

**Cultivating Global Citizens:
Global Citizenship Education in a Moment of
Neoliberal Globalization**

by

Elizabeth Arnold

B.A., Simon Fraser University, 2014

Extended Essay Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of
Master of Arts

in the

School of Communication (Dual Degree in Global Communication)

Faculty of Communication, Art and Technology

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SIMON FRASER UNIVERSITY

Summer 2016

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Approval

Name: Elizabeth Arnold

Degree: Master of Arts

Title: *Cultivating Global Citizens:
Global Citizenship Education in a Moment of
Neoliberal Globalization*

Supervisory Committee: Program Director: Alison Beale
Professor

Stuart Poyntz
Senior Supervisor
Graduate Chair, Associate Professor

Date Approved: August 15, 2016

Abstract

Global Citizenship is a popular ideology that underpins education initiatives in formal, informal, and non-formal settings around the world. Based on concepts such as empathy, sustainability, social responsibility, and cross-cultural understanding, global citizenship education (GCED) is widely criticized for failing to offer a critical pedagogical framework that encourages the examination of political and economic global power structures. This paper identifies the relationship between GCED initiatives and anxiety regarding neoliberal globalization. Based on a critical discourse analysis (CDA) of GCED, including the examination of UNESCO's Education 2030 Agenda and Framework for Action, this paper suggests that there is a critical political economy deficit not only in practices of GCED, but also in the foundational policy's behind such initiatives.

Keywords: global citizenship education; neoliberal globalization; UNESCO; youth citizenship; global social justice

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List of Acronyms

APEC	The Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation forum
CDA	Critical discourse analysis
ECOSOC	The United Nations Economic and Social Council
EU	European Union
GCED	Global Citizenship Education
NAFTA	North American Free Trade Agreement
SDG 4	The Sustainable Development Goals
UN	The United Nations
UNESCO	The United Nations Educational, Cultural and Scientific Organization
WEF 2015	World Education Forum 2015
WTO	World Trade Organization

Introduction

Global citizenship is a popular ideology advocated by many global development organizations as well as international exchange programs. This ideology endorses a particular type of citizenship that emphasizes a sense of justice beyond state sanctioned laws and suggests that citizens accept social responsibility for global issues. As part of a regime of global knowledge, global citizenship is a dominant narrative that warrants critical inquiry. Proffered by international bodies including the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) among other development organizations, education is a mechanism to realize global citizenship. As such, it is a powerful site for the negotiation and contestation of power structures, particularly in an era of neoliberalism. My interest lies in the capacity for global citizenship education to promote a justice oriented global system, as many scholars argue that in practice, GCED exists as a missed opportunity for critical learning.

Throughout this paper, I undertake a critical discourse analysis (CDA) of global citizenship education (GCED) discourses in an attempt to better understand the characteristics that comprise a 'good' global citizen. I examine studies based on GCED initiatives from a variety of regions including Canada, the United States of America (US), South America, and Europe. In addition, I analyze UNESCO's *Education 2030 Agenda and Framework for Action* (hereafter referred to as *Education 2030*), which is a foundational document that underpins the international organization's GCED strategy. As a major intergovernmental international cooperation organization, the UN commands a leadership role in the global development sector through their agencies like UNESCO. The UN has the ability to construct and disseminate what we come to know as global knowledge. For this reason, UNESCO is a recognized agency with regard to global

education initiatives. Therefore, I feel that the analysis of their recommendations for GCED is particularly meaningful.

The Discourse of Global Citizenship Education

Global citizenship is not a neutral, new, universal or apolitical term. We cannot afford to assume that global citizenship is inherently benevolent or morally superior to national identification (p. 101, Zemach-Bersin, 2012).

GCED programs are present in a number of informal, non-formal, and formal education settings, targeting young people from early childhood education to the post-secondary level. Throughout this section, I outline a few examples to illustrate some of the different ways that GCED is taken up among young people in a variety of different settings.

While many global citizenship initiatives are aimed at teenagers, some organizations have noted a lack of GCED curricula accessible to children (Panwapa, n.d.). As such, *Sesame Workshop*—the educational organization behind *Sesame Street*—created the Panwapa Project to illuminate “economic disparity between countries and people” in such a way that children can better understand issues of global justice (para. 2, Panwapa, n.d.). This multi-media global citizenship initiative was designed to introduce young children to a global citizenship worldview by encouraging them to first understand themselves as actors in a particular social and geographical context, to understand the similarities and differences of others in a global context, and then to recognize themselves as global actors in relation to other global actors (Lee and Cole, 2009). The Panwapa Project utilizes an interactive website that offers video and print materials to guide children, with the help of their Muppet hosts, through a range of activities that introduce them to different languages and cultures including Arabic,

English, Japanese, Mandarin, and Spanish (Lee and Cole, 2009). The objective behind the Panwapa Project is to introduce young children to the globe, to foster within them a sense of social responsibility, to encourage them to be a part of their local community, to empower them as actors within a global community, and to introduce them to global justice (Lee and Cole, 2009). Sesame Workshop invested a lot of time, money, and research into Panwapa to ensure that the website would be useful and culturally relevant to an array of citizens around the globe. However, like all informal education institutions, it is the responsibility of the individual to seek it out and engage with it. In contrast, GCED initiatives are also present in more formal education settings, including some school curricula in the United Kingdom (UK).

Partnerships between schools throughout the UK and schools in developing countries stand as examples of GCED initiatives in formal education settings (MacKenzie, Enslin and Hedge, 2016). MacKenzie, Enslin and Hedge suggest that over the past sixteen years, the development of GCED policies has led to the implementation of many global citizenship programs in UK schools (2016). Specifically, some GCED initiatives have resulted from a co-operation agreement—the Scotland Malawi Partnership—which was created in 2005 to establish links between Scotland and Malawi in a mutually beneficial partnership based on education, “governance, health and sustainable development” (p. 129, MacKenzie, Enslin and Hedge, 2016).

In participating Malawi and Scotland schools, global citizenship curricula does not manifest as a subject in itself but rather, is embedded in all subjects across the curricula (Mackenzie, Enslin and Hedge, 2016). GCED is integrated into the curricula of participating schools from primary school age to secondary school age to create

...independent, creative and critical thinkers, confident in themselves, secure in their own beliefs and values, committed to active participation in society,

respectful of others and willing to find solutions to local and global problems (p. 12, Education Scotland cited in MacKenzie, Enslin and Hedge, 2016).

By linking schools, students are encouraged to understand themselves within a context of both local issues and the issues that affect their partner school (MacKenzie, Enslin and Hedge, 2016). This framework fosters discussion of justice and problem-solving.

From a practical standpoint,

Recommended activities include storytelling, exchanging letters, sending learning materials and clothes, and building and repairing schools and classrooms. Encouragement is given to reciprocal visits and to comparative projects about health and well-being, the environment, celebrating cultural practices and lifestyles, each cast as an opportunity to develop mutual understanding (p. 129, MacKenzie, Enslin and Hedge, 2016).

Like Sesame Workshop's Panwapa Project, these Scottish-Malawian GCED initiatives approach global citizenship by encouraging young people to understand themselves in relation to those in different cultural, political, and socio-economic contexts. This process of self-reflection and the expansion of one's worldview is intensified through the experiential learning that takes place through travel, in the case of student exchanges.

While not always labelled as such, international exchange programs stand as prevalent examples of GCED in universities. International exchanges often result in the struggles to negotiate one's home culture with one's host-culture, and a newfound self-awareness only revealed by exposing one's cultural assumptions (Haigh, 2014). In other words, when international exchange students undertake "the transformative learning experience of culture shock," they exemplify the challenging processes of GCED (p. 12, Haigh, 2012). The awkward interactions and cultural miscommunications that often result from travel abroad allows young people to build new skills and resilience for intercultural cooperation (Haigh, 2012).

Global Citizenship in a Moment of Neoliberal Globalization

While GCED is present across various learning settings, GCED has emerged during a period of neoliberal governance, which has produced broad implications for social, cultural, political and economic life today. I understand neoliberalism to refer to a particular set of political and economic conditions that depoliticize citizenship and undermine possibilities for collective agency. In the Western world, neoliberalism has intensified since the late 1970s based on a political and economic doctrine that celebrates free-market competition, privatisation, deregulation of industry, decreased government intervention in the economy, the weakening of social programs and unions, and consequently, the individuation of citizens over and above our role in collective publics (Gaynor, 2016; Kennelly, 2011; Neubauer, 2011). Market expansion is a central objective of the neoliberal agenda that has been facilitated through unrestricted flows of global capital in the service of a global market economy (Robinson, 2004). Global market liberalization has intensified since the 1980s as a result of what William Robinson terms, “projects of economic integration,” by which he means, transnational institutions such as the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation forum (APEC), the European Union (EU), and the World Trade Organization (WTO) (p. 50, 2004). In a neoliberal capitalist system, market logic is naturalized in such a way as to appear as ‘truth’. This, in turn, serves to reduce the responsibility of the state for the well-being of its citizens (Foucault, 2008). By envisioning the economy as a *given*, governments are absolved of responsibility in the regulation of the economy and the mitigation of structural inequalities among populations. Instead, such outcomes appear as, ‘the way things are’. Inequality thus comes to be naturalized and the possibility of imagining a more equitable future is muted.

While neoliberalism may privilege economic life, various scholars argue that the logic of neoliberal economics spills into social and cultural policies, including education policies. By and large, the primary concerns with neoliberal globalization in relation to citizenship are that when market logic is applied to human beings, social justice and opportunities for collective activism are obscured (Gaynor, 2016). Global injustice cannot be addressed by market-based solutions such as consumer practices under the guise of activism, because such practices contribute to the very global inequities they seek to transform (Gaynor, 2016). While global citizenship is a concept rooted in social justice, democracy, sustainability, global solidarity, cross-cultural literacy, and the celebration of difference (Haigh, 2014), there is intense suspicion that the way GCED has been implemented in the context of neoliberalism mitigates these objectives.

With this in mind, in the following sections I explore GCED against the backdrop of neoliberal globalization, in order to draw out the points of ideological friction impacting the development and implementation of GCED discourses in key UN documents and other relevant curricula. Once put into practice, GCED is subjected to pressures to compromise its critical edge to conform to a neoliberal conception of the global (Jorgenson and Shultz, 2012). In response to this, I suggest a number of critical approaches to GCED to address some of the ways GCED has been depoliticized and linked to the reproduction of inequity across globalizing communities.

Global Citizens as Neoliberal Subjects

On a global scale, a rhetoric of anxiety around national citizenship proliferates as a result of “large-scale migratory flows within and across national borders” in a time of globalization (p. 3, Poyntz, 2013). In this moment of anxiety, critics of global citizenship have noted a number of shortcomings found in GCED initiatives. First, critics have contended that GCED initiatives are limited to the production of culturally literate global

citizens meant to compete in a shrinking global marketplace while acting as ambassadors for their nation. These concerns have primarily been directed at study abroad and IB programs, which appear to operate largely in the service of neoliberal hegemony. A second major concern of GCED initiatives is the way in which they conflate consumerism with activism, depoliticizing citizenship while contributing to an unequal economic order. Lastly, GCED initiatives also appear to promote so-called 'good' citizenship narratives that mitigate the full development of citizenship discourses in learning environments. In the following, I review each of these concerns more fully and drawing from this examination, I then undertake my analysis of Education 2030.

In recent years, a number of interesting studies examining study abroad have emerged from regions around the world. Of course, while one must acknowledge the differing development histories of each region, one can also draw significant connections in the problematization of GCED, international exchange programs, and their relationships to neoliberal globalization. One study on multicultural education in Canada suggests that GCED has appeared as a reactionary strategy to ensure that young people are equipped with the global literacy needed to succeed in a world where Western dominance is discursively compromised (Pashby, 2015). Another study examines IB programs and the popularity of international schools in the Global South. It contends that these programs promote a type of global citizenship based on the production of prestigious, marketable global citizens who make up a globalised class (Gardner-McTaggart, 2015). In her study on GCED in Irish universities, Niamh Gaynor found that global citizenship was often promoted by universities as a means for students to develop the skills and competencies needed to thrive in a global marketplace rather than the critical tools to question equity and justice in the global system (2016). Entrepreneurial approaches like these depoliticize global citizenship by framing it in

terms of volunteerism and résumé-building (Gardner-McTaggart, 2016; Gaynor, 2016; Kennelly, 2011; Poyntz, 2013). This obfuscates the issues of social injustice long linked to hopes for GCED. Gaynor specifies that this phenomenon is problematic in that it curbs opportunities for “collective, transformative action” (p. 92, 2016) and instead, “produce[s] skilled yet intellectually sterile graduates ready for the global production line” (p.97, 2016). Hence, GCED operates in the service of neoliberal hegemony and not as a process to achieving global justice.

Throughout her chapter, “Entitled to the World: the rhetoric of U.S. global citizenship education and study abroad,” Zemach-Bersin argues that both American citizenship and global citizenship operate in a complementary way that is consistent with colonial expansionist ideology (2012). With a focus on US undergraduate study abroad programs, Zemach-Bersin claims that the rhetoric functions to “mystify, dehistoricize, depoliticize, aestheticize and individualize the [international exchange] experience” (p. 89, 2012). Indeed, this brand of GCED—evidenced by such bills as the 2005 Abraham Lincoln Commission on Study Abroad—results from a type of knee-jerk reaction to produce US ambassadors sent abroad to procure the cross-cultural skills designed to help them ‘cope’ in a globalizing world (Zemach-Bersin, 2012). Within the US study abroad rhetoric, Zemach-Bersin discovered a defensive line of reasoning that advocated for the preservation of military, economic, and cultural dominance (2012). In fact, international education was explicitly juxtaposed with national security in a speech by former president George W. Bush following the events of September 11th, 2001 (Zemach-Bersin, 2012). Global citizenship is presented less as a cosmopolitan ideal of a global community, but more as a requirement to address the current situation (or threat) of globalization; the young generation’s necessary acquisition of cross-cultural competency (Zemach-Bersin, 2012).

Global citizenship is often framed as a prestigious status earned by familiarizing oneself with an exoticized other culture and consequently, gaining cultural capital (Zemach-Bersin, 2012). Some scholars argue that it is an elitist identity that signifies one's ability to transcend one's native territory, to obtain just the positive aspects of other cultures, and to experience personal growth without the burden of reciprocation (Veugelers, 2011; Zemach-Bersin, 2012). Opportunities for such engagement exist in study abroad programs and international schools premised on entrepreneurialism. Because these programs are costly, access is limited to a select group—those who can afford them. As such, these models of GCED privilege a narrow type of global subject, defined in part by her affluence. While global citizenship may offer a sophisticated identity for *some*, it also appears to obscure “the severe inequalities, injustices and acts of violent exploitation that persist in the globalized age” (p. 94, Zemach-Bersin, 2012). Of course, this is contradictory to the very definitions of global citizenship described earlier. The way that Talya Zemach-Bersin reads global citizenship based on GCED rhetoric, is as “institutionally sanctioned global citizenship”; this suggests that GCED privileges a particular type of cross-cultural knowledge (e.g. “mobility, education, economic comfort and sociopolitical freedoms”) reducing global citizenship to a worldly title for the elite that does not require sacrifice or responsibility (p. 96, Zemach-Bersin, 2012). In other words, global citizenship is not imagined through the mundane struggles experienced by “immigrants [or] diasporic communities” (p. 93, Zemach-Bersin, 2012). While cross-cultural knowledge is a foundational objective of GCED in study abroad programs and international schools, this kind of knowledge is delimited by an imperative toward marketability and prestige as constituted by the programs' relationships to global competitiveness. GCED is thus, positioned as an instrument to reinforce the dominance of a neoliberal global system through international schools and study abroad programs as a response to a nation threatened by globalizing developments.

While issues of access and curricular limits are concerns amongst critics of GCED, the relationship between such initiatives and the promotion of consumerism and consumer-led citizen actions have also posed a problem. In GCED discourses, Gaynor contends that activism is equated with consumerism through consumer practices such as of shopping for 'Fair Trade' products (Gaynor, 2016). While 'Fair Trade' policies likely do create better conditions for producers, Gaynor argues that consumer activism disguises the structural inequities inherent to a neoliberal global market economy (2016). Another example of consumerism equated with activism is the popularization of 'global gifts' offered by many transnational charities, for example, the campaigns that solicit donations of a goat, improved infrastructure, etc. to a family in a developing country during Christmas time (Gaynor, 2016). Likewise, Gaynor describes the familiar celebrity-endorsed campaigns undertaken by large corporations such as Starbucks and Apple that market products branded with a particular emblem that signifies awareness-raising and charity (2016). The 'Product Red' campaign that sought to battle HIV/AIDS in Africa is one example of a promotion that exploits celebrity and consumerism while surreptitiously depoliticizing activism (Gaynor, 2016). Charity, for Gaynor, functions as a superficial solution to structural problems. Ironically, consumerism as activism operates to uphold the unsustainable and inherently exploitative neoliberal global economy, a paradigm that creates the global injustices that inspire the abovementioned humanitarian work. GCED offers the potential to facilitate political literacy and meaningful social change, but when activism driven by global economic disparity is commodified, that activism loses all meaning.

The third major concern critics have raised regarding GCED has to do with the way such initiatives engage and promote narratives of 'good citizenship' in ways that limit the nature of citizen learning. Informative, uncritical citizenship education strategies

embodied in the entrepreneurial and charity models discussed above, limit understandings of what counts as citizenship by defining what it means to be a ‘good’ citizen. Throughout her book *Citizen Youth: Culture, Activism, and Agency in a Neoliberal Era*, Jacqueline Kennelly examines Canadian youth citizenship to decipher what it means to be a ‘good citizen’ versus a ‘bad activist’ amidst a neoliberal moment of “increasing economic stratification, impending threats of environmental devastation, mass global migration, and such supranational threats as ‘terrorism’” (p. 5, 2011). Such a complicated context offers many opportunities for performances of critical youth citizenship, however Kennelly contends that neoliberal pressures curtail young peoples’ democratic participation by denuding activism of its subversive foundations (2011). Citizenship is itself problematized as the word becomes less associated with collectivity, rights and democratic participation, but rather with individual consumer behaviours and community involvement motivated by personal development (Gaynor, 2016; Kennelly, 2011). Neoliberalism limits performances of democratic citizenship by championing individualism and meritocracy (Kennelly, 2011) and erasing notions of “public life [as] shared action, communion and connection among those with matters of common concern” (Poyntz, 2013).

‘Good citizenship’ narratives fail to validate informal daily practices of citizenship such as neighbourliness by identifying what counts as citizenship activities (Nicoll, Fejes, Olson, Dahlstedt, and Biesta, 2013). Moreover, many citizenship education frameworks manifest as a deficit model that positions young people as lacking citizenship—which is defined narrowly through community work and volunteering—while omitting anti-social forms of citizenship such as activism or informal practices like “looking out for others” (p. 834, Nicoll et al., 2013). Citizenship should be examined as a constructed concept with multiple meanings, heterogeneous, contextual, and performed (Nicoll et al., 2013).

Instead, many citizenship models fail to promote young people as actors engaged in substantive social change. These models promote thinner forms of citizen action that valorize 'fitting in' and entrepreneurialism. A neoliberal market-orientation links these qualities and thus, characterizes the limited forms of citizen subjectivity that is enabled through GCED initiatives. As much of the literature on GCED suggests, the discursive space around citizenship education must be expanded to allow for a multiplicity of citizenship discourses and to preclude the normalization of a singular and limiting discourse (Kennelly, 2011; Knight Abowitz and Harnish, 2006; Nicoll et al., 2014).

Expanding Definitions of Global Citizenship

Given the challenges that appear to haunt the development of GCED initiatives, in this section I draw on specific critical approaches to GCED that problematize the notion of citizenship to provoke discussion of cultural difference, belonging, and democracy within citizenship education. I argue that these latter elements remain crucial components for any fully developed version of GCED. In their work on citizenship in American schools, Knight Abowitz and Harnish describe a number of frameworks from which to expand how to understand citizenship and learning. I am particularly taken by their discussion of cultural citizenship and reconstructionist citizenship models. Because of their post-colonial and political economic underpinnings, these models are helpful to understand justice-oriented opportunities within GCED practices.

Cultural citizenship envisions "difference... as a resource, not a threat" (p. 669, Rosaldo cited in Knight Abowitz and Harnish, 2006). This model arose as a result of the cultural marginalization caused by discourses of liberal citizenship in the US (Knight Abowitz and Harnish, 2006). Liberal citizenship discourses often, especially with regard to global citizenship, promote tolerance-based frameworks that erase experiences of exclusion and reduce marginalization to individual failings, rather than matters of public

concern (Knight Abowitz, 2006; Poyntz, 2013). In other words, Poyntz argues that tolerance-based frameworks position marginalized individuals as “equal-rights bearing beings” but with no demand that we accept the difference of others as legitimate forms of life (p. 9, Poyntz, 2013). Instead, as is common in liberal citizenship discourses, difference comes to be a private matter, without claim for public recognition and support (Berlant, 1997). This reduces difference to merely a personal matter to be tolerated by the majority rather than a resource with public claims to legitimacy, something advocated within cultural citizenship discourses. Thus, cultural citizenship seeks to contextualize difference with regard to historical context and to highlight, rather than disregard, the conflicts that come out of citizenship discourse (Knight Abowitz and Harnish, 2006). Cultural citizenship is respectful of race, ethnicity, and language, celebrating cultural difference and emphasizing democratic rights (Knight Abowitz and Harnish, 2006). This approach ensures that racialized and poor youth are incorporated into discussions of citizenship and discouraged from simply assimilating into a system that excludes them (Knight and Abowitz, 2006). It strongly emphasizes cultural rights (to language, for instance) and collective agency, which chips away at a tolerance-based framework’s emphasis on individual rights and freedoms. Because this approach historicizes relations between different populations, and because it frames issues of marginalization as political and not personal, cultural citizenship stands as a critical, justice-based approach that can help to expand that nature of GCED.

In a related manner, reconstructionist citizenship is a critical model that emphasizes the importance of inclusion, equality, and the celebration of cultural difference (Knight Abowitz and Harnish, 2006). In doing so, reconstructionist discourses contest hegemonic social institutions and aim to reallocate power to rectify the fact that many groups have historically been denied equal rights and opportunities (Knight

Abowitz and Harnish, 2006). Ostensibly, this discourse is laden with social justice and activist rhetoric. This framework includes two approaches to education that both aim to reinvigorate democratic citizenship through the inclusion and participation of the poor, working class, and racialized groups that have historically been excluded from civic participation (Knight Abowitz and Harnish, 2006). The progressive or populist approach to reconstructionist citizenship is a practical, hands-on, participatory, and inclusive approach that uses public engagement to encourage active civic learning within communities (Knight Abowitz and Harnish, 2006). It focuses on *practice* rather than *study*, and encourages problem-solving and collaboration through community work.

Both cultural citizenship and reconstructionist approaches historicize citizenship by illuminating the emptiness of liberal models of citizenship that tend to dominate GCED initiatives. Like cultural citizenship, reconstructionist frameworks contend that institutions subjugate poor, working-class, and racialized groups while privileging the interests of the financial elite class (Knight Abowitz and Harnish, 2006). Both of these critical approaches embrace collectivity and debate and foreground these concerns to contest how neoliberalism has settled in across institutional spaces and everyday life in the contemporary period. Because reconstructionist rhetoric is so radical in its objective to restructure social institutions, it can be incompatible with formal education institutions (Knight Abowitz and Harnish, 2006). Nonetheless, I argue that the emphasis on political economy demonstrated in the reconstructionist approach is a key point to be remembered when considering GCED initiatives. Both cultural and reconstructionist approaches to citizenship education offer a more expansive definition of citizenship that, if adopted in GCED curricula, would breathe new life into the depoliticized notions of global citizenship investigated above.

The above sections describe a number of shortcomings found in GCED initiatives today. These shortcomings are largely a result of the way neoliberalism has come to shape notions of citizenship by encouraging global entrepreneurialism, consumption in the place of activism, and limiting conceptions of what it means to be a global citizen today. In contrast, I describe critical models of citizenship education that, if applied to GCED initiatives, would inspire global justice. Taking this into consideration, in the following section, I outline the methodology that I used to examine UNESCO's Education 2030.

Methodology

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) encourages the researcher to examine the construction of a discourse with emphasis on its role in the maintenance and reproduction of power relations by contextualizing the selected discourse within a constructed social reality (Van Dijk, 2001; Phillips and Hardy, 2002). For Norman Fairclough, CDA is valuable for its emancipatory potential, as he declares that once a marginalized groups are equipped with the literacy to critically assess their experiences, struggle for change becomes a possibility (2001). Inspired by such social theorists as Pierre Bourdieu, Michel Foucault, and Jürgen Habermas, Fairclough's work illuminates the importance of CDA for deconstructing dominant discourses in order to reveal social relations of power (2001). To be sure, it is precisely because language is so mundane, so dependent on common-sense assumptions, that it is so inconspicuous. Fairclough argues that this is the very quality that makes language all the more meaningful as a site of study (2001). For many social theorists, language has come to be understood as a prominent ideological mechanism for social control (Fairclough, 2001). Indeed, Fairclough argues that "nobody who has an interest in modern society, and certainly nobody who has an interest in relationships of power in modern society, can afford to ignore language" (p. 3, 2001). In justifying CLS, Fairclough contends that education too often exists as a missed opportunity for critical learning. This is particularly important given that that it is a recurring criticism of the GCED literature.

Language is deeply ingrained in society and the two influence each other in an uneven yet dialectical relationship, wherein language operates as a social practice within society at large (Fairclough, 2001). Fairclough defines discourse as "language as a social practice determined by social structures" (p. 14, 2001). *Orders of discourse* (a term popularized by Foucault) are what Fairclough describes as the constructed "sets of

conventions associated with social institutions” (p. 14, 2001). Related to my paper for instance, this might be imagined as the social practices exercised by the institutions that comprise formal, informal, and non-formal education systems—and perhaps the international development sector—that construct particular conceptions of the global, pedagogy, and social justice. In other words, the GCED orders of discourse that I have chosen to study elucidate particular education conventions that engender and maintain certain ideologies. I attempt to uncover these through a critical analysis of the ways that global citizenship is understood within Education 2030. That education functions to produce compliant citizens, accepting of (if not celebratory of) the existing political and economic structures is a familiar argument that provides further reason to undertake critical analysis of the pedagogical foundations and practices of a popular approach like GCED. In fact, Fairclough argues that education, together with an array of civil institutions, functions furtively to reproduce existing class relations (2001). He claims that because discourse is ideological and thus naturalized, “people can be legitimizing (or delegitimizing) [of] particular power relations without being conscious of doing so” (p. 33, Fairclough, 2001). In effect, this assertion suggests that CDA’s emancipatory potential is linked to a process of consciousness raising.

Access, or lack thereof, to discourse is demonstrative of unequal relations of power within civil society (Fairclough, 2001) which is illustrated in the ‘freedom’ rhetoric embedded within classical liberal frameworks, specifically regarding individualism. For instance, the assumption that everyone is free to achieve the American dream obscures the structural barriers that prevent any marginalized groups from doing so; in addition, the assumption that everyone can become a doctor when realistically, it is the dominant class to whom such opportunities are most readily accessible (Fairclough, 2001).

Regrettably, this results in the reproduction of existing class stratifications in terms of professions and educational opportunity (Fairclough, 2001).

It is no revelation that class is coded through educational opportunity. This is evident in the formal use of language, which is one of the ways in which education fortifies and secures class structures. As such, Fairclough identifies that formality in language leads to exclusion (2001). Formality in both language and also in the formalization of institutions, including institutions of education and international development, can operate to alienate citizens. Anthony Giddens suggests that there has been shift toward trust in expert systems, which he describes as professionalized institutions based on expertise in a particular area (1990). As laypeople, individuals are vulnerable in their trust in the experts who guide them in their daily lives through for example, medical advice (Giddens, 1990). Giddens explains that the trust that an individual submits to an expert is not so much the trust in that *person*, but the acceptance and vulnerability to their *legitimated knowledge set* (1990). In this way, expert systems create distance between the laypeople and the experts, as their private knowledge mediates social interactions. Equally, Fairclough states that, “formality both restricts access and generates awe” (p. 57, 2001). The orders of discourse that exist around expertise can confuse and intimidate, reinforcing existing power structures. Giddens suggests that trust in expert systems is ideologically ingrained within individuals (rather than consciously surrendered) as the naturalized way of being or knowing the world without consideration of alternative ways (1990). With this in mind, the critical analysis of a UNESCO education strategy takes on meaning as an important exercise; especially when considering that “control over orders of discourse by institutional and societal power-holders is one factor in the maintenance of their power” (p. 31, Fairclough, 2001).

UNESCO's GCED strategy is a branch of their Education Sector program that is currently in place for the period of 2014-2021 (UNESCO, 2015a). It is informed by two policy frameworks or agendas: (1) *The Education 2030 Agenda and Framework for Action* formulated at the 2015 World Education Forum (WEF 2015), which offers a vision for education within a fifteen year scope following the input of UNESCO's Education sector, the World Bank, a number of additional UN agencies (including UNICEF, UNFPA, UNDP, UN Women, and UNHCR), members of multilateral and bilateral organizations, and representatives of civil society including youth and teacher groups (UNESCO, 2015a). This document offers a comprehensive outline of target 4.7 of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDG 4) addressing education for development; (2) *The UNECE Strategy for Education for Sustainable Development* which was adopted in 2005 at a high-level meeting of the Environment and Education Ministries in Europe. The UNECE Strategy highlights the importance of formally implementing education for sustainable development (ESD) into mainstream curricula and additionally, to encourage ESD discourse to permeate civil society through non-formal and informal education mechanisms (ECOSOC, 2005). For my analysis, I have chosen to focus primarily on Education 2030 as the themes that arise in this document are better suited to the social concerns identified throughout my literature review. While the UNECE strategy emphasizes an environmental sustainability perspective, Education 2030 is premised on a broader international development perspective that prioritizes different stakeholders and highlights different values. Nevertheless, UNESCO's approaches to GCED and ESD are "mutually reinforcing approaches, with commonalities and specificities" as they "both prioritize the relevance and content of education in order to ensure that education helps build a peaceful and sustainable world" (para. 3, UNESCO, 2015a).

Methodologically, I have selected the following questions suggested by Fairclough related to the vocabulary present in the text. While Fairclough offers ten questions in total, I have chosen to focus on three, as they are most suitable to the formal policy-style documents whereas some of his questions are better suited to, for instance, a transcribed conversation or interview. Thus, the key questions guiding my analysis are:

1. What *experiential* values do words have?
 What classification schemes are drawn up?
 Are there words which are ideologically contested?
 Is there *rewording* or *overwording*?
 What ideologically significant meaning relations (*synonyms, hyponymy, antonymy*) are there between words?
2. What *relational* values do words have?
 Are there euphemistic expressions?
 Are there markedly formal or informal words?
3. What *expressive* values do words have?

Dimensions of meaning	Values of features	Structural effects
Contents	Experiential	Knowledge/beliefs
Relations	Relational	Social relations
Subjects	Expressive	Social identities

Table 1 Formal features: experiential, relational and expressive values (p. 94, Fairclough, 2001).

As the above table suggests, the analysis of the *experiential, relational, and expressive* values of a text offer a point of departure to deconstruct the ideological assumptions that are built into a text. According to Fairclough, the experiential value provides indicators of the producer’s worldview, or “experience of the natural or social world” (p. 93, 2001). The relational value illustrates the social relations that emerge in a text (Fairclough, 2001), which is of particular importance when analysing the vision of the global communicated by Education 2030. Finally, a look at the expressive values of the producer’s chosen vocabulary allows the researcher to evaluate the connotations

that the words elicit (e.g. positive, negative, controversial, vague), while expressive values also indicate the subjects of the text (Fairclough, 2001).

I approach my research as an individual informed by the ideas and findings present in my literature review. The themes that I have identified throughout my selections of current GCED discourse have informed the types of patterns that I sought to discover in my selected text. Loosely based on Fairclough's methods, I sought to discover *who* (which groups the text refers to most, and who the intended audience might be), *what* is important (what types of values are expressed in regard to education, global relations, and development), and *how* UNESCO's GCED strategy is understood to develop (e.g. structural political and economic changes vs. reproduction of the existing global system, or subtle changes international funding allocation, etc.). Identifying vocabulary using a blend of experiential and expressive language, I investigated the most frequently appearing words to decipher the ideological framework embedded in the text in attempts to answer the *who* and *what* questions. To better understand the relationships between the mentioned parties and also the relationships that comprise a particular vision of the global, I identified the subjects most frequently addressed throughout the text. Moreover, to assess the *how* question, I examined UNESCO's vision of the global, and thus, their capacity to truly promote a world driven by global citizenship.

By undertaking CDA, I acknowledge that texts are inherently entrenched in ideological bias and I would be unreasonable to pretend my own research is excluded from such bias. My worldview is influenced by an identification with the working class, an education in critical theory, and thus, a place of discomfort as I negotiate my affinity for the classes pushed to society's margins and my staggering privilege to engage in an international Master's degree program. As Fairclough submits, "[t]he scientific

investigation of social matters is perfectly compatible with committed and ‘opinionated’ investigators... and being committed does not excuse you from arguing rationally or producing evidence for your statements” (p. 4, 2001). Ergo, perhaps my passion for critical pedagogy alongside my uncomfortable relationship with privilege and global injustice renders me an emotionally invested yet critical scholar to examine GCED.

Findings and Discussion

In general, Education 2030 envisions a world wherein education is an empowering practice brimming with potential to address a variety of global development challenges such as poverty, gender disparity, peace and human rights, and environmental sustainability. Education 2030 is less a GCED doctrine than it is a catalogue of global challenges that can be addressed through education, as well as suggestions and strategies to achieving such important and ambitious goals. Many of the scholars in the sections above point to the shortcomings of GCED in relation to privilege, depoliticized citizenship, and the reproduction of neoliberalism. When placed in conversation with this UNESCO document, the basic challenges of education on a global scale revealed by the text encourage reflection of the privilege innate to academia. In other words, according to Education 2030, the baseline conditions of education on a global scale are far too low for organizations like UNESCO consider the efficacy of GCED in practice, when some children are unable to attend regular school for fear of their safety, or as a result of economic pressures to support their families, or perhaps there is a lack of education resources all together. To be sure, these challenges are not limited to developing countries, but to varying degrees, affect communities around the world. In practice, GCED is criticized for lacking a critical approach driven by global social justice. The values promoted throughout Education 2030, alongside the major concerns identified, provide overwhelming support for GCED to be approached critically, especially in areas of greater socio-political and economic comforts. That is, critically assessing injustice engendered by power structures is more likely to occur when one is marginalized by such structures, but to those in positions of privilege, injustice might appear irrelevant. Thus, in regions that benefit from mature economies, a critical GCED is incredibly important to educating for global social justice.

Indeed, it is not as if Education 2030 is overtly critical of neoliberal globalization, however, perhaps surprisingly, the language used throughout the document borrows from critical perspectives such as feminist and post-colonial thought. As such, the approach taken when writing Education 2030 resembles some of the characteristics discussed in Knight Abowitz and Harnish's cultural citizenship perspective. Figure 1 illustrates the most frequently referred to experiential and expressive values that appeared in Education 2030. As mentioned, some of the most commonly referenced words such as: *inclusion, gender, human rights, equality, context/contextualize* (as in, recognize diverse situations and experiences), *exclusion/marginalization, cultural, disparity, experience, dialogue, inequality, multilingual, active* (as in, participation), *disability, non-discrimination, social justice, inequity, tolerance, and dignity*, denote ideologically 'left' leaning frameworks. Notably, a respect for 'difference' is alluded to through many of the values listed, while concurrently, concerns over discrimination and assimilation are emphasized. Moreover, while *tolerance* appears throughout the text, it only appears three times in contrast to *cultural/intercultural* which appears eleven times. As such, Education 2030 does not appear to promote a tolerance-based framework, but instead one that recognizes difference.

The pedagogical values most commonly referred to within the text include: *literacy and numeracy, quality education, knowledge, ICTs/technology, learning outcomes, formal/informal/non-formal, multilingual, adult learning, transformative, holistic, critical thinking, free and compulsory, cross border accreditation, meaningful education, social justice, and humanistic*. While some of the terms sound positive, they are actually somewhat ambiguous (e.g. 'quality' education, knowledge, 'meaningful' education); thus, their ideological meaning is unclear. Moreover, values such as *formal/informal/non-formal, multilingual, and cross border accreditation* signify the

recognition of a multiplicity of contextually dependent educations as well as the possibility/necessity of migration. These values recognize difference rather than gloss over it as seen in tolerance-based frameworks, however their meaning is also ideologically unclear, as such values could signify any number of agendas. For instance the text's support of transnational entrepreneurialism, or perhaps, advocacy for displaced peoples. This ambiguity is to be expected considering that "ideology is the most effective when its workings are least visible" (p. 71, Fairclough, 2001). An emphasis on *learning outcomes* alongside *literacy and numeracy* alludes to assessment of the quality of education. In addition, the promotion of a *holistic* approach to education suggests that students are "whole" people—physical, intellectual, political, emotional, and spiritual beings—which recognizes the importance of their cultural development (Blasco and Hansen, 2006). More ideologically charged terms such as *critical thinking*, *transformative*, and *social justice*, suggest the evaluation of power structures and structural transformation through policy reform, which is reminiscent of the radical reconstructionist approach to citizenship education. That said, these terms are significantly outnumbered by rhetoric of inclusivity and equity. I argue this because in regard to GCED, UNESCO imagines *transformative* change in terms of personal transformation and not, seemingly, as structural change (UNESCO, 2015a).

To reiterate, one theme that arose in the previous discussion was the concern for social cohesion as a result of globalizing trends. This anxiety appears in Education 2030 as evidenced by the recurrence of such values as: *safety/security*, *violence*, *conflict* (zones), *peace*, *crisis*, *risk*, *emergency*, *protection* (from violence), and *social cohesion*. While *social cohesion* was mentioned the least, the former values appear frequently. By emphasizing such values, Education 2030 suggests that, at least for some, "crisis is a major barrier to access to education" (p. 9, UNESCO, 2015b). In fact, peace-building is a

primary impetus behind Education 2030, and has been a foundational UNESCO education objective for over sixty years (Martinez de Morentin, 2011).

Economic, labour market, efficiency, accountability, vocational training, poverty, professional, training opportunities, investment, employment, decent work, and perhaps even ambition are the most commonly referenced values related to the economy. Indeed, the equation of citizenship as entrepreneurialism in a neoliberal era was a major concern identified in the previously discussed discourse on GCED. What is more, because the UN General Assembly is made up of member-states and not the public, it is not likely that they will support radical reform of capitalism to embark on a journey of sustainability, but that “the most powerful states are closely aligned with those of global capital” (p. 496, Huckle and Wals, 2015). Ideologically neoliberal values such as *efficiency* and *ambition* were frequently used to describe the implementation of the Education 2030 agenda. As well, *investment* is referred to as investment of education in people, which establishes a connection with market-oriented vocabulary and human capacity; this, by and of itself, is an illustration of the subtle naturalization of neoliberal ideology, a cautionary phenomenon identified by such influential social theorists as Michel Foucault among many others. The remainder of the values that describe ‘work’ explicitly were often referred to in terms of providing *all people* (which is a group meticulously specified throughout the document) with education and training relevant to their local economy. Accreditation of contextually relevant experiential skills and knowledge was emphasized throughout the document, often as a means to raise citizens out of poverty. With that in mind, market-based solutions to economic disparity are in fact, suggested. Nevertheless, while the structural inequality of the global system is not identified directly, the text suggest reform of taxes on national levels by “widening the tax base (in particular by ending harmful tax incentives), preventing tax evasion and

increasing the share of the national budget allocated to education" (p. 30, UNESCO, 2015b). In addition, again on the national level, the text calls for an increase in public spending on education of "at least 15-20% of total public expenditure" (p. 29, UNESCO, 2015b). On a global level the text does advocate increased spending on international aid for education directed at middle income countries to ensure that the ambitious Education 2030 agenda can be achieved. Accountability and transparent governance in regard to allocation of funds is emphasized throughout the text, which alludes to a concern for corruption in governance. As neoliberalism vehemently advocates small government and a decrease in government intervention (Neubauer, 2011; Foucault, 2008), this allusion to corruption supports such values.

Finally, *participation, citizenship, responsibility, informed decisions, and democracy* are the values featured throughout the text most descriptive of citizenship. Despite the text's exhaustive definitions of terms such as inclusivity and vulnerable groups, citizenship is not clearly defined. Citizenship (see also Fig. 2) is referred to approximately eleven times throughout the text, which is moderate when compared to for instance, *inclusive* which appears forty-nine times. It is referred to as an empowering identity (e.g. engaged citizenship, active citizenship, or participatory citizenship), as a vague noun at the end of a list (e.g. education for human rights, arts, and citizenship), and in terms of responsibility (e.g. responsible citizenship, citizen-led accountability in education, contributing citizens). By and large, citizenship appears to be a fairly active concept rather than a mere title to refer to individuals. Participation in decision-making and governance related to education initiatives is encouraged throughout the text, although the extent to which this participation includes political contestation is unclear.

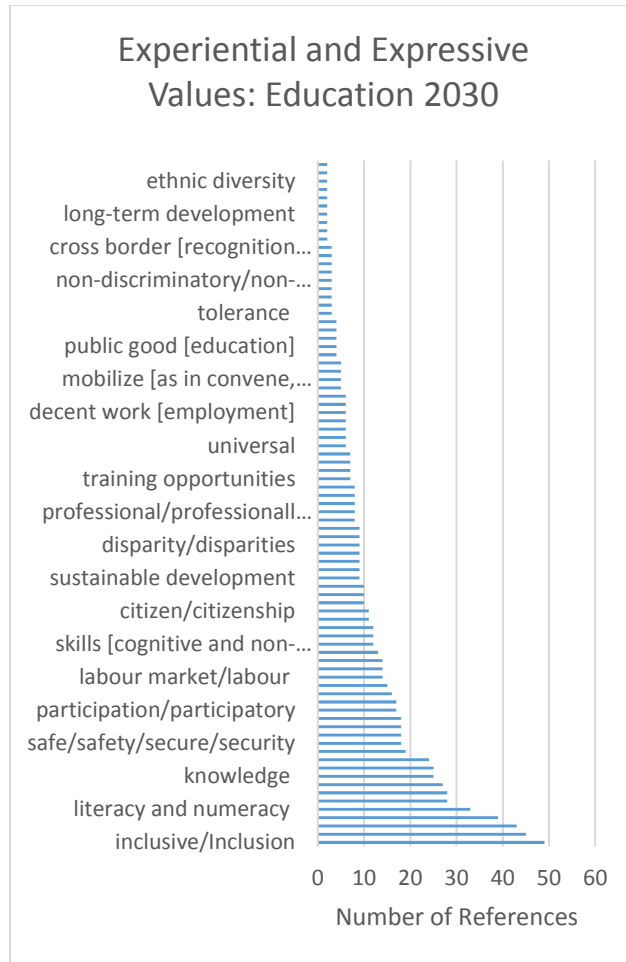


Figure 1 Experiential and expressive values identified in Education 2030

In order to decipher who are classified as the important subjects in Education 2030, I counted the number of times the most frequently appearing subjects were mentioned. As seen in Figure 2, young people and/or families (e.g. children, youth, adolescents, youth and parents, children, youth and adults, families, etc.) appeared most frequently. This is to be expected in a text based on education for development, although the text's emphasis on adult learning and lifelong learning is noteworthy. The second most often mentioned subjects were gendered subjects, which I categorized as those mentioned with specific indication of gender (e.g. girls and women, boys and men,

and both genders). Of this group, girls and women were mentioned significantly more often, positioned as vulnerable to gender-based violence and discrimination as barriers to basic education. Disadvantaged boys were also mentioned, however their disadvantage was not specified aside from, at most, their tendency to participate in post-secondary education less often than women in middle income countries. This gender specificity points to 'left' leaning ideology evident in feminist discourse as well as a respect for difference rather than tolerance. With that said, one could argue that despite all of the talk of inclusivity, Education 2030 is not transgender-inclusive. Not only by repeatedly distinguishing between women and men with the objective to highlight women's subjugation, but also by specifying "both genders," Education 2030 fails to acknowledge the marginalization of this diverse group. In other words, transgender people are not simply oppressed by the systems, but in their exclusion from this text, they are positioned as outside of the system all together, making transgender people what post-colonial scholars may refer to as, subaltern.

While Education 2030 might not be trans-inclusive, the text's emphasis on vulnerable groups more generally (categorized as the most disadvantaged, the most vulnerable, those in crisis situations, those being excluded or at risk of marginalization, etc.) is notable. The text clarifies early on that such vulnerable groups include, "all people, irrespective of sex, age, race, colour, ethnicity, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property or birth, as well as those in vulnerable situation or other status" (p. 4, UNESCO, 2015b). The fact that vulnerable groups (including those differentiated by gendered and disability) comprise 34% of Education 2030's mentioned subjects, suggests that people are not simply viewed by their capacity as economic contributors. Rather, the text suggests that inequity exists in the world and that some are more susceptible to it than others. While this may be true, mentioned

almost as frequently are professional subjects, identified for their accreditation as specific workers.

Interestingly, the professional subjects addressed throughout the text primarily refer to teachers and education support staff, most often in regard to their credentials, their need for adequate teaching resources, and their local leadership role in implementing Education 2030. Thus, professionals (as I have called them) are not really imagined as entrepreneurial subjects in terms of their contribution to a neoliberal economy. The concern lies in their capability to educate, which suggests a deficit in education standards across the globe. Education 2030 also frequently refers to subjects as *learners*, which I have categorized as *intellectual subjects*. By imagining individuals as intellectual subjects, the text does not discriminate in terms of any identifying characteristics such as age, gender, or class. As such, Education 2030 encourages learners of all backgrounds to engage in lifelong learning to work toward a sustainable, more equitable world ideologically, though perhaps not structurally.

Institutional stakeholders refers primarily to governments, but also to organizations such as UNESCO, the World Education Forum 2015 (WEF 2015), civil society organizations (CSOs) and a vague variety of players (defined as *multi-stakeholder groups*, *other partners*, etc.). Their roles are related to the implementation, monitoring, and assessment of Education 2030, with emphasis on administration at the national level. Subsequently and not surprisingly, the text envisions the global in terms of a network of nation-states. For instance, national descriptors such as *countries*, *member-states*, and *states* appear forty-six times throughout the text while references to the global only appear eight times. While partnerships amidst all levels of administration are underscored as the locus for implementing Education 2030, because implementation is envisioned from a state-based perspective, the partnerships are vaguely outlined. Of

course, this is understandable considering the array of different socio-political contexts from which Education 2030 is slated to benefit. However, ambiguity around responsibility makes it easier for those involved to fail to implement the agenda.

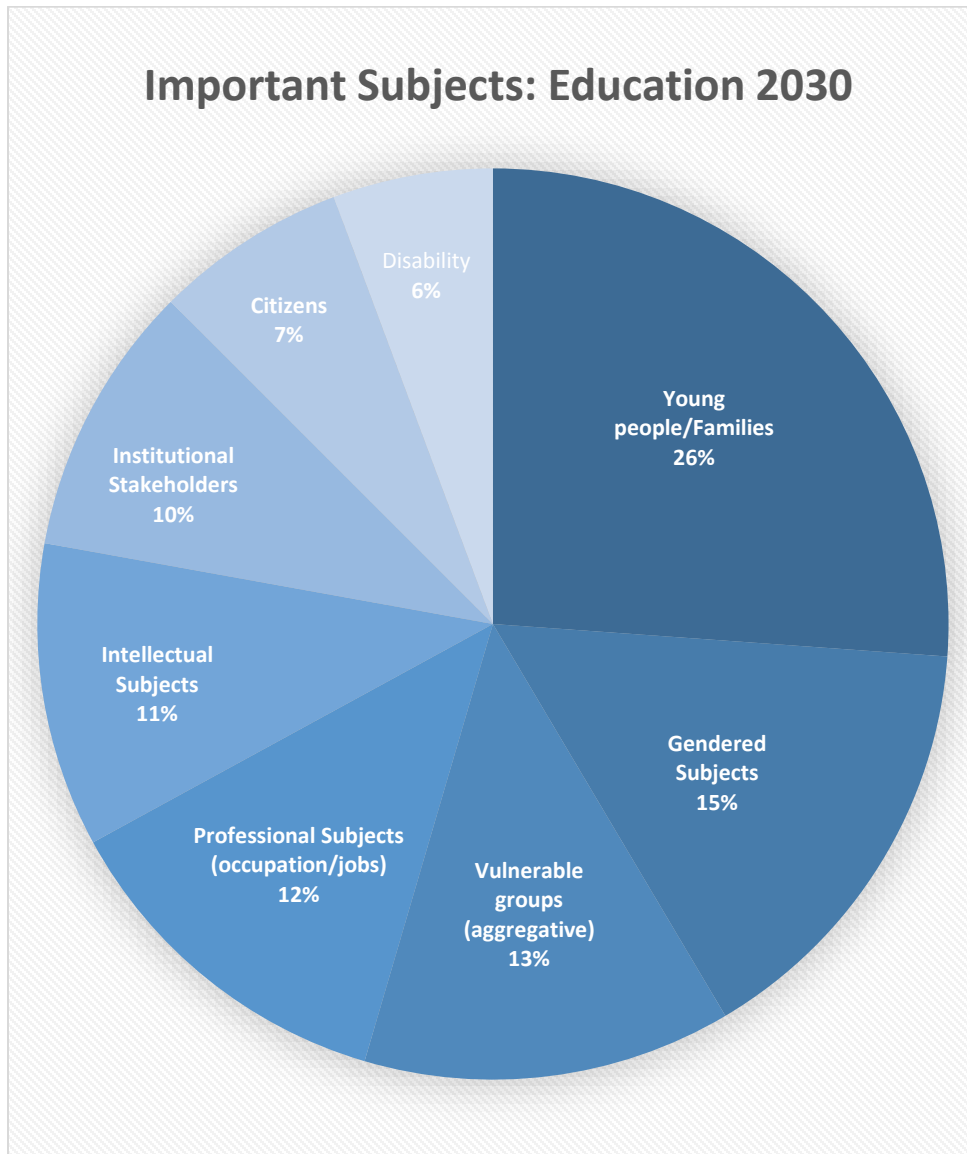


Figure 2 Important Subjects identified in Education 2030

While different visions of the global are hotly debated and considered within international relations discourse, some scholars argue that an internationalist vision is counterintuitive to global citizenship. Throughout his chapter in *Global Citizenship: A*

Critical Reader, Mark Imber criticizes the UN's deficiencies as a promoter of global citizenship by providing a brief account of its role in peacebuilding, in upholding human rights globally, in the regulation of the world economy through governing bodies such as the World Bank, and in international development since its inception in 1945. Imber understands global citizenship as the membership within a global community which entails a broader sense of civic responsibility often manifested in development work on matters of global concern such as the environment, poverty, famine, education, and health (2002). Throughout his examination of the UN's operations in the abovementioned areas, Imber suggests that the transnational organization is deeply ingrained in a framework of statism or internationalism that conflicts with the very idea of global citizenship (2002). To that end, he offers a series of suggestions to ensuring that the UN operates first and foremost from the interest of the people. One perhaps idealized suggestion is to recommend a system of direct democracy to facilitate a shift away from nation state governments to an assembly that more accurately reflects the world's populations rather than the current one-Member State-one-vote policy (2002). Moreover, Imber advocates for a greater involvement of the UN's development organizations and charities by establishing an NGO assembly, claiming that organizations' commitment to research and lobbying backed by justice-oriented interest groups would reinvigorate what he refers to as the UN's "stage-managed 'debates'" (p. 122, 2002). The latter suggestion, though less radical, would likely involve a smoother implementation and would likely provoke transformation more quickly.

Of all of Imber's suggestions to create a UN that better embodies global citizenship, his proposition of taxing the global commons is perhaps most interesting. He states that the UN struggles to establish independent initiatives (essentially, what I would describe as global citizenship initiatives) as a result of their dependence on funding from

their member states (Imber, 2002). In response to this, a tax on the global commons—designated as “outer space, the ozone layer, the climate system and the high seas,” regions currently in need of protection—would not only generate revenue to bolster a myriad of global citizenship initiatives, but the taxation on a global commons would also actively address environmental exploitation (p. 122, Imber, 2002). Nevertheless, however exciting the proposition may be, convincing the majority countries of such a strategy toward global citizenship would be nothing if not challenging. While today global citizenship education is touted as an important initiative promoted by UNESCO, Imber argues that the UN has, by and large, failed to reform its Charter and structure despite many opportunities, rendering global citizenship a visionary ideal (2002).

Language

Foremost, by using formal language familiar to the development sector along with the formality of the document's style, Education 2030 is not exceedingly accessible to the greater public. Nonetheless, the intended audience is likely those involved in the world of development, and therefore, the vocabulary used would likely be familiar to readers. Throughout this UNESCO publication, the language comes across as ideologically 'left,' borrowing from feminist and post-colonial rhetoric. As such, I argue that the writers of the text imagine that the readers of such a document are familiar with, and value this type of (feminist/post-colonial) language. Still, the text does not identify the political and economic structural inequity as problems of neoliberal globalization and accordingly, it does not outwardly call for structural transformation. Thus, while it appears to embody primarily 'left wing' values, perhaps the text overemphasizes its commitment to inclusivity, equality, vulnerable groups, etc. Fairclough states that "overwording shows preoccupation with some aspect of reality—which may indicate that it is a focus of ideological struggle" (p. 96, 2001). Perhaps the ideological struggle that emerges from the preoccupation with equality is the struggle inherent to the development sector—a field dedicated to the improvement of humanity, yet virtually forced to work within the confines of a global neoliberal system that breeds inequality.

Conclusion

Overall, the discourses on global citizenship education continue to provoke questions of identity in a shrinking world, of pedagogy, of political engagement, and importantly, of global power relations. Thoughtful debate proliferates around global citizenship. Some understand it as a cosmopolitan dream, or uncritically, as a banal reality resulting from global connectedness through a set of legal institutions; some understand it as an active identity unfalteringly performed by those in the development sector, or perhaps, as a prestigious identity afforded to some, yet exclusionary of 'natural' global citizens such as immigrants and internationally displaced persons. Due to the contentious nature of global citizenship, it offers seemingly endless opportunities to critically engage students in thoughtful discussion as well as activism through education.

The GCED discourses reviewed throughout this paper suggests that there is a detrimental lack of political economy in GCED initiatives. It suggests that, in practice, GCED often results in informational rather than critical, justice-oriented curricula. The discourse cautions that, in a time of anxiety regarding global power shifts, GCED is often employed with the objective to produce a generation of young people equipped with the cross-cultural skills needed to succeed in a global market—a generation of leaders-in-development. Not only does this cooptation of GCED denote missed opportunities for critical learning, it also results in the reproduction of an inequitable global system.

Education is a communicative practice with limitless potential to facilitate an open learning environment that encourages students to establish authentic connections with the world around them by thinking *for* and *about* themselves in relation to their subject of study (Rodriguez, 2006). This is especially true for GCED because it is an educational framework entrenched in global justice. It encourages people to consider themselves

socially responsible actors contextualized within both local and global communities. Unlike discrete subjects of study (i.e. mathematics, social studies, science), GCED can operate as *frame of justice* integrated into a number of different subjects across the curricula. However, when it is coopted to become something akin to marketable skills training, GCED is a missed opportunity for students to expand their worldviews and also, for instructors to educate for a sustainable future.

Moreover, the 'good citizen' has been historically constructed as a middle-class, white, charity-driven subject who envisions activism in such a way that does not threaten the political and economic system. Narratives of 'good citizenship' curtail critical discussion and disregard anti-social performances of citizenship such as protest. These narratives are often based on moral citizenship, which emphasizes cultural differences rather than structural relations (Veugelers, 2011). The way in which Education 2030 zealously celebrates 'difference' in both language and content suggests a moral approach to GCED. In this way, the text's emphasis on 'difference' operates to distract the reader from structural inequity. Given that the UN General Assembly is comprised of nation-states—the most powerful of which are aligned with global capital (Huckle and Wals, 2015)—it makes sense that Education 2030 would market a GCED initiative using 'left' wing rhetoric that endorses an ideologically equitable world. While at the same time, the document shows little interest in structural change.

Throughout my research, I discovered that GCED is often criticized in relation to privilege and educating young people in such a way that engenders the reproduction of existing power structures. Upon my analysis of Education 2030, I recognized that education for development initiatives struggle to ensure that the world's most marginalized citizens receive even a basic education. These findings illuminate the importance of educating for global social justice. Advocacy of critical models of

citizenship education such as cultural and reconstructionist (Knight Abowitz and Harnish, 2006) should be incorporated into GCED initiatives in the place of charity-based approaches. Such critical models are essential to educating upcoming generations of citizens who are genuinely committed to eliminating global social injustice. If the opportunity for such education initiatives exists only among the more privileged learners at this moment in time, it provides all the more reason to advocate for critical education, considering that those in positions of privilege are often blind to it. The language revealed by my analysis of UNESCO's Education 2030 surprised me, however when contextualized within the broader GCED discourse, I reasoned that perhaps the text's overemphasis on left wing development ideals signified an ideological struggle—reflected in the development world—of treating the symptoms, but ignoring the disease.

Much of the literature reviewed throughout this paper calls for radical structural change to inspire more equitable global relations. Imagining radical structural transformation is an important intellectual exercise, yet I cannot foresee such transformation smoothly proceeding on a global scale. To work toward a more equitable vision of the global, is to commit to a long-term transformation of the existing structures rather than the destruction and reconstruction of such structures (suggested by the more radical, Marxist approaches to GCED). To be sure, the reinvigoration of education through critical approaches to GCED in addition to Imber's suggestion of an NGO assembly representative of populations rather than nation-states, is a realistic and enduring approach to achieving global social justice.

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