

What Do We Ask of Global Citizenship Education? A Study of Global Citizenship Education in a Canadian University

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Abstract

This article presents findings from a study of a Canadian university that has named 'global citizenship' as a key educational goal. Drawing on theories of globalization, deliberative democracy, and deliberative processes including discursive closure, this study examines the multiple demands made of 'global citizenship' in higher education and the subsequent educational projects that are designed to meet this educational goal. The research questioned whether discursive closure was being engaged to limit 'global citizenship' to a modernity project where, as the literature suggested, (neo) liberalism and universalism ultimately served to make the world the un-gated playground of the elite where they might work, play, and consume without national or local political and cultural restrictions. In contrast, we wondered whether these policy openings might also be reflections of shifts in practices toward justice, equity, and inclusion with considerations of the historical and cultural histories and legacies of international relations of colonialism and imperialism. Using deliberative dialogue as a data collection method, the researchers were able to surface educators' multiple understandings of global citizenship as well as possible discursive closure and/or emerging social justice in the courses, projects, and policies of this institution.

Keywords:

globalisation, global citizenship, deliberative democracy, higher education, cosmopolitanism, education policy, social justice

Introduction

Universities have always played an important role in creating public space, those places where citizens meet and discuss issues of community importance and where opinions are formed that will impact immediate and long-term decisions (Habermas, 1992). Globalization has brought significant spatial and political changes to this role as a focus on knowledge as a commodity for economic growth has been increasingly central to institutional planning. As Altbach and Knight (2004) identify, higher education has responded to a globalized knowledge economy through an

increased use of English as the lingua franca for science; increasing pressure on academics to participate in the internationalization of their research and labour; and increasing intensity and extensity of international publishing and the use of information technology (p.290-91). There are also examples where universities' responses to intensified global free-trade of knowledge have demonstrated resistance. However, given the complexity of multi-directional globalization it can be difficult to distinguish between compliance and resistance. Several universities engage the ideas and pedagogies of global citizenship to begin to make this distinction (Shultz and Jorgenson, 2009). This article presents the findings from a study conducted at a Canadian university embarking on a campus-wide global citizenship education project.

The Study: Global Citizenship Education at the University of Alberta

Global citizenship has been named as an important part of the University of Alberta's vision and mission. For example, in 2007, in a speech to Engineers Without Borders¹, University of Alberta President Indira Samarasekera stated 'today, everyone in this world is beginning to recognize global citizenship is more important than ever' (Samaraseka, 2007). Later that same year, she presented her vision for the institution in a document titled 'Dare to Deliver University Plan' in which the vision of the university included: 'to inspire the human spirit through outstanding achievements in learning, discovery, and citizenship in a creative community, building one of the world's great universities for the public good' (University of Alberta, 2007a, p.5). In addition, the plan for implementation, 'Connecting with the World: A Plan for International Engagement at the University of Alberta' (2007b) includes global-mindedness, global citizenship, and commitment to social justice as three of its core values. These policy documents presented the opportunity to study how global citizenship and GCE were conceptualized at the post secondary level. As a result, a committee was formed around a project to research and develop global citizenship curriculum.

The researchers in this project took two important considerations into the study related to how these policy statements might reflect larger policy and educational processes. Specifically, we questioned whether the goal that students at the University of Alberta should be educated for global citizenship might be considered a project of discursive closure that would serve to contain and limit some of the profound changes that might be embedded in this emerging conceptualization of citizenship. We questioned whether discursive closure was being engaged to shift 'global citizenship' into a modernity project where, as the literature suggested, (neo)liberalism and universalism ultimately served to make the world the un-gated playground of the elite where they might work, play, and consume without national or local political and cultural restrictions. In contrast, we wondered whether these policy openings might also be reflections of shifts in practices toward justice, equity,

and inclusion. How was the university responding to trends and pressures within the higher education field to promote increased student and knowledge mobility through discourses of internationalization and the knowledge economy? The study would need to identify how global citizenship would come to mean participation in these trends and how it was resistant.

Creating Deliberative Space for Global Citizenship Education

In order to understand the policy processes and subsequent impact on teaching and learning at the university, it was important to find a way to surface the multiple understandings of global citizenship as well as possible discursive closure and/or emerging social justice. Deliberative dialogue provided a process whereby we could facilitate but not diminish discussions of the complexity of issues of 'the global' and of citizenship (Hess and Todd, 2009; Dryzek, 2006; Cornwall, Schattan and Coehlo, 2006; Gaventa, 2006; Streich, 2002; Benhabib, 1996). Deliberative dialogue is founded on culturally and cognitively inclusive processes where participants consider relevant facts and experiences from multiple points of view and are guided in a critical analysis about these positions and the options for decisions and action. Participants are helped to see their own position more clearly through the positions of others. Through deliberation, richly patterned contestations, shared meanings and stories, deeply guarded divisions, and emergent possibilities are surfaced. As Streich (2002) points out, deliberative dialogue is not a consensus building process but 'a procedural form of democracy that enables people with deep moral disagreements to engage in this difference' (p.128) and where there is recognition that no public space is neutral in terms of power dynamics. Deliberative dialogue is designed to surface conflicts and tensions, and therefore, is helpful as an anti-closure mechanism in the field of discourse closure (Deetz, 1992; Dryzek, 2006) and norm legitimization.

At the University of Alberta, 15 deliberative dialogues were held in 14 of the 18 faculties and involved more than 190 participants, mainly professors and sessional instructors along with some graduate students. Facilitators used deliberative dialogue materials and processes designed specifically for the topic of educating for global citizenship (Shultz and Hamdon, 2008). Each dialogue took between 1.5 and 3 hours as participants examined distinct orientations to global citizenship and global citizenship education, working to identify underpinning values and principles and related educational considerations. When tensions, conflicts, and common ground were identified, time was spent examining how the tensions and common ground were in relationship and what possible ways participants might use these to inform their response to the University of Alberta's global citizenship vision. These dialogues also provided us with rich research data to understand the wider implications of how global citizenship was being framed and enacted. The discussions were recorded and key topics noted along with areas of common

ground and points of tension. Participants' descriptions of their own and their colleagues' GCE work were noted. In addition, semi-structured interviews were carried out with participants in three global citizenship projects that involved multiple faculties and students from across the university. Data from the interviews and deliberative dialogues were sent to participants for checking. Reports were also written for each faculty outlining the findings from their deliberations. This article presents aggregated data from all dialogues and interviews.

Conceptualizations and Issues within Global Citizenship Education

Global citizenship education, while appearing in a vast array of programs and projects, always rests on particular understandings of how people live and relate in a globalized world; of how people come to understand and claim their citizenship; and the role education, in this case higher education, has in taking up citizenship education in institutions that both embrace and resist different aspects of globalization (Shultz, 2010; Shultz and Jorgenson, 2009). The shifts toward a knowledge economy have created what many suggest is an educational space that is so transformed that it requires rethinking or re-imagining the location of higher education in society (Shultz, Abdi, and Richardson, 2010). Meyer and Land (2005) describe such transformation as a result of engagement with *troublesome knowledge*, encountered as thresholds, where learning creates irreversible ways of understanding, interpreting or viewing something and that requires a 'transformed internal view of subject matter, subject landscape, or even world view' (2005, p.374). Such learning is unlikely to be forgotten or unlearned because of its role in 'exposing previously hidden interrelatedness' (p.373). Globalization, with its uneven and multi-directional processes, and historical and geographical exclusions, suggests that troublesome knowledge of globalization can also be difficult knowledge (Britzman, 1998), knowledge that addresses and engages traumatic history. Britzman describes the ruptures caused by coming to know one's complicity in the structural violence of exclusion through racism, sexism, or poverty as exhibited in the histories of colonialism, patriarchy, and capitalism. She identifies the important role of education and educators in ensuring that difficult knowledge is part of the curriculum if education is to achieve its foundational role educating citizens able to understand and act in the world; education must interfere in the world: 'there is nothing else it can do for it demands of students and teachers that each come to something, make something more of themselves' (p.10). There can be no claims to educational success if we, as educators, support students (and society) in what Britzman describes as 'a passion for ignorance' (p.57). If universities are to fulfill their role in a globalized and globalizing world, engaging with troublesome and difficult knowledge as citizenship education and/or GCE can provide a conceptual and practical framework for the needed transformational pedagogical efforts. We can draw on Fraser (2009) and Young (2007) to frame such encounters as projects of social justice. These authors describe the importance of learning within a public

sphere that 'consists in a discursive space mediating strangers in which claims and criticisms can be made with the knowledge that they are heard by others' (Young, 2007, p.1). Fraser suggests the rethinking of 'the public' requires questioning how we can create a genuinely critical and democratized public sphere given the current globalized economic, social and political conditions (2009). Again, the role of education in general, and an education focused on citizenship in particular, can be a way of creating an authentic, democratized public sphere. Global citizenship, with its need for an engagement beyond traditional identity and space borders, is a way to create democratized public spheres that can hold multiple histories and knowledges, and can be a powerful frame for education and difficult justice as it brings learners toward encountering threshold concepts of troublesome and difficult knowledge.

Conceptualizing the Global in Global Citizenship Education

While some researchers make claims that global citizenship (GC) and GCE are linked to global issues such as climate change (see for example, Pike, 2008), others suggest that GC is a response to the multileveled and multidirectional nature of globalism and globality that helps citizens make claims in the social realm (see Abdi, 2010). While these perspectives tend to suggest different pedagogical orientations, they share a recognition and concern about how educators might respond to intensifying globalization. A common feature of globalized and globalizing times is access to multiple 'generalized others' where there is a multiplicity of responses to this access. Often it is those people already endowed with power and privilege who are given access to even more of the worlds' human and material wealth. These are empowered positions supported by market and political structures that, by design, intentionally limit any projects of redistribution that might dismantle these elite enclaves or even shift their membership (Rizvi and Lingard, 2004). Conservative forces provide support for these elites by urging a return to narrowed, essentialized identities where notions of who is 'Other' create borders along with the hope that by keeping outside forces away some kind of cultural, if not economic, security will be possible. We see responses from these elites that are targeted at limiting the justice claims of national minorities, the stateless, and locally and/or globally de-citizenized people (Brodie, 2004; Roman, 2004). The result has been an escalating tension and increased inter-group and intra-group conflict seen in many parts of the world. Clearly, we need to find new (or re-discovered) ways of living in an interconnected world while still holding the multiplicity of knowledge systems and world views as a fundamental source of everyone's wellbeing. For some educators, GCE holds the possibility to address these realities.

The education sector has played a part in producing, concretizing, contesting, and resisting globalized relations. For example, many education institutions name increased global reach and internationalization as main educational goals that will

help achieve increased economic growth and 'security' in the coming decades. In contrast, education programs and actions (many in the non-formal sector) were key in building social movements around anti-globalization that emerged in former colonized countries as they met the, all-too-familiar, re-colonizing 'free market' agendas in the globalized and neoliberalized economics of the 1980s and 1990s. These social movements moved into the 'global north' as large populations of disenfranchised workers and students recognized their complicity and vulnerability in the 'new world order' thereby setting up a dynamic (and often problematic) relationship between resistance efforts in rich and poor/ 'developed' and 'developing' countries. The complex nature of these globalized relations, aided by technology and a mobile elite, from both 'rich' and 'poor' countries, continued to shift with a mix of resistance and conformity moving at the speed of an electronic message. Within the complexity of such connections, the de-globalization voice also emerged reminding activists that their connection was at a cost that was too high to pay. The rampant de-indigenization and de-culturing impact of the liberalism, and cultural and spatial mobility of members of these movements could not be ignored. So while complex new relations between what became known as 'global civil society' and nation states were forged, the power of neoliberal ideology and the privileging of the economic agenda through global governance mechanisms (i.e. the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, and the World Trade Organization) also became increasingly embedded in the daily lives of citizens in all parts of the world, albeit looking quite different in affluent locales than in marginalized ones (Escobar, 2004). Social actors engaged in these two globalizing processes with very different goals came to share the same modes of interaction and in many cases, both defined their positions as 'global citizen', using this descriptor as a way to defend this new interest (if not connection) and mobility beyond their local and national starting place. And while both groups would be loathe to suggest they had anything in common, they also shared a strong critique, by local actors, of their role in reproducing global patterns and logics of colonialism and imperialism (Escobar, 2004).

Emerging from the Fog of Globalism: The 'Citizenship' in Global Citizenship

Researchers who study the dynamics of living systems have clearly pointed out how nothing in a system stays the same and in fact, lack of response (or change) to contextual dynamics is considered to be the harbinger of the death of the system (Goldspink and Kay, 2003; Maturana and Varela, 1980; Varela, 1981, 1987). Certainly the relationships of globalization, laden with historical and emergent power, privilege, exclusion and oppression, have demonstrated such dynamics. New conceptualizations of what it means to be a citizen have been engaged as knowledge about the impacts of colonialism, processes of imperialism, and patterns of political, social, and economic relations embedded in these historical undertakings

have been disseminated (Abdi, 2006, 2008; Abdi and Shultz, 2008a; Banks, 2004; Cesaire, 1972; Fanon, 1968; Mamdani, 1996; Memmi, 1991).

Citizenship in a globalized and globalizing world has required examining the boundaries of liberal democracies at the same time that citizens, particularly those fully immersed in the globalist dream of a borderless world, have been forced to see the limits of a world system built on unlimited expansionism and consumption of goods and services, of people and their cultures, and of natural resources. This requires a reframing of relationality. The global, as it has always been, is a relational space that includes the full diversity of humanity (and the rest of the natural world). Wade Davis (2001/2007; 1993) describes the critical imperative that humans become conscious of the need to protect the full diversity of people in all places. He describes the totality of the dreams, languages, visions, and knowledges of all humanity (not just the elites) as the *ethnosphere*, its diversity as vital to life on earth as the atmosphere and the biosphere. Therefore, citizenship in the ethnosphere takes on new (or perhaps very ancient) meaning. Those of us steeped in western epistemologies are challenged to learn the limits of western knowledge and see this way of knowing and living in the world as only one piece of this rich and profoundly dynamic system. The global should be approached as the totality of the multiple knowledge systems and the multiple ways of being on this planet. This requires extending our understanding of what it means to be a citizen on this planet. Global citizenship can conceptually hold the multiplicity and diversity of this citizenship understanding and the attached emerging and ancient wisdom that suggests a very profound human relationality is the source of all engagement and entitlement within societies. Global citizenship may also be a key conceptualization to challenge longstanding worldviews that perpetuate and naturalize domination and hierarchy, the evidence of which can still be seen (and experienced) in the damage of European colonialism. As educators, the responsibility to educate for such global citizenship may be the most immediate and imperative project in our midst if we are to understand the multiple cultural interactions and interconnections that are part of global citizenship. Such citizenship speaks to the need to examine historical and contemporary claims and entitlements of citizenship, as well as the institutionalized and structured foundations of such citizenships, as they exist within a highly globalized world.

Discursive Closure and Educational Approaches to Global Citizenship Education

Coming to know the critical dynamics of citizenship and its exclusions in a global context provides important opportunities to engage thresholds of troublesome knowledge and difficult justice. There is ample research outlining the processes and projects related to discourse and discourse analysis (see for example Dryzek, 2006; Fairclough 1992; 2003) and the processes of normalization that accompany any

institutionalization of topics. As highlighted in the introduction, global citizenship and GCE can be encountered in a vast range of locations. These should not however be seen as random locations but rather intentional projects based on specific logics, interests, and values. These projects are normalized through processes of framing and promoting particular worldviews and positions through managing (opening and closing) the discourses that make their way into the public sphere where public opinions are constructed. As Deetz (1992) describes, we can understand discursive closure as a process of reconstructing meaning in order to facilitate the legitimization of a particular conceptualization – a kind of ‘branding’ of a whole concept for a particular purpose. In order to achieve this branding, alternative and dissenting positions and voices need to be contained and suppressed through delegitimizing the foundations and particulars of these positions. Rather than outright attacks, delegitimizing through discursive closure is often accomplished by avoiding conflict and the suppression of opportunities for dissent. The power of subsequent claims of neutrality are made visible when claims assert that there is only one reasonable way to do things and that to do otherwise is against ‘commonsense’. The neoliberal ideology that became so embedded starting in the 1980s is an example of how people around the world became complicit in legitimizing a particular approach with claims that ‘there is no alternative’ (TINA) becoming a consistent and relentless chant from all levels of government. In addition to questioning the way that globalization and citizenship are understood, this study also asked whether GCE showed evidence of such processes of closure in order to legitimize particular economic and political relations.

Study Findings

Global Citizenship as Transdisciplinary Education Agenda

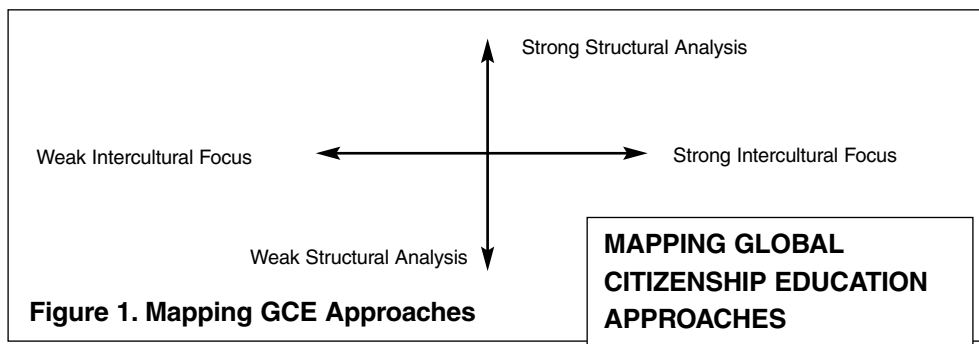
As Manfred Max-Neef (2005) states, transdisciplinarity provides more than a meeting place of multiple disciplinary orientations to knowledge. It provides a more holistic and systemic manner of seeing the world. Max-Neef argues that the importance of creating a transdisciplinary platform to engage with the issues of our time, rests on the ethical orientation to epistemological and ontological questions. Researchers exploring this area, certainly a challenge to much of established academia, suggest that the complexity of global and interconnected social and environmental problems need to be approached as emergent phenomenon with non-linear dynamics and uncertainties that exist within highly political social contexts (Max-Neef, 2005; Klein, 2004; Gibbons, 1994). Max-Neef presents his case with an urgency: ‘It is clear that if such an effort is not undertaken, we will continue generating ever greater harm to Society and Nature, because of our partial, fragmented, and limited visions and assumptions (p.16). The University of Alberta dialogues on global citizenship demonstrated that shared concerns and shared interest in addressing global issues were present in all the faculties that participated. In all cases, participants identified that their students required particular knowledge

and attitudes in order for them to be considered 'educated', that these were not discipline specific, and that there needed to be careful consideration within the disciplines, the faculties, and the university as to how students could be assisted in understanding these issues. Many participants identified ways that their existing courses might add to students' GCE but also consideration was given in all dialogues to what needed to be added and extended to provide students what they might need. As we engaged with participants, we consistently heard how the work that was often being identified as GCE included many projects and practices that were seen as located at the borders of the work of the university. Social justice students groups, non-formal education activities that were building social movements around environmental and social justice issues, and professors who challenged many traditional epistemological and pedagogical practices were often identified as exemplars in discussions about global citizenship education. This appeared to be in significant tension with the 'mobile' elite global citizen described as part of the internationalized knowledge economy. Data collected in the deliberative dialogues suggested that educators were using global citizenship as a tool – or container – to hold much of what we considered difficult knowledge. Were these educators able to claim this citizenship education project and, as an accumulated work, begin to shift the discourses of neoliberal globalization toward discourses of social justice, equity and inclusion? If this was happening, what were the processes that enabled this?

Competing Discourses in Four Quadrants

Given the strong suggestions in the literature, it was not surprising that the data collected in the deliberations identified a wide range of responses to ideas and educational practices of global citizenship, each demonstrating particular understandings of global relations, citizenship issues and claims in a globalized world where the work of the university is shifting because of these global issues and relations. The following analysis using four quadrants provides a framework for mapping these responses (See also Shultz, 2010). The quadrants indicate the location of educational activities based on both attention to structural issues and their socio-political and economic norms and processes. As well, intercultural relationships and issues of 'multiple differences' encountered in the mobility and interaction of citizens in an unevenly globalized world and suggested in 'the global' are considered distinguishable aspects of GCE approaches. (See figure 1 overleaf). Each quadrant suggests an engagement with the public sphere (citizenship) and a response to structures and relationships of globalization.

This figure suggests that approaches to GCE have distinctions that make it possible to separate them. It is important not to over-generalize these categories and to avoid thinking that any education program or system can be assigned to tidy boxes. It is important to view these data, and the practices from which they were derived, as



ranging from weak to strong to capture the dynamic and complex factors that impact educational practices in general, and citizenship education in a globalized context in particular. The data indicated that some GCE overlooks or ignores either or both the issues of structurally created exclusion or violence and the issues related to difference – centred marginalization. In contrast, the data also suggested that some educators and educational projects were positioned in ways that demonstrate a very critical engagement with current global issues ranging from, for example, poverty, environmental destruction, increasing hunger, and food insecurity. This engagement included a variety of educational strategies ranging from community engagement, critical discourse analysis, and research on human rights. In these cases, citizenship was seen to hold within it the possibilities of disrupting legitimized order and the status quo. As these educators worked with their students to address the issues of a globalized world through theories and experiences of racism/anti-racism, gender, sexuality, ability, oppression/anti-oppression, and social mobility, citizenship enactments were framed with new forms and processes. The evidence of practices in such a range (weak to strong) suggested a mapping of practices would be helpful in understanding what was being included as global citizenship in educational activities.

Quadrant 1: Weak structural and weak intercultural and difference analysis

In several cases, educational activities, while using the term ‘global citizenship’, did not demonstrate what we had identified as key aspects of understanding globalization and/or globalism, nor did it engage students in what the literature suggests is citizenship education. These examples of GCE that incorporated a weak intercultural focus and a weak structural analysis tended to focus on education that might enable people to be mobile, competitive, and entrepreneurial. In each of the dialogues, participants interchanged the ideas of ‘global citizenship’ and ‘international education’ when they described programs that focused on internationalization by sending students to other countries and recruiting international students to attend domestic programs. There were strong sentiments expressed in each dialogue that institutional policy and institutional language promoted this style of

'global citizenship education'. Participants stated that 'today's citizen' requires particular knowledge and skills to function within the globalized economic structures and that students come to post-secondary institutions to get these skills. From this perspective students were seen as self-determined individuals who required an education that would build their individual capacity. The education described in this deliberation data demonstrated how cultural, social, economic, geographic and other differences are rendered invisible through a kind of liberalism and universalism that was described as 'global citizenship'. I have described this as 'educating the globally mobile citizen' to distinguish it from other approaches to global citizenship education. Liberal rights perspectives that are embedded within the globally mobile citizen discourse suggest that these citizens would transcend issues of marginalization and they were described as occupying a neutral space and having a neutral identity. This de-politicized citizen would feel 'at home' in the world, wherever this might be.

Quadrant 2: Weak structural and strong intercultural and difference analysis

Many participants in the deliberations provided strong critiques of the mobile global citizen. Such education efforts were seen to be problematic because they liberally spread education throughout the world that solely focused on North American or euro-centric cultural perspectives. Participants suggested a focus on intercultural relations could/would rectify this (see also Shultz, 2010). These participants described how travelling and 'study abroad' programs helped students learn to travel outside their own geographic location and, at the same time, helped address the multi-cultural aspects of the Canadian context by helping students see beyond their own cultural background and cultural assumptions. Programs from this perspective focused on language acquisition, cultural competence, and enhancing students' abilities to move with cultural sensitivity in the international contexts where they found themselves. In discussion, there were also concerns expressed that the cultural relativism, suggested in this approach, might promote mobility for an elite at the expense of creating strong and lasting relationships built on deeper engagement with issues of cultural difference. Absent in this discourse was the recognition of the unevenness of cultural interactions particularly in a globalized context where the legacies of colonialism underlie current social, political, and economic relations.

Quadrant 3: Strong structural and weak intercultural and difference analysis

Some educators described their work as having a strong structural perspective, suggesting a push against neoliberal cultural values of individualism and de-politicized liberalism. For these educators, the role of the university was seen to be to teach critical citizens to be able to resist the globalized structures of neo-

liberalism. This education suggests an anti-globalization and/or de-globalization position. It is understandable that this perspective was not highly represented in the deliberations although those who argued from it were strongly located in an understanding of global relations and citizenship engagement. The very idea of a global citizen from an anti-globalization perspective is problematic. To understand this, we might engage Audre Lorde's (1984) now famous statement: 'the master's tools will never dismantle the master's house' (p.112) as a description of this perspective. Some educators stated that global citizenship could not conceptually, or in practice, be used to challenge globalization. Arguing from a postsecondary education position, it was stated that universities in western countries hold their own damaging histories of colonization and settlement, and that engaging with the idea of a globalized citizenship was a return to this history and the issues of indigenous rights and the rights of immigrants. Others, arguing against this approach to global citizenship education, also suggested that a problem with this perspective, at its strongest, is that it treats culture as static and as a traditional object that holds particular historically and contextually located identities and activities.

Quadrant 4: Strong structural and strong intercultural and difference analysis

In each deliberation, some participants spoke either idealistically or from practical experience about the importance of education that provides resistance to pressures that position the university as part of a global knowledge economy. Educational activities of both formal and non-formal nature were developed to engage students as critical thinkers able to understand the historical, cultural, and socio-economic processes and structures that worked to create inequality and exclusion. The role of globalization as a force for such exclusions appeared in much of the curricula whether from a post-colonial, critical, or anti-oppression education orientation. Students were encouraged to learn how to engage in the relations that are surfaced in a globalized world, recognizing that it is not enough to humanize the structures and institutions of globalization but in fact, it is necessary to transform these structures.

Finding Places of Common Ground and Responding to Tensions

Did participants' experiences with the complex and contested concepts of GC create opportunities to reach thresholds of difficult knowledge? Were the deliberative dialogues places of social learning that might have moved participants into new awareness of difficult justice? While there was a range of concern and/or support for increasing international relationships through exchanges and through student recruitment, much of the deliberative dialogue discussions focused on what kind of relations should be considered part of global citizenship. There was a shared sense that outside of the 'global citizenship' discussion, there were increasing pressures to 'internationalize' from many parts of the academy, including the

University of Alberta, the province of Alberta, and various other national and international councils, associations, and funding agencies. Key areas of common ground and tensions emerged when the dialogue and interview data were aggregated. Given the context within which education takes place, it was not surprising to find very significant tensions between GCE and the role of higher education in educating students to be competitive in a global market. While in every dialogue and interview participants described their own sense that the work of education was surrounded by the values and expectations of a 'global marketplace', they were deeply concerned with how this impacted their own work and how students would be able to address what participants described as global issues. It was evident that while the discourse around the 'knowledge economy' had made its way into the daily lives of academics and teachers, this was certainly being extensively critiqued. While some participants expressed a sense of resignation that 'this is how things are now', others insisted that they work to find ways to resist. Many found the concept of 'global citizenship' to be helpful in framing what they were resisting as well as providing alternative ways to challenge suggestions that educating a competitive citizenry was their 'raison d'être'. GC was positioned as both a difficult knowledge of global relations (ie. the problem) and also as the solution that would create possibilities of justice. As participants worked through examples of such contradictions, the dialogues themselves became places of social learning where concerns were shared about the pressures to abandon any kind of authentic preparation of students as citizens, and about the impact on students and faculty of the neoliberalization of curriculum and university processes. Given these general discussions, which appeared in all deliberations, participants were able to articulate and identify specific areas of concern and curriculum directions that related the problematic as well as hopeful aspects of global citizenship education. It was clear that participants held some optimism in how GCE might be shaped and located as distinct from other internationalization agendas to become an important educational foundation across the university. These ideas included:

- 1) Reciprocity and mutual exchange need to be at the core of global citizenship relations.
- 2) Equity becomes a possibility through GC and should be a focus on GCE
- 3) Diversity needs to be a foundational underpinning of GCE that helps to understand issues and identify responses.
- 4) Interconnectedness: GCE helps students (and professors) see how issues, subjects, and people are interconnected. This included linking local experiences and issues with global issues, processes, and institutions.
- 5) Complicity: concern was raised at every dialogue that whoever is working internationally (with issues or by going to other places and countries) must be very careful in identifying how they are located within global issues.

There was a recognition that many of the issues that might be under the 'umbrella' of global issues or global citizenship issues, are created and sustained by western interests.

- 6) Problems of mobility in light of the above: in cases where global citizenship projects involve travel abroad, organizers/educators must ask how equity, reciprocity, and mutuality could be maintained.
- 7) Understanding what it means to work for the common good/public good: there was heightened awareness and discussion about how global citizenship implied social responsibilities that might otherwise be absent in a student's university education.
- 8) Role of structural barriers and structural change: there was recognition that global citizenship was more than cross cultural engagement. It involved addressing social, political and economic structures that sustained many of the global issues that were of concern.
- 9) Rights and responsibilities: as a project of citizenship, there was a sense that using a rights and responsibilities frame could be an effective framework to support GCE. This awareness seemed to be linked to wider community and university projects related to human rights.
- 10) Problems of 'westerners' providing 'help' to others: in all dialogues, discussions surfaced concerns that GCE programs might perpetuate unhelpful charity approaches to complex relations of injustice.
- 11) Focus on processes of education not outcomes: education that is GCE engages deep processes of transformation therefore, an outcomes based orientation to GCE is problematic because it might miss or diminish the importance of these processes.

In each dialogue participants were engaged in a discussion of how the tensions were related to the common ground and how they might make their way through the tensions and problems of educating for global citizenship. Here the possibilities of transdisciplinary work that engaged the critical, ethical, and values based concepts and issues underpinning GCE were identified by participants as encouraging possibilities. Participants were in general agreement that, while GCE may be in tension with much of education, for example, marketization, individualism, and competition, it forms an important foundation for post-secondary education.

Conclusions: Difficult Knowledge and Educating for Global Citizenship

Society and educators ask much from global citizenship education, particularly in the area of social justice, and as a result there is a plethora of projects, programs and policies that make claim to such efforts. This study of one university's use of GCE as an institutional goal provided data that identified a range of approaches to GCE, some weakly connected to the issues of globalized structural exclusions and some

very strongly engaged with such structures. Other educators engaged students with the dynamics of intercultural relationships in a globalized world, and again, these efforts ranged from weak to strong. By conceptualizing these educational approaches along axes we saw how some educators, who were strongly addressing structural and intercultural issues in their work, distanced themselves from the institutional structures that supported global education designed to educate mobile citizens for a global knowledge economy. Using global citizenship as a platform to resist institutional structures provided these educators with discursive and pedagogical space to engage the immensely complex issues related to global knowledge and learning, and claiming citizenship in a globalized world. Even as a university-wide agenda, there was not one agreed upon definition or approach to GCE. However, the learning that took place in the deliberative dialogues suggested that GCE could provide a helpful framework for engaging with difficult knowledge and related threshold concepts. The availability (through policy or practice) of this framework made GCE as a project of justice possible but certainly did not determine that education efforts labeled as GCE were in fact engaging with troublesome or difficult knowledge, or with an intention of understanding social justice and/ or citizenship more fully.

As educationists, our response to the study data was to seek ways to equip teachers and learners with processes to engage a wide range of voices, worldviews, and historically and culturally embedded social realities. To enter into such a project seems somewhat daunting given the strength of global neoliberal expansionism and the dominance of westernized epistemologies. Global citizenship and global citizenship education, if taken up as multi-directional and multi-centric projects, will reveal the resistance and conflict that such structural, intercultural and relational changes require. However, as the deliberative dialogues indicated, it is possible to identify the edges of discursive closure that supports these structures and problematic relations. The dialogues opened spaces for discussion, critique, and extending understandings about GC and GCE. Taking the time for such conversations was helpful in surfacing the often stealthy processes of closure and the subsequent silencing around issues of access and exclusion of knowledge, experiences and people. While the study conclusions do not suggest that the dialogues led to consensual positions on either definitions or educational directions, through deliberation important alternatives were identified that can shift GCE away from a neoliberal project of economic expansionism. In part, this was achieved by giving space to those who were silenced or de-centered in the discursive closure processes of neoliberalism. As a result of the dialogues, educational possibilities within GCE were expanded and seen by some as a space of resistance where there are possibilities of co-creating new inclusive education platforms.

If GCE is to achieve the social justice possibilities inherent in its concepts of global inclusiveness and universal entitlements, educators must re-claim such potential.

Perhaps it is this very potential that also make it appealing as a container for liberalism and globalism. The processes of closure needed to frame GC as inherently about social and economic mobility have been difficult to maintain. Justice keeps emerging! But it is a difficult justice. Difficult justice, and its partner difficult knowledge, takes us to the edges of democracy and difference and the tensions of claiming citizenship in a world of tremendous diversity where people are often in fundamental disagreement about what constitutes public space, about what should take place in such a space, and certainly who should be part of this space. The difficult justice of global citizenship requires working with the conflict of this place to find ways of providing opportunities for all people to live respectfully and with dignity while having access to the democratized spaces where opinions and decisions are made. One of the key challenges in educating for such public space – and particularly as global public space- is the need to shift the westernized world-views and structures of hierarchy (racialized; classed; gendered, etc) toward those where ethical intercultural, inter-spatial relationality becomes the central organizing principle allowing for reciprocity and mutual exchange of knowledge for the common good. Such GCE, as a multi-locational, multi-focal orientation for higher education, can provide an educational opportunity to facilitate the achievement of (difficult) justice for global times.

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Note

¹ Engineers Without Borders is a Canadian NGO made up of professional engineers and engineering students working to link social justice and engineering with international development. <http://www.ewb.ca>

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