terms of positioning Pacific Indigenous Knowledge as valid and legitimate.

Nurturing the Niu Thinkers

> *Luta na niu, lutu ki vuna*[11]
> *A coconut falls close to its roots*.

"Niu" means "new" in different forms of Melanesian pidgin, as in Papua New Guinea, Vanuatu, and the Solomon Islands. In some Pacific languages,

niu refers to the young coconut sprout. Robust, resilient, and hardy, much of what a niu requires to sprout into a seedling comes from within. If a niu has fallen from a mature coconut tree and eventually sprouts, it will be sheltered and protected by the mature trees surrounding it. The niu, or young coconut, is sometimes used metaphorically to refer to new and emerging contributors to a field or occupation. One of the first examples of such usage is an anthology edited by Selina Tusitala Marsh, an academic wayfinder in Pacific literature. Published in Aotearoa New Zealand in 2006, it was a collection of poetry, short stories, and novel extracts by then new and upcoming writers of Pacific heritage. The anthology was entitled *Niu Voices: Contemporary Pacific Fiction* (Marsh, 2006). The niu, as a metaphor, recognises that sources of internal strength include culture, language, and identity, with older and more experienced people surrounding those who are new. They mentor, guide, and protect them in their journey of development.

Another illustrative example is the collaboration between Dr Jacoba Matapo and colleague and doctoral candidate Tim Baice—a relationship of an academic wayfinder collaborating with an innovative niu thinker. Based in Auckland, New Zealand, with shared formal responsibilities to support Pacific-heritage students within their university faculty (in the feilds of education and social work), they argued that strategies for supporting student success are laudable decolonising education processes that "... honored cultural onto-epistemology (practices of knowing-in-being) and relating to the world" (Matapo & Baice, 2020, p. 26). Their research sought the perspectives of Pacific academic staff and students, but purposefully avoided privileging the primary forms of knowing involved with qualitative research: rational thought, ordered thinking (theoretical deduction), and representation. Instead, they sought "... intentional engagement with traditional wayfinding materials in art-making," recognising "sense as knowing." In other words, deeply internalised feelings are responses, forms of knowing "that escape stratified language signification" (Matapo & Baice, 2020, p. 28). In exploring Pacific staff and students' notions of success in the tertiary education space, expressions based on deeply experienced "knowing that is grounded in the belly" (p. 28) emerged via the research design. These expressions took the form of poetry as well as stories that emerged whilst participants created Marshallese shell maps.

In their study, participants were brought together in small groups and learnt (through doing) how to make Marshallese shell maps. Such maps were once made and used by expert master navigators to teach prospective navigators about ocean swells and the location of islands. In this teaching and learning process, discussions about Indigenous navigation methods (wayfinding) and participants' experiences informed perspectives about "success" in the tertiary

context. Matapo and Baice draw attention to the notion of "co-evolution," in which humans evolve in relationship to each other as part of an overarching creation of that which is human, non-human, and connected to the past and present. They described this as a "symbiotic spiritual exchange" and drew attention to the "embodied nature of navigation." They quote Spiller et al. (2015) :

> The whole body is perceptive, attuning to the changing and often seemingly imperceptible signs of nature. They move with purposeful stillness and know the world around them as they know themselves. Theirs is a highly disciplined way based on using all their senses and different types of intelligence to truly 'see' what is going on – and processing these signs to understand the relationships between them. (Matapo & Baice, 2020, p. 29)

One critical insight from Matapo and Baice's (2020) study is the conceptualisation of self in Pacific societies and cultures. They refer to Vaai and Nabobo-Baba (academic wayfinders currently located in tertiary institutions in Fiji) theorising about the self and explain that it "... is always a relational self, that

Figure 4.1 *Global Citizenship From a Pacific-Centric Perspective*

is, one constituted by relations, in which the relational self is the part of the whole and the whole part of the self that is irreducible to the sum of its parts" (p. 33).

When Pacific indigenous understandings and values are sought and integrated into education initiatives for Pacific-heritage learners and communities, complex realities surface and are more likely to be understood and then responded to in more relevant ways. Matapo and Baice cite one of their academic participants, who stated, "Spirit, space, and stewardship, it's about knowing where we come from, that kind of spiritual grounding, [for] why we do our work" (2020, p. 33). Matapo and Baice believed the statement provided a practical, overall summary of the critical values identified by the Pacific participants in the study.

Implications for a Pacific-Centric Approach to Global Citizenship Education

I draw readers' attention to three important points. The first relates to the notion of global citizenship itself. A Pacific-Centric approach is likely to differ in fundamental ways. Figure 4.1 compares some of these differences with Matapo's (2019) critique of UNESCO's conception of global citizenship.

The second relates to the challenge of presenting an authentic, singular Indigenous perspective for a vast, culturally, and linguistically diverse region with complex colonial histories, such as the Pacific region. This was why it

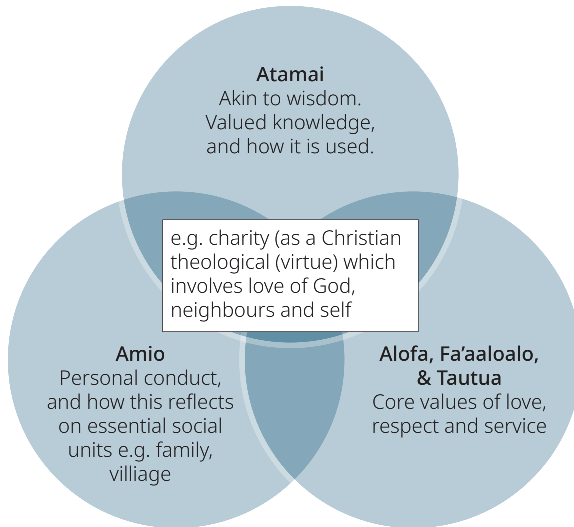

Figure 4.2 *GCED Domains From a Samoan-Centric Perspective*

was necessary to delineate the parameters of the main sources informing this chapter. Having said this, as a purely speculative exercise, I have considered what a Samoan framing or Samoan-centric GCED domains might look like (refer Figure 4.2). The Samoan concepts (as domains) overlap each other in terms of meaning. They cannot be understood as stand-alone concepts (unlike the GCED domains listed in the chart). The Samoan concepts (Figure 4.2) would serve as a bridge towards making sense of the global domains articulated in the box below:

Knowledge (Cognitive)

Knowledge about *global citizenship* such as understanding human rights, social justice, and sustainable development

Socio-Emotional (Affective)

positive attitudes and values related to *global citizenship*, such as respect for diversity, empathy, and solidarity

Behavioural (Psychomotor)

competencies needed to take action as a *global citizen* such as critical thinking, problem solving, and effective communication

The third insight relates to the relative ease of people from different Pacific Island nations to come together and willingly collaborate and, in some instances, subscribe to a shared regional identity as Pacific peoples. One of the first Pacific regional organisations to facilitate this was the South Pacific Commission (SPC), established in 1943. Then there was the aforementioned University of the South Pacific (USP), which was established in 1968 as a regional university. According to Groves (2020), it was intended to "… reduce the dependence of new states on expatriate teachers and administrators and to build a spirit of Pacific island identity," both of which were important given that decolonisation in the Pacific was well underway by then (p. 1). The establishment of the Pacific Islands Forum (PIF)[12] in 1971 reflects a similar purpose: "It brings the region together to address pressing issues and challenges, and foster collaboration and cooperation in the pursuit of shared goals" (PIF, n.d.). In practical terms, when small island states speak as a collective, they are more likely to be noticed within the global arena. It is interesting to note that the SPC changed its name to Pacific Community in 1997, a significant decision that reflected the desire by North Pacific member island countries (such as Palau and the Marshall Islands) to have a name that more

accurately reflected the organisation's espoused pan-Pacific features.

In addition to regional Pacific organisations, there are significant sporting and cultural events. The South Pacific Games (now Pacific Games) began in 1963 and are held every four years. It was last hosted in Honiara, in the Solomon Islands, in 2023. The four-year Pacific Arts Festival first occurred in Suva, Fiji, in 1972. The most recent festival took place in Honolulu, Hawaii, in July, 2024. These are truly Pacific in terms of scope and engagement, particularly the Pacific Arts Festival. Representative groups come from island homelands with considerably different political status: PIF members (independent island states); overseas territories of France, such as New Caledonia, French Polynesia; territories of the United States, such as Guam and American Samoa (an unincorporated territory); Rapanui, a territory of Chile; and Aboriginal peoples and Torres Strait Islanders as indigenous Australia and Māori as indigenous Aotearoa New Zealand. For almost two weeks every four years, the Pacific Arts Festival becomes a powerful site of strength for Pacific Indigenous Knowledge learning.

These are examples of collaboration and shared commitment across boundaries. These examples also reflect positive strengths identified by the Asia-Pacific Road Map (2024). Examples of a regional scale provide evidence of the capacity of Pacific peoples to promote sustainability, mutual understanding, and shared identity as Pacific peoples when necessary and when a shared common good or benefit is recognised. If we consider the possibility of developing global citizenship competencies that are authentic to localised contexts and settings and, at the same time, orientated towards global conditions and processes, these examples of regional collaboration warrant close examination.

Conceptualising Pacific Peoples, Places and Relationships

> *Ehara tāku toa i te toa takitahi, engari he toa takitini*[13]
> *My strength is not as an individual, but as a collective*.

The focus of this section is the powerfully enduring names that have been conceptualised for the Pacific and its peoples by Pacific thinkers. As concepts, these names have not only inspired Pacific artists, writers, and other creatives but also Pacific academics and academic practitioners. These conceptualisations have enabled alternative, liberating ways of seeing, responding to, and even changing our respective Pacific worlds. Why are such conceptions (as names) so important? According to renowned Indigenous Māori scholar

Linda Tuhiwai Smith (2004), the power to (re)name and foreground Indigenous perspectives of relationships to people, place and the past, is essential for producing "counter-hegemonic" conceptualisations. This is a manifestation of "the decolonisation project" (p. 5).

(Re)Naming Leads to (Re)Thinking the Pacific

Albert Wendt's conceptualisation of the Pacific as Oceania in 1976 provided readers with a powerful metaphorical vista of Pacific potential and possibilities if one were able to put aside the taken-for-granted and negative assumptions about our cultures, instilled by Westernised education, religion, capitalism, and colonialism. At the time, his was a radical, alternative, even dangerous Pacific worldview. He challenged conformist thinking, directing attention to the value of Indigenous Knowledge and practice. He argued that "we must discover and reaffirm our faith in the vitality of our past, our cultures, our dead, so that we may develop our own unique eyes, voices, muscles, and imagination" (Wendt, 1976, p. 51). His conceptualisation of Oceania did not advocate conservation of culture. Rather,

> Like a tree a culture is forever growing new branches, foliage and roots. Our cultures, contrary to the simplistic interpretation of our romantics, were changing even in pre-papalagi[14] times through inter-island contact and the endeavours of exceptional individuals and groups who manipulated politics, religions and other people. Contrary to the utterances of our elite groups, our pre-papalagi cultures were not perfect or beyond reproach. No culture is perfect or sacred even today. Individual dissent is essential to the healthy survival, development, and sanity of any nation – without it our cultures will drown in self-love. (p. 52)

Wendt (1976) did not advocate for the revival of past cultures, but rather "the creation of new cultures which are free of the taint of colonialism and based firmly on our own pasts" (p. 55) and free of racism. In some ways, the New Oceania he was promoting was something that was yet to emerge. It was the ultimate purpose of the cultural and social change he believed was needed.

In 1993, Epeli Hau'ofa took the concept of Oceania and proceeded to do more "re-thinking" and re-contextualising in order to deepen and expand both perspectival reach and capability. In his influential essay "Our Sea of Islands," Hau'ofa argued that Pacific Islanders were connected rather than separated by the sea. In other words the ocean around the islands of the Pacific connects us, moves us, and shapes our identities.

In 1998, Hau'ofa expanded his conceptualisation of Oceania even further,

writing:

> … a much enlarged world of Oceania that has emerged through the astounding mobility of our peoples in the last fifty years (Hau'ofa, 1993). Most of us are part of this mobility, whether personally or through the movements of our relatives. This expanded Oceania is a world of social networks that crisscross the ocean all the way from Australia and New Zealand in the southwest, to the United States and Canada in the north-east. It is a world that we have created largely through our own efforts and have kept vibrant and independent of the Pacific Islands world of official diplomacy and neocolonial dependency. In portraying this new Oceania I wanted to raise, especially among our emerging generations, the kind of consciousness that would help free us from the prevailing, externally generated definitions of our past, present, and future. (1998, p. 392)

Hau'ofa's work challenged prevailing notions about the Pacific and Oceania and prescriptions for its economic and social development. He drew attention to major issues and challenges faced by Pacific Island countries and peoples and offered up alternative, unique ways of seeing and doing. In raising issues and drawing attention to them, he was not necessarily speaking directly to government officials, regional organisations, or aid agencies and organisations. I am inclined to think he was speaking to "us"—as in the so-called educated elites (by virtue of the university-level educational qualifications and subsequent professions we have successfully acquired). He referred to us, as in a previous essay, as the ones who were at high risk of exploiting our peoples or the ones who, if we took responsibility, were the ones who could ensure societal change (Hau'ofa, 1985). His essays promoted his ideas about the emergence of a stronger and freer Oceania, one in which he advocates for the "people of the sea" to actively strive to be custodians of the Pacific, the vast area of the world's largest body of water. According to the University of Hawaii Press,[15] Hau'ofa believed that "only through creative originality in all fields of endeavour can the people of Oceania hope to strengthen their capacity to engage the forces of globalization" (n.d.).

(Re)Thinking in Education Leads to Mana-Enhancing[16] Practices

As teacher educators, Siteine and I (2009) became concerned about the representation of Pacific peoples in texts and other resources being used in Aotearoa New Zealand classrooms. We were concerned about the array of available resources. We appreciated that classroom teachers in Aotearoa New

Zealand purchased resources, but often they created resources to support their classroom learning activities. We want to shape and influence teacher decision-making in both instances. We had cause to rethink curriculum and resources about and for Pacific peoples because of the work of Pacific elder scholars such as Wendt and Hau'ofa. We developed a simple typology to help teachers reflect carefully on their decision-making. We identified what we called the Small Island Perspective, the Tourist Approach, and the Oceanic Perspective. This referred to proposed topics and resources about the Pacific, and Pacific peoples, that students might engage with.

The Small Island Perspective refers to topics and resources that focus on certain features of small island states. For example, Doumerge (1983) identified 15 key features of small island states, which included geographic isolation, unique physical and biological features, a land area, and population size. Shaw (1982) identified level of income, economic development, and experience as an independent nation.

This perspective is problematic, particularly when these views are presented as the only perspective with which to view the smallness and "islandness" of Pacific countries. According to Hau'ofa (1993), if such views are

> not countered with opposite and more constructive views, [they] could inflict lasting damage on people's image of themselves, and on their ability to act with relative autonomy in their endeavor to survive reasonably well within an international system in which they have found themselves. It is a belittling view. (p. 4)

The Tourist Approach draws on a term raised by Jones and Derman-Sparks (1992). It refers the experience of "touring" students around the food, dress, and music of cultural groups. While students from the dominant culture are "presented with their heritage as part of the regular and accepted sequence of topics," then minority students (for example, of Pacific heritage) "put on [a] show" (Hill, 1994, p. 89) to illustrate topics dealing with their countries of origin. Unfortunately, a Tourist Approach is evident in many Aotearoa New Zealand publications for social studies teachers (Samu & Siteine, 2024). The activities that are included are unlikely to introduce students to the substantive issues associated with global issues of social justice and world enlargement, such as inequality and oppression, or give voice to silent histories. A "tourist" approach can serve to perpetuate the stereotypes, misrepresent the cultural realities, and undermine a sense of belonging and identity (Samu & Siteine, 2024).

We used the term Oceanic Perspective (Siteine & Samu, 2009) in the past, but recently we changed it to Pacific Perspective (Samu & Siteine, 2024) in order to align with terminology used by the Aotearoa New Zealand Ministry of Education (MOE). We understand the term to refer to Pacific worldviews and perspectives. To qualify as such, we look for features that align with Hau'ofa's conceptualisations. The Pacific, as "a sea of islands" rather than "islands in a far sea," is "a more holistic perspective in which things are seen in the totality of their relationships" (Hau'ofa, 1993, p. 7). An Oceanic or Pacific perspective is inclusive of ancient Pacific peoples' ways of seeing their world. As Hau'ofa (1993) declared:

> If we look at the myths, legends and oral traditions, and the cosmologies of the peoples of Oceania, it will become evident that they did not conceive of their world in such microscopic proportions … their world was anything but tiny. (p. 7)

An Oceanic Perspective of education can be developed even further. Wendt's conceptualisation of a New Oceania included counter-hegemonic features. An Oceanic Perspective encompasses new forms of expression and identity and can absorb creative 21st-century approaches for resolving issues and concerns of Pacific peoples in a range of crucial areas, including education, in the 21st century and in places inclusive of Pacific small island states and the Pacific diaspora.

Implications for a Pacific-Centric Understanding of Global Citizenship Education

A Pacific-centric perspective makes way for IK learning and Pacific perspectives. It does not displace Western science or other non-Pacific perspectives. However, an arguably Pacific-centric GCED would include Pacific knowledge and experience. It would also make space for the positioning of the self in relation to the new learning. Personal response is privileged when one is enabled to give voice to one's feelings, and how (and why) one experiences those feelings. This poem is by Penehuro Williams (2022), an emerging Spoken Word artist who is Samoan, born and raised in American Samoa, and now residing in the United States. He connects with the cold Pacific Ocean waters off the coast of California. Touching the sea comforts him because of the tangible and spiritual connection he believes it gives him to his faraway home.

> Telephone
> By Penehuro Williams

When I visit the U.S. west coast,
I make it a point to touch the Pacific Ocean.
Drumming against the cold water,
I pretend my ripples are morse code,
And the waves compose the longest game
Of "telephone" ever played

I imagine,
5000 miles to the southwest,
My ripples wash over the Samoan islands,
Reverberating *mana* through
The Pago Pago Harbor,
Before echoing back to my fingertips.

I pray to the Ocean for forgiveness,
As I often mistake her for a barrier,
When she has dutifully served as a bridge
Since my lineage conceived

About 3000 years ago,
She guided my ancestors to my homeland,
And I pray, one day,
She guides me home too

People of the Moana

Several Pacific scholars began to contest the use of the term Oceania, not so much because of the way elder scholars such as Wendt and Hau'ofa had conceptualised it, but in terms of its literal origins external to the Pacific and assocation with historical colonial associations. The critique, led by Hufanga 'Okusitino Mahina (2010), argued that a more suitable term, which would reflect prior conceptualisations, was "Moana." Moana is the word for "ocean" in many Polynesian languages. However, as McGavin (2014) points out, "its use may serve to alienate Melanesian and Micronesian people [who] neither use it nor have the word in their home Island's vocabulary" (p. 134). McGavin (situated as an Australian of New Guinea and New Zealand European heritage) also suggested that the growing academic popularity of "Moana"

> … is testament [to the] current dominance of Polynesian thought and involvement in matters [concerning] the Pacific. The advanced status of Māori and Pacific Islander academic affairs in New Zealand means that

> that country's sociopolitics of Islander identity heavily influences emergent constructions of Islander panethnicity in international academic settings. (p. 134)

Journalist Christine Rovoi reported on a 2019 conference session held in Auckland, New Zealand, in which Pacific scholars and artists discussed "Moana" as a replacement for "Oceania," examining how and why it was more suitable to identify "all Pasifika peoples, their lands, their waters and their cultures" (Rovoi, 2019, para. 2). She reports Hawaii-based Tongan scholar Tevita Ka'ili as saying that "Our history is communicated and expressed through symbols. And this is one of the symbols that we use to communicate that particular history. … And that history is a deep history because of our deep history to the moana and oceania" (para. 7).

What About Pacific Islanders, Pacific Peoples, Pasifika?

Pacific-heritage communities that have become established in Australia, the United States, and Aotearoa New Zealand via migration have been subject to the administrative practice of identifying people from various Pacific countries and nations (examples include Samoa, Tonga, Fiji, Cook Islands, Papua New Guinea, Cook Islands) and their descendants under broad pan-Pacific, pan-ethnic categories. They tend to be grouped together and identified as such on the basis of broad socio-cultural similarities. In Australia and the United States, Pacific-heritage peoples tend to be categorised as "Pacific Islanders" (McGavin, 2014; Samu, 2023). In the context of New Zealand, terms like "Pacific Polynesian" were used in the 1970s; "Pacific Islanders" in the 1980s; and "Pacific Nations peoples" in the 1990s (Samu et al., 2008). The terms "Pasifika peoples" or "Pasifika" were used by the country's Ministry of Education through the 2000s, up until mid-2018, in fact, when it changed to "Pacific peoples" (Samu, 2020).

These terms do not adequately capture the similarities between the different Pacific groups, and even less so with the differences, to the extent that the wider population may come to view Pacific-heritage populations as homogenous in terms of their cultures, languages, histories, and socio-economic status. Some of these terms have crossed over into academic spaces, and are utilised. Scholars have recognised the complexity and diversity of Pacific perspectives and experiences, and endevoured to conceptualise these terms. For example, Matapo (2019) has argued that "Pasifika" is "a transnational concept" (p. 104) It has come into usage in other contexts and settings of the Pacific diaspora such as Australia (see McGavin, 2014). Matapo stated that the term Pasifika "already demonstrates global border crossing of Pacific peoples

in their responsibilities and obligations, particularly interdependency within the collective and the sustained intergenerational connection to ancestral lands" (2019, p. 104). Thomsen et al. (2022) explained that those same people use Pacific, Pasifika, Moana and Moana-Oceania interchangeably in acknowledgement of the different terms and concepts that Pacific-heritage peoples (particularly scholars) use "to refer to our ocean, nations, region and part of our world. In doing so, we also acknowledge the diversity of realities that exist within our region without intending to collapse this under one label" (p. 347).

What About "the Blue Continent"?

In 2021, the aforementioned Pacific Islands Forum (PIF) released its 2050 Strategy for the Blue Pacific Continent. The focus areas or themes for PIF are detailed in the following strategy: political leadership and regionalism; people-centred development; peace and security; resources and economic development; climate change and disasters; technology and connectivity; and, to be expected, ocean and environment (PIF Secretariat, n.d.). These are global concerns but regionalised for the southwest Pacific. I draw attention to the name "the Blue Pacific Continent," which first emerged within PIF in 2017. Some sources use a shortened version of the name, such as "the Blue Pacific" (Pacific Legal Network, or PLN, n.d.) or "the Blue Continent" (Griffith Asia Institute, 2022). Regardless, according to Storey (n.d.), one of the main objectives of the strategy is

> … to ensure that the Pacific Island nations have a greater say in global affairs. The region has often been overlooked or marginalized in international decision-making processes….. [*sic*] By working together as a unified bloc, the Pacific Island nations can amplify their voices and make their concerns heard on the global stage. (n.d.)

According to the Center for Excellence in Disaster Management and Humanitarian Assistance (CFE-DM), based in the United States, the Blue Pacific Continent is both a mindset and a geographic region (2024). And while it has not emerged directly from Pacific intellectual theorising, sources like CFE-DM connect this contemporary, dynamic concept to Epeli Hau'ofa and his essays about how, for Pacific peoples, "navigating the ocean spaces between their islands meant that the water connected rather than separated them" (CFE-DM, 2024).

Harnessing Pacific Youth and the Voice of Students

Ka pū te rūhā, ka hao te rangatahi[17]
The old net is exhausted, and the new net goes fishing.

The focus of this section is Pacific youth. The Asia-Pacific Road Map provides succinct detail on where and how youth voice can be sought and youth involved and actively engaged. I am mindful of the hierarchal nature of many of the Pacific cultures I am familiar with, and the internal social organisation of the fundamental unit of most Pacific societies, which is the family, particularly the extended family. Authority often rests with older generations and younger members are expected to defer respectfully. Culturally socialised expectations of behaviour and conduct of those who are younger towards those who are older (and in more senior positions) extends out from families into organisations in wider society, such as with public service providers, government departments, and of course schooling. As expressed in the introduction of this chapter, some persuasion might be needed to encourage the inclusion of Pacific youth voice and perspective in the development of Pacific-centric GCED initiatives. In this section, I turn to an example of institutional policy that I am familiar with from the context of Aotearoa New Zealand and point out several key features that might be useful for Pacific-centric GCED policy development.

The Lalanga Fou Report: An Exemplar

In 2018, Aotearoa New Zealand's Ministry for Pacific Peoples (MPP), under a Labour-led government, released its *Pacific Aotearoa Lalanga Fou Report*. It provided a comprehensive strengths-based, future-focused description of Pacific peoples, positioning within Aotearoa New Zealand and intending to look "at ways to support current and future Pacific generations to be successful and to contribute, shape and maximise their participation in the future" of Aotearoa New Zealand (MPP, 2018, p. 8). This *Lalanga Report* identified four overarching goals: (i) thriving Pacific languages, cultures and identities; (ii) prosperous Pacific communities; (iii) resilient and healthy Pacific peoples; and (iv) confident, thriving and resilient Pacific young people. Rather than integrate youth needs and interests in a secondary layer within Goals 1–3, Pacific youth were accorded a policy space at the highest level. Goal 4 gave integrity to the *Lalanga Report*'s statement that "Our Pacific communities are *fast growing*, *young* [emphasis added] and dynamic, with untapped potential" (MPP, 2018, p. 8).

Unpacking the Lalanga Report's Goal 4: Strength-Based Support of Pacific Youth

The Ministry for Pacific Peoples undertook a comprehensive consultation process, seeking the views for Pacific young people located in different parts of New Zealand. This included smaller towns and rural areas in regions other than Auckland (where 60% of Pacific peoples in Aotearoa New Zealand live) and Wellington (second largest in terms of Pacific peoples population, at 15% of the total). The process ensured the inclusion of youth voice based on geographic distribution, as well as gender, LGBQTIA+, and (dis)ability not to mention Pacific-specific identities (e.g., different Pacific cultural groups that youth identified with, including multiple heritages). The consultation process informed the substance of Goal 4, and this is reflected in the language used to articulate the priority areas for action. If readers refer to the *Lalanga Report* (see reference list for link), they will see how Pacific youth have been visually (re)presented as dynamic, diverse, and celebrated. Readers can also ponder over the descriptions of four examples of youth initiatives that apparently reflect "confident, thriving and resilient Pacific young people," or Goal 4 (MPP, 2018, p. 51). The section headings for Goal 4 elaborate on four main features of Goal Four (or in other words, what Goal 4 aspires for Pacific youth). These are:

- Pacific young people are confident in their *identities* [emphasis added];
- Pacific young people have improve experiences in *education* [emphasis added];
- Pacific young people have better *pathways* [emphasis added] available in a broad range of careers;
- Youth *mental health and resilience* [emphasis added] is strengthened. (p. 42)

The source of these was the youth consultations that the MPP conducted. Apparently,

> Pacific young people were keen to share their views and opinions on matters ranging from identity, education, employment, racial stereotyping and mental health. They were generally pragmatic and solutions-focused with regards to the challenges they faced; particularly around "walking in two worlds", which required them to balance expectations in the many roles they play. (MPP, 2018, p. 44)

Implications and Insights for Pacific-Centric Global Citizenship Education and Competencies

This suggests that a carefully designed youth consultation process could be useful in the development of a Pacific-centric approach to GCED. The key themes also provide potential in terms of areas for competencies development. The theme of strengthening or drawing on cultural identity in order to develop youth confidence (involving the need to support the strengthening of knowledge of languages and culture) aligned closely with the need for more positive school-based education experiences. The Pacific youth voices were specific about the role of teachers and the need to have teachers "who understood them and their experiences" (MPP, 2018, p. 46). The Pacific students were born and raised in New Zealand, but they "talked about the desire to learn more Pacific history" within Aotearoa New Zealand (p. 49). The youth "recognised their responsibility to their families and community" and that being successful with schooling and then employment "means being able to also support their parents and families" (p. 49).

Interestingly, the last theme from the Pacific youth engagement was youth mental health and resilience. In New Zealand, in recent years, schools have become sites of health and well-being education, including mental health. Such topics are part of the school curriculum and wider Aotearoa New Zealand society has become more comfortable about discussing mental health well-being and illnesses alongside physical health and well-being. This has resulted in more open, less judgemental conversations. This might not be evident in either urban or rural locations in the societies of other Pacific Island nations, let alone the national curriculum of schools. The Aotearoa New Zealand Pacific youth voices that informed Goal 4 were specific. They "highlighted their concerns about depression and suicide. Alcohol and drug abuse, family violence and unemployment were all identified as affecting their mental well-being" (MPP, 2018, p. 50). The *Lalanga Report* (2018) sources the Ministry of Health (New Zealand) as stating in 2018 that Pacific young people in Aotearoa New Zealand are nearly twice as likely to have depression, anxiety issues, or make suicide attempts in comparison with the general population. These issues and concerns might be of similar importance to Pacific youth in Pacific Island nations.

A Note About Youth Development in the Pacific

I am not suggesting that Pacific communities within Pacific Island nations and within the Pacific diaspora do not already have active, long-serving youth development organisations at community, national, and regional levels. If one refers to The Pacific Community (SPC),[18] it is but one example of an influ-

ential organisation that is working with youth organisations throughout the region, supporting government and non-government agencies to "address the growing challenge of youth unemployment in an environment with limited opportunities for sustainable development" (SPC, 2017, para. 2) as well as other youth-related concerns and issues. Many of these youth-centred organisations provide opportunities for leadership development and facilitate youth voice being heard. However, according to SPC Human Development Advisor for Youth Mereia Carling, youth tend not to be included in national level government policy development because "Youth-related concerns are often treated as stand-alone issues, and addressed without consideration of root causes. In the long term these issues are more difficult to address due to the lack of engagement between partners, governments and young people" (SPC, 2017, paras. 3, 4).

It would appear that youth-focused initiatives often occur separate and external to the formal education system in terms of policy development, research, and practice. If the development of GCED is developed for schools (led by the Education Ministry) or at the school level (as a school-based initiative), then it could be useful to seek and utilise the expertise of existing youth development organisations which might be experienced and familiar with youth perspectives (particularly the more vulnerable youth). Such organisations are often well-networked in-country, within the Pacific region, and internationally.

Pacific-Centric Global Citizenship Education Competencies: Possibilities?

Holo pe tu'u he ko e ngalu e fasi[19]
Stand firm and the waves will break.

This section will endeavour to weave together the main insights that have surfaced so far in order to explore what Pacific-centric notion of global citizenship competencies might require and what they might look like. I have used illustrative examples from Aotearoa New Zealand.

Competencies Supported by a Strong Policy Framework

In New Zealand, Pacific-heritage peoples make up 8.9% of the total population (Statistics New Zealand, Census 2023). Learners from this group (from early childhood, primary, secondary, and tertiary) have been considered a national priority learner group for over two decades (Samu, 2020). It is one

of two ethnic groups with a national education policy framework, the other being the indigenous peoples of Aotearoa New Zealand, Māori. The two main reasons why Pacific-specific national education policies developed are New Zealand's drive to accelerate economic growth and development within its knowledge-based economy and the Pacific population's demographic and socio-economic location in New Zealand. According to Samu, Mara & Siteine(2008, p. 151) "… focused education policy on Pasifika is not surprising, given that New Zealand's economic development could be adversely affected, especially in the super city of Auckland, if their education success rates are not improved". Prominent Samoan historian and academic Damon Salesa (2017) argued:

> It is now in all New Zealanders' interests to want better for Pacific peoples. It is not a question of altruism, or of responding to the vagaries of political values and their expression. Rather, the size of the Pacific population is such that their success or failure has consequences for all New Zealanders, and especially for those in the locations where Pacific peoples are concentrated. Which kind of future Pacific people experience will have vital influence over which kind of future New Zealand experiences. (pp. 28–29)

In 2018, the Ministry of Education (MOE) released *Tapasā: Cultural Competencies for Teachers of Pacific Learners*, and since then has invested considerable funding towards professional learning and development (PLD) for teachers in schools (primary and secondary) and early learning centres. *Tapasā* is the second cultural competencies framework for teachers provided by the MOE to teachers, the first being *Tātaiako: Cultural Competencies for Teachers of Māori Learners*, released in 2011 (Education Council New Zealand–Matatū Aotearoa, 2011). Both cultural competencies frameworks are considered to be research-informed, particularly from intensive research and development programmes that the MOE funded in the first decade and a half of the current century (Si'ilata et al., 2018; Samu, 2020). These are competencies for teacher knowledge, skills, abilities, and behaviours in relation to Pacific (or Māori) learners, their families, and communities. These are not frameworks for student competencies learning. However, given the focus that *Tapasā* has on Pacific learners and their families (and strong evidence-based research that it draws on) and the *general* utility of the frameworks for (teacher) learning (as experienced by PLD providers), analysing these frameworks could prove useful.

I believe the general organisational structure for both frameworks (*Tātai-*

ako, *Tapasā*) is the same. They are:

- A number of general competencies are identified named and explained;
- Several indicators of teacher behaviour (demonstrated knowledge, skills, attitudes, behaviours) are identified for each competency;
- Each competency (with indicators) are identified across four different stages of the teacher career journey (student teacher, beginning teacher; experienced teacher; school or early learning leader).

Both frameworks were developed via the MOE and both are tied to the Teaching Council's *Code of Professional Responsibility* and *Standards for the Teaching Profession*. There is a strong expectation that schools and early learning centres will ensure their teachers engage with these frameworks. Initial teacher education providers are required by the Teaching Council to include engagement with both frameworks in their respective programmes (one of many requirements for approval of their qualifications) (Teaching Council of Aotearoa New Zealand, 2017).

The MOE's *Action Plan in Pacific Education 2020–2030,* or *APPE,* is described as the government's strategy for educational success for Pacific learners *as Pacific or Pasifika:* "They are secure in their identities, languages and cultures, and participating, engaging and achieving in education, contributing fully to Aotearoa, New Zealand's social, cultural and economic wellbeing" (MOE, 2020, p. 3). This *APPE* states that five key shifts or actions are required. The enhancement of teachers' cultural competencies in relation to Pacific-heritage or Pasifika learners is the third key shift.

Competencies Anchored in Cultural Values and Indigenous Understandings

Tātaiako has five competencies: Ako (practice in the classroom and beyond); Whanaungatanga or relationships (students, school-wide, community) with high expectations; Tangata Whenuatanga (place-based, socio-cultural awareness, and knowledge); Manaakitanga (values: integrity, trust, sincerity, equity); and Wānanga (communication, problem solving, innovation) (Education Council New Zealand–Matatū Aotearoa, 2011).

Tapasā (MOE, 2018a) is organised around three broad competencies: identities, languages, and cultures; collaborative and respectful relationships; and effective pedagogies for Pacific learners. It is conceptually supported by the Pasifika Success Compass (PSC), which details "the essence" of Pacific action planning (MOE, 2018a, p. 4). The PSC includes nine values: respect, service,

leadership, spirituality, belonging, family, love, inclusion, and reciprocal relationships. Although these values are named using the English language, they are not intended to be understood in Western European terms. For example, for many Pacific cultures, the family is not only the basic unit of society, but "family" is not determined in terms of the so-called nuclear family. Some Pacific cultures have specific expectations relating to relationships within families. Consider the example given in Section One of the relationship between brothers and sisters in traditional Samoan families. According to *Tapasā* (MOE, 2018a), all the components of the PSC are "oriented around the Pasifika learner, parents, families and communities who are at the centre" (p. 4). This feature is integrated into each of the three competencies, as evidenced by indicators that explicitly state teachers engage not just with Pacific learners but also their families.

Reflective Summary: Key Points

(i) The broad competencies in the *Tātaikao*, and particularly in the *Tapasā* frameworks described above, have some commonalities. These represent possibilities that can be taken into consideration when asking the following question: What should the competencies for a Pacific-specific GCED framework be? First, if the framework is not intended to serve a pan-Pacific/Oceania/Moana community of learners, then ideally the competencies should be anchored by indigenous concepts and expressed in the language of the learners. Secondly, at least two significant concepts surfaced: identity (inclusive of culture, language) and relationality (to people, to land, to waters, to the spiritual realm).

I present the outcomes of another speculative exercise. I have considered the following concepts and framings in order to imagine a very early prototype of a Samoa-centric GCED competencies framework, as presented in Table 4.1.

Each of these possible "competencies" can be conceptualised further in order to develop connections with a Pacific/Oceanic/Moana-centric GCED flavour. I have tentatively placed one possible "big idea" in the last column that could start off such a discussion.

(ii) I would also suggest the articulation of a set of values and principles that are integral to cultural identity and learning, and should accompany a Pacific GCED framework to guide student decision-making and reflection.

Table 4.1 *Imagining the Possibilities of a Samoa-Centric Framework*

Competency (Samoan)	*Comparative in English*	*Brief Explanation*
Alofa	Love	Love, peace, compassion. Living in harmony with those in one's family, village, and other key social units, such as faith group or church. Many Samoans are religious and with membership in different Christian denominations, so there will be religious influence on this conceptualisation. The religious expectation to love and forgive others. *Empathy*
Fa'aaloalo	Respect	Relationships are of paramount importance in Samoan culture also known as fa'a Samoa. All relationships are to be nurtured and attended to, as in the concept of "Teu le vā." The relationships can be with others (living, non-living) and the environment. Respect is key to shaping behaviour within relationships. *Relationships*
Tautua	Service	"O le ala i le pule o le tautua." The pathway to leadership is service (Samoan proverb). *Stewardship*
Matafaioi	Responsibility, Role	Being part of a collective (examples include family, work place, youth group, sports team) involves duties and responsibilities for the group, shared by individual members. *Engagement*

(iii) Consultations with Pacific-heritage youth in an Aotearoa New Zealand context by the Ministry for Pacific Peoples (2018) and the Ministry of Education (2018b), showed the following similarity: Pacific youth aspirations included the desire to provide economic support for their parents and families. In other words, Pacific youth did not see themselves as independent units, and they did not aspire for this either. Rather, their personal identities centred on their families. They recognised certain duties and responsibilities to and for their families. The aforementioned *Tapasā* PLD programme was specific in terms of teachers engaging with Pacific learners. Therefore an important focus of a localised Pacific GCED competencies framework for students would involve learners' family roles and responsibilities.

(iv) From a practical teaching perspective, the number of competencies

is important. If there are too many, and if indicators are designed for each, the framework runs the risk of being too wieldy for teachers to integrate into their teaching programmes, and then monitor.

(v) As argued earlier, a strong policy context is essential for a Pacific-centric GCED competencies framework.

(vi) Fundamentally, competencies separate what is considered to be valued—knowledge, skills, and behaviours—into smaller units that can appear disarmingly simple and straightforward to gain and demonstrate. However, such a belief can be problematic. What are the skills and knowledge (and subsequent behaviours) that are required to demonstrate the acquisition and practice of "good" citizenship in specific settings and places in Oceania? How would this be measured? And what should happen if a student is not successful in acquiring the desired competencies?

Closing Comments (Rather than a Conclusion)

He waka eke noa[20]
We rise together, fall together, work together, keep going together.

When I accepted the invitation to share Pacific indigenous perspectives of GCED and consider a framework of GCED competencies, I did so knowing that, by and large, the audience would be unfamiliar with both main sources of authority that I turned to as well as the less conventional forms of written expression I have utilised (e.g., proverbs, poetry). For a self-described academic wayfinder such as myself, this is "normal" practice. If this publication had been digital and online, I might have included vibrant visual artworks and links to video clips of spoken word poetry performances as well as traditional cultural dance to support my "arguments." If I ever presented on this chapter in a face-to-face situation (e.g., in a conference session), I might express some of the ideas in this chapter through hand movements (i.e., dance). Some of my Pacific colleagues involve conference participants in embodied learning experiences, for example crafting ei (flower garlands for the head) or Marshallese shell maps to support the points they make. These are Pacific ways of being, of doing, and of knowing. They are an expression of our identities, our politics, and our worldviews. But perhaps of greater importance, they are also our gifts that have emerged from sites of struggle and resistance and sites of strength and love.

Another restriction of academic writing is the only voice the reader is

exposed to is that of the author(s). Therefore, I endeavoured to bring in the voices of ancestral wisdoms through the careful selection and location of proverbs, sayings, and whakatauki. I brought in youth voice through the poetry of my younger cousin, born and raised in American Samoa, and currently living in Las Vegas, USA. His location represents the outer reaches to the east of the enlarged world my extended family has created for itself over the past four to five decades.

Collaboration Possibilities Across Oceania

I close this initial exploration of possibilities for the development of Pacific-centric approaches to GCED by reiterating several key ideas and then identifying a possible partnership for coordinating the way forward:

- Pacific peoples have been engaged in the enlargement of our world for a very long time;
- Our families have enlarged our worlds. They also centre our worlds;
- Our families include our ancestors. Within that centre are our youth;
- The ocean is our waterway to other places, literally connecting us;
- Land has spiritual significance and is an integral part of our identities, defining who we are;
- The ocean is also integral to who and what we are, connecting us across time and place;
- We are even more vested in our stewardship of land and water (the Pacific Ocean) as they become major global issues being impacted today;
- We are capable of collaborating and working together with shared interests and shared identities;
- Whilst being loyal and committed to our extend families, we are also loyal and committed to our villages, our tribal affiliations, and our nations, as well as whichever entity is crucial to who and what we are (our identities).

I believe that key ideas such as these (I am sure there are others) create possibilities for far more in-depth conversations about the development of Pacific-centric perspectives of GCED. This will be the same for GCED competencies frameworks relevant to different Pacific settings and contexts.

I now draw attention to the work that has been done to date by the New Zealand Centre for Global Studies (NZCGS). It recognises that “While grounded in universal principles, global citizenship celebrates identity and diversity. It gives us ways to become global without becoming the same”.

(NZCGS, n.d.). NZCGS identifies three underlying concepts for what it describes as the Aotearoa New Zealand framework for GCED. The three concepts are: Tuakiritanga (identity), hononga (connections), and kaitiakitanga (responsibility). These Māori concepts resonate strongly with the ideas articulated in the summary listed above. The NZCGS is a well-organised NGO, experienced, and located in Aotearoa New Zealand (the gateway to at least the southwest Pacific). Today, the NZCGS is pivoting forward and establishing a hub of excellence in global citizenship, prioritising Aotearoa New Zealand and the Pacific. It is also growing a significant ecosystem.

I close with two final proverbs, one is Samoan, the other is Māori. One draws on symbols from the land and the other draws on symbols connected to the ocean. Both are drawn from my dual heritage. As whakatauki, these represent the next stages of this important korero, talanoaga, or conversation.

> *O lupe sa vao ese'ese, ae ua fuifui faatasi.*[21]
> *We are from different parts of the forest but connected in one cause.*

> *E kore e ngaro, he takere nui*[22]
> *We will never be lost; we are the hull of a great canoe.*

Notes

1 A proverb from the Cook Islands, meaning that one should always be wary, watchful, wide awake, and therefore hard to beat (inferring to be attentive and ready for action).
2 Specific tribal affiliation.
3 Moana, in many Polynesian languages, means "sea" or "ocean." Refer to Section 2 of this chapter, for brief discussion of the concept of "People of the Moana," or People of the Sea.
4 A proverb from Niue.
5 Referring to New Zealand as "Aotearoa New Zealand," instead of just one or the other, is not unusual (see Abbiss et al., 2024). To do so is to recognise Maori history, language, and culture (via "Aotearoa") as well as British colonial history, languages, and culture (as represented by "New Zealand").
6 Maōri whakatauki (proverb).
7 https://www.usp.ac.fj/
8 https://www.dpmc.govt.nz/honours/recipients/wendt-emeritus-professor-albert-onz-cnzm
9 https://www.usp.ac.fj/news/remembering-the-legacy-of-the-late-epeli-hauofa/
10 A proverb from Samoa.
11 A proverb from Fiji.
12 https://forumsec.org/pacific-islands-forum
13 This is a Maōri wakatauki (proverb).
14 "Papalagi" is the Samoan word for European person. https://samoan.ws/word/p%C4%81lagi
15 https://uhpress.hawaii.edu/title/we-are-the-ocean-selected-works/

16 "Mana" in the Māori language refers to prestige, authority, control, power, influence, status, spiritual power, charisma - mana is a supernatural force in a person, place or object. https://maoridictionary.co.nz/

17 This is a well-known Māori whakatauki (proverb). The fishing net that has seen better days can represent ideas and practices that are tired and need replacing. The new net represents young people taking up the mantle of leadership.

18 https://www.spc.int/about-us

19 A proverb from Tonga that reminds us to be patient and good will come.

20 A Māori whakatauki (proverb).

21 A proverb from Samoa.

22 A Māori whakatauki (proverb).

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PART II

Ideas on Global Citizenship Education Found in Asian Religious Traditions

5. Tolerance, Interdependence and Global Citizenship Education: A Buddhist Perspective[1]

Thippapan Chuosavasdi

Abstract

Tolerance and interdependence are among the key values global citizenship education (GCED) promotes for fostering peace. However, in practical terms, it is worth considering whether one value should be prioritised over the other when designing a GCED course. If so, which value should be given precedence? Notably, both values are also integral to Buddhist practices to alleviate suffering. According to Buddhist philosopher Śāntideva's *Bodhicaryāvatāra*, tolerance, or *kṣānti*, is presented as an antidote to anger and hatred, which are sources of suffering. This article will demonstrate that a generic understanding of tolerance alone is insufficient as a value or virtue for the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO)'s aims for peace and harmony. I will argue that the Buddhist conception of tolerance can aid global citizens to see our commonalities more than our differences. Furthermore, I will argue that this Buddhist understanding can inform GCED course design, revealing that tolerance and interdependence are not separate values but are intertwined; cultivating one can enhance the other and vice versa. Therefore, integrating both values in value education may increase the effectiveness of GCED programmes.

Introduction

Global citizenship education (GCED) aims to promote "international solidarity and [inspire] learners of all ages to positively contribute to their local and global communities" (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization [UNESCO], 2024). At the same time, young learners find them-

selves operating in an "increasingly polarised" world, with isolationist politics becoming a prominent ideology in the latter half of the 2010s in countries like the United States and the United Kingdom (Pandian, 2022). Additionally, they are exposed to increasing amounts of vitriolic speech online, with antisemitic hate speech more than doubling on the platform formerly known as Twitter since Elon Musk's purchase of the site (Miller et al., 2023). Such a social environment provides strong prevailing headwinds for prospective global citizens. This is why, now more than ever, effective GCED is required. However, UNESCO's desire to promote "international solidarity … mutual respect [and] peace" necessitates a solid virtue education as a basis for achieving these ends (UNESCO, 2024). Cultivating tolerant global citizens is, therefore, in need in the current world, which is becoming more connected and hence more pluralistic.

Unfortunately, the global and local perspectives on tolerance do not always align with both conceptual understanding and practice. Words and concepts evidently have their own lives steeped in history. It is, therefore, undeniable how the concept of tolerance, despite claiming to be based on international community participation, is typically applied in ways which align with a specifically Western understanding of that concept and also to Anglophone political situations. In addition, the concept is still in need of some unpacking, with key questions about its content and relation to other concepts relevant to GCED largely unexplored.[2] For example, tolerance is often linked closely to the notion of respect for others. But how tolerance and respect for others relate to each other is unclear. Without a clear understanding of the concept of tolerance, and its relationship to adjacent concepts in moral and political philosophy, making use of the concept cross-culturally is bound to face some obstacles.

This paper rethinks tolerance from an alternative—that is, non-Western, non-Anglophone—perspective. The article will proceed from the concept of tolerance as understood in modern English usage as I attempt to show how the lack of clarity around the concept in everyday language presents a barrier to the goals of GCED. I shall then analyse the Buddhist concept of *kṣānti*, mainly drawing from Śāntideva's *Bodhicaryavatāra* (*BCA*), which features an extensive treatment of that particular virtue. I will argue that conceiving tolerance in the Buddhist way enables more effective teaching for GCED as it concerns everyday practice rather than a political discourse. Being underpinned by an understanding of interdependence, as will be demonstrated, *kṣānti* demands us to imagine that others are no different than oneself in that we all face suffering. I will then show that *kṣānti* is complementary to GCED's wider framework, providing pedagogical advantages when GCED is viewed through this alter-

nate prism. Having a better grasp of the concept within the Buddhist context, I hope, can lead to some practical implications for GCED.

Why Tolerance and *Kṣānti*?

Discussions of tolerance are a relatively modern development, yet they play a vital role in managing diversity in today's global society. In antiquity, the Stoics used *tolerantia* to describe the endurance of suffering in a broad sense. It was not until early Christian writings that the term began to address religious conflict (Forst, 2017). The concept, however, became heavily infused with religio-political ideology during the Protestant Reformation in Europe, shaping its contemporary understanding (Forst, 2017). In liberal democratic ideology, it has been recognised as fundamental to society—any healthy democracy, so the thought goes, requires a plurality of viewpoints, and this in turn necessitates tolerance as a core value of democratic society. Because of its centrality in the democratic picture, the concept is often associated with other liberal values such as autonomy, rights, freedom, and respect. Having said that, tolerance is, in fact, important and required in every form of society. Even in authoritarian or less diverse societies, tolerance is, to a certain degree, necessary to keep peace, as disagreements are normal when individuals come together. Widespread civil unrest or internal discord can uproot all types of society, which is why Plato, in the *Republic*, in designing the *ideal* society, which was neither liberal nor democratic, prised harmony between the people above all else. In recent history, the United Nations (UN) Universal Declaration of Human Rights, published in 1948, highlights tolerance as a tool in education, specifically, to combat problems resulting from an increasingly multicultural world (United Nations, 1948). UNESCO recommends that the teaching should emphasise that "respect for HR [Human Rights] and FRB [Freedom of Religion or Belief] are preconditions for protecting equal human dignity and for peaceful co-existence in pluralistic societies" (Oslo Coalition on Freedom of Religion or Belief, 2005, p. 2).

In practice, on the other hand, the importance of a tolerant attitude is not emphasised at a similar level in education. An analysis of efforts to implement GCED in global education found that themes and concepts of cultural diversity and tolerance were less likely to be integrated into national education policy, curricula, and teacher education (McEvoy, 2016). While governments in Western countries demand schools to promote tolerance and other related values, such as respect for others, as part of their education (European Commission/EACEA/Eurydice, 2017), tolerance is not a value emphasised in

the national curriculum in less pluralistic and democratic countries.[3] In Thailand, for instance, there has been barely any mention of *tolerance* as a value in the nation's GCED development (Office of the Education Council, 2018, pp. 322–351). Although other relevant notions like respect of people's rights and freedoms (p. 323) and awareness of cultural diversity (p. 328) are mentioned, they are considered within a very nationalistic framework. The curriculum encourages students to become "good citizens" by placing emphasis on venerating the monarchy and a love for the nation (Sripokangkul, 2021). Moreover, studies concerning tolerance and education in the Asia-Pacific region are nearly non-existent (Janmaat, 2022). A gap needs to be bridged by looking at the notion of tolerance from local perspectives.

So, what local perspectives may be of most use to us here? Tolerance is often associated with non-violence, a notion that is globally recognised as being strongly associated with Mahatma Gandhi's resistance to the British in India. It may, therefore, seem that an obvious candidate drawing from local perspectives that can enrich our understanding of tolerance might be that of *ahiṃsā*, the ancient Indian principle of non-violence. This notion has found many articulations in different strands of thought in South Asia's cultural history, from ancient Vedic ritualism to Jainism and Buddhism (Chapple, 1993). The term *non-violence* may suggest simply restraining from physical violence. In fact, it includes refraining from any mental, verbal, or physical actions that harm any other beings. While most traditions struggle with tensions between the ideal of non-violence and the inevitable use of violence (Houben & Kooij, 1999), Jains have remarkably made *ahiṃsā* central to their way of life, leading some to such extreme practices as fasting unto death (Chapple, 1993). It has also been recognised that their epistemological approach, acknowledging all differing views to contain some grains of truth, is an expression of their intellectual *ahiṃsā*.[4]

However, this profound concept is not my concern here because, in comparison to Jainism and Gandhism, Buddhism gives less emphasis to the concept of *ahiṃsā*. This does not mean that the principle is absent in Buddhism. The principle of non-harm is an integral part of Buddhist teachings for all moral individuals. For example, the first of the five precepts for Buddhists is the non-harm principle. However, discussion of non-violence is often embedded in discussions of other concepts, including the core concept which will be my focus here: *kṣānti*. This concept is roughly equivalent to tolerance and is also one of the foundational virtues in Buddhist practice, as will be shown below.

What Is Tolerance?

Despite the complexity of the concept, we need to have a basic delineation of tolerance to work with in our discussion here. Before turning to the general account of tolerance, the choice of words must be clarified. It is worth noting that the notions of tolerance and toleration are sometimes distinguished in the philosophical literature.[5] However, in this discussion I will not make any novel argument for a distinction between them. Instead, I will adopt a similar view to that held by others (e.g., Walzer, as cited in Cohen, 2004; Oberdiek, as cited in Cohen, 2004), which sees tolerance as an attitude or a virtue, and which uses the word *toleration* to mean "an action of tolerating" or "a tolerant action."

An ordinary language understanding of the concept of tolerance likely involves the notion of *putting up with* someone or something. What comes to mind when I ask you to think of a situation in which you were required to be tolerant? It may be a difficult family dinner in which your parents espouse a political viewpoint you disagree with. It may be acquiescing to your partner's terrible choice of movie. It may be your two-year-old child's insistent pounding on your head with the book they want you to read to them at 4 a.m., despite the fact that you are clearly busy pretending to be asleep! Whatever the circumstances, tolerance seemingly involves enduring something we would rather not. The *Oxford English Dictionary* captures this ordinary language understanding of the concept by defining it as "the ability or willingness to tolerate something, in particular, the existence of opinions or behaviour that one does not necessarily agree with" (Oxford English Dictionary, 2023).

In Western philosophy, the concept of tolerance has been usefully unpacked for us in a variety of ways. I will briefly outline some of these here, but I do not intend to delve into the arguments that establish these ideas or any criticism of the various analyses that are given in the Western tradition. My focus, instead, will be on outlining a specific Buddhist conception of tolerance—perhaps, more accurately, a Buddhist analogue of tolerance—so that we can examine the various ways in which I believe it connects usefully to UNESCO's aims with respect to GCED.

Western philosophical analyses typically carve the concept of tolerance into three components. They observe, firstly, that tolerance requires an *objection component*: the thing (e.g., a specific political belief, a religious practice, etc.) being tolerated must be considered to be objectionable, wrong, or bad.[6] If we do not actually object to it, then we must instead be either indifferent towards it or otherwise affirm or assent to it (there are no other possible responses). Additionally, tolerance requires an *acceptance component*. *Accept-*

ance here does not remove the negative valence of our judgement of the thing. Instead, it means that there is some positive "all things considered" reason for acceptance. Consider, for example, my two-year-old child's insistent book-bashing behaviour: I certainly find it objectionable, but not intolerably so. Luckily for my child, my love for him trumps my desire to yell at him. In other words, there is a better reason for you to accept it than the reason you initially used to reject it.

This is a good point at which to discuss the limits of toleration. This is the third component, the so-called *rejection component*. The limits for toleration "lie at the point where there are reasons for rejection that are stronger than the reasons for acceptance" (Forst, 2017). In other words, at a certain point, some behaviours might become intolerable for a variety of reasons—moral, religious, pragmatic, etc.

Tolerance and UNESCO Aims for Global Citizenship Education

While it may seem almost self-evident that tolerance is a prerequisite for achieving international solidarity, mutual respect, and peace, simply telling young children to be tolerant does not provide them with clear guidance on how to embody this value. An emphasis on respect for human rights and freedom of belief in teaching tolerance is not very useful either; it is like saying to achieve tolerance, we should promote respect for human rights, and vice versa, and therefore does not advance an answer to the question of how we should actually go about it. Tolerance is intertwined with many other values and virtues, making it ineffective—if not impossible—to teach it in isolation. Therefore, GCED requires a comprehensive framework that explores the relationships between tolerance and other related concepts. This approach will help children understand not only what it means to be tolerant but also how it connects to broader ethical and moral principles.

This notion of tolerance—as putting up with something objectionable—is, I suspect, not sufficient as a basis for achieving UNESCO aims for GCED. The hope for their programme is that it can help with "building peace through education and [remind] humanity of our common ties" (UNESCO, 2024). However, the conception of tolerance discussed above seemingly entails reminding us of our differences rather than our commonalities. It focuses on what we find objectionable, and how we tolerate this thing despite those objections. This resonates with the meaning offered by UNESCO: "Tolerance is respect, acceptance and appreciation of the rich diversity of our world's cultures, our forms of expression and ways of being human. … Tolerance is

harmony in difference” (UNESCO, 1996, p. 9).

As UNESCO describes it, GCED “is not a single subject with a set curriculum but rather a framework, a prism through which education is seen” (UNESCO, 2024). This being the case, what is important is the design of this prism. GCED is concerned with “the relevance of knowledge, skills and values for the participation of citizens in, and their contribution to, dimensions of societal development” (Tawil, 2013, as cited in UNESCO, 2014, p. 15). Although I would not want to dismiss the notion of tolerance as a *skill*, it seems that it might most naturally be considered a value or a virtue.[7] However, given its focus on our differences rather than our similarities, tolerance of the sort discussed above is, *alone*, insufficient as a value or virtue for the kind of GCED that UNESCO has in mind. The prism for GCED, therefore, needs to be designed and built with a rather different concept at its core.

What kind of concept might better replace tolerance with UNESCO ends in mind? We are looking for a concept which promotes international solidarity, mutual respect, and peace. I believe we find such a concept in the Buddhist idea of *kṣānti*.

What Is *Kṣānti*?

Before we get to an understanding of what *kṣānti* is, it is first important to note what it is *not*. While this may seem like an unnecessarily complex way of approaching the concept, there is a good reason for taking the negative understanding first. That is because the aim of the paper is to consciously move us away from the Western understanding of tolerance and Anglophone approaches to its application. What I aim to show in the following paragraphs is that there is no simple way to translate *kṣānti* into an English-language analogue—whether that is *tolerance*, or some supposed synonym or related concept like *patience*, *forbearance*, *endurance*, or *perseverance*, all of which have been suggested as translations. In reality, *kṣānti* does not line up neatly with any one of those terms.

Moreover, some of these terms can clearly be used in different contexts or considered as distinct virtues in their own right. For example, tolerance is a virtue usually demanded in a religious and political context, but not necessarily in everyday contexts such as the above example about my son. Patience, on the other hand, is generally found in everyday contexts. That these concepts can be distinguished as virtues independently is shown, for instance, when it seems possible to tolerate something, but to do so impatiently. There are some mornings when my son’s book-bashing exercise irritates me greatly. There

are other mornings where I endure without irritation. It is mornings of the latter kind where I consider myself to be patient. On mornings of the former kind, I am *merely* tolerant. Toleration, therefore, seems to be compatible with a negative emotional valence in a way that patience does not.[8] It does not seem to make sense to describe someone as "angrily but patiently" enduring something. However, "angrily tolerating" something seems to yield no *prima facie* contradiction. Similar arguments might be made to distinguish the various supposed synonyms for tolerance and toleration, showing that not all of them can be considered adequate direct translations for *kṣānti*; moreover, it is likely that none is, and for reasons I will now briefly outline. I believe a better approach is to avoid the temptation to translate the term and, instead, attempt to situate the concept in its proper context to see what we can learn that might be of use to GCED.

These hurdles in translation can be sidestepped when we start to analyse the concept of *kṣānti* to see what the virtue means within its original frame of reference. *Kṣānti* is one of the virtues, or *perfections*, that are foundational to the Buddhist path.[9] It is extensively discussed in *A Guide to the Bodhisattva Way of Life*, or *Bodhicaryāvatāra* (*BCA*), by Śāntideva, a Buddhist philosopher from around the 8th century AD. The cultivation of virtue is regarded as an antidote to cure an ailment of anger and hatred. Unlike tolerance, the Buddhist concept is not predominantly used in the political and religious context. There is only one explicit instance of religious tolerance, of all the 134 verses cited by Śāntideva in the chapter concerning tolerance (*BCA*, 1997, 6:64, p. 69).[10] Śāntideva instead more typically exhorts us to employ *kṣānti* in many situations focused on the everyday life. First, he tasks us with an easy practice of dealing with what we would normally recognise as an inappropriate target for anger. He tells us to tolerate agentless annoyance that causes pain for us, such as gadflies and little hardships in life like bodily pain (*BCA,* 1997, 6:14–16, p. 63). However, more difficult training that takes up most of the chapter soon follows; we should not get angry, Śāntideva advises, when *someone* causes us physical or mental pain. It does not matter in which context our anger arises—political, religious, or personal—the point of putting up with blasphemy and any harm that causes us pain is because the pathological emotions arising from the absence of *kṣānti* disrupt the Buddhist training aiming to eliminate suffering, as will be shown below. In other words, Buddhists believe that we should tolerate the suffering we experience right now to, ultimately, escape suffering.

But how much suffering should one endure? This is where Buddhists depart from most philosophies and traditions, and certainly to the dominant Western conception of the contemporary world.[11] As mentioned above, the last element of tolerance is it requires a limit at which point we start to inter-

vene with what we disagree about. A current dominant view tells us to tolerate people of different practices and beliefs, but not when they cause unjust harm. However, Buddhists place no such limit to the practice of *kṣānti*. In many discussions, Śāntideva recommends we endure suffering regardless of the situation, warranted or unwarranted. We can find the same recommendation from an extreme case in an early Buddhist discourse:

> If anyone should give you a blow with his hand, with a clod, with a stick, or with a knife, … you should train thus: 'My mind will be unaffected, and I shall utter no evil words; I shall abide compassionate for his welfare, with a mind of loving-kindness, without inner hate.' … Bhikkhus, even if bandits were to sever you savagely limb by limb with a two-handled saw, he who gave rise to a mind of hate towards them would not be carrying out my teaching. (*MN*, 2009, pp. 218–223)[12]

In the modern frame of thinking, Buddhists would certainly be criticised for encouraging citizens to become docile, which is not healthy in a democratic society. In *BCA* 1997, 6:33, Śāntideva, too, can be criticised for turning a blind eye to injustice: "[U]pon seeing a friend or an enemy committing a wrong deed, one should reflect, 'Such are his conditions,' and be at ease" (1997, p. 65). While individuals have different reasons which inform the limit of toleration, Buddhists also have reasons *not* to limit their *kṣānti*. The Buddhist path aims at overcoming the suffering pervasive in human life. Our experience of pain and suffering can be transformed through practices of undoing our self-grasping outlook of the world, which is based on a misunderstanding about the nature of reality that things are substantial, independent, and enduring. The point of developing *kṣānti* is that, since anger arises from a self-grasping attitude, viz. *I* am harmed, it causes us to become even more entrenched in disconnecting ourselves from others, hence perpetuating more suffering. Within this outlook, there might not be an obvious place for, or the need to have, those values such as human rights and justice.[13]

This leads to another characterisation of *kṣānti*; that is, it is primarily a mental phenomenon. Not retaliating, but still feeling resentment, according to Buddhists, is considered a lack of *kṣānti*, as the Buddha noted, "[S]ome bhikkhu is extremely gentle, extremely meek, extremely peaceful, so long as disagreeable courses of speech do not touch him. But it is when disagreeable courses of speech touch him that it can be understood whether that bhikkhu is really kind, gentle, and peaceful" (*MN*, 2009, p. 220). The point is that someone not showing their discontent does not necessarily mean they do not have any discontent or resentment. Simply tolerating while harbouring some

discontent is not *kṣānti*. But getting rid of such resentment altogether is the practice of and *is kṣānti*. You are a truly patient, forbearing, tolerant person if anger does not arise in you because you see the world as it is.

This is different from the Western conception seen above. Some Western accounts might draw the line between tolerance as mental phenomena and toleration as behaviour without seeing them as connected. Engelen and Nys (2008), for example, argue that tolerance should be a behavioural definition because it is more useful to make citizens conform to the laws and norms, and that people have different reasons to refrain from acting on what they find disagreeable. For example, they might not refrain from interfering with homosexual conducts out of good reason, but from their inability to stand up for what they believe, which makes them fail to be tolerant. In addition, considering the first component of tolerance, it requires that you find something objectionable or bad. Although finding something objectionable does not necessarily lead to irritation or anger, presumably such negative emotional valence is not excluded in our attitude when we are tolerating something. I can tolerate my son bashing a book on my face while I am sleeping. I find his behaviour disagreeable, but I could tolerate it calmly or with irritation. For Buddhists, instead, someone with *kṣānti* is a person who always approaches unpleasant things with calmness. I do not actually have to snap at him—simply feeling discontent, irritation, or unhappy *is already* a lack of *kṣānti*.

It is worth pointing out that I have talked about *kṣānti* in two ways: an attitude or virtue that needs to be cultivated and a perfected attitude or virtue to be applied. One way to make sense of the Buddhist conception of *kṣānti* can be understood through two contrasting perspectives: the layperson's and the enlightened perspective. These perspectives are distinguished by a personal, narrow view versus an impersonal, expansive one. The unenlightened individual, still in the process of cultivating virtues, experiences the world through the lens of independent, distinct entities. They are aspirational moral agents, still developing their virtues. They react with anger or resentment when wronged, as they are bound by the illusion of separateness and personal harm. From the lay perspective, individuals exhibit a broad spectrum of moral responses; some may be able to tolerate adverse situations without acting out, while others may react violently to even minor frustrations, depending on how developed their moral progress is. In contrast, the awakened mind perceives everything as interconnected and interdependent, transcending individual distinctions. The perfection of *kṣānti*, then, manifests in the moral agent who, having realised this interdependence, does not experience anger, frustration, or hatred, even in the face of suffering or aggression. For such a person, these negative emotions simply do not arise because it is irrational to see themselves

as separate from the aggressor or the circumstances. At the same time, it is seen as an inappropriate response when the aim is minimising suffering. In the following section, we turn to the question of how *kṣānti* can achieve that goal through these reasons.

Kṣānti and Interdependence

In instructing us to practise *kṣānti*, Śāntideva (1997) appeals constantly to the idea of interdependence. He discusses at length how interdependence works on both personal and impersonal levels:

> I am not angered at bile and the like even though they cause great suffering. Why be angry at sentient beings, who are also provoked to anger by conditions? 6.22

> Just as sharp pain arises although one does not desire it, so anger forcibly arises although one does not desire it. 6.23

> A person does not intentionally become angry, thinking, "I shall get angry," nor does anger originate, thinking, "I shall arise." 6.24

> All offences and vices of various kinds arise under the influence of conditions, and they do not arise independently. 6.25

Appealing to the notion of *pratītyasamutpāda*, Śāntideva demonstrates that nothing arises independently. *Pratītyasamutpāda* is traditionally translated as "dependent origination" or "dependent arising." It is a central Buddhist teaching that deals with how phenomena come into being and go out of existence. In an early expression of Buddhism, the notion explains the chain of events that gives rise to human suffering (*SN*, 2000, 12:1, pp. 533–540).[14] However, in Śāntideva's tradition, the Madhyamaka school, the doctrine applies to every coming and going of phenomena, that is, universal suffering. It is the flip side of the doctrine of emptiness (*śūnyatā*) or no-self, as Nāgārjuna, the authority of the school, says: "Dependent origination we declare to be emptiness" (*MMK*, 2013, 24:18, p. 277).[15] In simple terms, they believed that since things are in constant flux and nothing arises independently, there is nothing whose nature is enduring essence or intrinsic nature that can exist independently. Thus, ultimately, it is empty of substance, empty of self; in other words, there is no fixed identity that is separable from others—we borrow and lend our

identity from everything else.

Employing a Buddhist method of analysing human experience, he demonstrates that, at the impersonal level, each of our mental factors—including feelings, desires, and intentions—arises interdependently. Zooming out to a personal level, a human being who appears to act out of their own will is, in fact, influenced by something else. And this does not apply only to a patient of any transgression but also to the perpetrator(s). We like to think that we are caused to suffer by someone else's actions, but forget that they are also victims of something else. As well as each mental factor arising in us, we are constantly conditioned by, and a condition for, other things, just like everything else.

Understanding the world in this way, it is only *rational* that we do not get angry because we cannot ultimately assign blame to a particular cause. Śāntideva expresses the same idea later in the chapter: "Disregarding the principal cause, such as a stick and the like, if I become angry with the one who impels it, then it is better if I hate hatred, because that person is also impelled by hatred" (*BCA*, 1997, 6:41, p. 66). Śāntideva encourages us to take an impersonal view of events by seeing individuals as collections of psycho-physical conditions that both influence and are influenced by other conditions. This means that our desires and intentions are no different from bile and sticks in an interdependent web of events.[16] We often find ourselves less tolerant when someone capable of reasoning and decision-making transgresses against us. In contrast, we tend to overlook annoyances or harms caused by entities that lack intention or consciousness. This observation aligns with Strawson's (2008) insights, which suggest that our anger can be diminished when we recognise coercion or a lack of intent. Essentially, we hold individuals with full agency more accountable for our suffering than those who possess less agency or none at all. However, this view does not necessarily lead to passivity or determinism, as will be shown below. Interdependence can work on both the macrocosmic and microcosmic view. Adopting the broader outlook, we can assess the relative scale of our pain. An example is found in the famous Buddhist story of Kīsā Gotamī. The story goes that she suffered the loss of her child and sought after a medicine that could revive her child, and so she was directed to see the Buddha. After hearing her story, the Buddha offered her the medicine on the condition that she acquired some mustard seed from a household in which no one had died. She went on to ask one house after another and found that no family had evaded the experience of losing a loved one. In this parable, Kīsā Gotamī's initial focus is on her own suffering, or that of her family, neglecting the fact that all families suffer. This is true the world over. Moreover, this suffering is connected by both direct and indirect causal chains—these are the

ties that bind us. By recognising that our suffering often stems from interconnected factors, we can mitigate feelings of anger, as we can no longer assign blame solely to the most immediate cause. For example, imagine a child snatching your handbag. Initially, you may feel panic, fear, and rage, vowing to press charges against the child. However, upon learning that he was caring for his younger brother, your understanding of his circumstances broadened. This new perspective allows you to empathise with his suffering, illustrating how anger can arise when we adopt a narrow view focused solely on our own pain. *Kṣānti* encourages us to engage in a kind of perspective-shifting, moving from our usually personal view of the world to a microcosmic and a broader macroscopic picture—a reorienting prism through which we can view our suffering and that of others in respective circumstances.

Suffering, thus, is at the centre of Śāntideva's discussion of interdependence. Focusing on *my* pain as distinct from *your* pain is a mistake we often make when we think that our actions are interdependent. Śāntideva (1997) points out this problem at length in chapter eight of his *Bodhicaryāvatāra*:

> One should first earnestly meditate on the equality of oneself and others in this way: "All equally experience suffering and happiness, and I must protect them as I do myself." 8.90
>
> Just as the body, which has many parts owing to its division into arms and so forth, should be protected as a whole, so should this entire world, which is differentiated and yet has the nature of the same suffering and happiness. 8.91
>
> Although my suffering does not cause pain in other bodies, nevertheless that suffering is mine and is difficult to bear because of my attachment to myself. 8.92
>
> When fear and suffering are equally dear to others and myself, then what is so special about me that I strive after happiness for myself alone? 8.96

For Buddhists, suffering is the common tie amongst humanity. By recalling suffering and happiness in our experience, Śāntideva instructs us to perform an imaginative exercise of *exchanging self and others*—of putting ourselves in the shoes of others. Most likely, we can imagine that all beings want to avoid suffering and seek happiness. Let us remind ourselves that the Buddhist first noble truth is that suffering is ubiquitous and it is bad in itself, so it does not make sense to think that it is my pain or your pain because it is unde-

sirable wherever there is suffering. And since you and I are embedded in a complex web of interdependence, our suffering is shared. Garfield (2010) put it eloquently: "Interdependence guarantees that our joys are social joys; our sorrows are social sorrows; our identity is a social identity; the bounds of our society are indefinite. We either suffer and rejoice together in the recognition of our bonds to one another, or we languish in self-imposed solitary confinement, afflicted both by the cell we construct, and by the ignorance that motivates its construction" (p. 341). For this reason, it is *apt* that we should aim to remove the constructed barriers between selves to reduce suffering overall.

It is worth noting that the Buddhist view of tolerance does not call for simply *coexisting* with enemies and the *others*. It asks us to think of others as part of ourselves. Coexisting with others has a sense that we can easily slip into thinking, "If they don't harm us, then we don't harm them"—we do not mind them so long as it is not our business. Such thinking is an indifferent view that, I would argue, is not helpful in bringing about a sense of universal community. It does not actively seek to understand each other better. Retaining a sense of *otherness* seems to retain at least one condition which is required to dehumanise our fellow global citizens. In contrast, the interdependent mode of existence, as suggested in the *kṣānti* view, conceives of each of our beings as intertwined. Interdependence is not just a descriptive view of reality, but also a prescriptive one. We might, from where we stand, only see those really close to us or those with significant influence on us as part of ourselves. But from the Buddhist perspective, we *should* actively seek to extend the same understanding to people and things further away from us—from country fellows to the world community, from friends to enemies, from human to non-human.

Changing the way we perceive ourselves in relation to the world in such a way will create meaningful consequences. It makes sense that if we want to care for ourselves, and if others are seen as part of ourselves, then we should also want to care for others. Likewise, harming others is no less than harming ourselves. Another point worth emphasising as a result of this view is that there is nothing wrong about not wanting to suffer oneself. Rather, it is natural for an embodied being like us to be bound in our experience, although we should try to expand that sense of self to include others. Altruism, in this sense, is therefore not about sacrificing our well-being for the sake of others, since our well-being is shared. While the objection-acceptance-rejection pattern of tolerance seen above highlights the conflicts between one agent and another—each of us having different beliefs, different reasons, and different practices that have to be compromised, or forbidden if a line is crossed—the *kṣānti* view allows us to connect and collaborate to create a situation that is better on the

whole.

For Buddhists, this ethical position is entailed by the metaphysical reality of interdependence. And the logical consequence is, as mentioned above, not merely restraining ourselves from lashing out or using violence but the elimination of anger. The relationship between the metaphysical assumption and tolerance can also be found in the Western conception. Talk about having mutual respect for differing views and practices, which is grounded in rights or freedoms, is based on an individualistic view. Respect is owed to an autonomous, intelligent being capable of deliberation and decision-making grounded in rationality. The problem is the constructed reality about individuals with a self-interest nature prevents us from connecting and collaborating and instead encourages competition and conflict. Conflicts are already embedded in an understanding of oneself in relation to others, and thus, the best thing we can do is to tolerate others because conflicts are just inevitable. This is why the common understanding of tolerance, as seen above, reminds us of our differences more than the commonalities we share. To achieve the goal of peace and the common well-being of humanity, I suggest we need to reframe an understanding of ourselves, with interdependence at the heart of the GCED framework.

Kṣānti and Global Citizenship Education

There are likely many objections to the Buddhist conception of tolerance, particularly regarding its implications. One concern is that it could promote a form of passivity, leading to the cultivation of docile citizens. Since Buddhism encourages enduring suffering without anger or retaliation, this view might be criticised for enabling aggressors or dominant groups, allowing them to harm others without resistance. In such a scenario, victims could simply accept their suffering, even when faced with injustice, rather than standing up against wrongdoing. Another objection that addresses the root problem of the first objection is that the Buddhist conception of tolerance seems extreme in its scope, raising concerns that it could compromise justice and human agency. The idea of sacrificing justice or agency for the sake of peace is understandably unsettling, as many would argue that justice is essential for maintaining peace. As a result, there may be concerns that the Buddhist view of tolerance is incompatible with the broader framework of GCED. This worry stems from Buddhism's unique concept of *no-self* (*anatta*), which posits that everything exists in dependence on other conditions, leaving nothing as independent or self-existing. This perspective could be seen as dissolving the dualism

between agents and patients, reducing individual agency to mere impersonal causes and conditions. However, I will argue that this interpretation is not necessarily at odds with the framework as advocated by UNESCO, which includes a suite of values such as human rights and freedom of belief, as our focus is on practical, rather than metaphysical, compatibility.

Śāntideva's appeal to interdependence in calling for *kṣānti* can be interpreted in two ways: 1) interdependence is a justification for *kṣānti* or elimination of hatred and anger; and 2) interdependence is used as a tool towards moral accomplishment. The former takes those verses as an *argument* for why we must be tolerant; that is, being tolerant is a logical conclusion from the view of interdependence. To put it in phenomenological terms, tolerance, in the sense of not feeling hatred towards those who harm us, is a consequence of those who can *see* the world as interdependent. In contrast, the latter holds that, as the name of the title *A Guide to the Bodhisattva Way of Life* suggests, those verses serve as practical guidance, helping to cultivate and perfect the virtue of *kṣānti*. The distinction is crucial here, as our goal is to redefine tolerance in a way that promotes universal values within the framework of GCED. Therefore, it is essential to determine whether the Buddhist conception of *kṣānti* can align with and support the goals of GCED. If adopting the Buddhist metaphysical view of no-self is a prerequisite, then it could be argued that Śāntideva's reasoning may not be applicable to the teaching of GCED.

As demonstrated above, Buddhists believe that viewing the world through the lens of dependent arising implies the absence of a permanent self. However, accepting Buddhist metaphysics does not necessarily alter how we can teach tolerance. It is possible to conceive of interdependence while still recognising individual agency. We can view each person as a distinct node within a network, interconnected and influencing one another, without reducing them to mere psychological components, as Buddhism might suggest. Even if we adopt the Buddhist view of individuals as psycho-physical conditions, it could be argued that agency can be attributed through factors like desire, attention, or volition, which one has the capacity to control. Whatever the explanation for this compatibility is (and Buddhists have their own many complicated explanations!), this perspective allows us to see individuals as interdependent yet still possessing a degree of partial autonomy, rather than full independence. Assuming that interdependence implies passivity relies on the very agent-patient dichotomy that this metaphysical view seeks to undermine—believing that a lack of complete autonomy must result in total passivity. However, interdependence recognises that neither extreme is appropriate. Interestingly enough, interdependence is already part of the current understanding of GCED:

> The notion of 'citizenship' has been broadened as a multiple-perspective concept. It is linked with growing interdependency and interconnectedness between countries in economic, cultural and social areas, through increased international trade, migration, communication, etc. It is also linked with our concerns for global well-being beyond national boundaries, and on the basis of the understanding that global well-being also influences national and local well-being. (UNESCO, 2014, p. 14)

Perhaps, through the Buddhist analysis so far, it indicates that the suite of values currently dominating the global rhetoric of fixed, defined, uncompromised ideals should be revised.

Moreover, this way of viewing the world aligns with the perspective most people, including Buddhists, naturally adopt. Recall the twofold scheme of Buddhist ethics. It acknowledges two distinct levels of practice, depending on one's goals. A morally accomplished Buddhist, aiming to transcend suffering, sees the world without distinguishing the self from others, fully embracing the interdependent nature of all things. In contrast, a lay Buddhist may simply seek a life with less suffering and greater happiness. They may not need to, nor have the capability to, see the world through the same lens as a fully enlightened practitioner. However, the closer they come to understanding the reality of interdependence, the happier they become. In this sense, the lay Buddhist's goal of achieving a more peaceful and fulfilling life aligns with the broader aim of GCED: to enhance the well-being of all. However, as Nāgārjuna (2007) explains, these two goals—well-being and enlightenment—are interconnected: pursuing well-being inevitably puts you on the path towards enlightenment. Conversely, aiming for enlightenment requires the cultivation of virtues that are essential for achieving well-being. So, it does not matter whether you are a layperson or a monastic, a Buddhist or not a Buddhist, but it matters that you start adopting an interdependent view of the world.

The second interpretation, which views interdependence as a means to cultivate greater tolerance, should not raise significant concern. If we understand interdependence as a tool for fostering tolerance, the Buddhist practice would involve meditating on the concept and striving to perceive the world accordingly, which would naturally lead to more tolerant behaviour. However, this approach introduces another issue: if tolerance is seen solely as a byproduct of understanding interdependence, it risks becoming meaningless, potentially diminishing the need to actively teach it. Still, this concern involves two separate issues: conceptual and practical. As a concept, this touches on a key debate about tolerance—whether it is merely a secondary virtue, dependent on other ultimate virtues, or if it holds intrinsic moral value. Bommarito (2014)

offers a compelling argument for the moral significance of tolerance within the Buddhist framework. He suggests that the ability to maintain *perspective* is the affective and experiential core of tolerance. Such an experience of someone approaching the world tolerantly cannot be reduced into anything else and has its own value. On the other hand, there is nothing wrong with taking interdependence to replace tolerance for pedagogical reasons. If teaching people interdependence makes people to become more tolerant, then it is a practically appropriate means. But, of course, its success could be evaluated in experiments that hopefully will be picked up on by educators and researchers who see its potential.

However, it is important to emphasise that understanding interdependence is not merely the acquisition of new information; it involves a profound transformation in how we engage with the world. Consider, for example, the issue of excessive plastic consumption, which contributes to the accumulation of microplastics in our food. A person who understands this process only at a logical level may not adjust their behaviour. In contrast, someone who grasps it on an experiential level is more likely to modify their consumption habits. This illustrates the practical challenge: simply knowing about dependent arising does not automatically lead to better actions. Achieving such a shift in perspective requires ongoing reflection and habituation. From this transformed view, tolerant behaviour naturally emerges—not just as a passive *putting up with* but as a more constructive, compassionate attitude. For Buddhists, meditation is a key tool for cultivating the necessary virtues and perceptions. However, since meditation is not widely practised globally, creative pedagogical strategies are essential to incorporate and instil these insights in GCED learners.

Teaching Tolerance in the Classroom

It is often tempting to dismiss Buddhism as mystical or impractical—and, at times, those may be fair criticisms. But Buddhism has a lot of insight to offer, too. The Buddhist conception of *kṣānti*, as rooted in the understanding of interdependence, can be a powerful tool for cultivating tolerance. To truly be global citizens, we must aim to incorporate a more diverse range of perspectives if we want to enrich the psychological and philosophical resources we have available to consider the problems we collectively face as a species. Replacing or supplementing our understanding of tolerance with this uniquely Buddhist perspective, rather than only promoting the Western view of tolerance in educational contexts, will hopefully lead learners to an active commit-

ment to internal change, transforming the way they see, feel, and act in the world.

Kṣānti reminds us that everyone and everything is interdependent. Individuals can only *be*, conceptually and existentially, within a society, and vice versa. A society is not confined to one's city or nation; we are part of a global community. Not only are we part of the human community, but we are also dependent on the environment. Moreover, the concept of independence is also applied to humans as an active agent. The Buddhist analysis of *kṣānti* confirms that teaching GCED to cultivate active agents for change cannot independently focus on a specific aspect of a person. We need to approach it systematically, including a person's understanding, value, and skill. Teaching the *virtue* of tolerance in the Buddhist way is underpinned by and, in turn, leads to an *understanding* of interdependence. In other words, having a tolerant attitude requires an understanding of the independent nature of the world, and likewise, acquiring such understanding can lead one to become more tolerant.

I have also argued that *kṣānti* can promote GCED values, including international solidarity, mutual respect, and peace. First, *kṣānti* promotes international solidarity because it closes the distance between people the world over. By reorienting our perspective such that we view the world through the prism of interdependence, as *kṣānti* requires of us, we see that we are bound closely to others through our mutual suffering (suffering which is directly and/or indirectly causally related). Second, *kṣānti* promotes mutual respect because it reframes the notion of respect as one not centred on individual rights and freedoms, but on appreciating our role in causing other people's suffering and well-being in the same way that we appreciate their being the cause of ours. In understanding the notion of dependent arising, we understand the manner in which *kṣānti* therefore promotes mutual respect as well. Last, *kṣānti* promotes peace, therefore, by shrinking the psychological distance between members of the global community, and encouraging us to respect one another in the particular way described. Of course, mere proximity is not sufficient to guarantee peace—there have been countless civil wars (and there are many at present, too), not to mention the many conflicts we experience even within our own families. *Kṣānti* is intended to guarantee peace, yet other factors must hold as well. However, it is clear that it can and does promote this value. As such, *kṣānti* promotes the same values at the very core of the GCED programme.

Adopting the concept of interdependence as a means to teach students to be more tolerant can be an effective way to instil such an attitude. For one thing, in those countries where Buddhism has considerable influence cultur-

ally, and the national curriculum has been primarily based on religion, like Thailand (Pitiyanuwat & Sujiva, 2000), this Buddhist approach to tolerance may be more familiar and break into the curriculum with more ease. However, teaching tolerance the Buddhist way as suggested above may nonetheless still enrich the curriculum in non-Buddhist countries, promoting GCED's core values and aims in the process. Secondly, tolerance is a highly abstract concept that will be suitable for kids after a certain age. Interdependence, however, is a concept with more concrete content. Since the Western notion of tolerance typically focuses on the religious and political domains, the content of such discussions can often feel distant and abstract. Politics, for example, has historically proven to be something that is difficult to get young people to engage with—a fact reflected in voter turnout demographic data in countries like the United Kingdom (Ledgerwood & Lally, 2024) and the United States (Population Reference Bureau, 2000). This is often because young people struggle to make the connection between the actions of a small group of politicians and their own lives. Teaching the notion of tolerance in this disengaged context is therefore less likely to be impactful. *Kṣānti*, by contrast, focuses on the everyday—and is therefore naturally more accessible to everyone. Moreover, once properly understood, it should help young people in democratic countries better understand the connection between the political class and its citizenry, if my claim that *kṣānti*'s focus on interdependence closes the gap between all people throughout society is true. In turn, this can only be a good thing for participation in the democratic process.

Notes

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2 Philosophical literature on tolerance often admits that the clarity of the concept lags behind the importance that has been placed upon it as a modern political value (Cohen, 2004; Heyd, 1996). Moreover, important questions surrounding the concept of tolerance seem to only have muddled answers: Are there any distinctions between tolerance and toleration? Is tolerance a kind of virtue? What are the proper objects of tolerance and to what degree should one be tolerant? The last questions are perhaps the most controversial ones.

3 Although the citation here is specifically to policies related to the European Commission, this applies also in the United States, whose entire Constitution is steeped in the Lockean

tradition of tolerance. This underpins freedom of speech and freedom of religion, for example, both of which have been upheld by the Supreme Court of the United States when challenged by states with respect to students' rights (see *Tinker v. Des Moines*, for example).

4 The term "intellectual *ahiṃsā*" was coined by A. B. Dhruva (1993, as cited in Cort, 2000, p. 327). Cf. Cort, 2000, for criticism.

5 The distinction has been addressed in many ways. For example, Crick (1971, p. 144) refers to toleration as "explicit theories or doctrines which state that we should be tolerant (or as tolerant as possible) of wide classes of actions or types of belief and behaviour" whereas "tolerance" is simply a word we use in common parlance. Walzer makes a distinction between an attitude and behaviour (p. xi, as cited in Cohen, 2004). Oberdiek, meanwhile, sees the distinction as that between a virtue and a practice (pp. vi, 23–24, as cited in Cohen, 2004) for tolerance and toleration, respectively. My treatment of the pair here is leaning towards Walzer's and Oberdiek's account, in that tolerance is a kind of mental quality including attitude and virtue, while toleration involves outward action. For the purpose of this paper, the distinction between attitude and virtue or behaviour and practice is inconsequential.

6 For details on the components of tolerance, see King (1976, pp. 44–54).

7 A value, we could say, is something held to be worth pursuing, like an ideal. A virtue, on the other hand, is a good moral quality belonging to a person. Despite the distinction, they are not necessarily exclusive from each other. Tolerance, for example, can be both a value and a virtue together. It is a value because it is worth pursuing to bring about peace in society and to that end we want to cultivate it in individuals as part of their character, that is, a virtue.

8 There are certainly many ways to distinguish tolerance and patience. It can also be argued that these are multi-faceted aspects of a certain disposition. See Pianalto (2016) for this position. Whichever way these terms are unpacked, my point still stands; that is, understanding the concepts in Western philosophy already has its own problems.

9 The number of perfections varies depending on schools. There are six perfections in Mahāyana, whereas Theravadins believe there are 10 perfections. *Kṣānti* is shared amongst them.

10 All quotations and pages referenced for *BCA* in this article are from Wallace & Wallace's version of Śāntideva (1997).

11 Having said that, the Buddhist approach to tolerating in the face of apparent injustice is not unique. For example, Stoicism, especially Seneca, makes a case against reacting or retaliating to perceived injustice.

12 The discourse is quoted from the Bodhi's version of the *Majjhima Nikāya* (MN) translation (2009).

13 For example, Carpenter (2017) argues that the concern for justice disappears in the Buddhist metaphysical view. Some, instead, attempt to show an implicit understanding of justice in karmic belief. For example, see Reichenbach (1990) and Satha-Anand (2002).

14 See *The Connected Discourses of the Buddha* (2000).

15 See Nāgārjuna (2013).

16 For an argument that shows that bile and sticks are not the same type of cause as desires and intention, and hence Śāntideva's appeal to interdependence cannot be taken as an argument for an eradication of anger, see Bommarito (2011).

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6. Identity, Rituals and Religion: Reflections on Sufism and the Quest for Global Citizenship Education From a South Asian Perspective

Tania Saeed

Abstract

The chapter contributes to a reimagining of global citizenship education (GCED) by exploring the concept of unsettling categories as a pedagogical tool. It draws on existing research on Sufi tradition and shrine culture in the context of Punjab, Pakistan, expanding on the life and works of the famous Sufi saint, Bulleh Shah, his poetry, philosophy, and the rituals and practices that can be observed in his shrine in Punjab. Bulleh Shah's philosophy and poetry is an example of unsettling the status quo, the rituals in his shrine rejecting religious orthodoxy, while his devotees negotiate against the state bureaucracy's attempt at controlling the spiritual and material essence of his shrine. The philosophy of Bulleh Shah and other Sufi saints that reflect humanist ideals should be part of the GCED curriculum for countries across the world, not just in South and Southeast Asia; the tensions and negotiations between philosophy and practice of Sufism, as highlighted in this chapter through a focus on shrine culture, provide lessons in understanding the tensions that exist within state and neoliberal structures of education, when humanist ideals confront nationalist ideologies that reinforce bordered identities, an important reflection for policy on GCED; while the pedagogical tool of unsettling categories can teach students to critically evaluate and unsettle categories of identity(ies) that otherise communities and reinforce borders in their respective contexts.

Introduction

Is there a possibility of global citizenship in the 21st century when national

borders have been fortified, when elections in democratic countries are fought through scapegoating of immigrants and religious communities, when migrants fleeing war, poverty, and ecological crises caused by capitalist greed are deliberately left to drown in the Mediterranean Sea? Any discussion on the idea of a global citizen is impossible without recognising the material realities that dictate the lives of human beings on this planet. Even the digital revolution in the Age of the Internet that has created the possibility of greater interaction and connection across the world has become a medium of propagating divisive ideologies, creating echo chambers of like-minded ideologues and spreading fake news through social media. In education, universities that ought to be bastions of academic freedom have increasingly become authoritarian, evident in the crackdown on student protests for Palestine at universities across the United States and Europe. Yet, it is in these moments of disruption that the possibility of global citizenship can be seen; in the actions of students around the world protesting for the lives and freedoms of Palestinians in Gaza and the West Bank against Israeli occupation and apartheid; protesting to hold governments accountable towards the climate emergency; protesting for reparations for the victims of colonialism. These students and protestors reflect the spirit of global citizenship, but also highlight the limitations of existing structures of education embedded in neoliberal state ideologies that are failing their students by reinforcing borders rather than recognising the humanistic ideals of their students' actions. In such a context, global citizenship education (GCED) is imperative, as mainstream curriculum and educational bureaucracies need to be challenged, and their role as centres of learning and critical thinking needs to be reinforced.

In rethinking GCED and the resulting curricula that exists across different countries in the Global North and South, this chapter argues for *unsettling categories* as a potential GCED pedagogical tool; developing the ability of students to question the taken-for-granted knowledge that determines their various identities. The chapter gives the example of the Sufi tradition in Pakistan, focusing on shrine culture in Punjab, where such external categories around religion and identity are challenged (Kalra & Purewal, 2020). The chapter highlights the shrine of the beloved Sufi Saint Bulleh Shah, illustrating how these spaces of saints who profess a love for all beings can create *possibilities* of such love for communities that are otherwise ostracised in society, but also *limit and reinforce the status quo*.

Ironically, the philosophy of Bulleh Shah, or Sufi saints in Punjab, both on the side of the Indian[1] and Pakistani border, is not reflected in the existing education systems of either country. In fact, the Pakistani education system largely reinforces citizenship in relation to the nation-state and according to

the Pakistani state's definition of Islam and Islamic values (Niaz & Anand, 2024; Lall & Saeed, 2020). Attempts at reforming the education curriculum in line with the United Nations' 17 Sustainable Developments Goals (SDGs) has been unable to accommodate global citizenship values beyond those prescribed by the state (Hanif, 2023). However, as Laila Kadiwal and Naureen Durrani have argued, the possibility of GCED in the Pakistani context requires "transformative and historically nuanced approaches to global engagement that draw upon postcolonial/decolonial lenses" which "would enable students to think about the roots of global/local historical, political, economic and socio-cultural dimensions of conflict and inequities," rather than a top-down "liberal-humanist" global approach (2018, p. 553).

Such a rooted approach is possible by drawing on existing local examples of intercultural and inter-religious connections, and the divisions they overcome, that could further inform GCED. In this chapter, the focus on Bulleh Shah, his poetry, and the lived shrine culture provides one such example. Pilgrimage to shrines of saints in the region has been a tradition followed for centuries by devotees of the saints. The tradition cuts across different religions, where devotees engage in various rituals. Bulleh Shah's shrine invites devotees not just from South Asia but from across the world as well. Through the example of Bulleh Shah, the chapter shows how taken-for-granted knowledge and therefore the status quo is questioned by the Sufi saint; how communities across religious lines subvert hegemonic ideals of worship through local rituals; and, as argued by Kalra and Purewal (2020), how hegemonic definitions of religion and religious practice limits our understanding of the experiences of communities, where unsettling those categories becomes important.

The chapter further explores how the ritual of music, especially Qawwali and dance, can similarly open and close spaces for love across different dividing lines. Qawwali provides an important example in the age of technology. Qawwali is part of the ritual of the shrine, but has also been exported beyond the shrine, with Qawwals invited to perform at different venues, and rock and pop artists along with Bollywood films in India using the poems of Sufi saints in their songs. Diaspora communities have also played a role in the popularity of Qawwals beyond the region, such as in the case of the world-renowned Qawwal Nusrat Fateh Ali Khan, who was often invited for performances in the United Kingdom (and across the world) by members of the South Asian diasporas during his lifetime (Kalra, 2014).

The Sufi tradition, through the philosophy, poetry, and rituals of Bulleh Shah, as well as other Sufi saints, should be included in the curriculum for GCED; the tensions that emerge in the practice of this philosophy should be a lesson for policymakers in their consideration of implementing GCED curric-

ulum in a context of competing interests related to nationalism and neoliberal values; and the focus on unsettling categories should inform a pedagogic approach through which teachers can teach students to question their taken-for-granted knowledge about the world around them.

Global Citizenship Education

GCED reflects a sense of interconnectedness, respect, and responsibility of human beings not just towards each other, but also the environment and all living beings that exist on planet Earth (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization [UNESCO], 2021). UNESCO defines GCED as existing "in three conceptual dimensions": "cognitive," which ensures learners "acquire knowledge, understanding and critical thinking about global, regional, national and local issues and the interconnectedness and interdependency of different countries and populations"; "socio-emotional," which encourages "a sense of belonging to common humanity, sharing values and responsibilities, empathy, solidarity and respect for differences and diversity"; and "behavioural," which promotes the ability "to act effectively and responsibly at local, national and global levels for a more peaceful and sustainable world" (UNESCO, 2015, as cited in APCEIU, 2021, p. 9). The education system provides the ideal opportunity to teach these values of interconnectedness, a role especially important in this increasingly polarised world. Through addressing these dimensions, students and educators can think, feel, and act in relation to not just their immediate surroundings, but also their place in a larger ecosystem that is delicately sustained through the actions of every individual in the world, though some more than others.

To teach and communicate this meaning of interconnectedness, UNESCO has defined different types of global citizenship competencies that should be developed through the curriculum. These have included skills that recognise "the potential for a collective identity" beyond the individual or immediate surroundings; that promote "a deep knowledge of global issues"; "cognitive" and "reasoning skills" that build the capacity to solve problems; "non-cognitive" social skills that include the ability to learn from different contexts; and "behavioural capacities" that include acting collectively, as a community (UNESCO, 2014, p. 17). Since 2013, UNESCO has further expanded on what are called transversal competencies. Transversal competency includes critical and innovative thinking that encourages reflexivity, reasoning, and creativity; interpersonal skills to communicate effectively, organise, work as a team, empathise, and be compassionate; media and information literacy, which has

become increasingly important in the age of fake news; and global citizenship itself as a transversal competency that ensures a sense of awareness, tolerance, and openness, thereby promoting more ethical intercultural understanding, where a sense of belonging is not just to a nation but also to human and living beings.

While these competencies are no doubt essential in creating connections between human and living beings and their environment, I argue that such broad competencies will never address the multiple ways in which inequality exists, in which discrimination is experienced at the local and community levels, without first unsettling (Kalra & Purewal, 2020) the categories that define our place in society. It is the ability to critically evaluate our taken-for-granted knowledge and how that leads to a *process of othering* in our immediate surroundings, and can be a step towards critically evaluating those *processes of othering* at the national and global levels. In this chapter, I draw on secondary literature that has examined such instances of unsettling in the case of Sufi shrines in the Indian sub-continent. Sufism, understood in the context of global citizenship, is not a new idea. For example, in 2007 UNESCO celebrated the 800th birth anniversary of the great Sufi Saint Maulana Jalal ud Din Balkhi Rumi by issuing a commemorative medal in his name. The Director-General of UNESCO clearly saw the connection between Maulana Rumi and UNESCO's ideals when he observed:

> Like Mawlana Jalal-ud-Din Balkhi-Rumi, UNESCO believes that the quest for peace can come only through the knowledge and understanding of different faiths and the overriding qualities that are common to all religions. Otherwise, mistrust can give way to conflict and raise a wall of rejection between cultures. For this reason, UNESCO considers intercultural and interreligious dialogue the most effective means of avoiding misunderstandings that reinforce negative stereotypes, fuel mistrust and pave the way for extremism and violence. (UNESCO, 2007, pp. 2–3)

Just like GCED competencies in principle promote intercultural and interreligious dialogue, Sufi poetry and philosophy no doubt promotes these humanist ideals, but in both cases, it is in the material practice that the possibility and limitations of such ideals become apparent.

For GCED, while the principles of global citizenship competency are clearly defined, the reality of its implementation in the curriculum is more complex. For example, in a UNICEF and SEAMEO (2023) study that examined GCED in Southeast Asia, the authors found that GCED was "a priority area in teaching and learning" but the nature of "implementation across coun-

tries" was dependent on educational "resources, teacher capacity and time constraints" (2023, p. 28). Akkari and Maleq (2020), in their edited volume, have illustrated how the success of GCED is dependent on different historical realities that may dictate the extent to which the idea of global citizenship is implemented in the national education system. Factors include the place of minorities and immigrants in the national imagination, the legacy of colonialism, and the reality of settler colonialism, amongst myriad social, political, and historical realities that impact the implementation of global citizenship as a skill and value. Bosio and Schattle (2023) have argued for an "ethical" GCED that allows for a Freirean "conscientization, as in achieving an in-depth and critical understanding of the world—allowing for the perception and exposure of social and political contradictions—and identity development through the transmission of knowledge, skills, and values across generations" (Freire, 2018, as cited in Bosio & Schattle 2023, p. 290). Hence, the implementation of GCED continues to be a challenge in different countries, but far from being a Western or foreign concept, the values that are defined under global citizenship and GCED already exist in societies and traditions across the world (as evident in the chapters in this book), where Sufism is one such example.

Sufism (Tasawwuf)

Sufism, or Tasawwuf, is popularly understood as the "spiritual" and "mystical" practice of Islam (Abbas, 2002, p. 6). Central to Sufism is the relationship between the *murid* (disciple) and *pir-o-murshid* (spiritual guide/teacher/sheikh), a relationship that "can be traced back over time to the Prophet Muhammad" and his followers (Metcalf, 2009, p. xviii). Qureshi (1994) highlights a continuity between the Sufi saints, the Prophet, and God. He observes:

> "[a] spiritual genealogy and chain of transmission (silsila) links each Sufi to this hierarchy through his spiritual preceptor (sheikh), while a spiritual path (tarfqa) with appropriate stages (maqam) leads him forward in his quest toward closeness with God through those saintly figures who are near Him, culminating in his permanent union with God in death (wisal)." (Qureshi, 1994, p. 503)

In this "permanent union," the Sufi transcends death. Sufi orders, or *ṭarīqahs*, trace their lineage to the "founders" and ultimately "the Prophet himself." More institutionalised Sufi orders also follow a "chain of succession,"

which includes the "descendants" of these families that "retain their spiritual authority" and which is "passed down through generations" (Ewing, 2020, pp. 12–13).[2] There are also Sufi saints who do not possess such "formal lineages" but instead charted their "own route to God" through their "defiance of convention" (Metcalf, 2009, p. 9). The spiritual connection of the Sufi saint who is still alive through the union with God, has drawn followers across different traditions, across caste and class divisions, gender and sexualities, ethnicities and race, seeking blessing, knowledge, and guidance from the Sufi saints for centuries.

Mainstream scholarship focuses on the spiritual and mystical dimension of Sufi saints, often overlooking or erasing the political importance of these saints. For instance, Ewing and Corbett in their edited volume have examined how Orientalist writing on Sufism as a category, particularly in the late 18th and early 19th century, imposed this idea of Sufism being apolitical, while emphasising tensions between Sufi thought and mainstream Islam.[3] But Sufism is more than such Orientalist definitions of mysticism. Bashir highlights how Sufism is "an internally variegated array of ideas and practices that, taken together, forms an integral and crucial part of the complex intellectual and sociocultural histories of Islamic societies" (Bashir, 2011, p. 11). Some Sufi orders have historically enjoyed political patronage and have influenced political and social developments, others have resisted the status quo, while some followed a purely ascetic path. To this day, Sufism enjoys support across Asia, Africa, and the Middle East (Bashir, 2011) and its diasporas. It is practised in different ways across the world, where Sufi orders trace their lineage to different Sufi saints around the world. Therefore, any definition of Sufism is incomplete without recognising such diversity within Sufism and the Sufi tradition.

While the subject of Sufism is vast, this chapter focuses on one area of the Indian subcontinent, Punjab, and what we can learn from the Sufi traditions and rituals found there.

The Sufi Tradition in Punjab: the Possibility of Intercultural Connections

Siddiqui traces the influence of Sufi saints in Punjab to the late 11th century, when the first treatise on Sufism, *Kashf-ul-Mahjub*, was written in Persian by the Sufi Shaikh Ali bin Usman Hujwiri (Siddiqui, 2024). Punjab became an important region for Sufism, where the city of Multan, located on the banks of the River Chenab, is famously called The City of Saints. However, shrines of Sufi saints are found across Punjab and Pakistan, Sindh being another province known for its Sufi traditions.

Shrines in Punjab are not just limited to Sufism but are part of different

religious traditions in the region (Kalra & Purewal, 2020; Khan, 2023). The shrine of Baba Guru Nanak, the founder of the Sikh religion, is in Kartarpur and has devotees from across different religions, each claiming Baba Guru Nanak as their own. Amen Jaffer has observed how Jalandhar (in Indian Punjab) has shrines "where Shiva devotion exists alongside Muslim saints and Dalit holy figures" (Jaffer, 2018). Kalra and Purewal have documented how "colonial modernity" reduced the "radical potential of these philosopher-poets and placed their works in the mould of an eternal political theology: the Hindu-Muslim divide," one that "was further accentuated by partition and postcolonial nationalisms" (Kalra & Purewal, 2020, p. 90). A common theme in these shrines is the idea of love (*ishq*) expressed through various rituals. "Divine love," Khan notes, is the "single thread" that runs "through Sufi folklore in Pakistan." The *ziyāra*, or pilgrimage, "to Sufi shrines is rooted in this relationship of love and understood as visiting a beloved Sufi who is not dead but alive in God" (Khan, 2023, p. 123). Devotees across religious divides visit shrines with "[e]xpressed material needs (such as a job, good health, a son) and the rituals of laying a cloth, offerings of flowers and food, or tying a thread," rituals shared across shrines (Kalra & Purewal, 2020, p. 90).

The lived experience of the shrine is a shared experience for followers, creating the *possibility* of breaking down borders and boundaries around religion, caste, class, sexualities, genders, etc. The culture within shrines has the potential to bring communities together, otherwise divided through imposed categories as defined by the state or orthodox ideals. Jaffer, in his anthropological work, also highlights how shrines provide space for conversations and friendships across class barriers, as the only place in the urban centre where individuals from different backgrounds can meet and hold reflective conversations beyond the mundane (Jaffer, 2018). Thousands of devotees from across the Indian sub-continent and abroad travel to these shrines, a practice that has continued despite strict border control and harsh bureaucracies with respect to attaining a visa.

The possibility of Sufi philosophy and the shared experiences in shrines in Punjab are also reflected in the poetry of Sufi saints. The chapter focuses on the example of one such saint, Baba Bulleh Shah, who disrupts the status quo through his poetry, his life, and the rituals of music and dance that have continued to this day at his shrine.

Baba Bulleh Shah

Bulleh Shah's poetry (kafī[4]) in the local vernacular language of Punjabi transcends time and space, disrupting the status quo. Bulleh Shah's life, as documented by different scholars, is also an example of such disruption. He

belonged to a noble Sayyid family, which traces their lineage to the family of the Prophet of Islam. However, he found his spiritual guide in Shāh Ināyat Qādirī, who belonged to the "Qādiriyah Sufi order and by caste was himself an Arain" (Khan, 2023, p. 128), which was considered relatively low in the caste hierarchy. This submission to a spiritual guide that belonged to a caste of low standing was condemned by his family, but his love for his murshid only grew stronger. Bulleh Shah's life is a series of revolutionary acts against the status quo, from his unwavering love for his murshid, to joining "a group of singers and dancers (mirasis), traveling with them as they went throughout the region" (Khan, 2023, p. 130), a cause of further consternation for the community. The extensive corpus of Bulleh Shah's poetry is beyond the scope of this chapter, but there are important themes that can teach us about unsettling different categories and challenging the status quo that will be briefly discussed in this section.[5] These include his critique of religious orthodoxy, his emphasis on understanding the self, and the rituals, including music and dance, associated with his shrine. These themes cut across religious, gender, caste, and class divisions, providing reflections on the *possibility* of Bulleh Shah's poetry and philosophy as a force of disruption and unity.

Bulleh Shah's kafī challenged religious orthodoxy, unsettling categories that prevent people from fully realising their connection with the Divine. In the following verses, such disruption is clearly visible:

> *I am not a Hindu, nor a Muslim. I have forsaken pride*
> *and become unsullied.*
> *I am not a Sunni, nor a Shia. I have adopted the path of*
> *peace toward all.*
> *I am not hungry, nor am I full. I am not naked, nor am*
> *I covered.*
> *I do not weep, nor do I laugh. I am not ruined, nor do*
> *I flourish.*
> *I am not a sinner, nor am I virtuous. I do not know about*
> *the path of sin and merit.*
> *Bullhe Shah, the mind that is fixed on God leaves behind*
> *the duality of Hindu and Turk.*
> (Translation by Shackle, 2021, p. 33)

Khan (2023) observes how "[i]n the eyes of Bulleh Shāh, one can be a Hindu, Muslim, Sikh, Christian, or Jew and fully experience this Divine unity by searching for its essence, or presence, in the heart—beyond religious institutions, rituals, and reified categories of what it means to be religious" (p.

140). Kalra has noted how interpretation of Bulleh Shah's poetry "oscillates between presenting him as a Vedantist or a Sufi, with each interpretation finding much to support their position in his extant poems" (Kalra, 2015, p. 164). By stripping away categories and boundaries that confine/define the human experience, Bulleh Shah becomes a saint for all, belonging to everyone. However, central to this unsettling is a sense of belonging to the Divine and a decentring of the self, or the elimination of the ego. The following kafī expresses the importance of recognising this limitation of the ego that stands in the way of connecting with the Divine:

> By going to Mecca the mystery is not solved,
> So long as the ego is not annihilated.
> By going to Ganga the mystery is not solved,
> Though you may take a hundred dips into it.
> By going to *Gaya* the mystery is not solved,
> Though you may offer many rice-cakes at funerals.
> O Bullah, the mystery will be solved only,
> When the "I" (the ego) is completely eliminated
> (Translation by Puri & Shangari, 1986, p. 70)

Like the previous example, this kafī also connects the struggles of all believers across religious traditions. It is the human need for connection with the Divine that drives this search for knowledge, but the beginning and end of that search is the (internal) self. Elsewhere in his poetry, Bulleh Shah has also chastised the religious clergy of this quest for external knowledge that ignores the self, the starting point for which is "dot (nuqṭa) or just the first letter of the alphabet (ḥarf, pl. ḥurūf), namely, alif" (Khan, 2023, p. 145):

> By constant reading mullahs become Qazis,
> But God is happy without such knowledge.
> Their greed is whetted day after day.
> Their acts are aimed at personal gain.
> Gather no more knowledge, O friend!
> …
> Enough of this learning, O friend!
> Only Alif is required on the path.
> (Translation by Puri & Shangari, 1986, pp. 126–127)

Khan explains how this "reference indicates Bulleh Shāh's familiarity with alif's older mystical and cosmological associations in Sufi thought," which is

why he "advocates abandoning all other kinds of knowledge in order to grasp the significance of alif, which contains the essence of everything in existence" (Khan, 2023, p. 145). It is also a critique of the hypocrisy of the religious orthodoxy, who were focused on their own salvation, setting, and following of rules without understanding the spiritual essence of what they practised and preached. The existence and reinforcement of religious, caste, class, and gendered hierarchies by these same religious clerics was reflective of a status quo disconnected from the true essence of the Divine.

Bulleh Shah's music and dance as an expression of love for the Divine also broke with tradition and orthodoxy. His use of the feminine in his poetry (though a tradition followed by other Sufis) already challenges the gendered boundaries of love and authority (Singh & Gaur, 2024). Dancing by men, especially those belonging to the Sayyid family, was unacceptable, frowned upon by the nobility, and associated with women from a lower caste/class background. For a Sayyid to leave his family and join a group of musicians and dancers as they travel the world was considered a grave insult. However, dance becomes an expression of love and devotion for the Divine:

> Your love had made me dance to a fast beat!
> Your love had taken abode within my heart!
> This cup of poison I drank all by myself
> Come, come, O physician, or else I breathe my last!
> (Translated by J. R. Puri & T. R. Shangari, as cited in Khan, 2023, p. 142)

The dance that is attributed to Bulleh Shah "is one of dishevelment, desire and longing," following "thaiyā thaiyā, a rhythmic movement of the feet in Indian classical dance" (Khan, 2023, p. 141), while the dancers wear *ghungru*[6] on their feet. Khan also notes how dancing for Bulleh Shah was an expression of love for his "murshid," through whom he could reach the Divine. Bulleh Shah's poetry is "suffused with notions of "*ishq*, a 'passionate desire or longing [for God]' rooted in the inner heart, and a rejection of political identities in favor of the Divine self" (Khan, 2023, p. 13; Singh & Gaur, 2024). His rejection of religious orthodoxy and embrace of the singers and the musicians in his journey towards the Divine made him into "a patron saint of all the musicians in the Indus region" (Khan, 2023, p. 13).

Dance and music as rituals continue at his shrine, Darbar Baba Bulleh Shah, in the town of Kasur in Punjab, Pakistan, where hundreds of pilgrims pay homage daily and thousands of devotees travel to his shrine annually on his death anniversary. In Sufism, the death anniversary, or the Urs Mubarak, is a day of celebration when the Saint became one with his Creator, which

"made [him] truly alive" (Khan, 2023, p. 123; Abbas, 2002). It is a day when devotees, from children to the young and elderly, visit his shrine to seek his blessings, dance, and sing, when Qawwals gather for a spiritual journey with the devotees through music.

Music and Dance: Qawwali at the Shrine and Beyond

Qawwali, a part of shrine ritual, "is a genre of Muslim devotional music" following South Asian "musical meters and ragas (melodic frameworks)" and includes local instruments such as "the dholak (barrel-shaped drum) and harmonium (reed organ)" (Mir, 2010, p. 104). Traditionally, other instruments, including the sitar and tabla, have also been part of the performance. Sufis perceived music as having the ability to "draw out the deepest emotions, but also, when coordinated with symbolic words and rhythmical movements, has power over man's will" (Trimingham, 1971, p. 195, as cited in Sakata, 1994, p. 87). The Qawwals usually come from generations of musicians; some trace their lineage to "the original musicians trained by" Amir Khusro, a renowned "court poet of the Delhi Sultanates," regarded as the "musical founder" of Qawwali, (though historians have disputed that claim) (Kalra, 2015, pp. 102–103). "Sama,'" or the "qawwal assembly," is meant to "guide the Sufi toward mystical knowledge," arousing "mystical emotion, to the state of spiritual ecstasy" (Qureshi, 1994, p. 505).

The "spiritual director," or the *pir*, "sits at the head of a Sufi gathering," with the qawwals sitting "at the opposite end" (Sakata, 1994, p. 93). The "Qawwal ensemble" includes "a lead male singer, soloists and a chorus of male singers" performing Sufi poetry in different languages, including "Persian, Urdu, Panjabi, and Hindi" (Sakata, 1994, p. 90). Traditionally, Qawwali follows a particular pattern, "invoking first God, the Prophet, and then saints along with mystical states" (Qureshi, 1994, pp. 506–507), and is performed at particular times during the day, week, month, and year. However, it is the Qawwal who "has complete control over the words, lines, or sections to be repeated, and the musical settings of these repetitions," often dependent on "the atmosphere of the assembly" as he "tries to capture the mood of the moment to lead the listeners to a deeper understanding and appreciation of the text" (Sakata, 1994, p. 90). The atmosphere is one where the "qawwal uses tempo, melodic structures, and song texts" to move the audience towards a spiritual "climax" (Sakata, 1994, p. 90).

The Qawwali also includes performance of poetry about the saint written by devotees or often the Qawwal themselves. Qawwals bring in references to other religious traditions, emblematic of the kafī discussed in the previous section. There is communication with the audience, at times a dialogue

through a performance that has a life of its own.

Qawwali, as performed at the shrine of Bulleh Shah and other Sufi saints, and those devotees who listen and participate, mesmerised by the music and poetry, have the ultimate aim of expressing their love (*ishq*) for Bulleh Shah. Abbas, in her work, shares her experience of attending a Qawwali at the shrine of Bulleh Shah. The audience included men, women, and khwajasiras,[7] all collectively mesmerised by the Qawwal, with the khwajasiras dancing to the melody. In interviewing the Qawwals who traced their lineage to the musicians who performed with Bulleh Shah, it was clear that their focus was both the audience and their "devotion to Baba Bulle Shah," with the aim of engaging with "the larger meanings of human existence, of living" (Abbas, 2002, pp. 80–81).

In the age of technology, Qawwali has been taken outside the shrine. Scholars (Jacoviello, 2011) have critiqued such Qawwali as being commercial or secular, performed in concert halls, at weddings, and even online during the Covid-19 pandemic. A distinction is made between the sacred space of the shrine and the secular space of these halls, the spiritual experience of the Qawwali in its "authentic" space and the "commercial" value of Qawwali as a commodity in the marketplace (Sakata 1994, p. 90). However, Sakata notes that despite this "commercial" and "popularization of Qawwali, whether sung in a traditional style, a *filmi* style, or a Western pop style," the audience nonetheless identifies this genre as Qawwali (Sakata, 1994, p. 91). Kalra also notes how these dichotomies—secular/sacred, commercial/spiritual—lose meaning when examined through the experience of the audience and the qawwal. He gives the example of the performances of the most famous qawwal, Nusrat Fateh Ali Khan, who gained popularity not only within the Indian sub-continent but amongst audiences across the world, with his album nominated for a Grammy award in 1997. Kalra observes that Nusrat Fateh Ali Khan's performance beyond the shrine should not be understood as a "move to an inauthentic Qawwali, shorn of its spiritual roots and legacy, rather that when agency is given to the musician outside of the patron purview (of Sufi shrine or Mughal court), then they are able to be versatile, respond to the market and retain a narrative about their tradition" (Kalra, 2015, p. 111).

In fact, Sakata quotes an interview by Nusrat Fateh Ali Khan where he clearly discounts such dichotomous understandings of Qawwali as performed inside or outside the shrine:

> But really, I'm just singing for God. You see, music is a thing that can make a rapport
> between God and people special. You can't gain that sort of rapport from

> prayers,
> even if you spend years praying. If a listener can't understand the words, just participating
> in the music as a concert will light a flame in the soul" […] "When I sing it doesn't seem
> to come from my mind, and I don't feel myself. ... At that time I'm feeling in another world.
> An imaginary world. When I perform in concert, I feel that the poetry is for my God and I
> feel nearer to Him, to the sacred personality.
> (Watrous, 1993, as cited in Sakata, 1994, p. 96)

Qawwali therefore becomes a medium of connecting the audience to God through the qawwal, but also one that can extend this feeling beyond the shrine. This is not to undermine the experience and rituals of the shrine, a space that in principle is open to all (discussed further in the next section). However, taking Qawwali beyond the shrine creates the possibility of communicating the message of the Sufi saint and the spiritual experience to communities beyond borders and religious traditions. In fact, Nusrat Fateh Ali Khan's embrace by Western audiences, and his successful collaborations with Peter Gabriel, an English musician, testify to the power of music to transcend boundaries despite differences in language and musical traditions, an important intervention to consider for GCED curriculum as well. For Kalra, Punjabi Qawwali evokes the possibility of what he calls "Punjabiyat," a connection that transcends religion and the nation-state. Bringing the South Asian and Punjabi diaspora into conversation with Qawwali, Kalra shows how Qawwals like Nusrat Fateh Ali Khan, who drew from different religious traditions, permit a reimagining of "nineteenth-century Punjab in which the role of musicians was not delimited by their religious identity" (Kalra, 2014, p. 185).

Therefore, the *possibility* of the Sufi tradition in promoting "intercultural and interreligious dialogue" (UNESCO, 2007) is immense, but in practice certain limitations exist that need to be critically evaluated.

Limiting Possibilities: Power Structures and Control of Sufi Shrines in Punjab

As much as the shrine is a space meant to be open to all, its evolution under colonial systems of control, postcolonial bureaucracies of nation-states, and religious reformist movements has meant the imposition of external rules and regulations in controlling the shrine. To truly learn about the potential of Sufi thought in bridging differences, and for our purposes its possible place with

GCED, we need to understand the material conditions that limit this potential to inform a practical way forward.

The potential of what the Sufi tradition through shrines offers is limited through structures of power and control, by both the state and the spiritual inheritors (*gadhi nashin*) of the shrines. These spiritual inheritors have historically held political and economic power, given their relationship with the devotees of the Sufi shrine. To curtail this power, Sufi shrines came under the bureaucratic control of the Pakistani government in the 1950s through the creation of the Ministry of Auqaf (Ewing, 2020, p. 13). However, the bureaucratic control brought its own set of problems, as documented by Khan, attempting to "reform the cosmology of Sufi shrines in support of its own political ideology" (Khan, 2023, p. 100). Guided by Sunni religious orthodoxy, the Pakistani state, through the Auqaf and Religious Affairs department, has tried to regulate how devotees express their love (*ishq*) for their saint.

The Auqaf and Religious Affairs department that is under the control of the provincial government has "an administrator" called the "Chief Administrator and Muttwali (an honorific for shrine caretaker), a title that recognised both traditional and postcolonial authority" (Kalra & Purewal, 2020, p. 57). Kalra and Purewal show how such state sanctioned religious authority and control of the shrine "enabled the modern ulema to mobilize their textual inspired Islam over the experiential-based Sufi form" (Kalra & Purewal, 2020, p. 57). The Pakistani state has attempted to "suppress and rechannel the devotional energy generated at the Sufi shrines" by re-presenting "the hagiographic identities of Indus Sufi saints as, essentially, normative models of piety as opposed to sources of intercession and response to prayer" (Khan, 2023, p. 12). Khan gives examples of shrines where "engraved instructions" are found on "how to perform ḥāẓirī" that reflect religious orthodoxy. Devotional rituals and practices in the shrines are portrayed as "folk culture," where the "legitimacy and religious significance" of shrine rituals (such as music and dance) is undercut by the state (Khan, 2023, p. 16).

The state's attempt to regulate Sufi shrines does not end with rituals but is also undertaken through reshaping its architecture. These include marking "boundaries" of shrines, setting up large "mosques that envelop and functionally eclipse the shrine's landscape" and disrupt "the sacred geography and the ecology of their premises" (Khan, 2023, pp. 13, 16). Kalra and Purewal (2020) note the irony of this control, particularly in the case of Bulleh Shah's shrine, which has been subjected to such architectural interventions, namely, the construction of a "large minaret next to the shrine of Bulleh Shah," a Sufi saint who was openly critical of religious orthodoxy, ridiculing them for their hypocrisy, to the extent that no religious cleric was "willing to read the prayers

and bury him and no graveyard in the old city of Kasur was willing to host his body" (p. 93). The changing architecture and the changes in rituals all point to the ways in which the state tries to control the narrative and practice of Sufi shrines.

Such control also has implications on who is welcomed into these shrines and on what terms. Kalra and Purewal have questioned the extent to which shrines cut across gendered and caste hierarchies, often keeping women and dalits in the "margins" (Kalra & Purewal, 2020). An example of this can be seen in the way both the colonial state and the Pakistani state tried to regulate women's singing and dancing in shrines, despite being part of shrine ritual. The Auqaf and Religious Affairs still follows *The Music in Muslim Shrines Act* (1942) which can be found on their website and states the following:

> **3. Punishment for singing or dancing in Muslim Shrines.**— If any woman or girl sings to the accompaniment of a musical instrument or dances with or without a musical instrument in a Muslim Shrine, she shall be guilty of an offence under this Act and shall be liable on conviction to be punished with fine not exceeding five hundred rupees or with imprisonment of either description for a term not exceeding six months or with both such fine and imprisonment.

This piece of legislation was introduced in 1942 under colonial rule but has continued being upheld by the postcolonial state. However, the principle of this legislation, and the reality of the shrine, is quite different. Despite this control, women are still seen singing and dancing in the shrine. Resistance to such state control continues within the shrine (Kalra & Purewal, 2020, p. 96). Abbas has observed how shrines are the only "religious spaces" where women's presence is accepted and participation welcomed. However, Kalra and Purewal are cautious about the extent to which such participation challenges the status quo. They show how "examples of women who have become deified with their own shrine, following and poetry are so few that they do not offer an exception to the rule of patriarchal devotional worship, the normative environment which dominates the Punjab" (Kalra & Purewal, 2020, p. 98). They also note how shrines regulated by the Auqaf department have "unwritten and unspoken ritual restrictions on women to gain access to or perform rites during menstruation, [and] this has led to a convention that women are not allowed into most tombs" (Kalra & Purewal, 2020, p. 37). Some shrines also practise segregation during the Urs Mubarak, for instance the Data Darbar, the shrine of Ali al-Hujwiri in Lahore (Abbas, 2002).

However, what is also noteworthy is the fact that the state has attempted to

regulate but not close down the shrines, aware of their importance in Punjab and the Indian subcontinent. At the same time, they are also aware of the power of the spiritual inheritors (*gadhi nashin*). Their attempts at curtailing their power have largely been unsuccessful. In fact, these spiritual inheritors are often part of the larger feudal structures that dominate politics and society. Ansari, in her research on Sindh, notes how some "pīr families" were already part of "long established tradition of functioning as intermediaries, or mediators" with the "British colonial state" (Ansari, 2020, p. 130). Political parties and their leaders during Pakistan's independence movement similarly recognised the power of these families to win support of their devotees across Punjab and Sindh. These same families became more involved with politics, becoming a part of the status quo. While the case of Sindh becomes more complicated in relation to ethnic politics and nationalism, the importance of the spiritual inheritors, the pīr families, continued to be strengthened after Pakistan's independence. Philippon (2020) has noted how every politician and government in Pakistan recently "has successfully tapped into the symbolic reservoir of legitimacy that the shrines and saints associated with the local spiritual traditions represent for the population" (p. 145).

This *reality check* of the way Sufi shrines exist and are experienced in modern-day Punjab is important to recognise in order to fully assess the possibilities that Sufi saints and their philosophy can offer for a more global ideal of citizenship. Sufism has also been drawn into the false dichotomy of the peaceful apolitical Islam, against the political Salafi Islam, especially during the war on terror. The Pakistani state under General Pervez Musharraf promoted this dichotomy, even going as far as to organise the "first international festival of Sufi music" in 2006 to promote the rich culture of Sufi Islam in the Indian subcontinent (Philippon, 2020, p. 145). The example of the Sufi saint that was shared in this chapter, Bulleh Shah, who challenged the status quo that continued to divide along the lines of caste, class, gender, religion, and sexuality, has not yet been realised. If anything, these ideals continue to be co-opted by political figures at home and abroad, pushing agendas that do not challenge the inequalities that continue to define and confine human experience.

Sufism in Pakistan has also been attacked. Sufi shrines have been targeted by terrorist groups like Daesh. In 2017, one of the most famous shrines of the Sufi Saint Lal Shahbaz Qalandar was attacked, killing more than 88 people and injuring hundreds more (Ahmed, 2017). Such attacks came from terrorist groups that viewed Sufi traditions as antithetical to the Islam they claimed to practise. The reality of Sufism in practice shows both the potential of a spiritual connection and the limitation of material realities dictated by dominant politics, religious ideologies, and social hierarchies that continue to persist.

Reflections on Possibilities for Global Citizenship Education: Unsettling Categories

Despite this *reality check* through the lived experience of Sufi shrines in Punjab, the possibility of what these shrines offer, and the way Sufi saints like Bulleh Shah challenge the status quo, is an important point of reflection for any intervention that aims to promote intercultural and interreligious understandings. What can be learnt through the lives of Sufi saints like Bulleh Shah is the importance of challenging existing hierarchies, thus questioning our *taken-for-granted* identities, to truly uncover what connects us, our humanity, and our relationship with the Divine.

Kalra and Purewal attempted to "*unsettle* the hegemonies within the study of religion and society" (Kalra & Purewal, 2020, p. 17) by drawing on gender and caste as the lens through which they examined the lived realities of devotees across shrines in Punjab. Their use of "unsettle" in this context provides an important pedagogical tool for us in thinking through GCED in the context of an increasingly polarised world.

Unsettle as a transitive verb has been defined as "to alter from a settled state; cause to be no longer firmly fixed or established; render unstable; disturb" (Collins English Dictionary, 2024). Unsettling identities bounded by exclusionary ideologies can become the first step towards realising the possibility of a human, living, and universal connection. Education in the context of the Indian sub-continent is marred by nationalist and religious ideologies that are exclusive to a particular identity, whether the Sunni Muslim in Pakistan under the state sanctioned ideology, or the Brahmin Hindu in India under Hindutva. Nationalist ideologies have dominated the political and educational discourse not just in South Asia, but around the world. The example of student protests that is mentioned in the introduction is another case in point: student attempts to unsettle overarching categories that demonise Palestinians, to reduce the diversity of Jewish identity to Zionism, and, in the course of this unsettling, disturb the status quo. These examples of unsettling categories are all around us. This disturbance is the first step towards change, but educational institutions as they exist in a neoliberal context of nation-states continue to be submerged in a discourse of division dictated by state ideologies that limit critical engagement and the potential of GCED.

Unsettling categories can become an important pedagogical tool through the process of *self-reflexivity* at two levels, during teacher training and teaching in class. As a teacher training pedagogical tool, teachers' identities will be unsettled by encouraging them to reflect on their identities and the borders that define those identities. In sociology, the first lesson that a student learns is to

question their *taken-for-granted* knowledge. This is an *unsettling* experience as they are made to reflect on why they believe in what they believe; the source of that knowledge; and the possibility that there may be other ways of being. As teachers learn to unsettle their own identities, this self-reflexive exercise will be introduced through their teaching, encouraging students to critically reflect on the borders that define their identities.

The examples in this chapter create the space of reflecting on those other ways of being, and should be included as part of GCED curriculum. For example, in thinking through content, insights into the ways in which music has travelled beyond the shrine can present an important learning opportunity to be introduced through the curriculum of GCED, where different musical traditions can open the possibility of student curiosity and can unsettle ideas of classical music that has mostly been defined by European musical traditions (e.g., opera). Bulleh Shah's poetry and philosophy provide an important approach in understanding the world around us. For Sufi saints like Bulleh Shah, external categories are imposed and stand in the way of his union with the Divine, which is the only identity that matters. His poetry shared through the musical tradition of Qawwali is an important source through which students can be introduced to his philosophy, and an important step towards learning to unsettle the categories that define us. By learning about Sufi traditions, students of GCED can be encouraged to question the hierarchies that exist in their local context, and beyond; from the outsider in the form of the immigrant, to the neighbour who belongs to a different religion, caste, ethnicity, sexuality, class, or gender, the list goes on. Bulleh Shah's poetry in this chapter gives an example of how these categories of religious difference, of caste and gender, have been challenged by the Sufi saint. His shrine is a space that invites devotees from all backgrounds despite external attempts at controlling the rituals and practises within the shrine. Sufi practices of dance and music unsettle religious categories imposed by the Pakistani state through its Auqaf department, which attempts to promote a single interpretation of religion and how it is practised. The dance and music rituals, along with the worshipping practices in Sufi shrines, connect across religious and communal lines, further unsettling the religious categories imposed by both the Indian and Pakistani states.

However, the chapter does not exoticise or romanticise this shrine culture either, where a critical approach to unsettling categories also requires an exploration of those divisive categories that persist. After all, it would be incorrect to assume that such spaces have disrupted the unequal status quo that exists in society. It is in recognising these challenges and limitations that policymakers can also reflect on the social structures that limit the implemen-

tation of GCED curriculum and ideas in different countries, particularly in relation to nationalist ideologies and neoliberal policies that prevent critical reflection, thereby the possibility of unsettling categories from taking place inside the classroom or the school. In the context of Pakistan, or the Indian sub-continent, for instance, gendered differences, caste dynamics, and the constant pressures from a *national narrative* related to religious identity continues to persist. The limitations of Sufism and shrine culture in promoting social, cultural, or religious plurality as highlighted in this chapter are an attempt to locate the material conditions that sustain inequalities beyond the shrine. However, it is the fact that these spaces create the possibility of unsettling the status quo in moments of interactions and conversations that should be a lesson for policymakers to take forward through its GCED curriculum. This unsettling as part of the mainstream education programme or curriculum must include the policymaker, the educational institution, the educator, and the student in unsettling their rigid identities and beliefs.

The aim of such a skill is by no means to undermine a particular identity, but rather to recognise how one is socialised into these identities, just like one is socialised into defining those identities that are pushed to the margins. It is important to recognise that this process of unsettling should be part of the mainstream education system, where the privileged, that is, those who benefit from the status quo, are made to question their identities. It is in the unsettling of the status quo under nationalism, populism, and identity politics that has taken hold of communities and states around the world that global citizenship is possible.

Concluding Observations

In the beginning of this chapter, I gave the example of UNESCO's recognition of the Sufi tradition of Maulana Rumi, sharing their vision of intercultural and interreligious dialogue. The example of Bulleh Shah and the rituals at his shrine reflect this intercultural and interreligious dialogue, but it would be incomplete to limit the analysis to just those ideals without recognising the lived realities of his devotees. It is for this reason that this chapter has highlighted those realities and the negotiations that take place to perform the rituals that the devotees want to perform, thereby resisting the disciplining efforts of the state (through the Auqaf body). In these acts are found examples of unsettling the status quo through the simple yet powerful act of singing and dancing, of praying to the saint, of just existing in a space in an urban centre that has increasingly become gentrified, where spaces to meet across lines of class, caste, gender, and ethnicity are shrinking (Jaffer, 2018) because shrines are subject to a changing city landscape through urbanisation, with further bound-

aries erected and communities forced out as concrete structures begin to dominate the urban environment. It is in the continued existence of the Sufi shrine, and the resistance of its devotees through mundane acts of ritual and worship, that *unsettling* of the status quo continues. It is in the material practise of these rituals and traditions that their possibilities and limitations are assessed and provide important insights into the kind of skills and learning necessary for us to move beyond imagined ideals, to a world where these ideals are realised and practised.

The examples in this chapter and the lessons learnt are not confined to a particular geographical region, but in the spirit of global citizenship, they have implications for how GCED is envisioned across the globe. There are lessons for policymakers, teachers, and students to reflect on the material challenges that exist in their contexts that prevent intercultural and inter-religious connections, as well as to learn through the philosophy and poetry of Sufi saints like Bulleh Shah to unsettle categories for the possibility of understanding human connection and taking the first step towards global citizenship.

Notes

1 See Mousumi Mukherjee's chapter in this volume for details on the Indian education system.

2 A prominent *silsilah* in Punjab is of "Shaikh Bahauddin Zakariya, a Punjab-born sufi" of the Suhrawardi *silsilah* that gained a following across the Indian subcontinent (Siddiqui, 2024, p. 51). Shaikh Bahauddin Zakariya not only had followers from across the region, but also enjoyed the support of the Delhi sultans, appointed as the Shaikh-ul-Islam. Shaikh Bahauddin Zakariya's shrine is located in Multan. Punjab was also the birthplace of Shaikh Fariduddin Ganj-i-Shakar, a great saint of the Chishti silsilah, who is popularly known as Baba Farid. His life was one of simplicity and austerity, known for his humanism and belief in equality for all. The Qadiri silsilah gained prominence in the 15th century under the patronage of Shaikh Muhammad al-Hussaini (Siddiqui, 2024).

3 Their edited volume also shares examples of an Orientalist body of knowledge related to Sufism that propagated certain meanings associated with Sufi thought. For instance, post-World War II programmes on Islamic Studies that were funded by organisations committed to a particular version of Islam in the modern world would promote a certain kind of scholarship. Corbett presents the case of the Orientalist writer H. A. R. Gibb, whose thesis focused on a "perpetual conflict between two Muslim factions: generally pacifist 'Sufis' and more aggressive (often racially coded as 'Arab') 'fundamentalists'" (Corbett, 2020, p. 28). Such writings ignored not just the historical political influence of Sufis in the Indian subcontinent, but also a rich tradition of anti-colonial struggles (as well as conflicts related to local rivalries) that were led by Sufis in the North and West African colonies under French colonial rule.

4 Vernacular kāfī verses are what "devotees believe to be the spoken word of the Sufi saints" (Khan, 2023, p. 14).

5 The chapter focuses on particular aspects of Bulleh Shah's poetry, but the revolutionary nature of his subject matter also includes patriarchy and the construction of caste, evident in the genre of *qissa*-poetry, that is, epic poems such as *Hir-Ranjha*, where love unsettles categories of caste, religion, and masculinities (Singh & Gaur, 2024).

6 Worn on the feet by South Asian classical dancers that make a sound when the feet move.

7 Officially referred to as the "third gender" under the 2018 *Transgender Rights Bill*. Also see Jaffer, 2022.

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PART III

Global Citizenship Education in Central and East Asia

7. The State of Global Citizenship in Central Asia and Kazakhstan: Problems, Progress and Possibilities

Aigul Kulnazarova

Abstract

This chapter examines Central Asia's complex transition to global citizenship following the collapse of the communist system in 1991. It analyses the impact of political, social, and economic changes on the region's engagement and integration into the global community. In particular, the chapter explores the progress of global citizenship education (GCED) in Kazakhstan, a regional leader in education reforms that has prioritised modernisation, internationalisation, and globalisation over the past three decades. Considering policy and cultural factors, the study examines the development, current practices, and potential future pathways of GCED at the higher education level in Central Asia and Kazakhstan.

Introduction: Framing Global Citizenship Education as a Global Public Good

Global Citizenship Education (GCED) is a relatively new policy framework that has emerged during a period of increasing globalisation—an era of worldwide interconnectedness that has generated significant backlashes, including terrorism, nationalism, and other forms of anti-globalism in various parts of the world. United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) has played a major role in formalising and popularising GCED, introducing it to the international policy agenda in the 2010s as part of its efforts to advance education, science, and culture that cultivate mutual understanding and respect, supporting global unity, inclusivity, diversity, and collaboration between individuals, communities, and nations (UNESCO,

2014). The organisation specifically views GCED as a "humanistic approach to education" that promotes academic knowledge and emphasises the development of individuals as engaged, responsible global citizens (UNESCO, 2015b). However, the idea of GCED, let alone the broader notion of global citizenship, was not entirely new, either conceptually or practically.

Hans Schattle (2009) traces the origins of global citizenship to the ancient world, linking it to the cosmopolitan ideas of Greek philosophers, while others have interpreted it through the lens of Confucianism, ubuntu, Shura, ahimsa, and other local traditions and practices (UNESCO, 2018a). The perception of global citizenship has been that it involves thinking and living within multiple communities, such as cities, countries, and people (Schattle, 2007). In particular, global citizenship "has gained a high profile in the educational arena … accompanying the rise of neoliberalism, for schools and universities to turn out 'globally competent' citizens" (Schattle, 2019, p. 706). Carlos Alberto Torres critically synthesises this idea by stating:

> Global citizenship education interacts with globalisation and neo-liberalism, key concepts which designate movements that have come to define our era of global interdependence. Global capitalism, which reflects the interaction of globalisation and neo-liberalism, now defines the top-down model of global hegemonic dominance, which rests on the power of elites, multinational corporations, bilateral and multilateral organisms, and the global and regional power of nations, which exercise control over people, commodities, territories, capital and resources of all kinds, including the environment. The viability of the neo-liberal model of economic development has been questioned, yet the politics of culture associated with neo-liberalism are still in force and have become the new common sense shaping the role of government and, not least, education. This 'common sense' has become an ideology, playing a major role in constructing a hegemonic moral and intellectual leadership in contemporary societies. (Torres, 2015, p. 262)

Unlike many early contributors to GCED, Torres emphasised a critical perspective on its role. Rather than viewing GCED as merely a progressive or transformative educational approach, he suggested that prevailing socio-economic forces, such as globalisation and neoliberalism, deeply entangle it. Torres further implied that GCED is shaped by and contributes to the dynamics of global capitalism, challenging the notion that it is a neutral instrument. This critical insight should prompt scholars, educators, and policymakers to *rethink* how they conceptualise and implement GCED in the Global South or

in societies undergoing transition that have historically lacked neoliberal or capitalist systems and have been relatively distant from the arenas of globalisation and the global market. It also raises crucial questions about whether GCED fosters global unity or perpetuates existing power structures.

According to UNESCO, GCED promotes education and citizenship as a global public good. Practically, GCED "applies a multifaceted approach, employing concepts, methodologies and theories already implemented in different fields and subjects, including human rights education, peace education, education for sustainable development and education for international understanding" (UNESCO, 2014, p. 9). UNESCO's goal in adopting this approach is "to advance their overlapping agendas, which share a common objective to foster a more just, peaceful and sustainable world" (2014, p. 9). While UNESCO's integrated framework reinforces the shared values of these agendas, some scholars critique GCED for being vague or too loosely defined, which can dilute its impact (Marshall, 2005). Additionally, existing models are criticised as overly simplistic or failing to account for the complex and overlapping nature of GCED (Oxley & Morris, 2013). Nonetheless, this very ambiguity can be seen as an advantage. By allowing for diverse inter-

Table 7.1 *Typology of Global Citizenship Developed by Oxley and Morris (2013)*

Cosmopolitan-Based Conceptions *prioritise universal perspectives, with four key concepts identified within this category*	**Advocacy-Based Conceptions** *adopt a more critical stance, often questioning mainstream cosmopolitan perspectives*
Political global citizenship explores the relationship between individuals and the state, with sub-conceptions as cosmopolitan democracy and the idea of a world society.	**Social global citizenship** centres on transnational activism and the role of global civil society.
Moral global citizenship highlights individuals' ethical obligations to others, often grounded in universal human rights.	**Critical global citizenship** challenges world power structures and calls for social change.
Economic global citizenship examines the interplay of capitalism, neoliberalism, and development in the context of GCED.	**Environmental global citizenship** stresses the importance of environmental sustainability and human responsibilities towards nature.
Cultural global citizenship reflects the effects of globalisation on cultural practices and identities, emphasising their exchange and understanding.	**Spiritual global citizenship** connects religious and emotional dimensions, promoting a holistic and interconnected view of humanity.

pretations, GCED supports flexible applications across various educational settings, while also encouraging continuous re-evaluation of citizenship education in relation to local, national, regional, and global contexts.

In their study, Oxley and Morris (2013) proposed a typology for understanding the different applications where global citizenship can be used as an educational objective. They divided it into two main categories, as demonstrated in Table 7.1.

Table 7.2 further illustrates the contrasting perspectives of the two approaches. Cosmopolitan-based concepts define universal ideals and frameworks for GCED. On the other hand, advocacy-oriented approaches prioritise critical engagement and transformative action in GCED.

The Oxley-Morris typology provides a useful framework for our analysis of how educational policies and curricula in transitioning Central Asian states have prioritised different approaches to citizenship, which have been shaped by their unique national, political, and socioeconomic contexts. Looking

Table 7.2 *Comparison Between Cosmopolitan-Based and Advocacy-Oriented GCED*

Categories Parameters	*Cosmopolitan-Based Approach*	*Advocacy-Oriented Approach*
Scope and Priorities	Organise and centre global citizenship on universal concepts such as human rights, freedoms, fairness, equity, and various political, ethical, economic, and cultural frameworks	Focus more on critical and action-oriented perspectives that challenge existing structures, such as social, environmental, and spiritual ones, and call for transformative change
Global Issues	Promote a structured, idealistic vision of global engagement, proposing universal standards, norms, and systems for international interactions, such as a global governance system aiming to establish shared principles and rules through institutions and mechanisms that facilitate cooperation and address global challenges	Emphasise addressing systemic inequalities and driving societal transformation through active engagement and activism, with movements like Greenpeace, #MeToo, Black Lives Matter, and other social protests serving as examples of this approach and demonstrating how global citizenship involves active efforts to challenge and change existing unjust systems
Educational Goals	Aim to understand global systems, ethical responsibilities, and cultural appreciation within a universal framework	Seek to empower students to question existing systems, engage in activism, and take personal and collective action to address global challenges

forward, this framework also has the potential to inform how these approaches might evolve, guiding future policy adjustments towards more synergistic and integrative models of global citizenship in the region.

Central Asia, comprising Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan, acquired independence amidst the pressures of globalisation. Since the Soviet Union's dissolution in 1991, these countries have undergone profound political, economic, and social transformations. In response, all five nations have sought to reform their education systems to meet both global standards and local needs. Each country has pursued educational reforms, with varying degrees of success. Political, social, and economic shifts have deeply influenced decision-making in Central Asia, with reforms facing various obstacles, including economic difficulties, political instability, resource constraints, and challenges in regional cooperation. Decades later, efforts to integrate GCED continue to face resistance and scepticism, both of which are rooted in the region's historical legacies, cultural identities, and ongoing geopolitical tensions.

Despite extensive research by regional and international scholars on transformations in Central Asian states, including educational reforms, there has been limited analysis of how global citizenship ideas are conceptualised, diffused, and implemented in these countries. This chapter addresses this gap by exploring the extent to which global citizenship has gained prominence in Central Asia, with a particular focus on Kazakhstan.

From Active Builders of Communism to Global Citizens: Three Decades of Transformation in Central Asia

> *What knowledge is acquired and why, where, when and how it is used represent fundamental questions for the development of individuals and societies.* (UNESCO, 2015b, p. 17)

The above quote resonates with the historical context of Central Asia, where the Soviet Union's educational and ideological policies dictated the type of knowledge disseminated. The Soviet education system, with its rigid uniformity, communist indoctrination, and central oversight, prioritised teaching Marxist-Leninist ideology. Concepts such as class struggle, revolutionary change, the dictatorship of the proletariat, collective ownership, international solidarity, social equality, and atheism were integral to the Soviet curriculum, deeply influencing how knowledge was acquired and used to mould individu-

als and societies under the communist system. The Soviet Ministry of Education in Moscow exercised stringent control over all educational aspects—from preschool to higher education—through the ministries of education in the 15 Soviet Socialist Republics (Kulnazarova, 2017a, p. 266).

Under the leadership of Nikita Khrushchev, who led the Union of Soviet Socialistic Republics (USSR) from 1953 to 1964, the government implemented a new educational policy with the goal of eradicating *any vestiges of capitalism* from the minds of the Soviet people. State leaders asserted that a complete transition to communism required the emergence of a new type of individual: the active builders of communism (Kulnazarova, 2017a, p. 267). To create a new generation of Soviet citizens, the government tightly controlled every aspect of education, including teacher preparation, textbooks, curriculum, and teaching materials, all in line with its political beliefs. In 1962, the Soviet National Commission for UNESCO reported the following:

> In the USSR, war propaganda and the preaching of enmity in any form is illegal and is punishable by law. There are no classes or social groups, either there or in the other socialist countries, which have any interest in fomenting war. The organs of the press, radio, cinema, and television are not the properties of private individuals but belong to the whole people, and any possibility that they will be used for propaganda aimed at encouraging hatred or acts of aggression is thus excluded. In the Soviet Union, where all schools are state-run and all textbooks and school literature are published by state publishers, there is not and cannot be any opportunity for instilling ideas of hatred towards other peoples or war propaganda, since they would be counter to the policy of the Soviet State. (UNESCO, 1962, pp. 7–8)

This document highlights several important points. First, the Soviet Union enforced strict laws against war propaganda and hostility. Second, all media—press, radio, film, and television—were state-owned to prevent them from being used to promote hatred or aggression and because private ownership was a significant vestige of capitalism. Finally, the government exerted control over all aspects of education to eliminate content that could potentially promote war propaganda. School textbooks and teaching materials were often politicised, reflecting the critical and intolerant views on capitalist and imperialist systems (Kulnazarova, 2017a, p. 268). These state measures were part of a broader political agenda to educate youth and individuals to become *active builders of communism*, in accordance with the Soviet ideals of international peace. The highly dogmatised, politicised, and centralised nature of the Soviet

educational system created significant obstacles for Central Asian states as they sought to integrate into the global academic community in the post-Soviet period.

Another profound legacy of Soviet rule was the diverse, multiethnic composition of Central Asian states. The Soviet nationality and citizenship policies also had a deep foundation in ideological, political, and rigid administrative centralisation. The policies managed the Soviet Union's ethnic diversity through a hierarchical system that distinguished ethnic groups with and without recognised territorial rights. As Tishkov (1989) writes, "instead of the provision of collective rights of peoples to the preservation and development of their culture and their interests as citizens stipulated by their ethnic affiliation, at central and republican levels throughout the country some prestigious attributes of power and forms of culture were established" (p. 194). The authorities granted different levels of autonomy and privilege to groups with recognised territories, while groups without territories were subjected to a more controlled and less privileged status. Although, as noted by Zaslavsky (1992), this system helped contain ethnic nationalism and prevent supra-ethnic alliances that could threaten Soviet unity, it also reinforced ethnic divisions and perpetuated inequalities.

With such an inheritance, the Central Asian states after 1991 faced the challenge of creating legal frameworks for national citizenship that would reflect their new status as sovereign states. The Soviet past often influenced the initial citizenship laws in these countries, with individuals automatically being granted citizenship based on their residence within newly defined borders. However, this transition was not always smooth. During the Soviet era, the region experienced demographic shifts, including forced migration of various ethnic groups. As a result, the newly independent Central Asian states had to deal with issues related to the citizenship of minority ethnic groups, such as Russians, Ukrainians, and Uzbeks living in Kazakhstan, Tajiks settled in Uzbekistan, and ethnic Uzbeks in Kyrgyzstan.[1] A substantial problem was the distinct Soviet nationality policy, which was used interchangeably with ethnicity and not citizenship. In Soviet passports, there was a specific line for *nationality*, which referred to an individual's ethnic identity rather than citizenship, thus legally recognising a person's ethnic background, such as Russians, Kazakhs, Ukrainians, Uzbeks, and others, regardless of the territories of their residence. The Soviet state primarily determined ethnic identity based on the ethnic group of one's parents and recorded it in passports from a young age. The system eventually made the nationality line a critical component, formalising ethnic identity and allowing it to influence various aspects of life, including education, employment, and even internal migration. All people

of the Soviet republics were official citizens of the USSR, but the nationality policy reinforced ethnic distinctions within the predominant Soviet identity.

In independent Central Asia, the concept of citizenship has become deeply intertwined with nation-building efforts and the construction of national identity.[2] Each state has sought to foster unity and a sense of belonging among its citizens, while deliberately distancing itself from the Soviet past. An important step in this process was the removal of the nationality line from passports in Kazakhstan (1997), Kyrgyzstan (1994), Turkmenistan (early 1990s), and Uzbekistan (1992), with Tajikistan following suit in 2000. These reforms underlined the legal relationship between the individual and the state rather than ethnic background, signalling an intention to reduce the focus on former privileged/non-privileged ethnic divisions and promote a more inclusive, shared national identity. Thus, the initial decades of independence for Central Asian states were marked by the need to address complex challenges, including territorial integrity and national security, "resulting from [past] demographic and ethno-geographic issues" (Seidikenova et al., 2020, p. 60).

Only after addressing these fundamental issues, which was a prerequisite for their nation-building, did these states begin to attach greater importance to regional and global integration, including in the field of higher education. However, the process has moved forward at different speeds, influenced by each state's distinctive past, economic system, political institutions, and societal values. Since gaining independence, Kazakhstan has established and utilised the Bolashak International Scholarship Program to send thousands of students to prestigious universities abroad. The government's goal with this scholarship was to equip future leaders with the skills and global perspective necessary to drive national progress in critical sectors such as science, education, technology, business, and public sectors.[3] This stands in contrast to its neighbours, where the pace of global integration has been slower and more cautious, influenced by local factors.

Kazakhstan

Kazakhstan has integrated GCED into the national curriculum, with topics covered in history, geography, and social studies at the secondary school level. The country has engaged in international initiatives, including UNESCO's GCED initiatives. It was also the first Central Asian country to join the Bologna Process in 2010, a move that further facilitated Kazakhstan's commitment to the internationalisation and modernisation of its higher education system to ensure compatibility in degree structures, quality assurance, and credit systems. The integration into the European Higher Education Area (EHEA) promoted student and academic mobility. Private and public universities have

actively joined the United Nations Academic Impact (UNAI) global university network, which promotes and supports GCED initiatives. As of May 2024, 26 private and public universities in Kazakhstan were added to the network's membership.[4] In Kazakhstan (as in the rest of Central Asia), GCED as a formal, named programme or department has not yet emerged, and only a few universities adopt aspects of GCED within existing programmes in international relations, political science, and education. While not a dedicated GCED programme, Nazarbayev University in Astana excels in political science and international relations, emphasising global citizenship themes, including international cooperation, sustainable development, and intercultural competence. Kazakh National Pedagogical University in Almaty integrates GCED concepts into its educational science programmes, especially in teacher training for civics and social sciences, which includes content on global citizenship and ethics education.

Kyrgyzstan

Kyrgyzstan has integrated the elements of GCED into its secondary and higher education systems, mainly through the work of NGOs and international partnerships. The Soros Foundation-Kyrgyzstan and the Aga Khan Foundation have been key players in supporting secondary education by providing resources and training teachers. However, political instability marked by three revolutions since 2005, frequent government changes, and weak institutional structures, along with budget constraints, have hampered widespread adoption of GCED into the national curriculum. At the higher education level, six universities, including the American University of Central Asia, Kyrgyz-Russian Slavic University, University of Central Asia, University of Kyrgyzstan, International Higher School of Medicine, and the International University of Kyrgyzstan, have recently joined the UNAI network. In July 2024, the government signed an agreement with the UNESCO Regional Office for Central Asia to implement localised GCED projects from 2024 to 2025, with a focus on strengthening social cohesion and intercultural competence.[5] The agreement is expected to bring approximately USD 1 million in investment to Kyrgyzstan's education sector, supporting the development of learning resources and training workshops, potentially positioning Kyrgyzstan as a model for regional GCED implementation. Within the agreement's framework, the UNESCO Regional Office and the Ministry of Culture, Information, Sports and Youth Policy of the Kyrgyz Republic intend to develop a toolkit and a policy brief to facilitate the integration of GCED at the community level. The central theme of this toolkit is "Learning to Become with the World," centred on several key GCED objectives and competencies: 1) empathy; 2) critical thinking/problem

solving; 3) ability to communicate and collaborate with others; 4) conflict resolution; 5) sense and security of identity; 6) shared universal values (human rights, peace, justice, etc.); and 7) respect for diversity/intercultural understanding (UNESCO, 2014, 2015a).

Tajikistan

For Tajikistan, postwar reconstruction has become a major concern since the 1992–97 civil war, which limited its initial global involvement in education, science, and technology. Since signing the Bologna Process in 2016, the country has been reforming the education sector to bring it in line with international standards. Guided by these reforms and support from international organisations, the national curriculum has incorporated elements of global citizenship. Key achievements include the integration of lifelong learning, sustainable development, human rights, and peacebuilding into the national curriculum.[6] Although Tajikistan faces challenges, it has made strides in implementing international educational standards and collaborating with neighbouring countries and beyond the region. This progress sets the stage for further integration of GCED in the future.

Turkmenistan

The educational system in Turkmenistan prioritises national identity and state-centred narratives. It reflects the government's approach to education as a tool for reinforcing state loyalty and preserving cultural heritage. Consequently, international cooperation in education, science, and innovation, as well as educational exchanges, is limited, as official policies restrict external influences. This isolation reduces students' exposure to global citizenship ideas, intercultural understanding, and the broader competencies promoted by GCED, such as critical thinking, empathy, and collaborative problem solving. Despite its limitations, Turkmenistan can still incorporate GCED principles into its education system at all levels by working together with other countries through regional cooperation frameworks, and developing new programmes. Expanding GCED in Turkmenistan, while requiring the need to overcome policy hurdles, has the potential to yield substantial benefits, including improved student preparedness for regional and global engagement, promoting cross-cultural dialogue, and enhancing the overall adaptability of the education system in a world of increasing interconnectedness.

Uzbekistan

Uzbekistan has been slower in adopting the GCED framework, focusing more on national identity and patriotism. Under its first president, Islam Karimov,

the country isolated itself from the world and its regional neighbours. In recent years, however, following the announcement of an open-door policy by President Shavkat Mirziyoyev, who succeeded Karimov, the country has moved towards more regional and global integration. Recent educational reforms in Uzbekistan show a growing emphasis on more inclusive and globally oriented practices. A notable example of this shift is the Asia-Pacific Centre of Education for International Understanding (APCEIU)'s first workshop on GCED in Central Asia, which was hosted in Tashkent, the capital of Uzbekistan. This two-week training workshop, held in September 2021, involved educators and students from several local Higher Education Institutions (HEIs). To date, a few leading universities have introduced programmes such as Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) Education for Global Citizenship at the Tashkent State University of the Uzbek Language and Literature, while the University of World Economy and Diplomacy, through its Global Diplomacy programme, offers content on international peace and intercultural competence that overlaps with the principles and goals of GCED.

Table 7.3 provides an overview of the varied pace and approaches observed in all five states of the region. It presents the comparative progress of Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan, the gradual adoption of Tajikistan and Uzbekistan, and the challenges faced by Turkmenistan as a result of its continued isolation and restrictive state policies.

Table 7.3 *Progress and Hurdles for GCED in Central Asia*

Country	*Progress*	*Hurdles*
Kazakhstan	- Integrated GCED into the **national curriculum** (history, geography, social studies) - First Central Asian country to join the **Bologna Process** and **EHEA** - 26 universities now part of **UNAI** network - Initiatives at **Al-Farabi Kazakh National University, Kazakh National Pedagogical University** and **Nazarbayev University**	- No standalone GCED programmes or courses - Limited integration of GCED as a formal, named programme in universities - GCED themes embedded mainly within existing subjects rather than as independent modules
	- Integration of GCED through **NGOs and international partnerships**	- **Political instability** (frequent government changes, three revolutions since 2005)

Country	*Progress*	*Hurdles*
Kyrgyzstan	- Recent agreement with **UNESCO Regional Office** (2024–2025) to strengthen social cohesion and intercultural competence through localised GCED programmes - Six universities now part of **UNAI** network	- Limited budget and weak institutional structures affecting GCED's adoption at national level - Dependence on NGOs for GCED support
Tajikistan	- Educational reforms in the wake of **postwar reconstruction**, gradually incorporating global citizenship elements - Joined the **Bologna Process** (2016), advancing higher education alignment with international standards - Adoption of **CAHEA** and EHEA frameworks for cooperation and educational quality	- Ongoing **postconflict challenges** affecting resource allocation and educational development - GCED still in early stages, with limited curricular focus on global competencies
Turkmenistan	- Limited but potential avenues for GCED via regional cooperation (e.g. **CAHEA**) - Increasing regional cooperation awareness and potential benefits of GCED in improving cross-cultural dialogue	- Education focused on **national identity** and state loyalty - **Restricted international cooperation** and limited exposure to GCED competencies (e.g., critical thinking, global engagement) - Lack of government initiatives for introducing GCED content at any educational level
Uzbekistan	- Shift towards **regional and global integration** with educational reforms since President Mirziyoyev's open-door policy - Hosted **APCEIU GCED workshop** in Tashkent (2021) - Introduction of GCED-related programmes at **Tashkent State University** and the **University of World Economy and Diplomacy**	- GCED integration still limited and **slow-moving** - Early adoption of GCED frameworks hindered by **political isolationism** under former president Karimov - GCED concepts largely confined to specific universities, with limited reach across the educational system

Although Central Asian HEIs do not yet offer GCED as a standalone programme or department, these institutions, as well as the educational structures of their states, have undergone meaningful transitions since 1991. Moving from the doctrine of *active builders of communism* to unified national citizenship, the region is now more receptive to global citizenship initiatives. As demonstrated in Table 7.3, universities in Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Uzbekistan have integrated ideas and standards that support key GCED values such as international cooperation, social responsibility, cross-cultural understanding, etc. Interestingly, Tajikistan and Turkmenistan, two countries that have traditionally isolated themselves from global citizenship initiatives, are now displaying a newfound willingness to engage in these efforts. Not only are they taking steps to reform their educational systems, but they are also actively seeking regional and international cooperation. Programmes and departments specific to GCED may increase as the demand for global citizenship and related competencies grows in the region. The establishment of initiatives as the Central Asian Higher Education Area (CAHEA) and the Alliance of Central Asian Universities marks a progressive move towards regional cooperation in higher education. These initiatives aim to not only improve academic quality and innovation but also to position Central Asia as a unified and competitive knowledge region on the international stage, enhancing its presence in the global academic community.

CAHEA emerged from the Conference of Central Asian Ministers of Education, held in Turkestan, Kazakhstan, on June 17–18, 2021.[7] Besides marking a decisive moment in the efforts of Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan to integrate their higher education systems, the conference adopted the Turkestan Declaration (2021), documenting the commitment of these nations to strengthen regional cooperation, enhance educational quality, and synchronise their educational frameworks with global standards.

Article 1 of the Turkestan Declaration acknowledges the long-standing tradition of cooperation among Central Asian countries, grounded in their shared cultural and historical ties. One of the document's central themes is harmonising educational systems to address national needs (Article 4) by aligning educational standards, curricula, and accreditation processes in the region, facilitating the mobility of students, faculty, and academic staff. In addition, the Declaration emphasises the potential of regional cooperation to enhance the international competitiveness of national higher education systems (Article 6). The document further highlights the fact that through collaborative educational reforms and joint research projects, Central Asian countries have the potential to pool their resources and expertise, enabling

them to confront common challenges and elevate their global standing in higher education. Through CAHEA, these countries specifically aspire to develop comparable National Qualifications Frameworks, optimise the recognition of educational qualifications, and implement the European Credit Transfer System (ECTS), first introduced by the Bologna Process. To implement the objectives and ensure the operation of CAHEA, the Declaration mandated the creation of a permanent Secretariat in Turkestan (Article 10). The main functions of the CAHEA Secretariat include overseeing the coordination of educational policies, monitoring progress, and facilitating annual ministerial conferences and forums of university rectors.

The creation of CAHEA and the implementation of the standards outlined in the Turkestan Declaration mark significant milestones in the integration of higher education systems in Central Asia. This is especially important because the region is still transitioning from its resource-based economies to *building a knowledge-based society*.

In May 2022, under the auspices of CAHEA, Almaty (Kazakhstan) hosted the first forum of rectors of Central Asian countries. Its primary outcome was the creation of the Alliance of Central Asian Universities. On October 6, 2022, the first conference of rectors of Central Asian Universities was held in Astana, the capital of Kazakhstan, with the participation of educational ministries, the Bologna Follow-Up Group, the Council of Europe, UNESCO, and other institutions. These new developments additionally mark a growing commitment of Central Asian states to regional integration and cooperation. Moreover, they demonstrate a collective willingness to advance educational systems on the global stage.

In July 2023, the World Bank released a report titled *Towards Higher Education Excellence in Central Asia: A Roadmap for Improving Education and Research Quality through Regional Integration*. The report presents a strategy that promotes closer cooperation among Central Asian governments in three critical areas: 1) improving access, quality, and relevance of higher education for national economies; 2) strengthening research and innovation capacity; and 3) creating a unified higher education space through advanced solutions (World Bank, 2023, p. 11).

Since independence, the number of HEIs and students has grown considerably, with Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, and Uzbekistan hosting over 430 universities and serving approximately 1.8 million students (World Bank, 2023). The report accentuates that regional integration in higher education is essential for Central Asia to address its common challenges effectively, which include limited funding, outdated curricula, insufficient research infrastructure, and a lack of alignment between educational programmes and labour

market needs. It also advocates for the adoption of standardised accreditation processes across Central Asia to allow for comparable assessments of higher education quality throughout the region. Additionally, the report stresses the need for developing incentives for high-quality research and publications to bolster the innovative capacity of local universities. This is particularly crucial in Central Asia, where research funding, as reported by the World Bank, is the lowest in the world, "accounting for only about 0.12% of GDP and far below the levels of lower-middle-income countries" (World Bank, 2023, p. 11). To address this and other problems, the report recommends establishing a regional fund to support research and collaboration among universities and research institutes in Central Asia. The report suggests introducing mechanisms to facilitate the recognition of qualifications across the region, enhancing the mobility and employability of citizens within Central Asia. Finally, it proposes implementing short-term regional mobility programmes for students, researchers, and university faculty to strengthen further regional academic collaboration (World Bank, 2023).

The education system in Central Asian states remains highly centralised. The ministries of education in each state are the primary regulatory authority, overseeing and controlling educational plans and programmes across all levels. Therefore, a national education strategy embedded within secondary schools, HEIs, and other professional institutions would be the key to achieving the successful and sustained integration of GCED. Currently, none of the countries in the region have established such a national strategy, despite that over the past 30 years, Central Asia has undergone significant changes, shifting from a focus on active builders of communism to national citizenship (as part of the process of nation-building and shaping national identity) to embracing global citizenship. Identifying critical steps for developing, integrating, and implementing GCED programmes should also be central to advancing regional and global cooperation in Central Asia. However, achieving this goal requires a subtle approach that would take into account the unique cultural, economic, and social contexts of each country in the region. With such an understanding, implementing GCED programmes could become workable and sustainable.

Rethinking Global Citizenship Education in Kazakhstan: Cultural and Policy Dimensions

Located at the crossroads of Europe and Asia, Kazakhstan's vast territory has been a breeding ground for a rich tapestry of cultural and historical influ-

ences. From nomadic customs to Tengrism, Islamic, Christian, Buddhist, and other spiritual practices, these traditions have greatly influenced the country's heritage. Kazakhstan's national identity, which blends the "paradigms of Kazakhness, Kazakhstanness, and transnationalism" (Laruelle, 2021, p. 113), provides a strong foundation for exploring how cultural diversity can support the development of GCED. Marlene Laruelle (2021) expands on this idea, explaining that "Kazakhness" embodies the core values and cultural legacy of the Kazakh people, "Kazakhstanness" signifies a broad and inclusive national identity that embraces unity and a sense of belonging among its citizens, and the recognition of transnationalism is closely linked to the global trend of interconnectedness and cultural exchange. The coexistence of these identities serves as an advantageous feature for promoting global citizenship. In line with this, Kazakhstan has adopted a strategic approach to citizenship education. Carefully incorporating GCED principles, the country also upholds national identity and adheres to universal educational standards. The recent decree of the Government of Kazakhstan on the "Concept for the Development of Higher Education and Science in the Republic of Kazakhstan for 2023-2029" reaffirms the state's commitment to international standards, aiming at preparing graduates who are not only professionally proficient but also culturally sensitive and possess a global perspective (Decree of Kazakhstan, 2023).

Scholars have suggested various approaches to the development of GCED in the country. Chabal et al. (2018) explored the possibility of using cultural heritage sites to promote GCED. The authors believe this approach can boost students' cognitive, emotional, and behavioural competencies while also strengthening their national identity and cultural roots. Movkebayeva et al. (2020) analyse legal regulations in the educational policy of Kazakhstan, aimed at implementing global standards and ensuring international competitiveness. The authors argue that national legislation should take into account the distinct characteristics of various types of education, including environmental education, sports training, military training, and education in the field of culture and art. This raises important questions such as, "which institutions can be built into the educational legislation system, whether it is advisable to include them in the structure of an educational legal act," and to what extent "they can be modified" during the "Bolognaization" process of local universities (Movkebayeva et al., 2020, pp. 16–17). Bayetova and Robertson (2024) analyse how Kazakhstan's policies promote nationalistic globalism. According to them, the very design of the country's education system prepares students to compete globally while enhancing national prestige and local identity. In addition, Kulnazarova (2017b) suggests that adopting a service-learn-

ing approach in general global studies programmes could further support the objectives of GCED.

Kazakhstan, a country rich in the ideas of past thinkers, has been home to many influential intellectuals. Among them is Al-Farabi, whose contributions to the fields of pedagogy, political philosophy, and citizenship have had a profound impact. In the following sections, we will analyse selected works by Al-Farabi and explore their relevance to GCED, alongside a discussion of current educational policies in the country.

The Teachings of Al-Farabi

Abu Nasr Al-Farabi (870–950),[8] a distinguished Central Asian and Islamic thinker, was born in Farab, a city in today's southern Kazakhstan, and lived in Baghdad, Iraq, and Damascus, Syria. He is renowned for his writings on good governance and the central role of education in fostering a morally upright society. In works such as *The Virtuous City*, *The Demonstration*, and *The Book of Aphorisms of the Statesman*, Al-Farabi argued that good governance and leadership should prioritise the community's well-being by cultivating virtue and wisdom. His progressive ideas have led contemporary scholars Sebastian Günther (2006) and Alexander Orwin (2014; 2015) to view him as a precursor to the concepts of global citizenship and interdisciplinary education.

Al-Farabi's vision of the ideal society and the *true* ruler, as articulated in *The Book of Aphorisms of the Statesman* (circa 941–942), provides deep insights into collective human aspirations and the nature of a just society:

> The city is sometimes indispensable and sometimes ideal. The indispensable, or minimum city is that in which the mutual help of its members is restricted to attaining merely what is indispensable for the establishment of man, his livelihood and the preservation of his life. The ideal city is that in which the inhabitants help each other towards the attainment of the most excellent of the things through which are the true existence of man, his establishment and the preservation of his life. …
>
> The true king is he whose aim and purpose in the art by which he rules the cities are that he should afford himself and the rest of the people of the city true happiness, and this is the end and aim of the kingly craft. It is quite necessary that the king of the ideal city should be the most perfect of them in happiness, since he causes the happiness of the people of the city. (as cited in Dunlop, 1952, pp. 104–105)

The passage portrays Al-Farabi's *indispensable city* as a more transactional,

utilitarian approach to community life, where cooperation is limited to meeting essential needs. Societal ties within the community are weak, since the primary goal of the *indispensable city* is survival, not prosperity. In contrast, his *ideal city* is projected by a spirit of cooperation that aims at higher forms of human existence, such as moral and intellectual development, social justice, and true happiness, and the latter can be attained not only through personal fulfilment, but through contributing to the happiness of others as well. In the ideal city, inhabitants would work together to create conditions conducive to a prosperous life, combining their individual aspirations with the collective good. Al-Farabi wrote, "The inhabited world [that] contains many groups and nations … will endure … and will become virtuous only through the cooperation of the various nations within it" (as cited in Orwin, 2014, p. 831). While Al-Farabi's teachings delineate the differences between the *indispensable city*, which prioritises basic survival, and the *ideal city*, which promotes higher human aspirations and collective well-being, his ideas of the *virtuous city* rooted in a diversity of peoples and a commitment to the common public good have a direct bearing on the contemporary international system and ongoing global citizenship agenda.

For Kazakhstan, Al-Farabi holds particular importance. Since gaining independence, he has become not only a symbol of the country's cultural and intellectual heritage but also a figure of international relevance. The Al-Farabi Kazakh National University in Almaty, named in his honour, serves as a hub for international education, research, and developing GCED that reflects his ideals. Al-Farabi's works are celebrated globally, placing Kazakhstan as a nation with an enduring intellectual tradition that has contributed to the advancement of global thought. In 2020, Kazakhstan commemorated the 1150th anniversary of Al-Farabi's birth, showcasing his influence domestically and internationally. His teachings on the *indispensable city*, the *ideal city*, and the *virtuous city* offer a roadmap for integrating individual and collective aspirations, serving as a foundation for creating a thriving society on both local and global scales.

In the context of Kazakhstan's contemporary educational and cultural policies, Al-Farabi's ideas are especially important, as they provide a theoretical and practical framework for cultivating a sense of shared responsibility. Some scholars (Seidikenova et al., 2020) go as far as to argue that GCED "should take inspiration from the work of Al-Farabi who believed that 'knowledge without upbringing, without a moral beginning, can bring harm, not good.' The own biography of Al-Farabi pointed out the he was a global nomad thinker living and working in different countries and languages" (p. 67).

Additionally, Al-Farabi's approach to an integrated curriculum was

considered innovative. He aimed to combine "the higher learning of both the 'foreign' and 'religious' sciences, with the foreign being those grounded in Greek philosophy and science and the religious being those based on the Quran and its interpretations" (as cited in Günther, 2006, p. 373). While advocating for this approach, Al-Farabi made a clear distinction between human and spiritual knowledge. According to him, "human instruction (a) is a human activity, (b) deals with human intelligibles, and, therefore, (c) should be examined within the parameters of philosophy, whereas divine instruction is not" (as cited in Günther, 2006, p. 375). Al-Farabi believed that human knowledge, accessible through empirical inquiry, was finite, whereas divine knowledge was transcendent and beyond human comprehension, revealed through religious texts.

In his treatise *The Demonstration* ("al-Burhan"), Al-Farabi elaborates on his educational theories, especially within the field of logic. He begins by addressing the imprecise use of Arabic terms such as *taalim* (teaching) and *talqin* (instruction), emphasising their distinct roles in learning. For him, *taalim* pertains to the acquisition of understanding or the ability to grasp complex concepts, while *talqin* is more concerned with the reinforcement of character traits and the promotion of action rather than merely acquiring knowledge (as cited in Günther, 2006, p. 374). In other words, *taalim* focuses on the acquirement of a deep understanding of learning material (knowledge) through critical thinking and intellectual engagement. Methodologically, it should involve explanations, discussions, and development of comprehension, encouraging students to question, analyse, and explore concepts more thoroughly. Its ultimate aim is to develop learners' cognitive abilities, empowering them to become independent thinkers capable of grasping complex ideas. In contrast, *talqin* centres on repetition and memorisation, with learners following established instructions or values without engaging in deep analysis. Using direct instruction, often through imitation, *talqin* encourages learners to absorb knowledge or behaviour by observing and replicating examples provided by the instructor. Its primary goal is to instil specific beliefs, behaviours, or skills, ensuring learners can reproduce or adhere to what is taught without necessarily developing a critical foundation. Through these complimentary methods of *taalim* and *talqin*, Al-Farabi illustrates the importance of both intellectual interaction and practical reinforcement in the learning process. He wrote that

> teaching can take place verbally or through providing an example. The verbal [method of teaching] is the one in which the teacher uses articulate statements; this is what Aristotle calls "aural teaching" (*al-taalim al-mas-*

> *muu*). The [other] one, the one [conducted] through example, takes place when the student observes the teacher [engaged] in an action or the like, so that [the student] will imitate him or act as he does, and thus attains the capacity [to do] the same thing or [perform the] same act.
>
> Every instruction is composed of two things: (a) making what is being studied comprehensible and causing its idea to be established in the soul [of the student], and (b) causing others to assent to what is comprehended and established in the soul. There are two ways of making a thing comprehensible: first, by causing its essence to be perceived by the intellect, and second, by causing it to be imagined through the similitude that imitates it. Assent, too, is brought about by one of two methods, either by … demonstration or by … persuasion. (as cited in Günther, 2006, p. 375)

For Al-Farabi, the learning process requires both the intellectual engagement, or *persuasion*—a method popularised in the Ancient Greek philosophical tradition (he frequently cited the ideas of Aristotle, Plato, and others in his concept of *taalim*), and practical demonstrations. Consequently, the persuasion draws from theoretical frameworks, while the demonstration is backed by empirical applications.

Eleven centuries later, UNESCO echoes Al-Farabi's didactic principles by accentuating that contemporary students should have real-world experiences and opportunities to develop, test, and shape their own views, values, and attitudes, while learning how to act responsibly in socio-emotional and behavioural contexts. This type of learning, according to UNESCO, requires teachers to guide, facilitate, and encourage students on a journey of critical thinking, inquiry, and self-discovery in relation to the world around them (UNESCO, 2018c, p. 19). A man clearly ahead of his time, Al-Farabi not only articulated the importance of integrating both theory and practice in education but also pioneered the idea of interconnecting diverse fields of knowledge, spanning conceptual, practical, and spiritual dimensions. Beyond his educational ideas, he also envisioned responsible governance, a unified political community, and virtuous citizenry. These contributions are central to cosmopolitan and advocacy-based conceptions of GCED, as systematised by Oxley and Morris (see Table 7.1 and Table 7.2).

Educational Reforms and Multiculturalism in Kazakhstan

Educational reforms of contemporary Kazakhstan are influenced by the country's traditional structures and practices, which are rooted in its predominantly nomadic heritage (Moldagaliyev et al., 2015; Naizabayeva et al., 2022).

Historically, the Kazakh people were nomadic, moving with the seasons and the needs of their livestock.

Nomadism developed a strong sense of freedom, adaptability, and cross-cultural affiliations, traits which persist in the Kazakh national identity. In a broader sense, nomadism can also be understood metaphorically to describe individuals or groups who do not have a fixed identity or allegiance to a specific place, culture, or ideology. The fluid lifestyle and movements of nomads between different cultural contexts or adoption of multiple identities is a cosmopolitan way of valuing diversity and a way of encouraging to see themselves as part of a larger community. Nomadism also honoured the laws of hospitality, tolerance, and mutual respect. The spiritual domain of ancient nomads, Tengrism, was a belief system that reversed the sky god Tengri and reflected a deep respect for nature and the cosmos. It encapsulated the spiritual and philosophical worldview of the people who inhabited the territory of today's Kazakhstan, and was "a faith without a prophet, without a holy text, without any institutionalised place of worship, without a clergy, without dogma or interdicts, without rites and prayers" (Laruelle, 2021, p. 102).

Although elements of Tengrism have been largely overshadowed by Islam and other monotheistic religions from the medieval period, they, along with nomadic traditions of hospitality and tolerance, have become increasingly influential in shaping national identity and cultural revival since 1991. As some scholars contend, the dissemination of Islam among the Kazakhs has been complex, resulting in a unique blend of Islamic orthodox doctrines and traditional Tengri beliefs (Edelbay, 2012; Naizabayeva et al., 2022). According to Laruelle (2021), the ongoing influence of local spiritual traditions, including the renaissance of Shamanism and Tengrism, is growing in present Kazakhstan. Because of this unique fusion of diverse historical and spiritual practices such as Nomadism, Tengrism, Islam, and others, "multiculturalism [has become] a core feature of Kazakh cultural and linguistic identity [that] facilitates opportunities for global citizenship education" (Seidikenova et al., 2020, p. 64). Another important aspect of multiculturalism in Kazakhstan is the trilingual education policy. Introduced in 2006, it aims to enhance proficiency in the Kazakh, Russian, and English languages. As a state with a multiethnic population comprised of "Kazakhs (70.4%), Russians (15.5%), Uzbeks (3.2%), Ukrainians (2.0%), Uighurs (1.5%), Germans (1.2%), Tatars (1.1%) and others," the policy aspires to equip individuals with the skills needed to excel in various aspect of life (Tlepbergen et al., 2023, p. 3). Recent studies have examined the impact of the trilingual education policy on the country's HEIs since 2006, revealing that

> the percentage of Kazakh university students studying in multilingual settings has increased from 1.4% to 1.6%, while the percentage of teachers teaching in English has increased from 8.3% to 9.4%. Professionally Oriented Kazakh (Russian) Language and Professionally Oriented Foreign Language are two … new courses added to university curricula. Universities are also adopting a tiered approach to learning English that aligns with global benchmarks. Plans have been implemented to ensure universities achieve institutional and specialized accreditation in three languages. Most university-level textbooks are now available in Kazakh, Russian, and English translations. (Tussupbekova et al., 2018, p. 37)

In addition to promoting language pluralism and multilingual education, the state aims to enhance interpersonal and interethnic relations, bridge cultural gaps, and promote mutual respect among its diverse groups (DG RK, 2015; Ministry of Education and Science of the Republic of Kazakhstan, 2019; DG RK, 2023). Moreover, the language policy further supports the development of a more integrated and globally competitive education system. Since 2010, the higher education system of Kazakhstan has been reorganised around a three-tiered framework:

1. **Bachelor's degree**: A 4-year higher education programme designed to train students in their chosen field, culminating in the award of a bachelor's degree.
2. **Master's degree**: A postgraduate programme divided into two categories: professional, with a duration of 1 to 1.5 years, and scientific-pedagogical, with a 2-year study period.
3. **Doctoral degree**: A postgraduate education programme with a 3-year term of study focused on advanced research and academic specialisation. (ENIC-Kazakhstan, 2023; ASEM, 2024)

In 2018, the government, with a view to increasing the participation of local higher education institutions in the international academic community, amended the *Law on Education* of the Republic of Kazakhstan.[9] Among the key regulations were an expansion of universities' academic and managerial freedom, granting them greater flexibility in programme development, curriculum design, and other provisions (Minister of Education and Science of the Republic of Kazakhstan, 2018). This also marked a move towards a more decentralised and less state-controlled education system.

Today, Kazakhstan remains committed to investing in education, science, and innovation. According to the Bureau of National Statistics (Qazstat,

2023), 30% of the 605,798 students enrolled in local universities during the 2020–2021 academic year received state educational grants. The country has a total of 117 universities, categorised as follows: 11 national universities, 27 state universities operating as non-profit joint-stock companies, 2 international universities, 15 joint-stock universities, 47 private universities, 1 autonomous university (Nazarbayev University), and 14 non-civil institutions (ENIC-Kazakhstan, 2023; Qazstat, 2023). Demonstrating a commitment to both internationalisation and global citizenship through dispatching students to study abroad, the government has also initiated investments in incoming international students. As Qazstat (2023) reports, the number of foreign students in local universities has tripled, amounting to 28,169 (4.7%) in the 2020-2021 academic year. One of the factors that determined this growth is the number of educational grants for foreign students provided under the Scholarship Program of the Republic of Kazakhstan, educational grants within the framework of international treaties of the Republic of Kazakhstan, and educational grants for training created by universities independently.

GCED is a fairly recent idea in Kazakhstan. As noted by R. Abazov (2021, p. 93), discussions about GCED gained traction around 2011–12, largely due to the efforts of three local institutions: the Master's in Sustainable Development Practice Program at Al-Farabi Kazakh National University, the regional office of UNESCO in Almaty (supported by UNESCO Chairs at the same university), and the UNAI programme in Kazakhstan. According to Abazov (2021), these institutions have been instrumental in spreading GCED across the country through projects, expert gatherings, consultations, and conferences. While some progress has been made, there is still a need for substantial work to promote, develop, implement, and integrate GCED programmes in Kazakhstan and throughout Central Asia. Addressing this issue, the final section—an epilogue—presents actionable steps and recommendations for policymakers, university administrators, educators, and stakeholders in Central Asia.

Policy Implications for Global Citizenship Education in Central Asia: An Epilogue

Currently, no universities in Central Asia offer specialised programmes or departments explicitly focused on GCED. The lack of systematic analysis and empirical research makes it difficult to determine whether the gap is a result of the evolving nature of HEIs, let alone education systems in the region, or the diverse and broad interpretations of the field. The primary challenge lies

Table 7.4 *Integrated Policy Framework for Advancing GCED in Central Asia*

Key Variable	*Strategic Objectives*	*Actionable Steps*	*Stakeholders Involved*	*Expected Outcomes*
Policy Integration	- Develop national & regional policies for GCED, leveraging platforms such as CAHEA - Integrate GCED into education systems at national & regional levels	- Formulate GCED strategies in accordance with global education standards, while honouring local intellectual, cultural, and historical heritage via contextual adaptation - Develop a roadmap for GCED integration into curricula	- Ministries of Education - Policymakers, regional & local education authorities - Curriculum developers & educational content providers - Educators, students, learners - CSOs, NGOs, IGOs, and others	- Comprehensive policies that support GCED - Official strategies embedding GCED across curricula, higher education, vocational education & training, and secondary schools
Curriculum Design & Content Development	- Address global challenges (e.g., climate change, conflict resolution, peacebuilding, public health, social justice, etc.) - Develop cultural competence, interconnectedness, global citizenship & awareness	- Develop & expand courses on sustainability, peace studies, equality, GCED, globalisation - Create resources promoting diversity & global citizenship - Integrate experiential & service- learning (local, regional, global)	- Educators, teachers, curriculum developers, students - NGOs, advocacy groups - Subject matter experts, researchers - International & regional organisations (e.g., APCEIU, EHEA, UNESCO)	- GCED-integrated curricula for all education levels, especially higher education - Students equipped with global awareness & competencies - GCED as a foundation for building a knowledge-based society
Teacher Training & Support	- Build teacher capacities for GCED - Ensure continuous professional development - Establish teacher support & training networks	- Launch long-term programmes to equip educators with the skills to teach GCED courses - Organise workshops & training sessions on GCED for teachers	- Universities, teacher training institutions - NGOs, local governments - International & regional organisations	- Educators skilled in delivering & developing content for GCED - Sustained professional growth through resource-sharing & continuous learning opportunities

Key Variable	*Strategic Objectives*	*Actionable Steps*	*Stakeholders Involved*	*Expected Outcomes*
Community Engagement	- Involve communities in GCED initiatives (e.g., service learning) - Strengthen the relationship between academia & communities	- Encourage HEIs to partner with communities on research, outreach & educational programmes - Support service-learning for students in local communities	- Universities, academic institutions - Local communities, NGOs - Educators, researchers, students - Local governments	- Collaboration between academia & local communities - Research & educational initiatives that address local & global issues - Increased student engagement in real-world problem solving & service-learning
Monitoring & Evaluation	- Measure the impact of GCED programmes - Monitor local, national, and regional progress	- Conduct surveys, gather feedback, and implement data systems to assess GCED effectiveness - Align evaluations with SDG & UNESCO frameworks for GCED	- Research institutions, policy analysts - Governments, global agencies	- Evidence-based evaluations of GCED initiatives - Adjusted policies to meet global educational benchmarks
Global & Regional Collaboration	- Promote cross-border partnerships - Strengthen regional cooperation (e.g., CAHEA & other platforms)	- Establish regional knowledge-sharing networks - Initiate collaborative projects	- Governments, regional bodies - Universities, international organisations, global CSOs, NGOs	- Regional collaboration on GCED - Joint research, exchanges, and solutions to common challenges
Advocacy & Awareness	- Increase awareness of GCED across society - Advocate for the inclusion of GCED in educational policy	- Involve media & public advocacy - Lobby for GCED inclusion in education policy reforms	- Media, NGOs, youth leaders - Civil society, policymakers	- Greater public awareness & support for GCED - National policies prioritising GCED within education agendas

in embedding the GCED framework more deeply into national education systems to ensure it contributes meaningfully to enhancing global awareness, responsibility, and engagement. Based on the key findings of this study, seven critical variables have been identified to guide the development and implementation of GCED: 1) policy integration; 2) curriculum design and content; 3) teacher training and support; 4) community engagement; 5) monitoring and evaluation; 6) global and regional cooperation; and 7) advocacy and awareness. Table 7.4 presents a systematic framework that elaborates on these variables, detailing strategic objectives, actionable steps, stakeholders, and expected outcomes for GCED development, tailored to the regional context.

Conclusion

While GCED is not yet fully institutionalised in Central Asia, this study has attempted to identify a clear and actionable pathway for progress. Advancing GCED effectively requires a comprehensive and integrated approach, as outlined in Table 7.4, which considers the region's cultural, historical, social, economic, and geopolitical conditions. By focusing on seven critical variables—policy integration, curriculum design and content development, teacher training and support, community engagement, monitoring and evaluation, global and regional collaboration, and advocacy and awareness—Central Asia can launch a compact framework for the initial implementation of GCED. Through well-designed education policies, strategic partnerships, and institutional and community-driven initiatives, the region has the potential to construct an education system that would not only break away from the Soviet-era indoctrination, but also effectively cater to the evolving needs of its youth and communities. It has the capacity to create a knowledge-based society and equip the next generation with the skills to tackle the complexities of the 21st century as competent, ethical, caring and responsible citizens not only of their own country and region, but also of the world.

In Kazakhstan, the ethnically diverse population is a valuable asset that presents tangible opportunities for global interactions and participation, as well as the advancement of GCED. Moreover, the country's rich cultural heritage, progressive educational policies, and economic growth provide a strong foundation for developing GCED programmes. This can occur not only at the domestic level but also at the regional level through platforms such as CAHEA and other similar initiatives. Drawing on the philosophical teachings of influential figures such as Al-Farabi and capitalising on its multicultural and multilingual heritage, Kazakhstan has the potential to lead the region in the

development of GCED and cultivation of a collective sense of global citizenship.

However, it is crucial to integrate the intellectual legacies of all Central Asian states into GCED programmes during this process. The region has long been a crossroads of cultures, philosophies, and civilisations, with its scholars making significant contributions to education, peace, good governance, and citizenship. From the ancient Silk Road to more recent times of Islamic and post-Islamic scholarship, Central Asia has been home to brilliant minds whose works have a direct bearing on GCED conceptions. Not only Al-Farabi, but also Khoja Ahmed Yasawi, Ulugh Beg, Alisher Navoi, Abai Kunanbayev, Chokan Valikhanov, Ibrai Altynsarin, Chingiz Aitmatov, and numerous others have made significant contributions to philosophy, science, education, political theory, and literature, all of which are relevant to GCED. But it is unfortunate that their ideas remain relatively unknown beyond the region.

This is the moment for Central Asia to move beyond being solely a recipient of global education standards and become a contributor, sharing its invaluable intellectual heritage and cross-cultural experiences of living together as part of GCED programmes. By taking this step, the region has the potential to build a knowledge-based society and promote a greater understanding of interconnectedness and shared humanity.

Notes

1 In Central Asia, the term *ethnic minority* did not always mean a group smaller than the main ethnic group. Often, it included groups with unique cultural, linguistic, or historical backgrounds, distinct from the majority, regardless of their numbers. For instance, although ethnic Russians were a substantial "minority" in countries such as Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan, their numbers did not necessarily make them the least populated group. Nevertheless, their distinct cultural identity, language, and historic links to the Soviet state classified them as an ethnic minority.

2 For further insights into the citizenship laws of Central Asian states since their independence, see Tiulegenov (2018). This study was commissioned by the Global Governance Programme of the European University Institute in Italy and provides a comparative analysis of citizenship policies and issues across Central Asia.

3 The Bolashak International Scholarship was established by Decree of the Government of the Republic of Kazakhstan on November 5, 1993, as part of the country's broader efforts to enhance human capital through educating talented students abroad. By investing in human capital through this programme, Kazakhstan has sought to accelerate its integration into the global economy and strengthen its capacity to compete on the world stage. Over the span of three decades, from 1993 to 2024, the programme has provided opportunities for 13,314 individuals to pursue higher education at leading universities across the world. For more details, see https://bolashak.gov.kz/en

4 With respect to the UNAI, global citizenship is a core element of the UN's Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), specifically within SDG 4, which reads, "Ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all" (UN, n.d.) Within this framework of SDG 4, "universities have a responsibility to promote global citizenship by teaching their students that they are members of a large global community and can use their skills and education to contribute to that community" (UNAI, 2024).

5 According to UNESCO media coverage of the agreement, the main objective of these projects is to localise GCED. This includes assessing both international and national policies and conducting a workshop aimed at developing knowledge, civic skills, and competencies relevant to culture and peace. For more information, see https://www.unesco.org/en/articles/unesco-localizing-global-citizenship-education-integration-kyrgyzstan-promote-social-cohesion

6 A UNESCO study on lifelong learning in the Central Asian states has depicted that education reforms in the region "have taken place at separate levels and sub-sectors of education rather than creating a holistic lifelong learning approach" (UNESCO, 2020, p. 17). The situation is similar for GCED in Central Asia. Although there has been some progress, UNESCO urges these countries to reassess their education policies and revamp their current practices in order to establish lifelong learning systems, which includes GCED.

7 The National Center for Higher Education Development (ENIC-Kazakhstan), established in 2012 under the Ministry of Science and Higher Education of Kazakhstan, maintains a comprehensive record of recent developments and trends in Central Asia, particularly in the areas of education, as well as intra- and interregional cooperation. See https://enic-kazakhstan.edu.kz

8 Despite his Central Asian roots, Abu Nasr Al-Farabi is sometimes considered an Arabic or Islamic philosopher, as he spent most of his life in the Arab world, primarily in Baghdad and Damascus. Additionally, during his time, the regions that make up modern-day Kazakhstan were part of a larger Islamic cultural sphere. Al-Farabi also wrote most of his seminal works, such as *The Virtuous City*, in Arabic, the lingua franca of the Islamic Golden Age, which coincides with the Middle Ages of European historical chronology. His ideas on ethics, political philosophy, and metaphysics not only resonated widely in the Arabic-speaking world and influenced subsequent Islamic thinkers such as Ibn Sina and Ibn Rushd, and helped shape philosophical discourse in later Western traditions, but also made Al-Farabi a key figure in the development of Arabic philosophy through his integration of Hellenistic ideas (through the earlier works of Aristotle and Plato) with Islamic theology.

9 For more information, see Minister of Education and Science of the Republic of Kazakhstan, *On approval of state educational standards for the activities of higher and postgraduate education organizations* (Order No. 595, as amended by Order No. 379 as of August 2, 2023), registered in the Ministry of Justice of the Republic of Kazakhstan on October 31, 2018, No. 17657, available at https://adilet.zan.kz/rus/docs/V1800017657, and Law of the Republic of Kazakhstan, *On education* (Law No. 319-III, as amended and supplemented as of September 1, 2024), available at https://online.zakon.kz/Document/?doc_id=30118747&show_di=1.

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8. Performing Global Citizenship Through National Citizenship Education: Humanity, Criticality and Competency

Sicong Chen

Abstract

Global citizenship education (GCED) faces the challenge of engaging with national citizenship, especially in East Asian societies where citizenship education revolves around the nation-state under centralised education systems. Taking China and Japan as two examples, one authoritarian and the other democratic, yet both conservative, this chapter makes a case for developing global citizenship by strategically leveraging, rather than reductively supplementing or unrealistically replacing, national citizenship education. It defines global citizenship as taking actions based on an ethical concern for humanity and a political consciousness of criticality. Drawing on Judith Butler's performativity, this chapter explores the notion of performative global citizenship and identifies three competencies for global citizens to act or perform under everyday local and national conditions in East Asian societies. It concludes by embodying GCED in national citizenship deconstruction.

Introduction: Citizenship Education in East Asia

Talking about citizenship education in East Asia risks oversimplification and essentialisation by overlooking intraregional diversities and interregional influences. Notwithstanding, comparable citizenship education trends and characteristics are evident in the region and possibly other Asia-Pacific societies. In a study of contemporary schooling in Asian societies, Kennedy and Lee (2008) highlight two conflicting characteristics common to Asian education policies. On the one hand, propelled primarily by globalised economic demands and priorities, educational reforms in the region featured a liberalis-

ing tendency. It is manifested in activating students through student-centred, inquiry-oriented teaching methods and curricular emphases on creativity, critical thinking, problem-solving skills, and a global outlook. Conversely, state-controlled citizenship education remains conservative, as it continues to uphold cultural traditions, national pride, and allegiance to the country and thus perpetuates the dominance of the nation-state by instilling students with prescribed culture and values. The centredness of the nation-state in school citizenship education poses challenges to global citizenship education (GCED). Kennedy and Lee (2008) warn that GCED "is likely to be as elusive in the future as it is in the present," and how to accommodate global commitments with national interests is the "real challenge" for citizenship education in Asia (p. 62). More recently, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO)'s study of 22 Asian countries similarly found that their education policies and curricula prioritise fostering national identity and developing human capital for economic development, with scant attention given to global citizenship based on humanity (UNESCO MGIEP, 2017). The report cautions that redirecting education in Asia from bolstering national identity towards embracing global citizenship is "a daunting task" (p. 48). Similarly, Alviar-Martin and Baildon (2021) observed that neoliberal and nationalist discourses are dominant in GCED policies and practices in Asia, where global awareness and competency are taken as means to develop depoliticised individual moral character and advance national identity and interest in globalised competition.

Kennedy and Lee (2008) discuss three reasons, from global to regional to national, for the nationally oriented citizenship education, despite economic and educational liberations. Firstly, while supranational organisations have expanded in the latter part of the 20th century, they do not necessarily prioritise global or regional interests. Instead, member states often capitalise on these entities to advance their own national agendas. This phenomenon is evident in citizenship education, which often advocates global awareness for global competitiveness rather than a shared sense of humanity. Secondly, the volatile geopolitical landscape, fraught with uncertainties and potential military and political conflicts, gives rise to nation-states safeguarding and upholding national values and interests. It is particularly so when reconciliation and consensus seem unattainable among nation-states with divergent political ideologies, ranging from democratic to authoritarian to militaristic. Thirdly, as Asian states benefit economically from the open and global market, they frequently promote and uphold cultural traditions, often in a simplified manner, to preserve local values. In the case of authoritarian regimes, traditional culture is appropriated to attack liberal and democratic principles as

alien and inconsistent with Asian cultures, as illustrated by the Asian Values debates in the 1990s.

Citizenship education in China and Japan exemplifies the regional trends. By analysing Japanese and Chinese citizenship curricula and textbooks, Rose (2015) found that "[t]he overriding focus remains firmly on the nation-state" despite increased global elements, such as understanding of global issues and respect for other cultures (p. 101). Building upon that observation, I explored how to advance the global citizenship agenda in the dominant national citizenship education under the centralised education systems in the two cases (Chen, 2020). That study identified global citizenship components explicitly endorsed and pedagogical space for unsupported ones in the national curricula for moral and sociopolitical subjects. Specifically, that study found that the official guidelines supported teaching national policies and international affairs, cultural diversity, and the attitude of sympathy and empathy. However, they failed to shift the focus from national concern to global justice in the requirement for national and international knowledge; to recognise cultural complexities not merely between but also within the nation-state in terms of cultural diversity awareness; and to develop sympathy and empathy based on humanity. Furthermore, that study reported that the national curricula did not encourage students to examine national policies; engage in active and critical dialogue; maintain a reflexive attitude towards the nation; uphold the commitment to a just world order; or show moral concern for humanity. It suggested that the endorsement of political participation and justice in the national curricula could serve as a pedagogical space to develop these skills.

This chapter continues to explore how to foster global citizenship within the context of nation-centric school citizenship education in China and Japan. It takes them as two illustrative cases of East Asian societies, one an authoritarian one-party state and the other an established constitutional democracy, yet both socio-politically conservative. The chapter seeks to establish an alternative approach to GCED by leveraging national citizenship as an established medium to cultivate global citizenship. This approach differs from the reductionist, complementary appropriation of global citizenship to advance national and economic interests and the rigid, unrealistic ambition of replacing national citizenship with global citizenship. This chapter grounds global citizenship in an ethical concern for humanity and a political consciousness of criticality. It sees citizenship as action and draws on Judith Butler's conception of performativity to explore the notion of performative global citizenship and identify three interrelated capabilities or competencies for global citizens to act or perform in everyday life under local and national conditions. They are the competence of identity reflexivity and reconstruction, the competence of

normative examination and action, and the competence of social critique and transformation. It concludes by embodying and enabling GCED in questioning and deconstructing national citizenship in East Asian contexts.

A note on the term *competency* and its relationship with performative global citizenship. Competency is a popular but problematic term in education (Westera, 2001). Refraining from the often instrumentalist, neoliberalist use of the term for economic ends, this chapter uses competency as interchangeable with capability and recognises the subjectivity or agency in learning and teaching. Using the term allows the chapter to directly engage with UNESCO competency narratives and contrast competency with performativity. Following Noam Chomsky's (1965) classic and narrow use of competence in distinction from performance, this chapter treats competency as generalised or idealised cognitive, socio-emotional and behavioural skills, in contrast to performance as using those skills in a concrete situation. It is like linguistic skills or text compared to actual speech or discourse (Van Dijk, 1998, p. 194).

National and Global Citizenship Education: Complement, Replacement or Instrument?

Citizenship education in China and Japan, despite distinct political regime types, displays noticeable similarities. The authoritarian Chinese party-state operates a centralised education system from primary to tertiary levels. Within this system, citizenship education functions as ideopolitical education, often veiled as moral education, to impart official ideologies and produce citizens loyal to the regime. The control of ideologies in school education has notably intensified over the past decade, as evidenced by the introduction in 2017 of standardised national official textbooks for three core ideological subjects (Chinese, History, and Morality-Law). While the official ideology continues to be Marxist-Leninist socialism, it has consistently been associated with nationalist narratives, especially after the launch of patriotic education campaigns following the 1989 suppression of democratic movements. Throughout the 1990s and 2000s, the crux of state nationalism in China lay in the reiteration of historical grievances and traumas inflicted by external forces, particularly Imperial Japan. After Xi Jinping took power in 2012, the focus shifted to showcasing the economic and social achievements towards "national rejuvenation" under the party-state leadership. State nationalism has witnessed a discursive change in emphasis from national victimhood to national confidence over the past decade (Chen, 2024b). The shift attempts to cultivate and sustain a sense of national pride and confidence in Chinese

socialism and culture among the populace in changed societal conditions. There is evidence indicating that the party-state seeks to construct through education ethnocultural and even racial nationalism for regime legitimacy by appropriating traditional culture, racialising the Chinese nation, and portraying the socialist regime as an embodiment of Chinese tradition conceived in essentialist and reductionist terms (Chen, 2024a; Vickers, 2021).

Cultivating ethnocultural national identity also constitutes a pivotal aspect of citizenship education in institutionally democratic but socio-politically conservative Japan. Japan is a multiethnic and multicultural society, witnessing local and global migration and interaction throughout history and in contemporary times. Despite that, the Japanese government maintains a dominant narrative of ethnocultural uniformity and distinctiveness rooted in a traditionalist imaginary of community, morality, and social order that alienates individual liberty and sociocultural diversity. Parmenter (1999) reported that Japanese national education policy adhered to a narrow, fixed interpretation of national identity based on ascribed ethnic-genealogical criteria, as opposed to the surveyed junior high school students and pre-service student teachers who embraced national identity as an achievable cultural identity, with some even problematising national identity itself and preferring the identity of humanity. This "wide discrepancy" in the account of national identity (Parmenter, 1999, p. 453) echoes Gifford et al.'s (2014) distinction between "a static and fixed citizenship of being" and a dynamic, generative "citizenship of becoming." They argue that the former, which represents the governing force of Japanese social and educational policies to assimilate young people into prescribed national and collective assumptions and identities, should be replaced with the latter, which allows and encourages young people to create new forms and content of citizenship. More recently, Nakayama (2020) pointed out that while contemporary Japanese educational policies promote ideas of respect for foreign cultures and global interdependence and cooperation, they still take traditional culture and Japanese identity as the prerequisite for understanding other cultures and participating in the global community. She argues that fostering a homogenous, ethnocultural national identity remains the "common hidden agenda" behind various educational responses to globalisation (p. 54).

It is evident that citizenship education in China and Japan similarly seeks to impose a singular view of ethnocultural "Chineseness" or "Japaneseness." With the help of, but not limited to, top-down national curricula and government-sanctioned school textbooks, the imposition ignores domestic diversity, marginalising and rendering invisible ethnocultural minorities, such as Tibetans, Uyghurs, and Mongolians in China (Vickers & Chen, 2024) and Zainichi Koreans in Japan (Lee et al., 2006). The exclusiveness of ethnocultural

national identity and nationalism may also incite the already unfavourable and even hostile public sentiments against each other between Japan and China, which are entangled in war memories and geopolitical tensions (Genron NPO, 2023). The question arises whether GCED can address the social injustices that minority groups suffer—and the lack of political liberty and equality in the case of undemocratic China—at home and the regional tensions and conflicts that nationally oriented citizenship education cannot mitigate but instead instigates. This depends on how global citizenship is defined and demarcated.

This chapter configures and articulates global citizenship as performative citizenship taking actions driven by an ethical concern for humanity and a political consciousness of criticality. The following sections will elaborate on it. On the one hand, GCED prioritising the ethical concern for humanity diverges from citizenship education that incorporates global elements within the limits of national citizenship and even appropriates them for national purposes, as seen in the cases of Japan and China. On the other hand, if global citizenship extends beyond awareness and commitment to encompass action, the nation-state as an established institution serves as a crucial condition under which global citizens act or perform, especially in China and Japan. This is due to the enduring significance of the nation-state, as it remains powerful in regulating everyday activities (including education), protecting citizenship and human rights, addressing social injustices, and managing global issues. This chapter refrains from reductively diminishing GCED to a mere complement to national citizenship education or unrealistically replacing national citizenship with GCED. It takes the alternative approach of promoting global citizenship through national citizenship education. In other words, it strategically leverages national citizenship education to develop performative global citizenship grounded in humanity and criticality.

The Ethical Concern for Humanity

Global citizenship is a multifaceted and contested concept, but most, if not all, conceptualisations underpin the moral or ethical responsibility of and for all human beings (Oxley & Morris, 2013). Indeed, UNESCO explicitly expects GCED to cultivate a sense of belonging to humanity and promote shared responsibilities (UNESCO, 2015). It upholds "a shared sense of humanity" as one of the three core components of GCED (together with "respect for diversity" and "solidarity"), identifying its embodiment in local values and cultures in Asia (UNESCO, 2019b) and providing hands-on suggestions for develop-

ing it in and beyond schools (Asia-Pacific Centre of Education for International Understanding [APCEIU], 2020).

The current Chinese and Japanese national curricula also acknowledge the common identity of humanity and shared responsibilities, despite their intertwining with national ones. The 2022 Chinese national curriculum highlights responsibility consciousness as a key competence in the school subject of Morality and Law at the compulsory (primary and lower secondary) levels. It mentions the duty towards humanity after the duty towards the nation. In the 2020 national curriculum for the upper secondary subject of Thought and Politics, the notion of "the human community with a shared future" (*renlei mingyun gongtongti*), formulated and propagated under Xi Jinping, is cited to foreground China's contribution of vision and power to the world (MOE of China, 2020). On the Japanese side, the 2017 national curriculum for Moral Studies at the compulsory lower secondary level recognises the need to contribute to world peace and human development as Japanese living in the world. Similarly, the 2017 national curriculum for lower secondary Social Studies and the 2018 one for upper secondary Civics stress the national identity of Japanese on the one hand and the imperative to address international issues affecting human well-being on the other hand. While the Japanese national curricula are short of expressing the common identity of humanity, the supplementary official explanation of the national curricula nevertheless instructs students to explore a better international society "as a member of humanity" (*jinrui no ichiin toshite*) and "from the viewpoint of humanity" (*jinrui no tachiba kara*) (MOE of Japan, 2017, 2018).

The tension between national and global identity and responsibility is central to the debate on moral global citizenship. As Oxley and Morris (2013) reviewed, while the strong argument supports the idea that the moral identity of and responsibility for humanity should precede arbitrary local or particular ones, the weak argument defends that the significant latter is compatible with the former. Parekh (2003) and Appiah (2005) illustrate the weak argument, while Nussbaum (1997) and Sen (2002) represent the strong one.

Parekh (2003) articulates that each person has two "distinct and mutually irreducible" sets of moral duties: the "general duties" to all human beings derived from common humanity and equal worth and the "special duties" to "those to whom we are bound by special ties," from families and friends to the nation (pp. 6–7). Bemoaning that a global or cosmopolitan citizen as a citizen of the world "has no political home," he proposes the idea of a "globally oriented citizen" who "has a valued home of his [*sic*] own, from which he [*sic*] reaches out to and forms different kinds of alliances with others having homes of their own" to serve our "wider moral purposes" (p. 12). His glob-

ally oriented citizenship necessitates extending local, special duties to the general, common moral duties to humanity, and carrying out the latter in the established national political community. Similarly, Appiah (2005) argues for "rooted cosmopolitanism," under which "localism is an instrument to achieve universal ideals, universal goals" (p. 241). He differentiates between the moral as impersonal, universal, objective, and "thin" relations one has with strangers based on shared humanity, and the ethical as personal, particular, relative, and "thick" relations one has with local fellows (p. 230), defending the "ethical salience of not just the state but the county, the town, the street, the business, the craft, the profession, the family as communities, as circles among the many circles narrower than the human horizon" (p. 246).

While the weak argument posits that the moral responsibility for humanity is extended from special ethical duties, the strong argument regards the former as fundamental to the additional latter. Nussbaum (1997) advocates the Stoic tradition that "we should give our first allegiance to no mere form of government, no temporal power, but to the moral community made up by the humanity of all human beings" (p. 59). This humanity-first notion does not require us to abandon the contingent, the local, or the special. While insisting that "there is something more fundamental about us than the place where we happen to find ourselves, and that this more fundamental basis of citizenship is shared across all divisions," the Stoics acknowledged "love for what is near as a fundamental human trait, and a highly rational way to comport oneself as a citizen" (Nussbaum, 1997, p. 61). Likewise, Sen (2002) discusses that the common identity of humanity is not "exclusive" but "fundamental allegiance," which "brings every other person into the domain of concern, without eliminating anyone," and thus serves as the ground broad enough for articulating and accommodating various "supplementary allegiance[s]" (pp. 112–114).

This chapter argues that being a global citizen comes with a moral responsibility towards humanity, which does not diminish the significance of local allegiances and, at the same time, should not be sacrificed to them. It relies on constant contextualisation and public deliberation to determine whether a special duty comes at the expense of humanity and whether common humanity suffocates other allegiances. Moreover, this chapter sees the responsibility for humanity as both moral and ethical. It means the responsibility is derived not merely from the interdependence with strangers and compassion for vulnerable ones due to the common identity of humanity but also, more "thickly" or substantially, from a "causal relationship" due to the complicity, however indirect and remote, in the asymmetrical globalisation and attendant inequalities and injustices for which human beings as citizens bear ethico-political obligations (Dobson, 2005, 2006). Meeting the ethical responsibility

towards humanity grounded on the commitment to social justice thus entails understanding unequal global developments and power relations and challenging social injustices wherever they are found. This requires a critical political awareness.

The Political Consciousness of Criticality

In addition to a sense of belonging to common humanity, the UNESCO vision of GCED also promotes critical thinking as a key competence, which is incorporated as

> Cognitive skills to think critically, systemically and creatively, including adopting a multi-perspective approach that recognizes different dimensions, perspectives and angles of issues. (UNESCO, 2014, p. 17)

Furthermore, it encourages students "to critically analyse inequalities based on gender, socio-economic status, culture, religion, age and other issues" for social justice (UNESCO, 2015, p. 16). However, UNESCO tends to leave behind these critical elements when localising GCED in the Asian region (APCEIU, 2020; UNESCO, 2019b). Indeed, the transversal competencies framework proposed by UNESCO Bangkok for education in Asia categorises critical thinking and global citizenship as separate domains, disassociating the two and, furthermore, defining them without considering social justice (UNESCO, 2019a, pp. 45–46).

In a similar vein, Japanese and Chinese school education rarely expects students to be critical. Completely absent in the 2017/2018 Japanese national curricula for Social Studies, Moral Studies, and Civics, the "critical" (*hihanteki*) viewpoint or attitude is only briefly mentioned as part of public spirit or ethical reasoning in the supplementary explanation. Nor does the 2022 Morality and Law national curriculum in China include any reference to criticality. It even removed the only reference in the preceding version to the skill of "criticising" (*piping*) information on mass media, the internet in particular. Interestingly, the Chinese 2020 upper secondary Thought and Politics national curriculum included the "constructive critical attitude" (*jianshexing pipan de taidu*) as part of the so-called "scientific spirit" competence. It is, however, posited to resist uncertain social developments in defending Chinese socialism.

It is fair to say that critical global citizenship is just one of the many configurations of global citizenship. Oxley and Morris (2013) identified in the liter-

ature eight conceptions of global citizenship, which include four mainstream, cosmopolitan conceptions and four alternative, advocacy-based others. Cosmopolitan forms of citizenship, often anchored in human rights, carry a universalist perspective that all human beings share some fundamental values, which require global awareness and accommodation in political, moral, economic, and cultural spheres. As an advocacy form of global citizenship, the critical conception challenges cosmopolitan, universalist assumptions, seeing them as little more than a reflection of dominant, often West-centric, institutions and practices. Drawing from post-colonialism, post-structuralism, historicism, and critical theory, critical global citizenship promotes "a form of 'counter-hegemony', emphasising the deconstruction of oppressive global structures" for social transformation and justice (Oxley & Morris, 2013, p. 313).

Vanessa Andreotti is a key proponent of critical GCED. She spells it out by contrasting it with what she called soft GCED on the issue of poverty (Andreotti, 2006). Soft GCED understands impoverishment as helplessness due to lacking resources and development while attributing affluence to harder work and better resources. Its concern about poverty is humanitarian, morally derived from common humanity and assumptions of common desire. Blaming some for the problem and assigning the moral responsibility of solving it to all, soft GCED empowers individuals to act to remove structural, institutional, and individual barriers and achieve predefined goals taken for granted as universally applicable. By contrast, critical GCED perceives poverty as inequality and injustice rooted in the "complex structures, systems, assumptions, power relations and attitudes that create and maintain exploitation and enforced disempowerment and tend to eliminate difference" across local and global scales (p. 46). Critical GCED considers poverty an ethico-political issue, seeing all human beings complicit in the suffering of the poor from asymmetrical globalisation, unequal power relations, and the confinement within dominant worldviews projected as natural and universal. It empowers people to critically and reflexively "analyse own position/context and participate in changing structures, assumptions, identities, attitudes and power relations in their contexts" and, by so doing, to address injustices, develop ethical relationships, enable equal dialogues, and give people the autonomy to imagine and define their own life (p. 47). In short, critical GCED brings up the critical and ethico-political awareness of the complicity in and responsibility for the material injustices in asymmetrical global developments and the cultural injustices in unequal global power relations. Andreotti (2006) crystallises critical GCED as the development of critical literacy, conceptualising it as "reading the word and the world" in the Freirian sense by using the "skills of critical

engagement and reflexivity" to constantly question the taken-for-granted and allegedly universal and negotiate ethical relationships with different others and the world (p. 49). Due to the necessary partiality and incompleteness of all knowledge, her critical GCED seeks not to tell students what to think or do but to "[create] spaces" for students to reflect on the existent and imagine the alternative for social justice (p. 49).

The explication above shows that critical GCED contrasts with neoconservative GCED, which appropriates GCED to serve national priorities; with neoliberal GCED, which instrumentalises GCED for economic purposes; and with liberal or cosmopolitan GCED, which takes universal values for granted and grounds GCED merely on the moral commitment to common humanity. Nevertheless, critical conceptions of GCED, as Pashby et al. (2020) observed in the literature, "very often intersect with a liberal orientation" (p. 156), for they "[push] at the status quo and [raise] issues of power but [rely] on existing institutions and processes, and thereby may reproduce the modern/colonial imaginary" like liberal ones (p. 154). They identified the more radical version of critical GCED as "post-critical," which resists any normative, prescriptive, and teleological conceptualisations of GCED, out of the fear of replicating modern oppressive assumptions and relations when proposing alternatives. It remains "unimaginable" (Pashby et al., 2020, p. 157) to promote post-critical GCED in modern school systems, especially in present Chinese and Japanese settings. It does, however, serve as a constant reminder of the risk of injustice reproduction and imaginary limitation with which critical-liberal GCED strives to challenge oppressive structures and relations and construct more just alternatives based on established institutions. Taking the reminder to heart, this chapter engages with school citizenship education to promote critical GCED that empowers and enables students to constantly identify, question, and challenge oppressive structures and unequal power relations.

Critical GCED is often preoccupied with countering oppressive, hegemonic (post)modern Western (neo)colonialism, sometimes to the extreme of "immediate refutation" against any knowledge produced in the West (Yemini, 2023, p. 176). Seeing such a generalisation as "obviously biased," Yemini (2023) suggests taking "double caution" in critical GCED, one in identifying the bias in, and the other in discrediting, Western GCED conceptions (p. 176). Indeed, oversimplifying the West-East relation as oppressor-oppressed denies agency, sometimes complicity, to local people in the process of Western dominance and overlooks the oppression by local elites in the East (Andreotti, 2006). This chapter, which draws from the notion of critical GCED primarily developed in Western contexts, should not be taken as perpetuating Western hegemony. On the contrary, it seeks to contextualise critical GCED and

suggest competencies to be developed in Chinese and Japanese formal schooling, through which students learn to act against—that is, identify, question, and challenge—any forms of social injustice from local to national to global levels.

Citizenship as Action

This chapter applies ethical humanity and political criticality to civic action. GCED, from the UNESCO perspective, is about the socio-emotional learning of the common identity of humanity, the cognitive learning of critical thinking and analysis, and, furthermore, the behavioural learning of taking effective and responsible action (UNESCO, 2015). It expects global citizens to "[participate] in the community and [contribute] to a better world through informed, ethical and peaceful [individual and collective] action … [that addresses] global issues and social injustice" (UNESCO, 2015, p. 24). In Asia-Pacific societies, GCED is often understood as knowledge acquisition rather than participation or taking action (UNESCO, 2014, p. 18). Perhaps to change the trend, the abovementioned UNESCO Bangkok transversal competencies framework for education in the region includes the competence of "democratic participation" for global citizenship, which

> refers to skills necessary for participating effectively in civic life through knowing how to stay informed and understanding governmental processes. This includes the skills for exercising the rights and obligations of citizenship at the local, state, national and global level[s]. (UNESCO, 2019a, p. 46)

This definition, however, takes existing rules and established systems as given, confining participation within them and foregoing the ethical responsibility and critical awareness concerning social justice. This deficiency is also observed in the portrayal of civic participation in the Japanese and, more apparently, Chinese national citizenship curricula.

A new upper secondary school subject called "Public" (*kokyo*) was introduced as part of Civics in Japan in 2022 to prepare students for participating in public life. The Civics national curriculum posits social justice as a focus of active public engagement for a better society. While expecting students to apply the ethical value of social justice in local, national, and international engagement, it does not prioritise social justice over existing structures. Public participation is also stated in the Chinese citizenship national curriculum as

one of the four key competencies (alongside socialist political identity, materialist scientific spirit, and law consciousness) for upper secondary students. However, it is limited to the national community and unconcerned with social justice, which is reduced to a component of legal awareness.

Participation is considered integral to citizenship in both republican and liberal conceptualisations (Heater, 1999). The former sees public participation as a virtue indispensable to citizens, while according to the latter, citizens inevitably participate in public affairs to protect their rights. Civic participation can be classified into habitual practice and subjective acts. Isin (2012) suggests three ways to understand citizenship: status, habitus, and acts. When citizenship serves as status, it focuses on who qualifies for it and what legal rights and obligations it entails. It associates statuses with bodies. While status is about the formality of citizenship, habitus and acts concern citizenship substantiality. When citizenship is considered as habitus, the central question is how and why citizens exercise or practise the rights they have. It "asks how those bodies come into being and how those statuses get attached to them" (p. 110). Citizenship can be alternatively configured as acts which shift the attention to questions of "how people constitute themselves as political subjects by the things they do, their deeds" and, unlike habitual practice following established rules and orders, "how the things they do break away from norms, expectations, routines, rituals, in short, their habitus" (p. 110). Citizenship as acts sheds light on the beginning of something new (Arendt, 1958), the becoming of bodies as political subjects, and everyday deeds that thrust "an element of disruption or rupture into the order" (Isin, 2012, p. 111). Citizens featuring habitual practice are "active citizens," given that they "act out already written scripts … in scenes that are already created," and those who take acts are "activist citizens," as they "engage in writing scripts and creating the scene" (Isin, 2008, p. 38). While citizenship as habitus concerns the practice defined by and confined to the prescribed legal citizen status and identity, the doer-deed relation is reversed in citizenship as acts, for which doers do not exist before deeds, but deeds produce doers. In other words, acts create citizens as political subjects.

If acts actualise actors, then actions actualise acts. Isin (2008) further differentiates citizenship act from action, registering the former as beginning or rupture, "a general class of deeds," which are "actualized, that is, made actual" by the latter, "a concrete behaviour bound by a place and time" (p. 25). As actions bear "given, immediate and calculable" responsibility towards particular others under concrete conditions, acts bring the actualised actors to their intrinsic, incalculable answerability towards the general Other (Isin, 2008, p. 37). By distinguishing habitus and act and generalising or extracting

act and answerability from action and responsibility, Isin (2008, 2012) highlights a particular class of civic participation by people who can be citizens and, significantly, non-citizens (that is, those who are excluded from the legal citizenship regime), and whose acts disrupt the establishment and bring about the becoming of subjective citizens "answerable to justice against injustice" (2008, p. 39).

Different kinds of civic participation correspond to different notions of citizenship education. Citizenship as habitus leads to citizenship education that habituates students to the existing political order. By contrast, if citizenship is about acts, citizenship education is expected to engender civic subjectivity and enable students to act creatively in political engagement whose order or process is considered undetermined and challengeable. Biesta (2011) calls the former the domestication or socialisation conception and the latter the subjectification conception of citizenship education. Similar to Isin's citizenship as acts that generate actors, Biesta (2011) discusses that political subjectivity and identity, or more precisely, the democratic citizen, "is not a predefined identity that can simply be taught and learned, but emerges again and again in new ways from engagement with the experiment of democratic politics" (p. 152). He argues that the essence of democratic citizenship education is to subjectify students, that is, to enable them to go beyond prescribed definitions of "good citizen" and directly participate in the fundamentally experimental, unfixed process of democracy driven by the quest for liberty and equality.

Isin's citizenship as acts and Biesta's citizenship education as subjectification share the resistance, through rupture (Isin) or ignorance (Biesta), against predetermined civic identity and existent political rules, norms, and orders for the sake of liberty, equality, and justice. Indeed, both of them are inspired by Jacques Rancière, who advances the view of politics as interrupting or confronting the established, or what he called police, order with "the logic of equality" (1999). For Rancière, politics is based on dissensus rather than consensus, with the essence lying in "disturbing this [established, sensible] arrangement," or in other words, in the "intervention in the visible and the sayable" (2015, pp. 44–45). This means Rancerian politics appears sporadically only at the moments of interruption into the constantly present police order and disappears as soon as the dispute is suppressed or adopted into the established. It highlights the significance of political disorder to the extent of repudiating any order. It represents a radical, "anarchic" imaginary of democratic politics and civic participation, as opposed to the liberal, "archic" one that assumes and reproduces political orders (Biesta, 2011). In between the two extremes is, as Biesta (2011) discusses, Chantal Mouffe's configuration of the political. Similar to Rancière, Mouffe (2005) sees all political institutions

as contested and constructed. However, unlike Rancière, she acknowledges the need for order in democratic politics, but allows it to be derived only from what she calls "conflictual consensus," that is, "consensus on the ethico-political values of liberty and equality for all, dissent about their interpretation" (p. 121). While a Rancerian citizen only exists when questioning, challenging, and disrupting unequal political arrangements, a Mouffeian citizen engages with the perpetually hegemonic political institution to constantly examine and, when necessary, interrupt and rearrange it to make it more liberal and equal, albeit what liberty and equality mean are subject to debate and redefinition. Mouffeian citizenship thus shares with critical-liberal global citizenship their problematising unequal power structures and relations while relying on and engaging with institutions and orders.

The difference between Rancerian and Mouffeian citizenship can be explained in terms of agency and structure. For Rancerian citizenship, agency and structure are incompatible, and agency manifests itself only in the resistance against structure. By contrast, Mouffeian citizenship sees the two as interwoven, with agency depending on but shaping structure. Relating agency with structure in the Mouffeian way echoes, seen from the standpoint of structure, Anthony Giddens's (1984) "structuration," which conceptualises structure as both enabling (by providing rules and resources) and constraining (by delimiting the course) action, which is the actualisation of the subjective act in a concrete condition (Isin, 2008). To capture the interwoven relationship between agency/act and structure/order as reflected in "action" but lost in Isin's active and activist citizenship representing habitual practice or subjective acts, the remainder of the chapter draws on Butlerian performativity to explore the idea of performative citizenship and identify performative competencies for ethical and critical global citizenship within the established school citizenship education in China and Japan.

Performative Citizenship: Identity, Normativity and Subjectivity

The preceding section discussed that acts actualise actors rather than the other way around. Judith Butler takes a similar view that deeds produce doers in identity formation. However, for Butler, identity is formed through not merely subjective acts (Isin) but performative actions, which embody *both* normality and subjectivity. While Isin is concerned with subjectivity in the formation of citizen identity, Butler elaborates on the formation of gender identity through performativity. This chapter argues that Butlerian performativity provides a more holistic perspective than subjectivity to understanding and promoting

ethical and critical global citizenship in school education.

For Butler (1999), gender, sex, and sexuality are not prescribed by the natural body (chromosomes and anatomy) but are social identities, as they carry cultural meanings. This, however, does not mean that social or cultural identity inscribes the meanings on the passive body, which merely mirrors or expresses them. She sheds light on the performativity of the body, which serves a mediating role in culture and identity, or more precisely, in sustaining culture as a process and constituting cultural identity through the process. It means that bodily gender attributes, or what she calls "corporeal signification," such as gestures, movements, and styles, do not mechanically express or reveal pre-existent identity but are "*performative* in the sense that the essence or identity that they otherwise purport to express are *fabrications* manufactured and sustained through corporeal signs and other discursive means" (Butler, 1999, p. 185, original emphases). Performativity, according to Butler (1999), "is not a singular act, but a repetition and a ritual" which fabricates or produces gender identity on the "surface of the body" (p. 185) rather than revealing any substance of the natural body through "gendered stylization of the body" and "naturalization" or "interiorization" of gendered culture in the performative process (pp. xv–xvi). Thus, gender identity

> … ought not to be construed as a stable identity or locus of agency from which various acts follow; rather, gender is an identity tenuously constituted in time, instituted in an exterior space through a *stylized repetition of acts*… [It is] a constructed identity, a performative accomplishment which the mundane social audience, including the actors themselves, come to believe and to perform in the mode of belief. (Butler, 1999, pp. 191–192, original emphasis)

Similar to Isin's acts actualising actors, Butlerian performativity produces identity. It "turned inside out" (Loxley, 2007, p. 118), reversing the conventional view of we do what we are to we are what we do. Applying this to GCED, it is not that global citizens do according to the global citizen identity but that what they do makes them global citizens.

Unlike Isin's subjective acts that rupture orders, Butlerian performativity is subject to historical conventions. Gender identity is constituted by the performative, which is not discrete acts at one's will but constrained or conditioned by the gendered culture of the time. The "stylized repetition of acts" is, in effect, the bodily citation or reiteration of externally imposed norms. The performative is a process that normalises the body, or in other words, materialises regulatory norms onto the body. It suggests that performativity

is subject to normativity, which, as Butler (1993) explains, is "the reiterative power of discourse to produce the phenomena that it regulates and constrains" (p. xii). The normalising power reiterates and enables bodily attributes and acts accordant with the norms while repudiating and excluding dissonant others falling outside the normative limits within which the normalised subject is produced. In short, normativity is embedded in performativity to regulate and normalise bodily repetition and reiteration, through which performativity materialises and sustains normativity.

However, the constant need to embody and realise the normal and the necessary exclusion and repudiation of the abnormal suggest that the normativity of the performative is temporal and vulnerable, and furthermore, performativity itself is not a mechanical, perfunctory process but one with unpredictability and fallibility. It is unpredictable because "reiterations are never simply replicas of the same" (Butler, 1993, p. 172). It is always possible for the repetition to fall outside the normative limits and fail to produce normalised subjects. Butler (2010) points out that

> breakdown is constitutive of performativity (performativity never fully achieves its effect, and so in this sense 'fails' all the time; its failure is what necessitates its *re*iterative temporality, and we cannot think iterability without failure). (p. 153, original emphasis)

The fallibility of repetition opens the "political possibilities of the performative" or, in other words, "the chance for a political intervention" in the performative (Loxley, 2007, p. 124). If identity is bodily and discursively signified through repetition, failed, deviant repetition subversively "resignifies" the identity. It is in the possibility of "resignification" that Butlerian performativity bears out human subjectivity or agency and rejoins Isin's acts as rupture, or more accurately, his action as rupture bounded by a given time and place. This is because resignification occurs not outside but necessarily in the repetitive signifying process, addressing "not whether to repeat, but how to repeat or, indeed, to repeat and, through a radical proliferation of gender, displace the very gender norms that enable the repetition itself" (Butler, 1999, pp. 202–203). It means that resignification, or global citizenship resignification in the case of GCED, is both conditioned by and disruptive to the normative repetition of global citizenship. The resignification as disrupting repetition can be understood as "decontextualisation" (Butler, 2021, p. 148), for it breaks with the prior fixed context that repetition presupposes and introduces a new context under which resignification occurs. This rupture of conventions, as Butler (2021) argues, is the "force of the performative" (p. 149). The subver-

sive, transformative force for rupture/resignification suggests that Butlerian performativity carries "an agency that is (a) not the same as voluntarism, and that (b) though implicated in the very relations of power it seeks to rival, is not, as a consequence, reducible to those dominant forms" (Butler, 1993, p. 184).

Butlerian performativity is thus about repetitive actions that constitute social identities through signification (normativity) and resignification (subjectivity). Accordingly, Butlerian performative citizenship sees the citizen identity, either national or global, as not prescribed or imposed by external forces but constructed through everyday civic actions or performance. It focuses on the substantiality rather than the formality of citizenship, on what citizens do and, more significantly, how they do differently. Synthesising sporadic activist citizenship and habitual active citizenship, Butlerian performative citizenship concerns the everyday negotiation and politics of how to subjectively repeat civic actions conditioned and enabled by existent norms and rules. Subjective repetition may seem contradictory. It, however, points to the critical, constant reflection of the unavoidable but changeable routines and conventions in day-to-day affairs. Butlerian performative citizenship thus correlates with Mouffeian political citizenship in critically engaging with necessary but contested institutions to challenge oppressive social structures and relations and transform them into more just ones. Isin (2017) uses performative citizenship—arguably no different from his activist citizenship (Isin, 2008)—to designate citizenship enactment or rupture, or more precisely, citizens and non-citizens alike making rights claims beyond the confines of legal status and entitlements. He noticed an emerging literature employing a performative perspective to study subjugated social groups' struggles for rights in and across democratic and non-democratic societies. This chapter takes an enlarged scope of performative citizenship to include not merely extraordinary, remarkable action but also everyday, quotidian civic repetition, rupture, and (re)signification by people (with or without legal status) in a political community (local, national or global) and pays attention to the normativity of performative citizenship in a double sense that it is both conditioned by existing rules and norms and committed to liberty, equality, and justice.

Performative Global Citizenship and Competencies

This section employs Butlerian performative citizenship to explore and identify competencies for performative global citizenship under the conditions of Japanese and Chinese national citizenship education and international GCED policies. It can be summarised from the overview in the last section that

Butlerian performative citizenship has two defining features. First, it recognises the conditioning and enabling functions of the existing norms and rules to citizenship performance, which is capable of challenging and transforming the former. This suggests that the established nation-centric school citizenship education in China and Japan deserves serious consideration in the exploration of GCED, as it inevitably conditions and sustains global citizenship performance, which, nevertheless, possesses the force to rupture it. Second, Butlerian performative citizenship concerns the everyday performance (repetition or rupture) of citizenship, a process constituting civic identity with negotiation between normativity and subjectivity. It considers citizenship less a formal status and more substantially about participation and action. This vindicates the lens of performative citizenship to explore the not legally binding global citizenship and, furthermore, suggests that citizenship education is not merely about what is taught but, perhaps more importantly, how students learn and apply what they learn to everyday civic performance. This raises the question of how to translate ethical and critical global citizenship to everyday performance. I shall discuss the identity, normativity, and subjectivity of performative global citizenship and, by doing so, identify three interrelated competencies that students need to perform everyday ethical and critical global citizenship under the conditions of Japanese and Chinese citizenship education.

Performative global citizenship holds that the global citizen identity is not a passive, mechanical mirroring or expression of external imposition but a "performative accomplishment." This means that it is a constitution through everyday performance, that is, a "stylized repetition" of global citizenship attributes that makes possible the "interiorization" of external global citizenship discourse. However, the repetition is never full or complete, that is, the performative is fallible due to varied and changed interpretations, contexts, relations, and effects. This performative view also applies to the formation of national citizen identity. It suggests that national and global citizen identity is constituted and potentially contested through repetitive and incomplete performance in everyday life. It points to one competence that global citizenship learners need to develop: *the competence of identity reflexivity and reconstruction*.

Identity reflexivity refers to the self-reflexivity towards how and why one's identity is formed in a particular way through everyday habitual practice. For Japanese and Chinese students conditioned by nation-centric citizenship education promoting a homogenous, ethnocultural national identity alongside increased global elements, it means self-awareness and self-examination of what and how daily practice in and out of schools contributes to one's national

imaginary and global outlook. How am I taught and learnt to be a Chinese/ Japanese citizen? How is the national identity embodied in my everyday life? What quotidian practice, however small and mundane, contributes to my identification with the nation and my view of the relationship with people not from the same nation? These questions allow individual students to reflect on their identities, analyse the underlying assumptions and attitudes concerning their nation and the wider world, and become conscious that national and global citizen identity formation is a process. This is a contested process subject to constant normative scrutiny and correspondent reconstruction. Global injustices raise the ethical responsibility towards humanity and the imperative to rethink and renegotiate the national identity and global awareness currently taught in Japanese and Chinese schools, where national identity is singularly and ethnoculturally constructed while global awareness is constrained within the limits of national citizenship and even appropriated for national purposes. This means that students need to be able to reconstruct national identity and global consciousness by breaking or rupturing those habitual practices that undermine the ethical responsibility towards humanity.

Performative repetition and rupture are neither arbitrary nor discretionary. This leads to the normativity of performative global citizenship, which means it is both normatively conditioned and committed. Performative global citizenship is, on the one hand, subject to the reiterative, normalising power of official citizenship education and, more generally, dominant societal norms and values and, on the other hand, committed to, as this chapter argues, the ethico-political values of liberty, equality, and justice. Specifically in Japanese and Chinese citizenship education, it is primarily conditioned by the nationalistic orientation, which casts a shadow over curricular references to the common identity of humanity and shared responsibilities and prevents critical consciousness concerning social justice beyond national borders. This brings in the need for ethical and critical GCED to develop the competence to discern, understand, and examine the normative premises and assumptions in everyday public discourse, such as education policies and government statements, and schooling practice, such as classroom activities and teacher-student interaction. It should also extend the ability to include reasoning, defending, and enacting liberty, equality, and justice in everyday public life, although their meanings are subject to constant debate in concrete contexts. *The competence of normative examination and action* interrelates with the competence of identity reflexivity and reconstruction, as being reflexive on civic identities entails examining the normative assumptions behind them, while it is itself a normative act to reconstruct civic identity at the national and global levels with the commitment to liberty, equality, and justice. What

underlines the two competencies is the promise of subjectivity integral to performative global citizenship.

Performative subjectivity is embodied by the fallibility of repetition or the possible break with convention. Performative global citizenship is subjective in that it neither surrenders to nor abandons but critically engages with institutions, seen as necessary but constructed and contested, to identify, question, and challenge oppressive structures and unequal power relations and transform them into more just ones from local to national to global levels. This can be called *the competence of social critique and transformation*. Criticality is hardly encouraged in Chinese and Japanese citizenship education, and indeed in the UNESCO discourse of GCED in Asia. It is difficult to deviate from official norms and rules in the centralised education system in Japan and much more so in authoritarian China. Nevertheless, break or rupture is not necessarily bold or magnificent; it can be subtle yet significant. Sometimes a pause or a question about a habitual practice—such as a pause when reciting nationalist and even racist texts or a question about what global competitiveness is for—can expose the problematic assumptions and invite a rethinking of the officially defined national and global citizenship in terms of liberty, equality, and justice. These values are indeed incorporated, at least on paper, in school citizenship education in Japan and China, despite the apparent lack of concern beyond the nation (Chen, 2021, 2022). Citing and reiterating the official rhetoric brings "binding or conferring power" (Butler, 1993, p. 171) to performative global citizenship, which can relate domestic injustices to global ones and, by doing so, resignify these values in global contexts. Likewise, curricular requirements serving national purposes, such as knowledge of national and international affairs, awareness of cultural diversity, and attitude of sympathy and empathy (Chen, 2020), can be reiterated to resignify them in the context of ethical humanity and global justice. This leads to a significant characteristic that performative global citizenship does not isolate from but critically and creatively leverages the institution of national citizenship. As the three competencies indicate, it draws on identity reflexivity, normative examination, and social critique of national citizenship to undertake identity reconstruction, normative action, and social transformation for ethical and critical global citizenship.

This section has identified three interconnected, and not necessarily exhaustive, competencies derived from performative global citizenship for GCED in Japan and China (Figure 8.1). As noted at the outset, this chapter views competency as generalised or idealised cognitive, socio-emotional, and behavioural skills and performance as the application of those skills in a specific situation. It means that the three competencies and their assess-

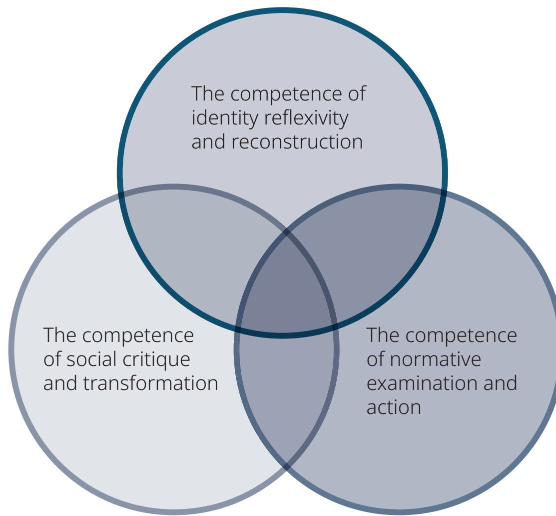

Figure 8.1 *The Three Competencies of Performative Global Citizenship*

ment should be contextualised in specific conditions under which they are performed to actualize performative global citizenship. How to perform them in everyday civic repetition and rupture deserves future observation and further exploration.

Conclusion: Global Citizenship Education as National Citizenship Deconstruction

This chapter is set in the context of nation-centric citizenship education in East Asia. Taking China and Japan as two illustrative cases, it develops the notion of performative global citizenship as an uncompromising yet pragmatic approach to GCED, an approach that engages with national citizenship education to promote global citizenship, which takes actions driven by an ethical concern for humanity and a political awareness of criticality. A performative global citizen is constituted through everyday civic repetition and rupture, or more precisely, everyday subjective acts amid national citizenship habitual practice, including reflexivity and reconstruction of national identity, examination of national norms, and taking actions committed to liberty, equality, and justice, as well as social critique and transformation of national citizenship for ethical and political global citizenship. These are encapsulated as the three competencies of performative global citizenship, at the core of which is critical and creative engagement with national citizenship by leveraging—that is,

reiterating to resignify—existing rules, norms, and orders to promote ethical and critical global citizenship. Stretching across habitual practice and subjective acts, performative global citizenship is distinct from and compensates for the gap between active and activist citizenship. This approach highlights the need, often neglected in the literature, to consider national citizenship education as a significant condition for GCED in East Asian societies.

This chapter argues for ethical and critical global citizenship, which guides the everyday performance of a performative global citizen. The ethical and critical orientation of global citizenship is derived from the asymmetrical global developments and attendant inequalities and injustices, for which human beings bear the ethico-political obligations to eliminate them by identifying, questioning, and challenging oppressive structures and unequal power relations and transforming them into more just ones. As a paradigmatic political structure and relation, the modern nation-state and its citizenship, which are invariably institutionalised in the name of and supposed to realize liberty and equality, often function as oppressive and exclusionary mechanisms that produce injustices for social and cultural minorities within and beyond the nation-state. Global citizenship might overcome the limit and fix the broken promise of national citizenship. But to prevent the repetition of modern citizenship as a disciplinary, differentiating, and violent mechanism and the replication of modern oppressive assumptions and relations in general, an ethico-political way to develop global citizenship is to deconstruct national citizenship in the sense of identifying, questioning, and challenging the injustices it produces, rather than constructing a universal theory of global citizenship, which is necessarily particular and incomplete. Given that global citizenship is performative, GCED is teaching and learning less about how to be a global citizen and more about how to deconstruct everyday national citizenship and, by doing so, become a global citizen.

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9. A Future Direction for Global Citizenship Education in Asia: Beginning With Locality and Expanding to Universality

Kyujoo Seol

Abstract

This chapter aims to suggest a future direction for global citizenship education (GCED) in the context of Asia, which begins with the local in this region and heads for the universal values that human beings seek. Asian countries should learn from the GCED experience of Western countries, where GCED began earlier, and at the same time it is required that we explore more appropriate and contextualised GCED in Asia. Citizens' participation in social issues could be more animated where these people are rooted and live their lives. Therefore, GCED needs to approach social issues not just from a global perspective, but also from a local one. With the emphasis on citizens' involvement and practices at a local level, GCED could have more multidimensional ways to cope with social issues. Contextualised GCED, based on *a posteriori* universalism, does not accept the given or fixed universal, but constructs it through dealing with diverse local particularities in everyday life. Thus, such GCED utilises the local history, issues, events, people, structures, or statues as a starting point and as educational resources for applying universal values. Conversely, such GCED should also reflect those local matters in view of universality. This approach can be simplified as "Begin Locally, Expand Globally." In this chapter, educational cases concerning Statues of Peace and Citizenship Education in East Asia policy in South Korea are presented as examples of GCED that begins with locality and expands to universality. Starting with these cases, we should create more educational examples of *a posteriori* universalism.

Introduction

Background of Research

The theories and practices of global citizenship education (GCED) are widespread, with efforts having been made by various individuals, organisations, and governments around the world. GCED is connected to the idea of a "global village" (McLuhan, 1962), where all parts of the world are brought together by media and communications. This connection to the idea of a global village could be one of the reasons why much of the discourse on GCED has emphasised the universal over the local elements. With the framework of a global village, individuals tend to transcend the micro and macro aspects of their daily lives (Wellman, 1999).

Thus, it is true that GCED is seeking universal values which are not just for certain communities or countries but for the whole of humanity, such as human rights, peace, and protection of the environment (Sim, 2016). But the efforts to give shape to those values are made in each specific context. The slogan of "Think Globally, Act Locally" (Grauer, 1989) could be understood as one of the ideas related to such efforts. This phrase has been used to urge people to consider the entire Earth as a global village and to take action for it in their own towns or communities. At the same time, this phrase can be said to put stress on not only a global level but also a local level in terms of cultivating global citizenship.

Many of the approaches to GCED around the world are deeply related to cosmopolitanism, which has its origin in Kant's perpetual peace. His philosophy conceptualises a universal humanity where human beings are recognised by one another not as a means but ends in themselves (Wu, 2020). Cosmopolitanism views all human beings as members of a single community called Earth and emphasises common and universal moral standards that transcend differences among various individuals, groups, and regions (Chang et al., 2015; Ruck et al., 2020). Cosmopolitanism, which is based on liberal democracy, challenges the discourses of nationalism and its exclusiveness (Starkey, 2022). In this respect, GCED reflecting cosmopolitanism could be described as a kind of antidote to ethnonationalism (Sen, 2006; Han, 2022). This can also be said to be a contribution of cosmopolitanism to GCED.

On the other hand, such conceptions of GCED in terms of cosmopolitanism are often criticised because of the myth of Western supremacy (Andreotti, 2006). This myth could have led to Western perspectives and methods of GCED becoming the standard or model in non-Western countries, such as those in Asia. This Western-centric tendency in some Asian countries can be said to be a problem that arises in the process of applying cosmopolitanism

to GCED, which is to say imitating the Western perspective. For example, the social studies curriculum and social studies textbooks in South Korea have traditionally weighed towards Western neoliberalism when they deal with GCED (Kim, 2016; Yoon & Choi, 2015). Some social studies textbooks in South Korea have tended to the cultivation of neoliberal global citizenship. For instance, the dichotomous categories of *Western* versus *non-Western* and *developed* countries versus *developing* countries have been used to decontextualise diverse and different geographical ideas in such textbooks. Furthermore, says Kim (2016), textbooks there have long mentioned that the modernisation pursued by Western or developed countries is superior, and that following this model is the way to guarantee the freedom and rights of individuals in non-Western or developing countries (p. 10). In this way, claims Starkey (2022), GCED could be promoted with regard to a kind of *elite cosmopolitanism* which emphasises personal capital and competitiveness (p. 71).

Of course, it is necessary that Asian countries refer to the concept, principles, and the trials and errors of GCED in Western countries and learn from them. However, copying Western perspectives or practices to the letter is neither desirable nor recommended because Western discourses or experiences might not always apply in non-Western contexts (Dobson, 2006). Many East Asian and Southeast Asian countries show considerable diversity when it comes to their experiences in and reactions to globalisation (Ho, 2018, pp. 83–87). With these particularities, we must explore a direction for GCED that is more appropriate to the context of Asian countries. This approach could contribute to expanding the views of global citizenship and enriching the practices of GCED around the world. The main context of this research is South Korea due to the authors' academic and experiential background in this country. The author of this chapter has mainly studied and practised in the field of citizenship education and GCED in South Korea.

Purpose of Research

This research aims to suggest a direction for GCED in the local context of Asia, particularly South Korea. That direction begins at the local level and uses the local to construct the global and universal values.

Research Questions

This chapter focuses on such research questions as follows:

1) Why should GCED begin at the local level?
2) How do we pursue a balance between the local issues and the universal values in GCED?

3) How can we implement GCED beginning at the local level and expanding to universal values?

Reflecting on Citizens and Global Citizenship Education

The Definition of Citizen and Citizens' Competencies

The term *citizen* can be defined in various ways. Ong and Kim (2024), in their follow-up research on concepts and principles of citizenship education by the Korea Institute for Curriculum and Evaluation (KICE), view citizens in terms of decision-making, which is a core element of civic life. They define citizens as the subjects of public decision-making (pp. 115–117). Public decision-making means the decisions to be made on an issue are social and national, not private. In addition, in public decision-making, the process itself is public. The scope of the impact of decision-making goes beyond direct stakeholders to unspecified people. Citizens can be said to be the subjects involved in these decision-making processes and outcomes. Kang (2007), who has worked on citizenship education in South Korea for decades, defines citizens as the members of communities that have historically existed. He argues they are free and equal in terms of political participation and economic activities (pp. 90–91). This definition focuses on the relationships between a community and its members and the relationships among members within the community itself.

In this chapter, citizens are defined as "free and equal members of various kinds of communities" based on the definitions mentioned above. Citizens are individuals who can make their own decisions about oneself and the communities which they belong to. At the same time, citizens are members of various communities in which they are connected to one another and considered as equal human beings.

Citizens as members of a modern democratic society should pursue civic values. Jeong et al. (2019), in their research on principles and concepts of democratic citizenship education in South Korea by the Ministry of Education, suggest three civic values as follows: (1) Citizens should exercise *autonomy* as a self-legislator when it comes to the matters related to oneself and one's communities; (2) Citizens should pay *respect* to one another as human beings of sovereignty and with dignity; (3) Citizens should stand in *solidarity* with other citizens as members of communities based on a sense of belonging to them (pp. 19–23). Song and Yoon (2021) argue that these civic values can be evidence that citizens are free and equal members in a democratic community (p. 103).

In relation to these civic values, the competencies of citizens can be listed as follows (Jeong et al., 2019, pp. 33–36; Song & Yoon, 2021, p. 104). Citizens should develop social decision-making skills, as they are essential to realising autonomy. Citizens should show social empathy as a basis of respect for one another. Citizens should increase social engagement, helping to sustain solidarity and cooperation among community members. Citizens should practise critical reflection, the main driving force of reviewing and evaluating others' perspectives or social phenomena. According to Jeong et al. (2019), these civic competencies can be a useful means to help embody the civic values in a democratic community (pp. 36–37).

The Significance of Global Citizenship Education: Enhancing the Competencies of Citizens in Global Stages

According to the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO, 2014a), the concept of citizenship can be broadened and applied in various contexts, so it could be a contested concept rather than a fixed one. So is the notion of global citizenship (p. 14). Global citizenship can be defined as citizenship beyond nations (Bellamy, 2000) or transnational citizenship (Seol, 2001). These focus on the post-national aspect of global citizenship beyond borders. Also, global citizenship can be understood as a kind of cosmopolitanism (Appiah, 2008), emphasising the idea that all human beings are members of a single (global) community. In addition, global citizenship can be treated as planetary citizenship (Henderson & Ikeda, 2004), which pays attention to citizens' role in saving the Earth.

There could be more differences in conceptions of global citizenship, but UNESCO highlights the common understanding of it, that is, "a sense of belonging to a broader community and common humanity, promoting a global gaze that links the local to the global and the national to the international" (UNESCO, 2014a, p. 14). This is closely connected to the sense of "same human beings" rather than "same nations" (Soysal, 1998, pp. 191–195).

Furthermore, UNESCO delineates GCED as an education which "aims to empower learners to engage and assume active roles both locally and globally to face and resolve global challenges and ultimately to become pro-active contributors to a more just, peaceful, tolerant, inclusive, secure and sustainable world" (UNESCO, 2014a, p. 15). This definition is widely used as an important reference and a starting point of GCED around the world. Here, learners' active role in facing and resolving global challenges and contributing to a better world is emphasised at both local and global levels.

Based on these discourses, Seol et al. (2022), in their research on region-based GCED by Incheon Metropolitan Office of Education in South Korea,

define GCED as an education that supports learners to understand the world on the basis of their identity as a global villager and to reflect on and respond to both local and global problems in terms of universal values and transnational perspectives (p. 16). GCED is significant in that it helps citizens who are responsible for a global community to have a deeper knowledge of various and complicated global problems, as well as to participate in coping with those problems. Through GCED, citizens can foster such competencies as collective decision-making skills, humanity, social engagement, and critical thinking, all of which are required to help make the world a better place (p. 12).

Contextualising Global Citizenship Education: Beginning With Locality and Expanding to Universality

Why Is Locality Important for Global Citizenship Education?

In general, as Grossman (2017) contends, GCED aims for universal values that all mankind must pursue (p. 529). Universal values can be said to be the minimum common norms that are bound to be always right, as with the protection of human rights (Landorf, 2009) or the environment (Sim, 2016), for example. No one would oppose the very value of human dignity or the global environment. On the other hand, it is necessary to examine whether such universal values are formed as ahistorical and decontextualised. When such universal values are perceived as irrelevant to people's everyday lives, even though such values are always right, there may be limitations in drawing solidarity and participation from various members to solve global problems. In this regard, it is necessary to heed the local context as well as universal values in GCED.

Citizens in the age of globalisation are those who can take both local and transnational approaches to the various issues around themselves and the world, as well as deal with global issues in the context of locality and reflect on local issues from a global perspective (Seol, 2001). If social issues are illuminated only at the global level, it could grow distant or become detached from citizens' everyday lives. In this situation, it may be difficult to induce citizens' motivation to cope with them. Citizens belong to various levels and kinds of communities, not just global but also national or local communities, and this sense of belonging shapes their identity. As Lowndes (1995) has said, engagement in social issues could be more animated where citizens live their daily lives (p. 165).

Therefore, GCED needs to approach social issues from both a local and global perspective. With the emphasis on citizens' involvement and prac-

tices at the local level, GCED could have more diverse and multidimensional ways to examine and deal with global issues. In this respect, to emphasise the importance of locality in GCED, we can add the phrase “Begin Locally, Expand Globally” to the original “Think Globally, Act Locally.”

How Can Locality Be in Balance With Universality?

Here, we focus on the ideas of Clarke (1996), who has worked in the field of citizenship and political thoughts. Clarke suggests *a posteriori* universalism instead of *a priori* universalism. *A priori* universalism can be defined as a universalism that begins with given and fixed universality. It is based on liberalism, which emphasises universal human freedom and reason, and gives priority to individual, civil, and political rights. According to liberalism, such values are not questionable and challengeable because they are the fruits of reasoning. Liberalism requires *minimum* norms to mediate conflicts of interest that arise in the process of pursuing such values. This minimum commonality can be said to be a kind of set of abstract rules for society. Such minimum rules that can be accepted by all nations and all communities in the world cannot have specific content in them because the rules could not be agreed on at all if they would seek various and specific values.

Thus, the liberal minimum standard cannot help flowing into an ahistorical and asocial citizenship due to its thinness and abstractness. It is questionable whether true solidarity and compromise can emerge from such decontextualised citizenship. In addition, the abstract minimum morality shared among different communities and nations can reveal its weaknesses in that it does not answer numerous global or specific local problems that must actually be solved.

This liberal way of thinking came from the West, and this approach was imposed on non-Western nations and communities (Dobson, 2006). The Western way of thinking has been considered to be far superior to non-Western ways of thinking, and the diversity and specificity of various communities have been restricted as a result (Oxley & Morris, 2013). In other words, it can be said that the problem of the Western minimum standard is not in the claim ‘observe *the* minimum rule,’ but rather in the claim ‘observe *THIS* minimum rule.’

That is a specific meta narrative, that is, the universality contained in the tradition of Western thoughts. The point is that the meta narrative can be imposed on all communities or nations as if it is the only and true universality. This universality can be regarded as the “transcendently given” universality, forcing a kind of uniformity rather than diversity among the various nations and communities.

Clarke’s idea of *a posteriori* universalism can be an alternative. It can be

used as a basis for the balance between locality and universality. It neither leans to one or the other, nor does it divide the two perfectly in half. Rather, it seeks after both, yet tries to keep them in balance on different levels. That is, *a posteriori* universalism starts from looking at local situations and aims to realise universal values (Clarke, 1996, pp. 34–35).

A posteriori universalism does not rely on universality as *a priori* but discovers universality in our actual life and lived experience. It focuses on differences and particularities in each local community. This universality is not a given but an acquired and constructed one. *A posteriori* universalism should not simply begin with and appreciate such specificity, Clarke (1996) argues. Rather, it should continuously try to define the meanings of our life on the local level while being conscious of the relationship between such meanings and the World (pp. 21–22). That is to say, *a posteriori* universalism ultimately pursues universality in the process of examining our everyday local life in terms of global perspective.

Citizens who practise *a posteriori* universalism begin with local situations and ultimately seek universality. They do not accept any given or fixed universal values but construct the universal by dealing with diverse local situations in their everyday lives. They can utilise the local history, issues, events, people, structures, or statues, etc. as the starting point and the educational resources in order to continue to universal values.

A posteriori universalism does not ignore or exclude the uniqueness that each region, country, community, or culture has in order to pursue universality. Instead, it cherishes a citizen's everyday affections, commitments, and participation as a starting point and resource towards universality. This is not a way to achieve harmony by placing universality and locality in parallel, but rather to pursue harmony by diversifying the dimensions and levels of each region, country, community, or culture, etc.

For example, let us apply *a posteriori* universalism to the development of democracy. Is democracy just a product of the West and is it impossible for Asian countries to catch up with Western democratic countries? The Economics Intelligence Unit (2024) lists 24 countries in full democracy, 19 of which are Western countries. Most Asian countries are categorised into flawed democracy or hybrid regimes.[1] Such Asian countries are underrated when it comes to electoral processes, civil liberties or political culture. In some Asian countries, we can still see cases of rigged elections and violent protests against the government.

We know this by looking into the democratic revolution that occurred in Indonesia in 1998. It is an example demonstrating that democracy can be obtained not just by *a given system*, but by *breaking down the contradictions*

rooted in its own place. Indonesia had its own contradictions and conflicts, which were difficult to be resolved all at once with Western democratic theories or systems such as elections, because Indonesian election systems back then were one-sidedly advantageous to the ruling power. Such contradictions and conflicts could be resolved better through the most necessary and appropriate method for the people of the country.

In 1998, Indonesian citizens drove out the corrupt dictator who had reigned over the country for 31 years through riots, and eventually found and constructed a democracy suitable for Indonesia on their own, even if it is not perfect yet. What brought them better democracy than before was not the election, which has since been often described as the *flower of democracy* in social studies textbooks. Rather, they were able to move closer to democracy through bloody riots that were evaluated as dangerous, unstable, and illegal. From then on, the country is said to have entered into a "Reform Era" (International Business Publications, 2007).

Of course, Indonesians cannot be taught to start a bloody riot, much less to institutionalise it even if it was one of the most suitable means for them back then. However, such a violent method may have been inevitable or even the most appropriate course for Indonesia at the time. Even if many citizens in Indonesia could participate in the revolution without much awareness of *democracy* in terms of knowledge, the Indonesian Revolution can be regarded as an example that shows a *growth of democracy* in Asia's history of democracy. This democracy through *a posteriori* universalism is not a textbook democracy, but a democracy discovered and achieved through lived experience in a specific context. South Korea had a similar experience in its democratisation in the 1970s and '80s, and now Myanmar is undergoing such a process (Ratcliffe, 2021).

Although democracy is indeed an ultimate ideal—and it is the only alternative when it comes to political systems—Western-style democracy just given to Asian countries could reduce the vivid meaning and complicated context of democracy in each country. It is understandable to some extent that Western-style democracy is inevitably given, at least in the initial acceptance of democracy in Asian countries. However, even if the *concept* of democracy is pursued as a universal ideal of humanity, it cannot be applied as a standardised version to every part of the world. The lived reality of democracy may be different in each local community or country. In this respect, Asian countries can start from their current local reality and get closer to the ideal democracy by encountering various forms and aspects of democracy around it and by modifying the democracy they have now. This is one way to achieve democracy through *a posteriori* universalism.

Applying Global Citizenship Education by Beginning With Locality and Going to Universality

A Difficult History: Statue of Peace to Commemorate "Comfort Women"

In this section, an example of a *difficult history* in South Korea is introduced to show a way of applying *a posteriori* universalism. The term *difficult history* can be defined as "historical narratives and other forms (learning standards, curricular frameworks) that incorporate contested, painful and/or violent events into regional, national or global accounts of the past" (Epstein et al., 2017, p. 1). Epstein and Peck (2017) argue that any period of violence that causes trauma or emotional pain can be a difficult history. Wars (e.g., the American Civil War, World War I & II, Korean War, Vietnam War), the Holocaust, slavery, racism, sexism, Israel settler colonialism are just some examples of difficult histories (Gross & Terra, 2018; An, 2021).

One example of a difficult history related to South Korea is a Statue of Peace (*Pyeonghwaui Sonyeosang*) that was erected in Seoul, South Korea for the first time in 2011 to commemorate the "comfort women" during World War II (See Figure 9.1 and Figure 9.2). Hundreds of thousands of women from Korea, China, the Philippines, Indonesia, Taiwan, Thailand, New Guinea, and other countries were forced into sexual enslavement for Japanese troops. The number of the comfort women is estimated to be around 50,000 to more than 200,000, and most of them were Korean women (Cumings, 1997, p. 155; Asian Women Fund, 2007, pp. 10–11).

Statues of Peace have been established by civilians and civil society organisations in South Korea, not by the South Korean government. Since 2011, the construction of Statues of Peace has continued both inside and outside of South Korea, such as in the United States, Canada, Australia, China, Germany, and Italy. The number of Statues of Peace, as of 2024, now surpasses more than 150 in South Korea and approximately 15 in other countries (Lee, 2024). The Statues have been built in parks, universities, and local community centres, giving citizens the opportunity to see them in their everyday lives. Some schools and NGOs bring students to a nearby Statue of Peace and use it as a resource for history education and GCED.

Each Statue also provides short explanations on comfort women, who, according to Kim et al. (2019), were "sexual slaves" (p. 58) during World War II. This has been done for the purpose of commemorating the victims, that is, sexual slaves. The Japanese government has tried to deny the existence of sexual slaves and demanded the demolition of the Statues, arguing that they may be interpreted as offensive to or racist against the Japanese people. However, the South Korean government has not accepted the demand because

the Statues were established by Korean civil society, not by the government, and because comfort women are historical facts, not opinions (Vickers & Frost, 2021; Shin, 2021).

Dealing with this issue here is meant neither to emphasise nationalism nor cause a historically based conflict between South Korea and Japan. Instead, the Statue of Peace issue can be utilised as an educational resource. We can begin with a specific Statue of Peace, whether that is a Statue of Peace in South Korea, China, or Australia, for example. We can also start from the sad history of comfort women who were forced to serve the Imperial Japanese Army as sexual slaves. We can then move on to more universal values such as women's rights, human rights, and the anti-war movement.

In this case, dealing with these Statues of Peace might seem to be partly

Figure 9.1 *Statue of Peace in a Public Park in Seoul, South Korea*
© Crowdpic

Figure 9.2 *Statue of Peace in a Public Square in Yeosu, South Korea*
© Crowdpic

related to nationalism, but we must not be bound by nationalism. We must not stay on nationalism and instead reflect this local history of a specific region in terms of more universal and global perspectives. Commemorating the comfort women must not be misunderstood as a kind of retaliatory reaction to Japanese colonisation. Rather, the Statues of Peace symbolise a reflection on war crimes and are intended to help the victims and their descendants recover from the legacy of sexual crimes.

We can also connect the comfort women issues in Asia to the women's rights issues or human rights issues in the Russo-Ukrainian War and the Israel-Hamas war. A great deal of sexual violence has been reported in the Russian invasion of Ukraine, including mass sexual assault (Gall & Boushnak, 2023). The Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR, 2022) summarised the sexual crimes in Ukraine as follows: "The Commission documented patterns of summary executions, unlawful confinement, torture, ill-treatment, and rape and other sexual violence committed in areas occupied by Russian armed forces. Sexual violence has affected victims of all ages. Victims, including children, were sometimes forced to witness the crimes." Frequent sex crimes against Palestinians and Israelis during the Israel-Hamas war have not been much different than in Ukraine (Rubin, 2023; Robertson, 2024).

War is a prominent example of a difficult history that causes a tremendous amount of suffering to many people. Sexual crimes, especially against civilian women, are constantly committed during wars. Wartime sexual violence has long been used as a type of "weapon of war" (Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, 2022). The aforementioned Statue of Peace is intended to expose to the public the horrors of such a weapon of war and the suffering it causes. Just as sexual crimes in the Russo-Ukrainian War and the Israel-Hamas war are not simply an issue between two warring parties, the victims of sexual crimes by the Imperial Japanese Army during World War II (comfort women) are not just a local issue between South Korea and Japan. Rather, such crimes are issues of universal human rights or women's rights that are violated too easily anywhere during wartime, requiring all human beings' awareness and collaborative response.

The Statues of Peace, erected throughout South Korea and in several other countries, are not just a sculpture occupying a specific local place. Each Statue is not intended to remember a specific victim, either. Rather, the Statue of Peace tells the difficult history of numerous female victims who were forced to be exposed to sexual violence during World War II. Such a sad history does not remain only in the past nor just in South Korea but goes beyond time and space and concerns universal values that we still need to pay attention to today,

in all corners of the globe, including Ukraine, Israel, and the Gaza Strip. In this respect, the Statue of Peace can be a good example of *a posteriori* universalism, which starts from the local and seeks to bring out the universal values that GCED aims for.

Citizenship Education in East Asia From the Incheon Metropolitan Office of Education in South Korea

Incheon is geographically located in the central part of the Korean Peninsula. This city witnessed Western modernity in the early stage of modernisation of Korea and has led the modernisation of the country from an early age. Currently, it is a hub city for various international exchanges such as culture, art, and economy that connect South Korea with other East Asian countries and other regions in the world. GCED, beginning with the local, is making use of the resources and characteristics of Incheon as a specific space for learning by experience (Seol et al., 2022). This approach can be understood as another way of applying *a posteriori* universalism to GCED (pp. 17–19).

The Incheon Metropolitan Office of Education (IMOE) and its Citizenship Education in East Asia, which began in 2019, is an example of applying GCED beginning with locality. Citizenship Education in East Asia is one of the core policies of the IMOE. It uses East Asia as a main resource to enhance global citizenship. Indeed, Citizenship Education in East Asia is a GCED initiative that supports the growth of global citizens who seek coexistence and cooperation in East Asia. This policy tries to expand knowledge and understanding of East Asia based on one's identity as an East Asian, and to explore solutions to conflicts and problems existing in East Asia from various perspectives. It is now being implemented under the programme title of Incheon-style GCED as of 2024, and will serve as an expansion of Citizenship Education in East Asia.

One of the main features of Citizenship Education in East Asia is the textbook series *Citizens in East Asia* for elementary, middle, and high school students. These textbooks have been used in many schools with the support of the IMOE. The textbooks have special sections that include "East Asia in Incheon" and "Incheon in East Asia."

Through "East Asia in Incheon," students can learn about a wide range of people and their cultures (Chinatown, refugees, migrant workers, international marriage immigrants, etc.) in Incheon, a main gateway city to South Korea from East Asia and the world. Learners also reflect on such topics as how people from myriad countries live in Incheon, what makes them unique, and how their human rights are protected or not (Incheon Metropolitan Office of Education, 2020).

With "Incheon in East Asia," students look at a variety of people, places, and cultures related to Incheon throughout East Asia. For example, people born in Incheon or those educated in Incheon can be linked to East Asia by now working and living in a specific place in East Asia. Students can also explore what is similar and what is different between Incheon and its sister cities in East Asia, including Ulan Bator, Chongqing, Shenyang, Kobe, Phnom Penh, Manila, Hai Phong, and Banten. They can also learn how Incheon is involved in economy and culture in East Asia (e.g., goods exported to East Asia through Incheon Airport, goods imported through Incheon Port). East Asia is one part of Asia, but it can also be said that East Asia is a small world unto itself that has a wide variety of people, cultures, and nature (Incheon Metropolitan Office of Education, 2020). Thus, students can learn about the connection between the local and the universal through the relationship between Incheon and East Asia.

In this process, students in Incheon can actively recognise that the issues in Incheon are closely connected to not only East Asia and the world, but that the issues in East Asia and the world are connected to Incheon as well. Also, they can deal with those issues utilising various resources (human, material, institutional, cultural, etc.) in Incheon, that is, at the local community level. In addition, specific action plans can be established and carried out to respond to and cope with such issues in the community where citizens are actually living.

Conclusion

It is often said that the whole world is associated with the age of globalisation. The West and Asia are also closely connected to each other, as is South Korea to the rest of the world. Because of this connectivity, starting from the local place, history, culture, event, and people, in South Korea could lead us to discover and reach universality through discussing and examining the local constantly.

A distinctive feature of UNESCO's *Global Citizenship Education: Topics and Learning Objects* is that GCED does not deal with global issues or view them only at a global level; it also considers regional and national levels (UNESCO, 2014b, pp. 29–42). That is to say, GCED addresses regional, national, and global issues, emphasises interconnection, interdependence, and solidarity among them, and aims to take action at regional, national, and global levels.

In other words, it is important to critically understand the meaning of global issues as well as their relationship with smaller regions and countries,

and to discover that people are closely related to the communities and daily lives in which they live. On the other hand, local issues in Asian countries, such as in South Korea, should also be examined not just in their own context but also from a global perspective and be reflected on how they can be linked to universal values.

Global citizenship is based on globalisation and universalism. It also emphasises transnational reflection and participation at a global level to realise universal values such as human rights, peace, and protection of the environment (Seol, 2001). Meanwhile, local citizenship is set in localisation and particularism. This places importance on local identity and participation in people's daily lives (Lowndes, 1995).

Global citizenship and local citizenship point at different directions. In fact, however, these two types of citizenship aim to democratically manage various aspects of people's lives in different levels of communities to which we belong (towns, regions, countries, and the world) and to cultivate the civic consciousness of the members of communities. Global citizenship should not unconditionally aim at the universal or global but should be able to utilise the local as a resource by starting from the local. And just because local citizenship is based on local things, we should not be complacent with focusing only on the particular or local matters but should continuously explore the possibility of its universalisation. This can be said to be at the core of GCED, as it does not accept a fixed and given universality, but creates and constructs the type of universality we should pursue together through inquiries and discourses.

Notes

1 Hybrid regimes mean a kind of mixture of democracy and authoritative regimes.

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