Heuristics of Global Citizenship Discourses towards Curriculum Enhancement

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Introduction

NOTIONS OF CITIZENSHIP are being recast in the global age. Europe, once a continent of violent conflict, rigid boundaries, and ethnic strife, is increasingly a fluid, traversable, political entity unto itself, giving rise to a new, if not uncontested, notion of a European citizen (Collado & Atxurra, 2006). Efforts to make an integrated Europe, culturally, politically, and economically, far surpass other regions of the world, though there remain significant debates about the future of the European Union (EU). Bulgaria, Ireland, and Sweden, along with 24 other nations, are now linked under a common body of laws, sharing various governance structures in a way that was completely unthinkable 70 years ago. The global civic landscape, at least in Europe, suggests that centripetal forces are moving towards cohesion and into supra-national states of regional character.

Centrifugal forces that have a decidedly global feel, however, are emerging at the same time. Expressions of ethnic autonomy, often an anxious response to overheated globalization, are increasingly prevalent. Formerly colonized peoples as geographically diverse as the Kurds of Southwest Asia, the Aborigines of Australia, and Native Americans of the U.S. have variously argued for greater self-determination. Kurds have advocated for the right to self-determination in the wake of Saddam Hussein's removal in Iraq (see Kurdishmedia.com, 2008), Aborigines have called for legal recognition and the rights to self-determination, or sovereignty, under the United Nations Draft Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples vis-à-vis Australia (Unrepresented Nations and Peoples Organization, 2004), and Native American Indians have periodically sought recognition directly from the United Nations (Treat, 2000, 274–275; Sassen, 2005). Changes in the relationship of the individual to the state are also increasingly apparent in legal jurisdictions around the world. Under international law, according to Jacobsen and Ruffer (2003), an increasingly significant unit of analysis is the *agented* individual who is no longer beholden to a nation for representation and can appeal to global bodies in ways that are initiatory and self-reliant. Developments like these have begun to cause an earnest reexamination of what citizenship means in a post-national global age.

These shifts of power, viewed simultaneously, all point to the same phenomenon: the erosion of national power. Whether through the reintegration of a singular Europe, the disintegration of a national Iraq, or the shifted locus of agency to the individual vis-à-vis international law, the common denominator is the loss of power of the political entity *sin qua non* of the 17th through 20th Centuries, the nation-state. As Castles and Davidson (2000) contend, the traditional locus of citizenship has shifted, such that "basing citizenship on singular individual membership in a nation-state is no longer adequate, since the nation-state model itself is being severely eroded" (p. viii).

What has changed? Globalization, an amorphous category that is multilayered, cacophonous, and often contradictory (Kumar, 2003). Globalization proffers many changes, including alterations of what it means to be a citizen in various contexts. A short list of those changes includes: codification of international human rights law, creation of supra-national governing bodies (e.g., the European Union Parliament), global trade policy, and proliferation of transnational non-governmental organizations (NGOs). Citizenship, once solely and firmly the domain of national citizens, is being reconstituted around a constellation of other affiliations, including race/ethnicity, gender, place, ability, and class to name a few. Non-governmental organizations, transnational advocacy groups, rapid transportation, and technological innovations have all sped the migration of ideas, practices, and beliefs. One would be hard pressed to find a university in the U.S., for example, that does not invoke global citizenship in some form as part of its mission. One would be equally challenged to find such missions enacted in the realities of daily life at those same institutions. Global citizenship, as such, is in danger of becoming yet another slogan on a heap of others, perhaps awaiting a post-mortem declaration of death by ambiguity and stridency (Popkewitz, 1980).

This paper seeks to (1) offer some clarity about the broad category of global citizenship and some of it invocations; (2) provide scholars and teachers with meaningful ways of thinking about global citizenship; and (3) speculate about global citizenship curriculum efforts towards these ends. Though much of the beginning of the paper draws upon scholarly works in philosophy, political science, and the humanities, the remainder centers around pedagogues and curriculum scholars since schools are, and will continue to be, expected to play a substantial role in preparing global citizens. Curriculum scholars of all stripe, therefore, ought to reflect carefully on what global citizenship variously means for and to schools, students, and communities.

In my effort to make sense of global citizenship, I employ heuristics to sort through visions of global citizenship from five different locations in discourse: neoliberal, nationalist, Marxist, world justice/governance, and cosmopolitan. While these are not intended to be exhaustive of those ideas in play, I select them for a few reasons. First, they represent a fairly wide swath of global discourse from various points on the political and epistemological landscape. Second, while there are clearly points of agreement among them, there are also tensions, allowing for a more robust analysis of the contrasting conversation. And third, each has a counterpart in curriculum and manifests in schools in a discernible manner that sets it apart from others. A difficulty in positing these five discursive centers is that it implicitly suggests a state of equality among them, or a sense that people take seriously and are engaged by each discourse equally. That is clearly not the case, as neoliberalism and nationalism are the dominant and indeed hegemonic, discursive categories about citizenship generally as well as in any discussions of global citizenship. Thus, the heuristic is more accurately employed when readers bear in mind that neoliberalism and nationalism are dominant discourses that are interrupted at times by less recognized, minority discourses of Marxism, world governance, and cosmopolitanism. This point

will be borne out in the analysis of each but is worth noting in advance.

Heuristics of Global Citizenship

The following graphic[1] illustrates various conceptions of global citizenship examined herein:

1.1 *Heuristics of Global Citizenship*
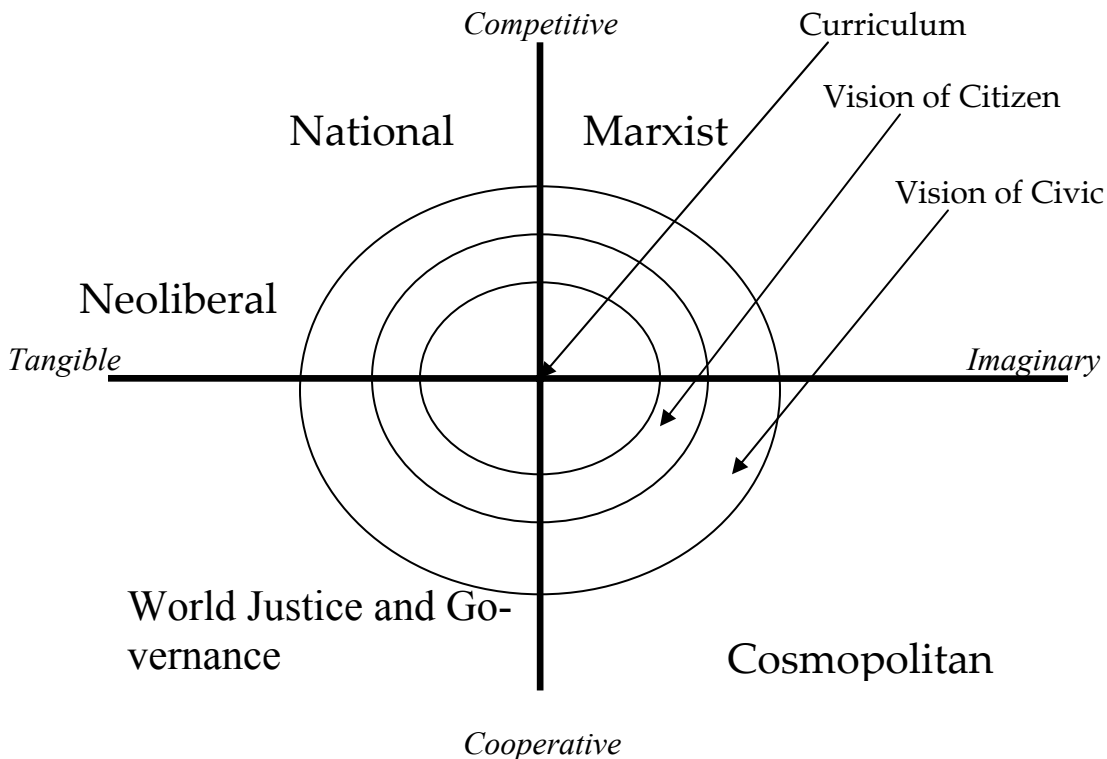
This graphic illustrates the contrasts among the five discourses along two related continua: X axis, or tangible-imaginary (*To what degree are visions of global citizenship embodied in institutions and processes*?) and Y axis, or competitive-cooperative (*To what degree is citizenship competitive or cooperative*?). These broad questions provide some comparative sense of how these discursive communities differ, and the graphic provides an approximation of how each aligns with regard to the intersecting continua of tangible-imaginary and competitive-cooperative. Thus, a Marxist is categorized as being competitive-imaginary since class struggle connotes competition and world revolution is fictive. Nested within these two intersecting axes, the five heuristics of global citizenship will be analyzed as to their vision of a global civic, their vision of a global citizen, and how might/does a curriculum for this global citizenship category manifest. That is, saying one is a cosmopolitan suggests only hints of what one believes and values, but a more robust heuristic provides a clear sense of what vision of citizenship is held by cosmopolitans, what it means to be a cosmopolitan citizen, and what does a cosmopolitan curriculum look like.

Neoliberal

The vision of neoliberalism with respect to the civic is a society that is fundamentally an economic arrangement that operates on free-market, laissez faire principles, seeks the privatization of what have typically been public institutions (such as education and transportation), and invests in information technology (IT) in hopes of strengthening capital development. Popular discourse about globalization is most often infused with neoliberal thinking. Writers such as Friedman (2000, 2005) and Ohmae (1995) argue that globalization, particularly of an economic order, has fundamentally changed the rules and that governments and institutions which were once nation-bound have reinvented themselves as global entities in order to survive in a global economy. Economic issues at the macro and micro levels are paramount for neoliberals as they view the technological integration of societies as an inevitable and necessary good that can be used for competitive advantage. Globalization presents myriad opportunities for those who avail themselves to new ideas and tools for economic advantage, say the neoliberals. Hybridization, or the integration of now placeless global ideas, processes, and tools, has become normative, and technology has been the engine to fuel this intermingling.

Politics and economics have converged for neoliberals, who demarcate previous centuries from the 21st by the pattern of the former for military/political conflicts contrasted with the current's proclivity for economic and technological competition. The 20th Century was plagued by violent wars and ongoing geopolitical territorial struggles during the bipolar period of the Cold War and especially in the epoch of World Wars. After the fall of Soviet satellite communism, neoliberals proclaim, the endgame has been unveiled wherein the universalization of Western-style, liberal democracies and free-market economies are the outcome. Competition has shifted from the insanity of the war room to the civility of the boardroom. Neoliberals contend that democracies are fundamentally in agreement about the rules of civic and social life, at least superficially, such that they can transact capital flow, making military conflicts characteristic of the early 20th Century highly unlikely. Rather, insurgency groups that continue to challenge the espoused inevitable good of Western-style market democracies will be the sporadic norm of the 21st Century (see Friedman 2000, chapter 12). While the global economic system is principally based on a competitive logic that apes free market principles, the potential for cooperative and profitable endeavors are ever-increasing.

What it means to be a citizen for neoliberals is still a matter of national affiliation, though its broad contours are governed by a universal market conception. Neoliberals recognize the rootedness and affiliation of people but believe that the merger of traditional conceptions of self will hybridize and relocate within a hypermarket global economy. People are thus transformative agents who can travel to Sydney, Singapore, and Sao Paulo and be comfortable and conversant due to the increasing homogenization and hybridity brought on by globalization. And one's participation in capital, either as investor, consumer, or entrepreneur, constitutes an act of citizenship. Individuals are not tethered, then, by their identities, or in Friedman-speak, olive trees, but can leverage self-conceptions to participate more fully and fruitfully in the Lexus-imbued marketplace. While neoliberals contend that the *dollar vote* (or Yuan, Euro, or Yen vote) constitutes civic participation, space remains for super-empowered global actors, such as NGOs and individuals, who can learn how to push the economic system towards social ends (Friedman, 2000, p. 211).

A neoliberal curriculum is one that champions competition, values academic learning, and is above all aimed at utility. The Knowledge is Power Program (KIPP) magnet schools operating in cities across the United States embodies neoliberal discourse. The KIPP mission states that they

"are free, open-enrollment, college-preparatory public schools where underserved students develop the knowledge, skills, and character traits needed to succeed in top quality high schools, colleges, and the competitive world beyond," the ultimate goal being realized in the competitive marketplace of life (KIPP, 2008, The Kipp Approach section, ¶ 1). They operate on five principles, or pillars, that include high expectations, choice and commitment, more time, power to lead, and a focus on results. The explicit emphasis of KIPP is on market-readiness and competition, which requires extensive academic preparation, long-hours, and self-sacrifice. Yet the rewards are ostensibly great, both in personal fulfillment and economic wealth.

National

Nationalist discourse about global citizenship ascribes great importance to the presumed inviolable sovereignty of national governments and the necessary relationship between national government and its citizens. Rorty (1994) claims that the Left has become shrill and "unpatriotically intellectual" in its invocations of *global citizenship*, ignoring the importance of national citizenship. He recoils from advocating world governance as an alternative to what he reads as an eroding national civic participation, arguing that civic matters ought to be the *exclusive* domain of nations and should remain so. The civic landscape of nationalists is very much a private, national affair, and the realm of *the world* exists apart in a metaphysical and geographic divide. The world for nationalists is unruly and violent with a variety of power-hungry despots and their dominated minions seeking to exert power over regional neighbors. Sovereignty in this light sees nations as monoliths, speaking with one voice beyond the water's edge, a necessity if the uneasy peace of current international relations is to be maintained. Global stability is at stake and, according to the nationalists, the best way to preserve stasis is to maintain the superordinate position of the nation-state system.

Not all voices are equal in the international arena. Matters of North/South inequalities cannot be tolerated as a foil in avoiding the potential destabilizing havoc of North Korea and Iran, for example, flouting the international community by developing nuclear weapons. Despite the hypocrisy of the U.S., Russia, Britain, France, and China making these claims, nationalists require restraint on the part of many and dominance by the few if national comity, or a community of nations based on sovereignty, is to cohere. The U.S. and Israel, relatedly, cannot be expected to participate in the International Criminal Court for fear of politically motivated prosecutions. Such interruptions are unacceptable to nationalists as they would inhibit the U.S. from continuing its fight against terrorism, growing the global economy, maintaining military dominance, all while supporting the emergence of other national democracies. Indeed, such possibilities are reason enough to avoid any strident moves towards global civics, as it could destabilize a sovereignty-based community of nations that has created a relatively balanced, if unequal, global order.

Those that adopt a national perspective about global citizenship believe civic identity is first and foremost a matter of social compact among nations and their citizens. With respect to citizenship, Rorty (1999) is critical of affiliations like *global citizen* as it potentially strands one without a clear sense of national belonging: "A sense of shared national identity is not an evil. It is an absolutely essential component of citizenship, of any attempt to take our country and its problems seriously" (p. 253). Thus, citizenship ought not be construed as universal being but rather as particularly rooted in a geographically bound and historically recognized nation-state. That is not to suggest that all nationalists invoke identity as unproblematic unity, as they are typically portrayed by detractors, since nationalists tend to see national identity as a goal to be

worked towards from the well of diverse populations (Tan, 2004, p. 88). Yet, their aim is not multiplicity but singularity of national selfhood.

A nationalist curriculum is typical in U.S. schools today, well illustrated by the Center for Civic Education's outreach efforts. Their mission statement suggests a sharp focus on national citizenship: "The Center for Civic Education is a nonprofit, nonpartisan educational corporation dedicated to promoting an enlightened and responsible citizenry committed to democratic principles and actively engaged in the practice of democracy in the United States and other countries" (Center for Civic Education, 2008, Mission Statement section). The Center operates a number of classroom and school-based citizenship activities that range from mock congressional hearings to public policy hearings related to local issues. Their textbook, *We the People: The Citizen and the Constitution* (2003), is widely used in the U.S. and freely distributed to schools to teach the contents of the U.S. Constitution, serving as the basis of a national competition to demonstrate student acumen in knowing federal law. And while there is a related organization, Civitas, which engages in this work internationally, it is not done from the framework of developing a trans-national, or global citizen but someone who is conversant with the laws, principles, and traditions of a student's national government.

Marxist

Unlike the first two heuristics about global citizenship, neoliberalism and nationalism, the following three are less recognized, minority discourses that are not on an equal footing in the public mind, and therefore, in schools and curriculum. Yet, they are salient to this discussion as they allow for a more generative comparison that helps to expose implicit orientations within the normative and interlocking discourses of neoliberalism and nationalism. Marxism has the fewest numbers of adherents in the U.S., probably due to its historical legacy, yet it provides a trenchant point of contrast for the other two, most notably, neoliberalism. McLaren and Farahmandpur (2000) characterize neoliberalism as "'capitalism with the gloves off' or 'socialism for the rich'" (p. 25). They contend that the Left in the U.S. has turned towards postmodernism rather than Marxism in responding to globalization's neoliberal clutch but claim that postmodernism is too "strategically ambivalent" about capital to be much more than an effete opponent (p. 26).

Marxist notions of a civic realm is predicated on the eradication of capital. Since capital is fundamentally exploitative, it and its purveyors need to be overthrown, wealth must be redistributed, and private property must be abolished. Their notion of a civic sphere is thus one of transition, away from a system of capital that exploits and towards a socialist system that communalizes material wealth. Where neoliberalism, and to a lesser degree nationalism, argue for the necessity of elite hegemony, both in terms of people, corporations, and nations, Marxists seek a proletarian domination best summarized in the aphorism, *power to the people*. People awakened to the power within themselves and as social beings will constitute a new civic, one that insures equal wealth, public ownership of social means, and egalitarianism.

Marxists contend that exploitation and dehumanization are universal characteristics of modernity. As such, there is great potential for realizing global citizenship within Marxism, as people's experience with industrialization and technology is remarkably similar. Being a global citizen within Marxism manifests as proletarian collectives that cross borders, in many cases reuniting diasporically oppressed peoples. Globalization, a largely economic and technological phenomenon at base, has ironically facilitated the transnational, organic affiliations of collective identities. As Aldama (1999) writes, "One of Marx's predictions has come true: as capital shrinks the globe by sucking "vampire-like" (his term) the life out of the working classes, it is

creating new (albeit unintended) transnational proletarian collectives" (¶ 2). Marxist advocates have also demonstrated that while transnational corporations have benefited from the flow of capital, the struggles of workers have also been globalized. May (2008) documents a strike at a Ford plant in Russia that was nearly broken by the calling in of parts from a Ford plant in Germany. Ford Management's strike-breaking effort failed, though, since the German workers joined in solidarity and refused to participate, leaving Ford no option but to end the strike through a settlement. "Capitalist globalization makes it necessary for workers not only to build solidarity on an international scale, but ultimately to coordinate their struggle against the bosses internationally. Workers' internationalism is the way forward" (May, 2008, ¶ 20)!

Marxism has little formal role in curriculum in the U.S., though there are elements present within schools, mainly in certain forms of critical pedagogy. Bigelow and Peterson's (2000) secondary school text *Rethinking Globalization* includes a wide variety of resources that place great emphasis on class, gender, race, capital, and colonialism in a global context. This work is widely cited and employed by teachers around the U.S. as a resource, and in some cases as a unit guide for inquiring about imperialism. Sokolower (2006), for example, documents her use of the book as a means of helping 12th grade economics students learn about globalization. She defined the focus of her unit as,

> Globalization: More than ever before in history, there is one world economy. This pressure toward one world economy is called globalization. Globalization is the struggle for control of the earth's resources—natural resources, human resources, and capital resources. There are eight elements of globalization: migration, big companies are international companies, resources are international, free trade agreements, World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF), sweatshops, environmental problems, and increased communication among peoples—the basis for resistance. (¶ 5)

While there are no Marxist schools of which I am aware, there are efforts in pockets throughout the country of individual teachers and programs that attempt to address global capital from this perspective. To call Marxism a staple of curriculum in the U.S., however, would of course be an error.

World Justice and Governance

Advocates of a world justice and governance perspective base their conception heavily on codified human rights, international law, and structures of civic activity. Much of this discourse grows out of earlier efforts following the Holocaust and World War II to exact justice on those who perpetrated genocidal acts. Falk (2002) argues that the Holocaust is the central event that gave rise to global, social activist groups which have spurred attention and action for transnational justice and world governance. Efforts like those of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in South Africa after the fall of Apartheid, for example, demonstrate a real attempt to adjudicate recent historical injustices. Movements like these have been augmented, particularly beginning in the 1990s, by quasi-judicial institutions that seek economic reparations for historical atrocities. The creation of an International Criminal Court extended criminal prosecution authority to a global body with the consent of states that have ratified such procedures. As of this date of publication, cases were being brought against leaders of Serbia, Sudan, Uganda, the Central African Republic, and the Democratic Republic of the Congo (International Criminal Court, 2008).

The emergence of international law suggests the need for institutions to act upon laws and case law. While case law is indeed tangible as are some of the bodies that act within its principles, much of civic activity is still articulated from a national rather than a global vantage point. The creation of international legislative bodies and executive agents is integral to world justice and governance discourse, but much of this remains in the realm of talk rather than structure. Scholars of international relations have begun theorizing those structures, which remain nascent or non-existent. Kuper (2004) has argued for the creation of a national-global federal type system wherein a broad framework of laws, which he calls a "charter of obligations," would encompass the operation of intergovernmental and non-governmental agencies that would not eliminate sovereign power but would check it within a system of global-federal accountability. Similarly, institutions such as a global parliament (Falk, 2003; Falk & Strauss, 2003) represent visions of how matters of representation can incorporate the nation-state system while reconfiguring it.

The discourse of world justice and governance necessitates a legalistic framework for understanding what being a citizen means. A significant shift evident in the past 60 years in international law is away from national citizenship and towards standing as a person irrespective of national affiliation or lack thereof. Thus, a person is a person under international human rights law and can seek redress as such even if that person lacks national citizenship. Soysal (2000) further argues that universal personhood has increasingly defined rights and citizenship in a globalized world. Soysal (1994, 1997) contends that the rise in ethnic identity coupled with the rapidity and scope of immigration have shifted notions of citizenship away from one entirely fixed on nations. As Sassen (2005) explains, the material conditions of the dispossessed, such as immigrants and refugees, have largely given rise to the recognition of rights of global minorities, women, and other oppressed groups, such that "citizenship is partly produced by the practices of the excluded" (p. 84). Thus, being a global citizen in this discourse rests on the supremacy and singularity of personhood, that alone constituting standing as a citizen.

World justice and governance curriculum, like the Marxist illustrations, is highly idiosyncratic and episodic, though with less controversy surrounding its implementation. Many schools have Model United Nations clubs and/or co-curricular activities that fall squarely within a world justice and governance perspective. Efforts to teach about international law, the International Criminal Court, the European Court of Human Rights, while again sporadic, illustrate this discourse in practice. The International Baccalaureate (IB) program, wherein students participate in a curriculum that is similar around the world and take age-grade assessments to evaluate their progress, also embodies a strong element of the world justice and governance ethic. The IB mission statement reads as follows:

> The International Baccalaureate aims to develop inquiring, knowledgeable and caring young people who help to create a better and more peaceful world through intercultural understanding and respect. These programmes encourage students across the world to become active, compassionate and lifelong learners who understand that other people, with their differences, can also be right. (IB, 2008, Mission and Strategy section)

IB encourages an informed relativity about cultural difference while encouraging universal values, such as respect for the inviolability of a person's rights and an international legal order to promote peace.

Cosmopolitan

Cosmopolitans address the significance of globalization in reshaping society through a robust notion of democracy coupled with a transcendent view of citizenship. Nussbaum (1996) argues that the patriotism which emerged from the modern nation-state system is largely dysfunctional as globalization has created a need for multinational solutions and a concern for all humanity. While there is significant overlap between cosmopolitan and world justice and governance perspectives, the points of contention concern implementation. Cosmopolitans, though not opposed to institutionalizing global citizenship, see the development of discourses around matters of value, morality, and humane treatment as more significant than the creation of fledgling organizations to work towards similar ends. World justice and governance advocates have a more certain and particular view of citizenship, as manifest in over 20 international covenants on human rights, whereas cosmopolitans view what it means to be a citizen as less ends than means to further dialogue about the nature of a globally shared society. Civics for cosmopolitans align with cooperative modes of activity, seeking a conversation about value and purpose.

Communitarians, or cosmopolitans of a slightly different variety, seek a cooperative, imaginary global order, though they tend to think of identity in a more dialogic, emergent manner. Etzioni (2004) describes communitarian theory as a slow and arduous emergence of a global culture that seeks a balance between Western and Eastern thought, which he broadly categorizes as an individual-first versus society-first type of thinking. He argues that both are needed to insure human primacy. Rather than a hegemonic vision of both civilizations clashing and one side triumphing as suggested by Huntington (1996), Etzoni seeks a coalescing of values in a move towards a centered synthesis that involves changes on both sides of the binary, as the East moves Westward and the West moves Eastward. This synthesis will not meaningfully occur through force, as in the attempted democratization of Iraq and Afghanistan, but through a persuasive soft-power that is based on attractions rather than coercions. Thus, in some distant future, Etzioni suggests, a global authority will emerge though its form is difficult to presage and likely to follow from catastrophic events (see his chapter 13, "A global government and community" for a more detailed explanation of this vision).

Citizenship among cosmopolitans is often enacted both through formal governmental channels but also through non-governmental organizations, or NGOs, which are especially prominent with respect to human rights and ecological protection. Notable NGOs such as Amnesty International, Doctors without Borders, and Greenpeace along with tens of thousands of lesser well-known organizations operating within national jurisdictions provide channels for conversation and action across international boundaries. Unlike neoliberals, cosmopolitans stress global grassroots coalitions that serve public interests rather than Trans-national Corporations (TNCs) which are moved primarily by profit. What it means to affiliate with the civic, or the identity of citizenship, is a puzzle for cosmopolitans, as they seek both to honor the local and dialogically move towards a universal notion of self, morality, and society. Apia (2006) centers his understanding of civic identity through pluralism and fallibilism, wherein the dual recognition of diversity amidst common humanity is honored and the nature of truth is discernible, yet imperfect and provisional. Appiah (2006) contends that

> We cosmopolitans believe in universal truth…though we are less certain that we have it all already…. One truth we hold to…is that every human being has obligations to every other. Everybody matters: that is our central idea. And it sharply limits the scope of tolerance. (p. 144)

Nussbaum (1996) offers a similar stance with regard to identity and moral value, arguing that respect for human dignity and the opportunity to pursue happiness are foundational, moral values that are, or ought to be, universal (p. 13). Appiah's (2006) resolution of this conundrum is to propose that value conflicts are less important than actions and that the focus for global civic engagement ought to be on acts rather than rationales for acting, since the former often leads to agreement without the rancor of examining philosophical beliefs.

Pointing to cosmopolitan curriculum is perhaps the most difficult of all of the discourses examined, especially among the three minority categories (with Marxism and world justice/governance). As Carlson (2003) notes, as long as the machines that set the agenda for education today are dominated by transnational capital and the surveillance state, precious little space is afforded those who seek a global turn that is both moral and aesthetic (pp. 14–15). Oxfam (2002, 2006), the UK-based anti-poverty and pro-justice NGO, developed a curriculum for global citizenship that resonates with most cosmopolitan principles. Oxfam's curriculum identifies knowledge (social justice, diversity, globalization, sustainable development, peace, and conflict), skills (critical thinking, argument, challenge injustice, respect for people, cooperation), and values (identity, self-esteem, social justice, diversity, environmental respect, belief in agency) critical to global citizenship (2006, p. 4). Oxfam's *The Handbook for Primary Teaching* (2002), while intended for schools in the U.K., claims to be universally applicable as it has an ethos of justice, is knowledgeable about the dynamics of global situations, and encourages local-global action. While the Oxfam materials emphasize diversity and respect for such that may concern some cosmopolitans, the orientation of the curriculum is such that pluralism is viewed as an asset rather than a screen for the perpetuation of injustice under the guise of tradition.

Global Citizenship Curriculum

Calls for global citizenship education are numerous (see Bigelow & Peterson 2000; Castles & Davidson 2000; Erickson, Black, & Seegmiller, 2005; Gaudelli, 2003; Gaudelli & Fernekes, 2004; Kasai & Merryfield, 2004; Law 2004; Myers, 2005; Nussbaum 1996, 2000; Preparing Citizens for a Global Community, 2001; Soysal 2000; United Nations Research Institute for Social Development 1995). Despite the many exhortations to educate for global citizenship, remarkably little has been practiced, particularly in the U.S.. Why? A variety of factors may explain why global citizenship curriculum making remains largely untouched in the space of schools and in the hands of teachers and students, namely due to a lack of constituency, lack of curriculum history, and lack of epistemological clarity. Global citizenship curriculum is generally viewed, regardless of its manifestation, as suspect within educational systems that are nationally-based and funded. Global citizenship curriculum is enacted, therefore, within national systems of education that seek to sustain their sovereignty, mold a national identity, and prepare to compete in a global marketplace, which helps explain why neoliberal and nationalist global citizenship discourses dominate. Even in the most expansive and encompassing versions, such as in South Korea, Australia, and Singapore, for example, evidence of the national ideal is still prevalent, if not dominant (Tye, 1999, Spring, 2004). Global citizenship curriculum lacks, in short, a natural constituency.

Another obstacle to global citizenship curriculum is the lack of curriculum history upon which global citizenship curriculum can be re-built and refined. Most school curricula have either deep antecedents, such as history, biology, and algebra, wherein curriculum developers

can identify texts to use (or omit) ideas to raise (or ignore) and methods to employ (or avoid). Scope and sequences of this nature allow for much of curriculum practice to have a beginning point, if for no other reason than to claim what the curriculum will not be, such as an anthropology curriculum that will delimit the study of physical anthropology in lieu of cultural/linguistic anthropology. Curricula, as such, exist in texts that can be read, studied, critique, and thereby, reworked. Global citizenship curriculum, however, lacks a disciplinary heritage. Instead, it attempts to draw on various extant disciplines while incorporating relatively new and emergent knowledge bases (e.g., international law, global finance, and information technologies).

Perhaps the most daunting of all challenges to engaging global citizenship curriculum is its lack of epistemological clarity, as it typically manifests as either relativistic or essentialist. In the relativist extreme, global citizenship curriculum ceases to be a discernible body of knowledge, skills, and attitudes but rather an open-ended epistemological stance which provides little meaningful guidance for curriculum development and implementation. A school, for example, that teaches free and open inquiry can claim a global orientation but its content can be parochial to a fault. In the essentialist extreme, global citizenship curriculum becomes a list of fairly agreeable knowledge goals, skill attributes, and participatory elements that, while describing a curriculum effort, does not provide either a complex understanding of global content nor a commitment to being an engaged citizen in such venue.

Curriculum Enhancements

Global citizenship discourse, of which only a sampling has been offered, is important for those interested in curriculum as it will likely shape the contents and forms of citizenship curriculum and the related citizenship ethos of schools that will be developed. Efforts to inform a wider audience of young people about the global world they are inheriting have and will include elements of these discourses. I suggest two epistemic capacities to enhance the curriculum theorizing and implementation about global citizenship education; namely, hermeneutics and dialogue along with placed self-awareness.

Hermeneutics and Dialogue

Hermeneutics is a concept originally derived from theology wherein scholars attempt to frame understanding as an encounter with the other that does not seek to change their perspective but rather to understand it fully and empathetically. Hermeneutics is a philosophy that aims for an open, discursive conversation about meanings to dissolve the subject-object binary (see Doll, 1993). Hans-Georg Gadamer (1975/1989) refers to this intertwining as a "description of the way interpretive understanding is achieved" (p. 269). The *hermeneutic circle*, the process by which meanings are shared, conversed about, and thereby reconstituted, are derivative of Platonic dialogues, which lead to a discovery not only of what we know but also of what we do not understand (Johnson, 2000, p. 78). Gadamer argues that "pure seeing" or viewing an object as it *really* appears is "dogmatic abstraction" (p. 80). Rather, perceptions are at the interstices of what the object presents and the observer conjures such that images are not alien but interwoven with the observer. Discourses like those related to global citizenship are thus framed as the objects about which interpretation and understanding can occur.

Dialogue is a related epistemic capacity to hermeneutics and one that deserves attention in global citizenship curriculum theorizing and implementation. Language is a social phenomenon, according to Bahktin's (1981) notion of heteroglossia, and imbued with a multiplicity of mean-

ings that is "never unitary" (p. 288). Language is therefore never neutral, but "completely taken over, shot through with intentions and accents" (p. 293). Dialogue, as such, renders the speaker and listener bound by the activity of their interaction and the history of the utterances employed, all towards a desire, ideally, to be intelligible to each other and about the world. Bakhtin claims that a dialogic process moves deeper and with greater precision such that even "rock bottom truths" are cast in a social net, and therefore, subject to "sub-atomic" scrutiny and questioning (p. 300). But as this occurs, those in dialogue must do so with a recognition of "authorial intention," or how the speaker is positioning the spoken to, both in the form and content of utterances, in the listener's reception, as well as in the imagined rejoinder (p. 314). Bahktin's notion of dialogue informs this epistemic capacity as it seeks "complementarity rather than of polar opposition" (Mannheim & Tedlock, 1995, p. 16). Not unlike hermeneutics, a dialogic capacity reaches out to involve others in, as Freire (1970/1989) offers, a reading of the word within the world and the world within the word such that "dialogic reverberations do not sound in the semantic heights of discourse…but penetrate the deep strata of discourse, dialoguize language itself and the world view a particular language has" (Bahktin, 1981, pp. 284–85).

Curriculum scholars have articulated some possibilities of a hermeneutic and dialogic move in developing curriculum. Henderson (2001) argues that hermeneutics is practiced in the *in-between* spaces of ideas in apparent opposition, such as the sacred and the profane, theory and practice, or the whole and the part (p. 19) while Heilman (2005) articulates utopic and dystopic visions of the global present/future that can be reworked as an eutopic, or workable synthesis, from what appears oppositional and yet is in-between. Gur-Ze'ev (2005) makes a similar claim about critical pedagogy, arguing that aesthetics, love, and beauty are needed within criticality for it to be meaningfully connected rather than stoically disassociated from people's lives, a joining of thinking and feeling. I suggest that rather than posing worldviews about global citizenship in an inherently oppositional and conflicting manner, or as discreet categories that require binary choosing, curriculum can be theorized in ways that are interactive. While such a call is certainly not novel to those in curriculum, its coupling with matters of global citizenship is relatively unique and necessary.

The development of hermeneutic and dialogic thinking in curriculum theorizing suggests that classroom processes be carried out in a similar vein in implementation so that students encounter multiple worldviews and share in those accounts in social conversation. The presence of well-reasoned discourses about global citizenship raises the possibility of developing a synthesis of perspectives about coming to know the world such that matters of knowing, ends, and aesthetics are not hidden from view but exposed, interpreted, and explored. Rather than developing curriculum which falsely suggests that there is wide agreement about ideas of what it means to be a global citizen and how one learns to be one, our discourse should be mindful of the multiplicity inherent in the conversation and the various limits of knowing that bind us. Curriculum discourse is too often implicitly neoliberal and nationalist, for example, as though the desire for economic vitality and national allegiance are universally true and necessary. By inviting Marxist, world governance, and cosmopolitan perspectives, for example, into the conversation the presumptions of the former are seen in sharper detail.

Implementing global citizenship curriculum should also have a hermeneutic and dialogic bent. Teachers and students ought to engage apparently competing worldviews. Questions to generate such thinking might include: What is an appropriate response to global warming for a Neoliberal? Nationalist? Marxist? World Justice/Governance advocate? Cosmpolitan? What points do they have in common? Differences? Which differences might be reconcilable? Ques-

tions like these hold out the possibility of students coming to understand the discourses themselves while informing their views on a variety of issues, such as global warming, responses to disasters, diseases and epidemics, and economic development. A study of child labor, for example, provides a rich venue for meaningful learning towards citizenship engagement. Students might begin by talking about their own experiences with work, how they define work, and how it is differentiated in the home and the marketplace. Classroom and school surveys of conceptualizations and attitudes about work would provide interesting data for students to begin to frame questions about what it means to labor and why youth or anyone, for that matter, engages in it. Throughout the initial stages, students ought to continue re-examining their conceptions of work and compare those conceptions to their peers'. The discourses of global citizenship can also be brought to bear on labor. Students can examine what labor means to a Marxist, neoliberal, and cosmopolitan seeking elements of share meaning among these stances.

This might lead to the introduction of case-studies from various world regions wherein students compare their conceptualizations of work with young people from diverse communities, such as Honduras, Pakistan, and Vietnam and wherever the classroom happens to be. Throughout these studies, students should be encouraged to dialogue, either through actual or imagined conversations, with global peers. Once students have assimilated some detail about the material, psychological, and cultural conditions of child labor in these distant locations, the work of returning these critical insights to the local is crucial. Students might create forums where they share these insights, invite other students to share in their understanding, and begin to see their activities, such as working for disposable income or family sustenance, in light of the broader landscape. Students may then direct courses of action that address child labor in their community, in light of the community of others, and in coalitions with others.

Placed Being

Placed being is the other epistemic capacity that I recommend in theorizing and implementing global citizenship curriculum. Much of the literature in globalization has what Gough (2000) refers to as a "god-trick, a transcendental ontological and epistemological fantasy of being and knowing 'everywhere and nowhere equally'" (p. 332). All of the talk about a smaller planet, global village, and Gaia-like Earth has created a patina of otherness/newness about globalization that, by implication, ignores rootedness in place(s) and a-historically disassociates current happenings from past ones. Gough, citing Wark, refers to the *placed* and *virtual* geographies of global mediascapes, the former offering a sense of attachment and affiliation to a physical location (our homes, schools, neighborhoods), the latter an experience of communication and media that has come to be defined as virtual (such as the popular U.S. adolescent *hangout*, myspace.com, or various virtual communities, schools, and associations). Virtuality tends to abstract and universalize knowledges, according to Gough, such that the significance of place is diminished, location is undervalued, and, perhaps most importantly, the performativity of local knowledge is cast aside, supplanted by a vision of universal, placeless knowledge.

Place is a particular location imbued with social meanings ascribed by those who live within the space, who traverse it, and who make sense of it from beyond (Helfenbein, 2006, p. 112). Identity, then, emerges from the intersection of space and place, a contestation over who I am/we are in reference to this place and how this place develops affinity in us for it. Identity and place congeal easily for travelers to the primordial who presume to witness how the _____ are, why the _____ act in those ways, and how we/I am fundamentally unlike the *primordial* _____, unaware of the internal discourse about people in all places (Gupta & Ferguson 1992, p. 7). Place

in this manner of speaking is idealized and functionalized such that it serves as a simple heuristic to explain why a group is a particular way and how then they are to be understood, objectified, and, if necessary, confronted. What is lost in such generalizations, however, is a rich and discordant understanding of how place is contested terrain for working out identity, how being *placeless* (often associated with being fully modern/Western) is, in fact, as impossible as being *disembodied*, and how the Western place/identity dichotomy complicates one's ability to view others, particularly the *primordial _____* people (Willinsky, 1998).

International student visits or exchanges (note, inter*national* rather than global) are typically enacted in ways that purposely attempt to displace students so that they can experience culture shock, adjust to new norms, and develop an appreciation for others. Most universities in the U.S., for example, point to the outward bound experiences of their faculty and students as evidence of a commitment to globally awareness. Secondary schools have begun to follow suit with edu-travel options for spring breaks and summer to *exotic locales*, such as Amsterdam and Bangkok. But these excursions are often viewed as an individualized enrichment of the traveler, who leaves the comforts of home to be both visitor and voyeur, all towards the illusory goal of knowing others and experiencing different places. What is often lacking in such experiences, however, is a view of others in a deep, discursive manner, in a way that sees places as incongruent sites of identity struggle, not to mention the rich possibilities of understanding people, viewed and viewer, as placed beings in interaction. And what of the homecoming? Are such experiences redacted such that they shape new experiences in the local or abstracted to fit neatly into existing categorical frames of *place* and *other*, digitally imaged and collaged into a book of memories, extracted and fixed?

A capacity of placed being can help students recognize the particularity of their place, or the local, and how it roots and defines them while simultaneously re-placing themselves into virtual spaces and local places, absent the illusion of placelessness and with a firm grasp on how and where they are. Roman (2004) articulates a curriculum she calls *relational genealogical* which "rejects the token add-on measures" of typical international/global curriculum efforts that make binary distinctions between us/them, North/South, freedom-lovers/terrorists, and developed/underdeveloped (p. 251). Rather, she, citing Mohanty, advocates a curriculum of shared difference of the "Souths within the Norths, third worlds within the first worlds" (p. 250). Relational genealogical curriculum does not privilege a particular reading of global citizenship, but rather recursively casts this conceptual frame in ways that transcend the normative fixity of place/identity construction.

Global learning is typically concerned with, in one form or another, long journeys. One is always *off to find the world* as the spell cast by the taken-for-granted regularity of *this place* is difficult to shake. But curriculum theorizing about global citizenship and its enactment need to work against the alienating nature of the entire discourse genre of the global. When theorizing the global citizen of a cosmopolitan or neoliberal variety, for example, those who theorize curriculum must continually remind themselves that these categorical heuristics are always instantiated in a real, complex, and placed people or groups. So, one cannot theorize curriculum as if offering a prescription for a blank slate, but must consider the uniqueness and particularity of *this* place that constitutes *this* person/people.

Conclusion

Citizenship discourse has begun to shift measurably in the 21st Century as centripetal forces

of unity, centrifugal forces of self-determination, and policies that favor the agented individual combine to deteriorate the once singular authority of the nation-state. The cacophony of voices about global citizenship, however, has created a shallow and uncertain landscape that leaves educators without much guidance as to how to theorize and engage curriculum. The heuristics offered herein, namely neoliberal, nationalist, Marxist, world justice/governance, and cosmopolitan, while not covering all points in this broad discourse, identify certain notions of what is meant by global citizenship. Theorizing global citizenship curriculum and enacting versions thereof can be enhanced by hermeneutics and dialogue as well as placed being.

If we are to get a firmer grasp on the moving montage that is global citizenship, a discursive effort is needed among those who work in the broad genre of globalization, those who engage in curriculum, and those who cross borders among these communities. Treating globalization and its civic dimensions as agreed upon is a disservice to students, teachers, and communities who too often are swept up in the novelty of the global to recognize the substantial differences among visions about what living in a global age means. Reifying otherwise contested ideas, such as global citizenship curriculum, is at once a failure, a call to action, and a plea to investigation. In moving to figuratively and literally bring these various discourse communities together and view them in light of each other, the tensions that will surely arise may allow for more robust theorizing, socially resonant schools, and indeed, a society that is truly educative.

NOTES

1. The graphic is not able to accurately and comprehensively render the fluidity among the various discourse spaces referenced. Due to the limitations of writing in two dimensions and my inability to fully grasp and articulate the interactivity among these layers, I render it simplistically here for heuristic purposes, knowing that it cannot effectively capture the interactivity of these discourses at various layers.

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