Decolonizing Global Citizenship Education

Ali A. Abdi, Lynette Shultz and
Thashika Pillay (Eds.)

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To our late colleague and friend, Dr. Donna Chovanec, for her tireless efforts to bring change for social justice.

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On personal notes, we all like to thank our families for their continuing support. Thashika Pillay would like to express her special appreciation for her family who occasionally forced her away from her computer for some much needed home cooking and play time with her delightfully brilliant niece. She feels so privileged to be a daughter, sister and aunt. We also thank Michel Lokhorst and Jolanda Karada of Sense Publishers for their support and patience.

ALI A. ABDI, LYNETTE SHULTZ AND THASHIKA PILLAY

1. DECOLONIZING GLOBAL CITIZENSHIP

An Introduction

The growth of global citizenship education scholarship across the work of scholars in multiple areas of research can only be described as remarkable in the past little while. Therefore, it is the intention of this book, coming out of a conference on the topic, to explore conceptualizations and cases of global citizenship education as it is currently being taken up in different locations. The grounding of global citizenship in the important task of decolonizing knowledge systems and learning relations provides a particular frame for these studies, giving the work an urgency and a resistance that speaks of the interconnectedness of life on the planet and the awareness of social, political, economic, and environmental issues that impact every living being in the world. Contributing authors bring a rich multi-disciplinary, and in many cases, what we have come to understand as a transdisciplinary view of both the multiscalar nature of human connections on the planet but also the demand for reimagined citizenship platforms and spaces. Global citizenship is a challenging concept in that it demands both understanding of the interconnectedness of life on a finite planet while at the same time accepting that this interconnection cannot be based on a universalism that denies and denigrates difference. The work, then, of citizenship scholars in general and global citizenship scholars in particular, should be wide and both descriptively and analytically open ended to deal with different lives in different locations across the globe. Such studies are further complicated by the reality that the ideas and practices of citizenship extend across all facets of public and private lives, thus engendering the need for a sustained focus and ongoing conceptual and theoretical realignments and recalibrations. These endeavours should also take into account the specificities of the locations of research and diverse experiential realties that inform the social and cultural platforms that should contextualize the rationale for the observational and analytical categories that are selected to undertake the concerned research.

In its most foundational or perhaps traditional constructions, citizenship is about the lives of citizens who act in a given national space on the basis of institutionally or otherwise agreed upon rights and responsibilities. This is the system of citizenship that has emerged over the few past centuries and especially since the Treaty of Westphalia of 1648. In these arrangements, citizenship meanings and practices are territorially and by extension, politically confined. For citizens to actively respond

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to their rights and responsibilities, they must have a viable understanding of the complexity of not only rights and responsibilities but also the multiscalar contexts within which these claims and actions are negotiated. This brings us to the critical importance of citizenship education. Indeed, as Dewey (1926) discussed, educating citizens for their citizenship lives is essential in maintaining viable political and economic systems that benefit as many people as possible. As we see in so many neoliberalized international, national, and local policy environments though, public spaces for engaged citizenship continue to be closed to make way for corporatized and privatized rewriting of citizenship and citizen-state relations (Shultz, 2013). This is an ongoing struggle and theories of citizenship continue to emerge to help us make sense of long-term citizen struggles that extensively continue into our times.

The Brazilian philosopher Paulo Freire (2000 [1970]), also emphasized the need to critically educate people for citizenship rights so as to awaken them from habitualized oppressive contexts that might have diminished their cognitive responses for horizontal ontological liberation and social well-being. Freire's seminal work, *Pedagogy of the oppressed* (2000 [1970]) should give us a wide observational and analytical window with respect to complicated constructions of citizenship contexts that are not limited to daily transactional realities that mediate our individual, social and institutional relations, but as much as that, citizenship perceptions and connections can be also so inter and intra cognitively established. For our purpose here, once people are cognitively colonized over time and space and existentialities are suppressed, their internalization of such realities diminishes, not only their practical capacity to reclaim their citizenship rights, but as well, and even more problematically, their mental dispositions which can normalize the unequal life contexts they are subjected to. The point on cognitive colonization and its longue durée negative impact precedes the work of Paulo Freire and has been brilliantly discussed by among others, Albert Memmi in his excellent work, *The colonizer and colonized* (1991 [1956], and Hamidou Kane in his onto-epistemologically evocative work, *Ambiguous adventure* (2012 [1963]). While Freire, Memmi and Kane were all describing spaces of general colonization or internal colonization outside the west, their work have clear global citizenship realities as these the processes of imperial or feudal style de-citizenizations of people were internationally and inter-continentally exported, which clarifies their connection to the global citizenship issues we are discussing in this book. The internal colonization perspective, albeit with more focus on knowledge and policy contexts, should also apply in this and related of global citizenship education works, to those contexts where minorities in western societies who are marginalized by prevalent schooling systems, need new learning decolonizations that endow their possibilities vis-à-vis dominant members of their societies. Indeed, the apparent categories that now shape prevalent global citizenship discourses and scholarships also demonstrate the problematic, epistemically non-inclusive constructions and exportations that are more or less, managed by people in the west who possess more institutional research capacities which are themselves developed through centuries-old massively disempowering

relations that marginalized southern ideas, theories and practices (Connell, 2007). So while we have achieved, through massive economic, cultural and technological globalizations, which by and large, has benefited wealthy northern countries and their corporations, there has been much devastation on the immediate lives and overall ecological locations of indigenous populations. It is with this in mind we need to critically understand and respond to the problematic habitualizations of uni-directional and uni-dimensional mentalizations and practicalizations of citizenship and citizenship education as the factedness of people having different perceptions and practices of citizenship is still a fact.

Indeed, as more and more local citizen spaces come to be read as also places where global interests and powers exert their influence, we are challenged to be careful with our observations when we move to the extra-national focus of global citizenship and global citizenship education. As much as global citizenship contributes to understanding and supporting the increasing justice struggles at localities around the world, it will be a very helpful way to develop a continuum of critical understandings of global citizenship and its potential operational platform of global citizenship education. Global citizenship education then, has a task of educating, not only for global citizenship in its institutionalized and historically normalized categories, but as well or even more importantly now, for global social justice as part of being a citizen with undeniable basic rights irrespective of where you reside on planet earth. With the histories and legacies of colonialism, patriarchy, and imperialism intertwining to create international and global relations that are continuously the antithesis and counter-practices of global justice and rights, multi-directionally constructed global citizenship education has an important transformative contribution to affect crucial and timely changes in the lives of the world's still and citizenship-wise, marginalized billions. The challenge is that anything that is classified as *global*, especially when it is uni-theoretically conceived and produced, can too easily be coopted into serving neo-colonial, neo-imperial or even neo-patriarchy systems that deliberately globalize neoliberal ideologies which de-legitimate the needs and aspirations of marginalized populations. Even with this, and despite the precarious conditions people live with in the global exchanges of ideas and goods, we could do well to stay with the noble ideals of global citizenship, an ideal that is always worth striving for (Dower, 2002). What we need to do though, is to convince ourselves to find new and multi-conceptual ways of constructing knowledge and from there, educating a more meaningful ideal (as global citizenship in the face of national citizenships are still a non-institutionalized ideal) and its possible practices so we could perhaps eventually attain our multi-locational citizenship intentions in a world that is still globalizing and becoming, in more complex ways than even before, increasingly, if unequally, interlinked.

To be clear, we do not think that at least in institutions of higher education, we are in a position to delink from current platforms of global citizenship education research and scholarship. We must therefore, accept the desire of many including ourselves to engage in global citizenship education research which continues to be

visible and in the work of many academics and graduate students in universities and colleges in western countries. In real terms, one can easily see the number of conferences organized around the theme, complemented by the voluminous rise of academic publications that treat global citizenship education and related topics of research (Abdi, 2011). Whether it is a function of the practicalities of globalization or is aided by the open-border technological systems that sustain it, what we know well is how the rapid rise of global citizenship education research has transformed it into one of the important areas of educational research. While that should be in general terms admirable, we believe there are some important epistemic equity issues that need to be considered in the situation. As indicated above more than once, it is often the case that current components and clusters of global citizenship scholarship is produced in western universities by both western and non-western resident scholars of the west who usually have at their disposal more means to design, conduct and complete research projects. That should not an issue of concern prima facie, as all researchers have their citizenship rights to conduct the type of research they want within the boundaries of the required ethical expectations, but it is more complicated than that.

To repeat in topical and descriptive terms, the voluminous research that is coming out of western universities by mostly western scholars is mostly focused on the lives of people in southern parts of the world where previously colonized and, knowledge-wise, arbitrarily constructed subjectivities are located. While the tenor of the research and the intentions of the researchers are certainly different from colonialist intentions of the earlier centuries, the epistemic as well as attached social and cultural presumptions are not necessarily qualitatively different. After all, as Edward Said taught us in his brilliant work, *Culture and Imperialism* (1993), the way one constructs others through dominant knowledge categories constitutes the most effective method to fix them for posterior applications that limit agentic capacities to liberate themselves from oppression and attached arbitrary categorizations. Indeed, while almost all those who are researching and writing in the now very active area of global citizenship start with constructive intentions and even in many cases, sincerely care about the developing world situations they are studying, the disjuncture between their real knowledge and their research and related epistemic claims needs to be re-examined. We should doubt how overnight, so many scholars became experts on the lives of hundreds of millions, perhaps billions of people who live very complex lives with complex citizenship contexts that have been complexly constructed over millennia. What is the sudden interest of so many western researchers in the lives of non-westerners? We ask this question along with the commitment, without qualification, to the basic right of every researcher anywhere in the world to choose their topics and locations of research. Still, it not should not be impossible for any number of people to become experts on the citizenship contexts of others, even when those others practice different linguistic, cultural and political realities that are both geographically and emotionally detached from the lives of the research. But in fully understanding the lives of people, there has to be some viable

temporal and by extension spatial connections that happen between the researcher and the researched.

Indeed, the term 'viable' is crucial here, in that it reaffirms the need to meet some minimal situational familiarity with the contexts as well as the lives of the people being researched. It is this context for global citizenship research that demands we decolonize the spaces of encounter and the relations of query where powerful outsiders assume a universal knowledge that casts categories of deficiency wherever their gaze falls on lives and social organizations that are unfamiliar. In addition, while the topical analysis of this reader is intended for a general critique of the recent theoretical and possible practical formations of global citizenship education at the global level, there are expectedly a number of situations where issues of exclusion or epistemic marginalization also affect the lives of people who are, one way or another, minoritized in northern countries such as Canada where most contributors are located. As should be noted, while the geographical qualification of those chapters that are dealing with these may not be immediately adopted as global, the fact remains that the issues treated actually connect the global with the local. That is – by discussing the schooling locations of immigrants, refuges, or other educational contexts related to the knowledge marginalization of specific groups – the story fits well with the learning lives of people who have been globalized, and by that fact, now dealing with issues that are caused by such globalization occasionally mixed with their continuing de-localization and foreigner-labeling. As such, the way we deploy the construct 'global' here is more inclusive than might be intended in its purely geographical constructions.

It is in the spirit and possible practices of such complexities of citizenship and global citizenship education that we have brought together important and timely contributions from researchers with wide disciplinary foci, and have put together a reader that we hope represents a rich engagement with global citizenship that can be deployed to critically understand current issues and problematics of global citizenship and global citizenship education. Besides this introductory chapter, there are 16 other chapters in the book. In Chapter 2, Ali A. Abdi discusses the needed deployment of local cultures, knowledges and cultural practice to counterweigh the colonizing nature of current global citizenship education. This is particularly important in the continued contexts of western, affluent researchers choosing to research in locations that are continuously in an anticolonial struggle and efforts to live viable, sustainable lives that should not be categorized or fixed by external actors who cannot fully understand them. Dalene Swanson, in Chapter 3, brings the important philosophy of Ubuntu, a southern African humanism based on a collective ontology, into the framing of global citizenship. She argues that by *ubuntuizing* global citizenship, that is, by reimaging global relations as the foundation of life, we might have some chance at addressing the destructive path so many in the world are headed along.

Tram Truong Anh Nguyen also provides a transformational engagement with global citizenship theories and practices in Chapter 4. Drawing on key Buddhist

writers, Thich Nhat Hanh and Chogyam Trungpa, Nguyen finds that through a Buddhist understanding of Self, it is possible to approach the difficult struggles for global justice and citizenship in a skillful way that is based on cultivating awakened action and goodness. In Chapter 5, Cathryn van Kessel and Kent den Heyer help us move ideas of citizenship beyond the notion of participation toward understanding that a more robust democratic life is both necessary and possible. Their work should help students understand the nature of evil in acts of betrayal, delusion, and disaster in history and move to understanding how a future of human dignity might be imagined and supported. In Chapter 6, Thashika Pillay provides an often excluded theoretical positioning of citizenship in her use of post-structural feminism to explore multiculturalism in Canada, a country with a long history of immigration policy aimed at targeting groups to help build and grow the economy. Recent immigration trends indicate that a large percentage of new Canadians form a new racialized minority. Women within this group face even more extensive de-citizenization. Pillay's use of a post-structural feminist analysis brings women's experience of immigration and racialization into the core of an analysis of how multicultural policies prop up the age old practices of racism that diminish everyone in society.

In Chapter 7, Adeela Arshad-Ayaz and M. Ayaz Naseem bring the case of the Madres de Plaza de Mayo of Argentina forward as an example of how women are commonly de-citizenized and misrecognized in social and political systems that are masculinized, hierarchal, and militarized and where women's citizenship spaces were limited to the private sphere, challenged this location by taking the public space of the city square to demand justice for their families and communities. Arshad-Ayaz and Naseem's use of motherhood as a disruptive subjectivity challenges our notions of who is a citizen and how this citizenship is enacted. In Chapter 8, Toni Samek draws on her work with the Canadian Association of University Teachers (CAUT) to highlight the need for global citizenship education as a common project that will protect vital spaces of academic freedom and collaborations that are not modified by efforts of commodification. Samek points out how global citizenship conceptually and practically can be used to protect collegial governance and academic integrity. In Chapter 9, Lynette Shultz brings together two current action nets of actors, knowledge and relations working to shape how higher education is provided in Canadian institutions in a recent policy on internationalization. This policy, the Canadian International Education Strategy, shifts the main objective of higher education from one of education to one of business. Shultz cautions higher education administrators and faculty members to think carefully about implementation of the policy and suggests how the use of global citizenship as a frame of resistance will strengthen what is possible and particularly to reclaim the global social justice and citizenship goals of education.

In Chapter 10, Chouaib el Bouhali continues the discussion of internationalization, citizenship and education policy evident in Chapter 9. He argues that there is an urgent need for democratic and citizenship education to ensure that people understand the

role that international organizations play in shifting education policy power away from local actors. El Bouhali's use of the case of international testing regimes and his discussion of the role of the public intellectual as a global citizenship is a helpful contribution to understanding how activism can be engaged to address hegemonies working in multiscalar networks. In Chapter 11, Wisam Abdul-Jabbar challenges the limited notion where citizenship is tied to nationalistic constructs and argues for an enhanced citizenship that can provide support in cases where people are individually or collectively moved beyond familiar national borders and into new geographic and socio-political locations. He argues that, for example, Arab immigrants can with the assistance of a robust citizenship education, understand more fully what if means for them to become citizens of receiving countries and how this newly acquired notion stems from their previous ideas of citizenship. He concludes with recommendations that promoting the idea of citizenship as being a grateful and obedient citizen must be challenged and be replaced with a more rigorous form of citizenship education and global citizenship education that would support new transformations in the ideas of citizenship.

In Chapter 12, Allyson Larkin brings us back to the question of internationalization through an exploration of the relationship and interactions of Canadian higher education institutions with higher education institutions in sub-Saharan Africa. Larkin examines Canadian higher education internationalization through an analysis of recent reports produced by the Association of Universities and Colleges in Canada (AUCC). Larkin critiques such relationships as historically being one of aid, in which institutions from the Global North are often benefactors, and those in the Global South recipients, of aid. Further, Larkin concludes that such "partnerships" tend to emphasize the potential economic benefits of a commercialized relationship, and in the process, suppress history, culture and other aspects of the local context. Chapter 13 emerged out of a graduate seminar on social movements in which students were introduced to solidarity movements through a process that involved films, invited guest facilitators, guided activities and online discussion. The authors, Donna Chovanec, Misty Underwood, Naomi Gordon, Ruby Smith-Diaz, and Saima Butt took part in the seminar as instructors, facilitators or students. The chapter begins by problematizing the concept of global citizenship education and offering a pedagogical process that activates an alternative avenue towards social justice through solidarity movements. Chovanec et al. begin by reflecting on and interrogating their own locations and conclude that such a process must be a first step when engaging in solidarity work that is to extend beyond the classroom. The authors propose that authentic solidarity demands engaging in decolonizing processes within the self and with our communities.

In Chapter 14, Morongwa Masemula examines public education in the African context. Masemula breaks down education in Africa into three distinct periods: pre-colonial education, colonial education, and post-colonial education. In her differentiation of African education in these three periods, the author highlights the ways in which pre-colonial education was a societal affair that prepared learners

for life in the community as opposed to life outside the community. It was not education about facts only, but also about how to be part of society. Masemula, then, discusses the move to colonial education and the schooling system which she contends is ineffective, inappropriate and irrelevant to the lives of Africans while also psychologically damaging as it instils the myth of European superiority and African inferiority. In her final section, the author discusses the necessity for Africans to take back their education systems and decision-making powers in order to ensure that African education can move beyond the policies of the colonial period. In Chapter 15, Vessela Balinska-Ourdeva examines the concept of digital literacy and digital citizenship as it is defined by the Alberta Ministry of Education and Edmonton Public Schools policies. Balinska-Ourdeva contends that the appropriation of a humanistic rhetoric to articulate ethics can best be redefined as *economic humanism*. The author then seeks to expose what is silenced through these policies: the praxis of thoughtful consideration of the wholeness of life. For Balinska-Ourdeva, digital citizenship must be interrogated as it ignores ethical requirements for wholeness and integrity as knowing and living in the world. With that, the author problematizes the policy's intent that Albertan students be prepared to participate as global citizens, given that under these policies, the definition of citizenship is complicated by the mixture of narrow conceptualizations of rights and moral responsibilities.

In Chapter 16, Neda Asadi, explores Alberta's education policies and illustrates the necessity of changes through a process of decolonization. This chapter begins by providing an overview of the historical formation of refugees after the WWII, as well as the important role policies play in shaping human lives across the globe. Asadi, then examines how educational policies in Alberta have impacted the learning experiences of refugee youth and details the importance of targeted policies for refugee youth and, more specifically, for a holistic model of education as a framework for creating a welcoming and effective learning environment for refugee youth learners. According to Asadi, placing more emphasis on policies that address social justice will lead to decolonizing Alberta's education policies and would better ensure that Alberta's education policies are meeting the needs of refugee students. In the next chapter, Lia Scholze and Renata Brandini contend that virtual learning environments, such as Moodle, can be tools for decoloniality. The authors link the use of virtual learning environments to the movement toward protagonism whereby youth are the chief actors in education and not merely objects upon whom curricula is imparted and illustrate the ways in which protagonism aims to contribute to the decoloniality of power and being. It also allows students and teachers to go beyond colonized thinking that has historically been the worldview of many Latin American intellectuals. Scholze and Brandini conclude that when teachers embrace virtual learning environments and technology in their classrooms, they bring forth a new attitude to the process of knowledge production, and through such differentiated pedagogical mediations, both students and teachers engage in knowledge production and in the process of decolonization.

In the final chapter, Vanessa de Oliveira Andreotti brings together many of the ideas discussed in the earlier chapters, weaving together the author's personal, pedagogical and theoretical insights in order to identify problematic patterns of representations and relationships in global citizenship education. In her analysis, Andreotti attempts to make visible the limits and implications of a dominant modern/colonial global imaginary that circumscribes and restricts what is possible to imagine in terms of educational change. Through these insights, Andreotti leaves us with a number of questions that should illustrate each person's complicity in a system that perpetuates injustice and the reproduction of harm, and thereby indicate a pedagogical urgency to think *educationally* about forms of global citizenship education that can help us to imagine *otherwise*.

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ALI A. ABDI

2. DECOLONIZING GLOBAL CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION

Critical Reflections on the Epistemic Intersections of Location, Knowledge, and Learning

INTRODUCTION

In describing the rise in the production of global citizenship education scholarship in the past little while, one could not help but assume that something very good must be happening in this important realm of social and educational research. Indeed, as should be expected, the emergence of certain areas of study and/or the sudden expansion of such areas will not be detached from the important and time-space conjectured moments that, more or less, entice us to think or re-think about the nature as well as new ways of perceiving, analyzing and doing social research in general and specialized educational research in particular. As I have written previously (Abdi, 2002), the essence of educational research and perhaps more than any other field of study, should not be detached from, indeed it should be thickly linked to observational prospects and possibilities that amelioratively impact the lived contexts of concerned populations. Stated differently, any educational research project should have some theoretically discernible and eventually pragmatizable relationship with the social well-being of people. That is, global citizenship education research and its usable results should add something good to the contextual enhancement of people's lived realities and expectations for the future.

It is with these social well-being points in mind that we should analyze and critique the conceptual as well as the theoretical constructions of global citizenship education. Before we do that though, it might be analytically prudent, possibly ethically binding, to establish select conceptual categories of citizenship, and then with meaningful attentions, attach them to education. As is the case usually, there are certain concepts that overtime, supersede the historico-etymological scrutiny they should be subjected to. At least in the general space of the social sciences, we usually encounter what I might tentatively term *hegemonic constructs* that somehow become absolved of any definitional or analytical investigations, thus according them an informal directive impact upon our lived practices. In my occasional list of these, one could find such concepts/constructs as democracy, citizenship, globalization, government, development, and yes, selectively education. In aiming

A. A. Abdi et al. (Eds.), Decolonizing Global Citizenship Education, 11–26.

even for a cursory observational relationship with these, one can see their public space institutionalization, more or less, in the way Michel Foucault and few others, analyzed our vie quotidian and the way we more often than otherwise, automatonly react to, and interact with forces that de facto manage our existentialities.

As far as my reading of these hegemonic concepts is concerned, the dangers of consumption as prescribed, is even bigger for me than say, any Frenchman or Englishman. At least in their cases, there is a family connection where the way these concepts are currently and globally dominantly constructed and used is an invention of their home territory. In my case and to stay with the reflective intentions of this writing, the stuff has been, in its totality imposed upon me, not for my epistemic well-being, but essentially for my onto-epistemological deconstruction and perforce reconstruction into a half-educated conscript (to borrow Pierre Bourdieu's demi-savant perspective) who should accept the constitutive package of these constructs and their linguistic origins and intentions. To be even clearer, these hegemonic concepts were not designed, in historical and contemporary terms, for my subjective functionalities, but for my de-subjective subjugation. The complexity of what I am indicating here is certainly not easy to convey and I know it, but to use Freire's praxical platform of conscientização (see Freire, 2000 [1970]) for provisional guidance, one need not disengage from the complicated nature of things if and when one determines to achieve viable liberatory possibilities that disavow any loyalty to the quasi-thoughtless internalization of such problematic epistemological subjugations. For the sake of descriptive and analytical honesty, though, and as a presumptive trader in the institutionalized academic markets of these concepts myself, I could continually and without any critical stopover, borrow and deploy such a priori conceptualizations of life, involuntarily spreading them into multiple theoretical locales which de-deliberately a situation creates where things are so normalized that, more often than otherwise, they are taken for granted. How did this happen? This seemingly simple question is indeed, an important one that deserves our prolonged observational attention even if one is tempted to tactically use the shaky analytical and spatial alibis of *I do not know*, or *I wasn't there*.

GENERAL CONCEPTUALIZATIONS/THEORIZATIONS AND PROBLEMATIC CONSTRUCTIONS OF GLOBAL CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION

Despite the introductory concerns stated above, I do not think that we are in any descriptive or attachable observational mood to do away with the conceptual presence and practical analysis of citizenship or the now much admired constructions of global citizenship education. After all, the way citizenship is discussed and deployed actually envelops the daily lives we lead and the way we interact, not only with our social, economic and political connections, but as well, with our physical environment and with other extra-anthropocentric realities that concern our existences. That being as it is, it is re-affirmatively important to note the heavy differential power relations

that color the agentic relationships different peoples have with the theoretical and post-theoretical edifices of citizenship. In its institutionalized character, if at times dangerously pedestrianistic, citizenship should be about spaces and possible practices of boundaried identities, belongings, rights and responsibilities. Each of these terms which should have a direct assumed relationship with citizenship, can expound so much more than it firstly indicates, but in their totality, that is more or less what we associate with the contemporary character of citizenship. The term boundaried here indicates the historical development of citizenship where the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648 more or less, slowly led to the creation of what we now know as nation-states which have become the main sites to devise and conduct the conceptual/theoretical constructions and practical performances of citizenship.

As we operationalize it therefore, claims of citizenship are based upon, and achieved through three categories: jus sanguinis (nationality of the parent), jus soli (where you were born), and jus domicili (residence and naturalization) (Isin, 2009). While these and related citizenship qualifications would mediate so much that happens to our lives including the conditions under which we are born or die, what we achieve or do not achieve, as well as our aspirations and the *fate* of those aspirations, the educational contexts of all of these are also of primary importance. Indeed, citizenship is as educational as anything else. Whether we acquire it informally or through formal learning, our perceptions of citizenship and the way we act upon them are all mechanisms we instructionally acquire from our contexts of life. The reverse of the relational direction in this regard should also be pragmatically meaningful, that is all education could be classified as more or less, about learning for citizenship rights and responsibilities. While in our general understanding, citizenship education might be selectively described as political or democratic education (Dewey, 1926), i.e., a type of learning that sharpens people's understanding and participation in politics and attached economic and social categories, the relationship between education and citizenship can be, not necessarily more expansive but also more complex than that. Indeed, if we assume that it is where we live which basically shapes what we learn, then citizenship could claim some spatial and by extension, functional precedence over education in that everything in contemporary societies and contexts of learning is attached to some notions and actions of citizenship. As we can see here, the complexity of the issue is not getting less complex, and we do not have to seek a solution. To be sure though, the interplay of education and citizenship should be thick, multidirectional, contextually shifting and therefore, directly impactful on the way we live our lives.

With some appreciation for the general complexity of the situation, it should be provisionally safe to reaffirm citizenship education as a type of learning that helps people to both conceptually and concretely ascertain and appreciate their citizenship rights and responsibilities in a given national context (Abdi & Shultz, 2008). By expected conjecture, global citizenship education should do the same for people in the global context, but the claims from here on, become more complex and less tenable. The conceptual and theoretical constructions of global citizenship, complemented

by their earlier and recent exportations and importations around the world should be an issue of analytical and practical concern as these are differentially present in different zones of our world, thus engendering continuous streams of unequal power relations that favor those whose educational institutions and research centers have accumulated more capacities to define and produce prevalent knowledge systems in dominant linguistic platforms that marginalize the legitimate understandings of both national and global citizenship contexts by the majority of the world's non-western populations. With that in mind, the case could actually be even more problematic for global citizenship education which should remain my main focus here. Before I discuss that though, which should establish more clearly the desired continuum of my thoughts and intentions – briefly, citizenship into global citizenship into global citizenship education – let me selectively problematize the basic meanings and assumptions of global citizenship.

In his analytical focus on the theorizations of global citizenship, Nigel Dower (2008) raises what could qualify as a foundational question for our criticism of the ideas as well as the practical possibilities and problematics of the claims of global citizenship. By asking if we are all global citizens or some of us are, Dower should possibly persuade us to re-think the presumptions of the case, which as being indicated in this writing, seem to have taken a quasi-deterministic attitude about its realities and complexities. As Dower (2008) correctly notes, there are many things to consider about global citizenship before we could all acquire this increasingly important extra-national qualification. Granted that the idea in and of itself, is undoubtedly threaded with good intentions and certainly has some aspirational horizons, the fact remains that the acquisition of citizenship in all parts of the world is, for all intentional wording and practicalities, boundaried, limited and institutionally exclusive. This boundaried-ness which has been refined since the earliest practicalizations of the Westphalian system, is now fully interwoven within and around the parameters of the idea as well as the actionable notations of sovereign power and sovereign nation-state contexts that only grant citizenship to their so-called nationals. So still selectively not disengaging from Dower's important question, could one actually assume that the idea of global citizenship is actually a post-Westphalian ideological construction and desire that actually does not mean much beyond one's nation-state locations?

One possible response to that immediate concern is a potential descriptive and propositional semi-alibi: it depends on who we are talking about, which should actually highlight the second part of Dower's query – or only some of us? For me, the 'who we are talking about' point is exceedingly important as it both vertically and horizontally conveys one of the main problematics of the claims as well as potential contemporary contexts of global citizenship. While the idea of global citizenship itself should not be as new as I might be making it sound with inter alia, the German philosopher Immanuel Kant in his essay, *Perpetual peace* (2007 [1795]) having advanced the idea of cosmopolitanism (i.e., all of us potentially being citizens of our planet). To be sure though, Kant's understanding of cosmopolitanism or global

citizenship (the two interrelated ideas are not always exactly seen as same, but they are close enough for me to use them interchangeably for now), was problematically exclusionist. What a closer reading of Kant's famous essay yields, is his epistemic loyalty to the historical, cultural and certainly geographical locations of his European land. Clearly, his analysis of cosmopolitanism was not about, at least in his perception of the globe, extra-Europe continents or countries. More dangerously and even when we give Kant his due for the benefit of the doubt, he minimally represents for me the inventor of a direct line of unidirectional global citizenship understanding and analysis that are still with us in early twenty-first century.

That is, just like actual times, the conceptual as well as the practical formulations of global citizenship as having a social, presumably political and by extension, epistemic origin called Europe and lately more so, Euro-North American re-establishments that are still sustaining the Eurocentric fabrications of how global citizenship education should be thought about and how it is done. Indeed, the earlier explication of the Greek cynic-into-stoic philosopher Diogenes who, when asked where he was from, simply responded, *he was a citizen of the world* seems to me more sincere than Kant's modern re-inventions of citizenship that actually expanded on Aristotle narrow and deeply problematic Euro-centrization of the world. For Diogenes at least, the cynic-stoic tradition he was drawing his ideas from, would minimally qualify him to be a more committed thinker (selectively speaking and as best as that could be under those circumstances) to some sincere interest in those beyond the powerful members of his community or polis.

By staying with our deductive possibilities and being as analytically observant as possible in relation to his writings, Kant also constitutes a unique citizenship and global citizenship problem for me as an African man. He actually does so by engaging in what I should term negative global citizenship education when he attempts, albeit so miserably, to teach his European compatriots about Africans which via his demeaning depictions of people he did not know at all, qualifies him to be a philosopher of colonialism and onto-existential oppression. Via what might at be best described as deliberate but certainly bogey epistemic constructions and without any known qualifications to do so, Kant was somehow sure that based on their darker skins, people outside Europe were naturally inferior in their brain capacities, thus massively contributing to the processes of de-citizenization that have plagued the lives of people across the globe for the past several hundred years. As Eze (1997) noted, Kant's categorizations of people included a natural division between non-Europeans and innate or acquired intelligence. Here, the level of negatively impacting Eurocentrism (certainly for the lives of Africans like myself) was so ingrained in the minds of racist European thinkers like Kant, one should rightly wonder how they became such elevated figures in global thinking and analysis. The concern here is a difficult one to address, but what is important for me in this writing is to that we all see an epistemically discernible line that connects Aristotle, Kant and others' problematic understandings and constructions of the concepts as well as the practices of global citizenship and global citizenship

education to current fabrications of citizenship literature and criticisms as sent from the from the west to the rest of the world.

In essence, though, the scholarship of global citizenship education which, as I already said, has increased voluminously in the past few years with almost all of it being produced in the west with its descriptive and analytical intentions focused on the so-called developing world, is, to be fair, more advanced in its humanistic intentions than that we inherited from our brother Aristotle and bother Kant. At least it is not deliberately (if otherwise indirectly) re-centering the world in favor of the west, and is so far avoiding any enunciatively constructed direct decentering of extra-western locations. It is also not culpably intentionally racist in its discernible or readable verbal or textual representations. But that does not mean at all that it is not exclusionist in its historical and cultural assumptions, and it certainly prioritizes epistemic prisms that see almost everything from non-Indigenous platforms that still assume a unidirectional learning and development trajectories which are refusing to incorporate the ideas as well as the experiential achievements of their supposedly and citizenship-wise, rescuable target populations. As much as anything else, the western-constructed new global citizenship education scholarship reflects a neocolonial or perhaps more accurately, a recolonial character that should not be totally detached from the old tragedies of the mission civilsatrice (Said, 1993) that presumed without much evidence, a European predestination to save non-cultured natives from themselves (Abdi, 2002). Yet, as Said noted, "… no one has the epistemological privilege of somehow judging, evaluating and interpreting the world free from the encumbering interests and engagements of the ongoing [inter-group] relationships" (cited in Narain, 2010, p. 121).

The problematic epistemological issue and its representative epistemic categories are ever present, and while I am not absolving myself from the scholarly and related knowledge creation culpabilities of the case, what is necessary to ascertain is the seemingly 'naturalized' and connected modus operandi of the two stories, one happening in the times of raw colonial aggression, the other contemporaneously attached to our era where at least the degree of assaultive language hurled at non-Europeans has calmed down and a quasi-sustainable global political correctness is so far holding. What we should not discount though, is the need to see beyond the fog of the still problematically benevolent political correctness as the creators of the new scholarship are somehow oblivious in turning the gaze upon themselves and societies. Minimally therefore, there seems to a subconsciously functional cognition of assumptive inter-subjective processes, less so in the way Lacan (2006) intended it in his writings in some related cases, and perhaps more in the problematic surface observations of some of his compatriots including the philosopher J. Ernst Renan who willfully decided to equate knowledge creation and knowledge exportation with Europeans, and in attachment, conveyed his superlatively confident but expansively false observations about the limited brain capacity of natives in Africa and Asia who, in his reading, could only do well with manual labor. Renan who, for reasons beyond my onto-existential comfort, was called an important humanist philosopher

exhibited what has been wrong for a long period of time with those who reside in northern spaces of the world, i.e., the way they epistemically totalized about the southern 'tribes' of the world. In essence, the presumption of epistemic terra nullius about native lands until proven otherwise. Indeed, this is, albeit with less colonialist intentions now, where the longue durée habit of the unabated promulgative extensions of speaking for others iyadoon cidina wakiilan (without any delegated arrangement) abounds.

To be so sure, I could probably analytically identify the exact temporal intersections when the recent utterances of global citizenship education started invoking desires of ready debates, multi-locational collaborative schemes, the arrangement of multiple conferences, and the sudden appearance of linearly rising volume of published works mostly in the form of articles and edited books. As a witness to this and thematically contributing agent to the case, I can categorically say that as I was there for the new launching of this story and its accouterments of related intentions and outcomes. I will identify the beginning of the twenty-first century as the start point of the era of the stylistic rise of the new global citizenship education scholarship. As so happens, the take-off of select research expansions are usually driven by two forces: 1) the singularly generated curiosity of the researcher who feels both the cognitive and praxical needs to investigate a social or other phenomenon, 2) or the researcher actually, in an multi-contoured relational process, joining a commonalized research spectrum that is collectively responding to directly or indirectly located intellectual air of the times. While the bandwagon of global citizenship education was starting to accelerate, some contributors including Dower (2002, 2008) did continually ask the necessary critical questions of whether the claims of global citizenship were actually real or rhetoric. But still, selectively surveying what has transpired since then, the necessary critical questions were either self-directed or constructed for local (read northern) consumption and exchanges. And more often than otherwise, considering the voice of overseas territories which were the subject of these scholarly endeavors was not an issue to be concerned about.

To still stay with the now habitualized one-dimensional reading of the world which is not actually foreign to the way Marcuse (2013 [1964]) used the phrase a few decades ago, a new movement of mostly unintended but real global knowledge recolonization was starting to take shape and the subsequent explosions of global citizenship education works from mid-2000 into this hour, expanded the boundaries of this epistemic recolonization into almost every corner of the world. As so happens with these zeitgeists, as interesting for me as the proliferation of the projects themselves was the overnight appearance of surface-wise brilliant academic platoons who, via what I might tentatively term a sudden metaphysical intervention, converted to the mysticism of a new global citizenship allegory of the cave that distinguished itself in one important aspect from perhaps the way the classic Greek philosopher Plato would have preferred to do the situation. This time the shadows were infinitely taken for wonders, to deploy a Bhabhaian notation (see Bhabha, 1994) in a historically not unrelated characterization of the deliberately constructed misreading of the world

of the natives. To the dismay of many anti-colonial writers including myself, and in an unexpectedly converging platform with Plato, the absence of the imaginative (not imaginary) dialectic was (is) prominent in its absence. It seems that there was an announced consensus that if any of us in academia can by default claim to be an expert in these areas, they actually are.

COUNTER-COLONIAL WRITINGS ON CITIZENSHIP AND GLOBAL CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION

As so happens in the open spaces of academic scholarship and social critical thought, the march of epistemically colonizing citizenship and global citizenship education research and its attendant scholarly attachments could not and did not continue unchallenged forever. About 10 years after those early twenty-first century excitements about the natural goodness as well as the stylistic appeal of global citizenship education, the situation was to be reexamined by especially scholars from previously decentered areas and contexts of our world. It was a few years ago that Andreotti and de Souza's edited work, *Postcolonial perspectives on global citizenship education* (2012), with a number of contributors critically pointing out the totalizing blocks of the prevailing scholarship that does not speak well for everyone, came out. As we have pointed out in our chapter in the book (see Abdi & Shultz, 2012), the unidirectional and quasi-colonialist proliferation of global citizenship education research was increasingly and for all pragmatic observations, both theoretically and operationally de-representational in its descriptive, epistemic and practical dimensions. But even before this important reader, there were, even in the early stages of the new rise of global citizenship education research, a number of publications that critically read the situation from the vantage point of colonized, de-citizenized populations including those who are suffering from what we could term, *internal colonization* (see among others, Abdi, 2008; Ghosh, 2008; Weber-Pillwax, 2008). The reference here is to a large extent, counter-conventional global citizenship works that were willing to write from the experiences of people who have either been colonial subjects in their countries of origin, or were, in one form or another, culturally or otherwise minoritized in their western situations of residence, and are dealing with, among other generally liable labels, their new status of selectively invisible and where required conveniently visible subjectivities that reside in some unique social geographies in almost all parts of our world. It is indeed, selectively the case that those who belong to this group of scholars, many of whom have been active in global citizenship education work while working in northern universities where they are currently employed, have, to their credit, started their participation in contemporary schemes of global citizenship education with the necessary counter-conventional dispositions that were partially reflective of their own experiences, commitments and aspirations.

Such scholarly positions taken by some of us should not surprise many as all epistemic constructions are the result of cognitive processes that are, by and large,

not detached from one's own learning locations and readings of the world. Indeed the pioneering critics of the problematic global citizenship education situations that negatively affected the lives of so many people included some of the most brilliant writers in the area of decolonization where especially in the African context, the list includes some of the most seminal works that have had a long-term social transformation impact on the lives of people. These works (see inter alia, Fanon, 1968; Nyerere, 1968; Rodney, 1982; Achebe, 2009 [1958], 2000; wa Thion'go, 1986, 2009) were mostly written as anti-colonial treatises that sought, not only the necessary historico-cultural freedom to achieve meaningful postcolonial independence, but as well, epistemic liberation possibilities that were to be capable of critically responding to the prevailing, tempo-spatial knowledge and learning exigencies, connections and disconnections. As such, these works actually represented powerful, anti-colonial citizenship education programs that understood and powerfully critiqued colonialist constructions of earlier versions of global citizenship teachings and relations. Clearly the clash of perspectives in the arena of global citizenship education is complex and thus requires us to deliberately complexify, then de-complexify the generally heavy but analytically not complicated intersections of colonialism, citizenship rights and related forums of problematic knowledge constructions that uni-directionally effect disfavoring power relations which negatively impact but also presumptively and unfortunately perforce locate the lived situations of southern populations. As such, the epochally enduring and thematically indispensable original works of both earlier and later anti-colonial citizenship scholars should be continually de-shelved and deployed to refute the simplistic characterizations of non-northern spaces (Monga, 1996) and slowly achieve the intentional destinations of decolonizing global citizenship education platforms and prospects.

Both past and current critiques of global citizenship education scholarship should accord us the important perspective of examining the relational contexts of citizenship realities and knowledge constructions. To refute the problematic exhortations that Aristotle, Kant and Renan, among many other European thinkers bequeathed to posterity via their currently untenable citizenship categorizations through falsely concocted knowledge claims about other peoples, anti-colonial citizenship scholars should not limit themselves to an analysis of general re-citizenization possibilities, but must, in quasi-equal measure, overthrew the shaky epistemicalizations that have sustained the false stories for centuries and now decades. This is very important as our observations of decolonizing global citizenship education must aim for, and achieve the parallel objectives of attacking the uni-directional, imposing realities of current global citizenship education scholarship, while also challenging the de-representational nature of the knowledge categories that stylize it and sustain it for public dispensation and consumption. As Iskandar and Rustom (2010, p. 13) note, in constructing social and cultural concepts and categories, representation will be at multiple points, necessary for locating and explaining everything we both physically and expressively engage with.

For me, the weakness of the representational categories should re-affirm the often undetected hollowness of the stylistic, linguistic as well as the analytical categories we may willfully deploy to talk about other people's citizenships without much thought given to the primary categories of voice and representation. Actually there is some voice and some representation but almost all of it monopolized by the northern researcher including sometimes the northern based scholar who originally hails from the south as myself. Many times, the people whose citizenship contexts we mostly surfacely describe, actually possess clusters of superior knowledges formed through wide and deep socio-cultural understandings of their situations, fully complemented by practically living through the functionalities and many times, dysfunctionalities of citizenship and citizenship education. In realizing how much we need to learn from them therefore, we need to continuously and consistently examine the potential weaknesses upon which our primary theorizations are constructed upon, and how our short-term travelogues to native land cannot give us the multi-category and multi-component tools we need to appreciate the complex lived contexts of people, and that should entice us to perhaps recast our research files as learning flies that can yield meaningful research results when everything is co-conceptualized, co-theorized and co-analyzed with the native experts on the ground who will teach us so much provided we are willing to be constructively instructed.

POLYCENTRIC RECONSTRUCTIONS OF KNOWLEDGE, POWER AND CULTURE

It is the right time therefore, that we become temporarily detached from our current observational infatuation with the high volume of global citizenship education scholarship that is being produced (the output graph is still rising) and achieve the very important analytical sobriety of stopping for a moment and critically questioning the heavily and in social development terms, negatively eschewed global human relational attachments that now characterize the situation. In both cultural and specialized epistemic considerations and equity, the inter-human correspondence story of the recent rise of global citizenship education is, in the most simple terms, not good. For some hitherto unexplained reasons, discussions of global citizenship education have thus far, avoided anything even remotely resembling the epistemic pluralism that should have been actually its main raison de la promulgation du savoir. The promulgation of something better than monocultural knowledge categories is important for the sharing of socially more inclusive ideas and multi-locational perspectives which should facilitate our humanist desires to live together, learn from one another, and from there, co-construct new possibilities of redeemable and viable citizenships possibilities that indemnify the lot of both the individual and the community. That should help us deal with the problematic thing Gianni Vattimo (2011) wisely calls the pathology of western truth or its rhetorical extensions of knowledge, citizenship and social development (see for example, Ake, 1996), which is de facto constructed as the truth for everyone anywhere in the

world. As Vattimo notes, when the mask of such assumed universal *truth* is lifted, what we find is actually the absence of any truth. To partially detach myself from Vattimo's urgent point, perhaps there is something that stands for some truth but it must be polycentrically constructed and practiced so it does not leave the real, lived experiences of some out, thus potentializing their epistemic exile and attendant oppressive outcomes.

Interestingly, with the quick and enthusiastic rise of postmodern and poststructuralist thoughts in the past 30 or so years, where the questioning of the location of culture, knowledge and power, delightfully complemented for me, by our latter day determination to expose the hegemony of official discourses, we should have been minimally accorded the opportunity to shatter the panoptic and sans exception, institutionalizing categories of life that control us and as badly totalize us into something we may not be or might not have been (see among others, Foucault, 1980, 1995; Kristeva, 1991; Irigaray, 1993; Baudrillard, 1994; Derrida, 1998). Still and with everything we thought we knew, the contemporary mono-epistemic reconstitution of global citizenship education is so much more discouraging. As much as anything else, and especially when it is mono-historically and mono-culturally deployed, global citizenship education with its main categories of teaching and learning for active and informed political participation which should facilitate inclusive social well-being, loses its critical luster, for it avoids the primary and required notations of the pragmatic question: what is the best way to engage in civic duty, manage political relations and achieve social development in a given context? By contextually failing in this, currently dominant categories of global citizenship education also disembark from the noble, social critical platforms of examining, for mass liberation purposes, the crucial examination of the potentially and as well, promising spaces between power and knowledge. And to be sure, in examining and analyzing the connecting streams of citizenship, social development and context, the thickest threads should be the cultural, as that is still the descriptor and the constant operative unit of the way people, manage, predict and plan their lives.

Michel Foucault (1980) explained something about the power-knowledge nexus in his excellent work, *Power/knowledge*, with the dividing forward slash intend to illustrate an assumed co-importance of the two categories, but more importantly, the capacity of each to trigger the other, thus assuring those who are more endowed even in only one of the categories, the potential to recover the other with more facilitation and ease. With the conceptual, theoretical and by extension, geographical mono-epistemicalization of global citizenship scholarship, those in the west who, I would concur, could write with good intentions (even when the descriptive benevolence is still critically misplaced) about people in the extra-northern spheres of our world, are actually engaging in quasi-direct learning and living disempowerments of the supposed globally marginalized populations whose presumed citizenship contexts are gazed upon and analyzed from afar. Here, even the postmodernist possibilities of returning the gaze from the vantage point of the new twenty-first century natives is physically diminished in that western academics and graduate students are

actually remotely reading and writing about them with the occasional and tactically functional excursions into this still epistemic terra incognita (Jorgenson, 2014), only to run back before the insurance certificate expires to the familiar terra firma in Europe and North America.

The true story of the long distance reading of people's lives or visiting them with a very short sojourn and tolerance, in actuality vulgarizes even more the rhetorical notions of learning and researching about other people's lives. To be precise, it connects well with the history of colonial educational and knowledge constructions where knowing the natives did not take that long as the suddenly assumed but essentially false notions of knowledge about them was actually constructed to deform the identities of the colonized so as to facilitate the processes of colonial superior-subordinate relationships (Fanon, 1967; Césaire, 1972; Said, 1993, 2002; Monga, 1996; Achebe, 2000). While I would, with a measurable latitude, remove myself from implying any direct colonialist intentions of current northern voices who have now qualified themselves as the new experts on African citizenships, for example, I cannot miss the historical conjectures that subconsciously crystalize these assumptions and intentions in the brain structures and mental contents of our contemporary global citizenship education literati. To be as clear as possible but also as fair as descriptively doable, northern scholars who are not historico-culturally attached to the former colonies they are studying, have every right to study these areas as I myself have written few things about my current non-native place of residence, Canada (Ghosh & Abdi, 2013; Abdi & Shultz, 2013), except that I have actually lived in Canada for decades and should have acquired, I have to hope, both the geographical and temporal opportunities to sustainably read and critically interact with what I am studying and analyzing at a close range. Still, my long-term residence in Canada should not form a totalizing permission for me or for others to research non-native lands. But to repeat from above, and in general terms, all of us, irrespective of our backgrounds, constructed ethnicity characterizations, or visible or non-visible attachments that our personae reflect about us for others, have the right to our research intentions and to the intellectual curiosity in studying populations and institutions anywhere in the world so long as the necessary ethical requirements are established and undertaken.

While the right to research should be accorded to all, what I am continually worried about are the claims of expertise on global citizenship and global citizenship education that is actually predicated upon, not by how many years one has formally studied or better, lived with the people he or she is writing about and making recommendations about their current and future directions of their lives, but more by the researcher's monocultural geographical locations and attendant academic privileges. As Celestin Monga, in his excellent work, *Anthropology of anger* (1996) so clearly noted, the problem of being temporarily studied always carries the danger of the desire to make sense, actually more dangerously, any sense of us. That problematic sense-making is perhaps also what the late Bukinabe thinker Joseph Ki-Zerbo had in mind when he

spoke about the apparent discrepancies between studying people and understanding their histories, cultures as well as the real centers of their lives. In his relatively well-known observation, Ki-Zerbo noted how his communities in Burkina Faso and others in the rest of Africa, have been studied to death, but still hardly understood. Indeed, these surface dry studies which are for me emblematic of the latest global citizenship education scholarships, complemented by the hastened desire, as Monga indicates above, to make any sense of select citizenship contexts in the so-called developing world, can create situations where the necessary nuanced analysis of the story is totalized into a normativized, de-cultured and epistemically hegemonic understanding of people's citizenship realities and expectations.

In discussing the problematic layers that need to be excavated in relation to democracy, for example, which is usually perceived, especially as things are currently read from the northern corners of our world, as one important destination for citizenship studies, Paley (2008) notes how we need to ascertain the different ways we want to rule or be ruled, complemented by the multi-descriptive perspectives we need to assume about the meanings of 'ruling' as a relational category of life. It should be the same for citizenship contexts and certainly for citizenship studies where what we may be examining and concluding from, could actually have other meanings for concerned populations where diverse readings and practices should be applied to both their public and private spaces. Even within one nation, notes Rosanvallon (2011), citizenship and democratic understandings and operationalizations should be continuously taking on new characteristics and qualities as values and expectations shift and are reconstructed to respond to emerging needs and demands. Certainly with the realities of globalization and with almost all countries experiencing shifting, the cultural understanding of the lives and needs of immigrants from the angle of citizenship and in relation to newly forming multicultural and socio-political relations is not only important but necessary for their overall well-being and for their productive contributions to their new societies (Kymlicka, 1996). In essence therefore, the current mono-epistemicalizations of global citizenship education which are disempowering and de-culturing people in more ways that we can count here, should be redesigned and reconstructed with multi-locational knowledge and cultural pluralisms that can effectively and inclusively respond to the realities of lived citizenship contexts that are not fixed or static but are active and dynamically shifting as demanded by the contexts and relational categories that sustain them.

CONCLUSIONS

In this selectively reflective essay, I have questioned the problematic constructions of global citizenship education in the past little while where the production as well as the directional qualities of the scholarship produced seems to be mono-locational and mono-epistemic. That is, while most of this scholarship actually derives from

western scholars or non-western scholars working in western universities such as myself, the focus of the writing and analysis is overwhelmingly mostly intended for, and actually speaks about people in the so-called developing world, or with more historical connectivity, the previously colonized and still dependently controlled parts of our globe. As I have said more than once, my observations are not and should not construed as questioning or worse, opposing the scholarly right of any researcher, irrespective of their background or current spaces of residence, to exercise his or her knowledge driven curiosities to study the lives of a group of people in any region or country as long as the necessary ethical relationships are robustly established. That is in essence the basic driver of all the research that has selectively benefited and continues to benefit the needed elevations of our historical, cultural, politico-economic and technological understandings of our lives.

Indeed, scholars such as myself massively benefit from the open boundary, individually undertaken, interest-driven learning and teaching realities that do not only expand our knowledge platforms but as well, enrich our being as social thinkers and contextual analysts who willfully engage the multidimensional criticalizations of such contexts to suggest new ways of improving social contexts and relationships. As I have said so many times in my research and teaching locations, as an educational scholar, for example, my study of educational contexts is, more or less, about finding new ways that can effectively explain select but strong pragmatic correspondences between educational programs and social development. With this understanding, we should be good with the general intentions and possible expositions of our social and specialized educational research. To extend the critical parameters of any concerned research though, especially one that concerns basic citizenship rights and relationships, one must intentionally make sure that our research is interactively responsive to the real and ongoing globalizations and muticulturalizations of the ideas, perspectives and conclusions we derive from studying the citizenship contexts of other people and attached possibilities of learning and teaching for citizenship advancement and by extension, for situationally attached potentialities of social well-being. To do so effectively, we must be careful with the research designs and methodologies we choose to study others from afar or scantly expose ourselves to their practical lived contexts which in essence, represents the imposition of totalizing epistemic constructions that border on, or can actually assume both the spatial and knowledge colonizations of the researched. To aim for a decolonizing global citizenship scholarship and education, therefore, we should be minimally willing to hear and heed the voices and citizenship perspectives of the extra-northerly researched who actually can share brilliant and at times, myth shattering analyses of their own readings and thick analysis of citizenship and citizenship education theorizations, practices and expectations. To do otherwise is to continue the problematic citizenship scholarship constructions that are mono-methodologically manufactured in the west and both thematically and discursively deployed to arbitrarily define, even predict the lives of the world's non-western majority.

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3. UBUNTU, INDIGENEITY, AND AN ETHIC FOR DECOLONIZING GLOBAL CITIZENSHIP

INTRODUCTION

Global citizenship and associated discourses on globalization often comport with a moral liberal response to new widespread place-based formations of race, class, gender, migratory and ethnic inequality. This often-imported liberalism resides uncomfortably and selectively alongside increasing politically and ideologically invested cultural and religious polarizations (exemplified in the rise of ISIS in the Middle East pitted against Westernism); persistent and pernicious levels of poverty, global violence and states of war (as in regions of Sub-Saharan Africa, the Middle East, Myanmar, and the Ukraine); widespread conflict-induced population displacement and mass migration (mainly South to North); and human and ecological degradation (as a feature of resource exploitation within capitalist relations of production worldwide); and the rise of new forms of extremist ethnic nationalism (Sunni versus Shia conflict, Sharia caliphates in Syria and Iraq, and countries such as Brunei) and differentiated capitalist formations geopolitically (as in the economic rise, albeit uneven, of China and India). It is also associated with a concomitant rise in cosmopolitanism, and yet also world conservativism (witnessed in the shift towards centrist and right-leaning administrations in the EU, Australasia, Canada, and dictatorships as in China, Myanmar, Brunei, Venezuela, North Sudan and Syria) along with new fragmentations and integrations as the political terrain shifts in accordance with the economic perturbations of late modernity and global capitalism in crisis. With it comes a seeming resurgence of humanism and humanitarianism, albeit that these are partial and selective. The recent Syrian refugee crisis testifies to the possibilities and limits of humanitarianism within the EU and the rest of the world. Alongside this seeming greater global consciousness are disparate activism movements, (such as the Occupy Movement, Syriza, Polemos, and Umbrella Movement in Hong Kong), but these are often muffled by centralized neoliberal or neoconservative governmentality or totalitarian states, technologically-mediated global surveillance systems (as in the US and UK), the dominant conservative agendas of certain global media outlets that serve the political interests of powerful media moguls, (such as Rupert Murdoch's Fox News), and the rise in fascism in the forms of anti-(im)migrant, anti-refugee, xenophobic and authoritarian factions (such as UKIP and BNP in the UK; PEGIDA in Germany; and Marine le Pen's National

A. A. Abdi et al. (Eds.), Decolonizing Global Citizenship Education, 27–38.

Front in France). Often, the very leaders espousing global citizenship inclusions are also the very proponents of racialized and prejudicial exclusions (such as David Cameron's promotion of "British values" to be taught in schools to children as young as kindergarten as a perceived bulwark against Islamic extremism in British society). In this sense, global citizenship is contradictory and less than innocent, and can be said to be at least partially caught up in the globalization project of neoliberal spread and capitalist imperialism (Swanson, 2011).

On the international education front, over the last few decades, global citizenship discourses have been taken up with some intensity in policy documents, vision statements and higher education and schooling curricula documents within Western parliamentary democracies, as well as having increasingly pervaded developing educational contexts. On the surface, these discourses seem to herald a world humanism that reflects a sense of global interdependence and mutualism. Under a banner of globalization and economic progressivism, the world embetterment these discourses herald appears uncontestable and lies within the current *common-sense* doxic order of things that render alternatives improbable and irrational (Bourdieu, 1990). Much globalization parlance tends to be framed within Western Enlightenment thinking that suggests that the global citizenship reach and outstretched hand to 'the other' is necessarily benevolent or of mutual interest (Swanson, 2010, 2011), one which often hides under a banner of neutrality the difference in power relations, the cultural imperialism, the individualistic orientation and self-interestedness, and the latent symbolic violence (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992) in such global citizenship overtures. Global citizenship's institutionalization as the 'great white hope' of international relations (Brysk, 2002), testifies to its often racialized and privileged framing. Education systems and curricula that celebrate the common sense goodness of global citizenship without challenging its hidden curriculum (Jackson, 1968) create spectres (Derrida, 1994) of what might otherwise have been imaginable, and fall short of and even lie counter to their stated purposes in their nullifying effect. In so doing, they fail to enable a world structured according to a radical hope (Lear, 2006; Swanson, 2015) of global justice, to development as freedom (Sen, 1999), and to the action-oriented imaginings that bring into the realm of possibility a renewal of the world (Arendt, 1958), of an imagined world of widened democratic possibilities for those living on the margins.

In other terms, global citizenship education that situates and justifies the conversation on global inequality within its own self-righteous benevolence, not only fails to support the critical consciousness (Freire, 1970a) and practice of freedom (Freire, 1970b; hooks, 1994) that such education seeks to foster amongst youth, but arguably actually *exacerbates injustice* by standing in the place of the less popular options and critical actions directed at structurally addressing it, thereby incapacitating the powers of freedom (Rose, 1999). Thus, these forms of global citizenship education, ubiquitous worldwide, serve to maintain the structural conditions of inequality while claiming to work towards their elimination. This locates neoliberal global citizenship hubris, patronage, but also falsehood. The effects are multi-faceted and deep. Having been largely subsumed within the

neoliberal mandates of *responsibilisation* (Kelly & Harrison, 2009), the salvage paradigm (Clifford, 1987), and the conjoining of economic rationalities with a coherent autonomous moral being responsible for needy Others (Lemke, 2001), not only is global citizenship education placed in jeopardy by the general weakness of its critical edge and limited, mostly-individualistic orientation, but the ways in which education itself is framed in the neoliberal era of hyper-capitalist modernization limits the scope of an effective critical global citizenship education curriculum.

The framing of education purposes, practices and processes in their broadest sense and education's convergence in standardized global curricular under processes of *internationalization* directly impact on and shape what is possible for global citizenship education, thereby casting its agenda. The state of global education systems in general and that of global citizenship education cannot be extricated from each other. Here, discourses on *learning*, on what Biesta refers to as *learnification* discourses (Biesta, 2014), that view educational processes in instrumental terms as the transference and commodification of knowledge as decontextualized content and universal skills, unhinged from the uniqueness of persons and purposes in the situated local contexts and communities of learning that might foster place-based socio-ecological wellbeing, impacts on what effect or influence might be possible for global citizenship education. Such common sense understandings of educational process structure the learning relationship as uni-directional, and the exchange relation as one of exploitation: *skilling up* peoples of the South for exploitation in the techno-industrial hubs of the West, or in the *cheaper* contexts of the South to meet the demands of Western consumption. Thus it can be argued that if global citizenship education discourses are framed within curricular and pedagogical approaches that debunk uncertainty, reciprocity, contestation, dialogue and criticality, and that and do not challenge the reductionist commodified interpretations of the purposes of education, then their liberatory, revolutionary potential is thwarted in favour of an advocacy that serves market interests and a conservative political status quo (Apple, 2013; Giroux, 2011).

These are some of the key challenges of a gentrified and co-opted global citizenship education. The pedagogical approaches, the purposes, the latent ideological underpinnings that structure it and set the terms by which it is judged as successful, by whom, and under which contexts, are all critical to the advocacy of global citizenship's decolonization and critical reconstitution, and to asserting claims in its name as to what might matter, how it might matter, and with whom it might matter. In this latter regard, an ethics of global citizenship education needs critical consideration and thoughtful interrogation in order that its purposive ideals are not undermined in the process of contextual translation (Latour, 1999) or recontextualization (Bernstein, 2000), in ways that it becomes recuperated and ineffectual. Placing an ethic of global citizenship education at the forefront of global citizenship education purposes and intentions, provides an opening for the possibility of a Spivakian hyper-self-reflexive dialogue (Kapoor, 2006) about the ephemeral nature of being and the constant fluidity of becoming (Nietzsche, 1998), of ethical encounters with self and Other (Todd, 2003; Tutu, 1999), of ontologies otherwise

than being and beyond essences (Levinas, 2011), of the uncertainties, dilemmas, and enablers of justice, and consequently also the critical recognition of its imperatives and (im)possibilities.

One of the most vexatious issues of global citizenship discourses and global citizenship education (GCE), and one which through lack of recognition and attention to it is most responsible for the indifference created through the violence of universals, in Butlerian terms (Boer, 2014), is that of situatedness and localization. This is signified in the oxymoronic nature of the term, global citizenship, which exposes paradoxes and ambiguities in relation to spatial scales and boundaries. As generally interpreted, *global* references the international arena and transnational operations, while *citizenship* locates a jurisprudential boundary of the nation state. The constant discursive flow across spatial scales and symbolic borders structures internal parallaxes and paradoxes that I have argued necessitate a *glocalizing pedagogy and praxis* (Swanson, 2011, 2012) in performing a critical global citizenship. These to-and-fro processes act as forms of Aristotelian phronesis and Deleuzian rhizomatic play (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987) between the local and global, and between local and local trans-locally and with connected communities in solidarity, all of which are critical actions demanded by an action-oriented global citizenship. The critical educational nature of these discursive and material flows, and the ideological structuring that is performed in each interaction, speaks to ethics and the postcolonial condition, and serves to distinguish a neoliberalized, colonial global citizenship education from a critical global citizenship education (CGCE). The *local* resides invidiously alongside a more dominant and powerful *global*, and within global citizenship education enactments, the *local* is the site of struggle of competing discourses in the social domain, in which racialized bodies and lives easily get caught up.

In the next section, I move into a more narrative, localised position within the developing context of South Africa in order to better address these paradoxes and latent violences of universals *from below*, a situated vantage point.

GLOBAL CITIZENSHIP IN SITUATED DEVELOPMENT: POST-APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA

Stark are the discordances between the complicated and often contradictory expressions of daily life in the context of post-apartheid South Africa and that of universalized broader social domain discourses in the public sphere. One reason for this is that these broader discourses perform nationalistically-determined imaginaries (Rose, 1996) of competing dystopias and utopias vying for supremacy as the interests of various political and economic standpoints and ideological blocs are served. These contradictions are part of the tapestry of the South African quotidian, and their material realisations are palpable and visible everywhere, while they are reinforced, contested and played out discursively on a range of situated political

fronts. Their contested nature is often most noticeable in the dismissal and disavowal of the local and situated, including the rural and semi-urban informal settlements and townships, by the urbanized, modernistic, externally-imposed universals that inherit prevailing global economic discourses and positionalities. This was no less evident in a conversation I had with a fellow South African scholar of indigenous decent while at an academic conference in Beijing.

In debating with Moses, a pseudonym, the symbolic violence invested in a cultural politics of benevolence (Jefferess, 2008) became manifest. The conversation between us on development issues in the South African context inevitably located ubiquitous development terms of *disadvantage* and *empowerment* associated within the dominant *deficit* paradigm of economic development, a paradigm that underwrites foreign policy engagement within developing contexts such as that of South Africa. While on the one hand, Moses repeatedly referred to himself as "just a Soweto boy", hearing the word *empowerment* ignited a passionate response from him:

> Empowerment ... empowerment ... empowerment! They tell us we have a lack, that we are supposed to be here', [*he gesticulates a movement suggesting 'progress'*], and that we need to be here, and then here. They tell us that we are disempowered and inform us what must be relevant for us to be empowered. I don't feel disempowered, but I am told that I am disempowered and what I have to be to be empowered. (2005, pp. 217–218; 2007b, pp. 17–18)

The frustration evidenced in Moses's expostulation vividly reflects four interrelated postcolonial positions:

1. the patronage inherent in the orientalizing (Said, 1979) language of deficit;
2. the hubris of knowing on behalf of the Other what is good for them;
3. the coerciveness of that relationship that operates according to a pre-authored external and colonizing agenda;
4. and the privileged benevolence that accords with and maintains a particular uneven division of the world in terms of an Hegelian master-slave relationship (Willinsky, 1998), one which populates *soft* global citizenship discourses (Andreotti, 2006) that participate in popular common sense understandings of the *way things are* and *ought to be* in the wider social domain.

As Jefferess notes: "Global Citizenship seems to mark an attitude of being in the world, and a transnational identity, but as an ethics of action the global citizen is defined as one who helps an unfortunate Other" (2008, p. 17). The discursive fabric of global citizenship benevolence is threaded throughout Moses's impassioned response, which the words *disadvantage* and *empowerment* served to cue. It signalled resistance to what has become a dominant orientation to policy strategies, national discourses, and the omnipresent language of development economics and globalization saturated within the localized contexts of an African developing

economy. In revisiting research concerns relating to democratic deficits and ethics of engagement with the Other, questions of a vexing nature are evoked:

> And so we ask, what is Moses's location, and what are the set of stimuli producing this articulation of his position on *empowerment*? Who is *telling* Moses that he is disempowered? What is the source of these messages? Why is he personalising this perspective on disempowerment? Is it so embedded within the fibre of social context and the dominant discourses in the social domain that, even as he contests it, it carries the authorial voice of the *deficit* meta-narrative in such a way that it holds the production of meaning ransom, even as it precedes any verbal articulation of it? (Swanson, 2005, 2007a; Swanson & Appelbaum, 2012, p. 2)

In our analysis, we draw on the work of Jacque Rancière and his notion of *radical equality* (Rancière, 2009), arguing that Moses's response is not one of incapacity, but reflects a refusal to participate in the colonizing effects of the development paradigm. It is not a position of deficit or inability to participate. It is not just a deflection of reified positions of *disadvantage* and *disempowerment* imposed on his community and essentialized within him, but is a democratic exercise in itself, the right not to participate in the powerful discourses invested in the colonising Western gaze on the Other. Each one of the four postcolonial positions noted above is embodied in Moses's struggle for control over hegemonic development discourses and his attempt to unmask the racialized, essentialized veil they fabricate.

Conceptualisations of the Third World citizen are most often driven by dominant Western educational discourses that normalise competition and draw on individualistic ideological investments globally. These prevailing discourses enable life opportunities for individuals within certain valued groups whilst delimiting opportunities for others. In so doing, they reify dominant cultural formations over localized ones, and these dominant discourses become the master print for entry or denial of access. Life opportunities are, however, beyond a question of mere *access*. Normalized assumption inhabit questions of what is valued, what is conserved and what is foreclosed in terms of being and imagining within other frames of reference. The ways in which these ideological assumptions impact on the recognition and validation of indigenous, generational or localized ways of knowing and being, and how they permit or enclose imaginative possibilities for communities to be otherwise, are all interconnected and relate directly to the false promise of the ends of freedom and egalitarianism, and misconception of well-being through the instrumental and material means of techno-scientific and economic *progress* (Swanson, 2010). These act as forms of political violence and, thus, it can be argued that in their selectivity, in what they permit, and what they leave out, they act as frames of war (Butler, 2009). As Butler notes in defining the operationalization of *the frame*:

> In the same way that Althusser once argued that there can be different modalities of materiality, there can surely be, different modalities of violence and of the

> material instrumentalities of violence. How do we understand the frame as itself part of the materiality of war and the efficacy of its violence? … The frame does not simply exhibit reality, but actively participates in a strategy of containment, selectively producing and enforcing what will count as reality. It tries to do this, and its efforts are a powerful wager … this means the frame is always throwing something away, always keeping something out, de-realizing and de-legitimating alternative versions of reality, discarded negatives of the official version. (p. xiii)

Increasing neoliberalisation of institutions and the global modernization agenda has set the terms of global economic and social participation, by increasing the monitoring and regulation of individuals, groups and targeted communities. Such measures serve to perpetuate the global neocolonial project. The current conception of development, framed as it is as *economic progress* within the neocolonial project, has become a Truth that tolerates little resistance, that excludes a range of other possible meanings and ways of engagement, and that attempts to silence alternative voices. The more discourses on development become increasingly foreclosed in these terms, the greater freedom and the possibilities of freedom and egalitarianism, as framed by globalizing development discourses, become enclosed (Swanson, 2010, 2012).

Paralleling these broader concerns, global citizenship discourses and educational agendas, "function to the benefit of the nation as a whole" (Rose, 1996, p. 44), disregarding the concerns and needs of local communities. In the Sub-Saharan context, this most often means rendering indigenous ways of knowing and being as irrelevant to the citizenship demands of the nation state or the global community. Mostly, the contribution of African indigenous thought to social and ecological wellbeing of local remote communities is ignored or rendered obsolete by nation states and powerful international corporations or political bodies in the face of global modernization. A Southern African indigenous philosophy that has had some recognition from more critical standpoints in the possibilities it holds for viable alternatives to the global conditions of world capitalism, to a world in greater touch with itself, is that of *Ubuntu*. Commensurate with the rise in global, economic and ecological crises over the last few decades, much indigenous thought has come to offer a third space (Bhabha, 2004) in providing other possibilities than the current societal paradigms and hegemonies of being. Ubuntu philosophy, with its emphasis on a social African humanism and spiritual way of collective being, provides the possibilities for replacing, reinventing and reimagining alternatives to the current destructive path of increasing global injustice, as it also offers opportunities to decolonize recuperative global citizenship discourses and coercive Western epistemologies. The project needs to go further than mere decolonization. In the wake of global capitalism's common sense mechanisms that render other options irrational, unviable or irrelevant, it is often a difficult task to assert alternatives in the spaces left behind. It is insufficient to decolonize global citizenship. It needs to be indigenized so that previously silenced voices from below, from the local, from non-Western perspectives, from alternative and more ethical philosophical positions,

may effect democratic change. In other terms, *ubuntuizing* global citizenship serves the purpose of decolonizing it.

I will now introduce the concept of Ubuntu by way of explanation as to its viable decolonizing potential on global citizenship discourses and educational possibilities. While other forms of indigenous thought and philosophy have resonance with Ubuntu or might also offer important contributions to decolonizing global citizenship and its allied discourses, Ubuntu's distinctiveness in focussing on an ethics of collective care away from more individualistic interpretations is what gives it an important place in the decolonizing project.

UBUNTU: A PHILOSOPHY OF BECOMING HUMAN

Ubuntu is short for an isiXhosa proverb in Southern Africa. It comes from the phase, *Umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu*, a person is a person through their relationship to others. Ubuntu is recognized as the African philosophy of humanism, linking the individual to the collective through *brotherhood* or *sisterhood*. It makes a fundamental contribution to indigenous *ways of knowing and being*. With differing historical emphasis and (re)contextualization over time and place, it is considered a spiritual way of being in the broader socio-political context of Southern Africa. This approach is not only an expression of a spiritual philosophy in its theological and theoretical sense, but as an expression of the quotidian. In this sense, it is a way of knowing that fosters a journey towards *becoming human* (Vanier, 1998) or *which renders us human* (Tutu, 1999), or, in its collectivist sense, a greater humanity that transcends alterity of any form (Swanson, 2007, 2015).

Nobel Prize laureate, Archbishop Desmond Mpilo Tutu, who, in 1995, became the chairman of post-apartheid South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission, was a strong advocate of the philosophy and spiritual power of Ubuntu in the recovery of *truth* through narratives of atrocities from the apartheid era. He also viewed it as necessary in the more important and subsequent processes of forgiveness, reconciliation, transcendence and healing that arise through the cathartic process of truth-telling. In this sense, the extension of notions of *truth* in respect of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission's mandate exceeded a forensic notion of *truth-finding* to include three others of truth-seeking that encompassed personal or narrative truth, social or dialogic truth, and healing or restorative truth (Marx, 2002, p. 51). A sense of African epistemology resounds through these postulations of *truth* in their formulation and exposition. As a philosophical thread of African epistemology, Ubuntu focuses on human relations, attending to the moral and spiritual consciousnesses of what it means to be human and to be in relationship with an-Other. This is voiced in the (TRC) Commission's announcement that "It shifts the primary focus of crime from the breaking of laws or offences against a faceless state to a perception of crime as violations against human beings, as injury or wrong done to another person" (in Marx, 2002, p. 51). Again, the TRC's imperative of truth-seeking is underscored by a conception of African epistemology and Ubuntu in

its incorporation of personal or narrative truth, social or dialogic truth, and healing or restorative truth.

As I have grown to understand the concept as a lived expression of growing up in South Africa, Ubuntu is borne out of the philosophy that community strength comes of community support, and that dignity and identity are achieved through mutualism, empathy, generosity and community commitment. The adage that it takes a village to raise a child is aligned with the spirit and intent of Ubuntu. Just as apartheid threatened to erode this traditional African way of being – although in some instances it ironically strengthened it through galvanizing collectivist support and creating solidarity amongst the oppressed – so increasing industrialization, urbanization and globalization, threatens to do the same. These are some of the discourses in which global citizenship gets caught up, inadvertently advancing these modes of colonization rather than resisting them. The appropriation of African knowledge and cultures is part of the globalizing project while genuflecting to its inclusion. Nevertheless, disregarding their viable contribution to the wellbeing of local communities in Africa as well as to a world in various forms of social and ecological crisis is short-sighted. Generally accepted, African ways of knowing tend to be enacted and conceptualized as circular, organic and collectivist, rather than linear, unitized, materialistic and individualistic, as is attributed to Western perspectives. Traditional African thought in its various enacted forms is said to seek interpretation, expression, understanding, and moral and social harmony, rather than being preoccupied with verification, rationalism, prediction and control, as reified through Western Scientific norms (Asante, 1987; Bell, 2002; Ramose, 1998; Watkins, 1993). In this sense, and most often vocalized in resistance to colonizing capitalism, a more communalist / communitarian philosophy and way of being has been espoused as appropriately in alignment with African worldviews and ways of being (Bell, 2002; Nkrumah, 1966; Nyerere, 1968; Oruka, 1990; Senghor, 1961; Serequeberhan, 1991; Tutu, 1999). However, this has not been without troubling a notion of *community* in the African sense in a global modernistic context, at least for some (Masolo, 1998). Within such a collectivist philosophy, the affective, relational and moral philosophical tenets are fore-fronted and, in the context of post-colonization, the source of much African epistemological self-consciousness (Swanson, 2007b).

As post-apartheid South Africa has emerged out of isolation from the world after a protracted period of international sanctions during apartheid, there has been an increasing trend in the last decade towards neoliberalism as it embraced global capitalism in an attempt to become competitive on the global stage (Adam, van Zyl Slabbert, & Moodley, 1998). This has resulted in the rise of a new bourgeois elite, while significant discrepancies in wealth in South African society remain, even if the reconfiguration of wealth according to race (but class less so) has, to some extent, changed. Some of the previous leaders of the liberation struggle – now amongst the current political leadership in the ANC (African National Congress) have expressed concern, often ironically, about the new elite's preoccupation with self-enrichment and aggrandizement rather than the pursuit of democratic ideals as espoused in much of the

discourse of the anti-apartheid movement. The noted detachment of many of the new elite from the issues of poverty and lack of access to resources still facing their brothers and sisters, (who constitute the majority of South Africans), threatens the unity and commitment of Ubuntu amongst indigenous peoples. South Africa has earned the status of having the widest gap between rich and poor than any other developing nation, and while the reasons are complex, their basis lies in the overarching embrace of global capitalism and neoliberal agendas post apartheid at the expense of indigeneity (Swanson, 2007b).

Ubuntu undoubtedly emphasizes responsibilities and obligations towards a collective well-being. On a global scale, greater co-operation and mutual understanding is very necessary to a sustainable future for all with respect to the ecological, moral and social well-being of its global citizens, human and otherwise. Ubuntu provides legitimizing spaces for transcendence of injustice and a more democratic, egalitarian and ethical engagement of human beings in relationship with each other. In this sense, Ubuntu offers hope and possibility in its contribution to human rights, not only in the South African and African contexts, but also across the globe. In support of this final assertion on human rights, I conclude with the words of Tim Murithi, Programme Officer at the United Nations Institute for Training and Research. In writing on a culturally inclusive notion of human rights and its implications for a new international charter, Murithi (2004) draws on the philosophical underpinnings of Ubuntu towards this end. This is perhaps one of the most powerful arguments for the ubuntunizing of global citizenship discourses and its education. It not only offers a counter-hegemonic perspective in recasting what global citizenship and GCE might look like, but it fills the important third space of possibilities after decolonization (Swanson, 2007b). He says:

> The moment perhaps has come then where new life can be given to the global campaign for human rights by reformulating the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. In particular, together with a re-emphasis of the provisions relating to social and economic justice, which have been virtually neglected of the last 52 years, it is necessary to re-articulate our aspirations to human rights much more in the language of obligations which in turn would then infer an unambiguous call to action. In essence, a re-articulation of human rights from an Ubuntu perspective adds value to the human rights movement by placing more of an emphasis on the obligations that we have towards the *other*. (p. 15)

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4. GLOBAL CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION[1]

A Skillful Version of Social Transformation

INTRODUCTION

In recent years, there has been a growing interest in global citizenship education. Although the term *global citizenship* is still under debate, social (in)justice seems to be dominant concepts in various models of global citizenship education, which results in different approaches (both adopted and proposed) to social transformation. Along a similar vein, this chapter, from Buddhist perspectives, offers one dimension of conceptualizing selfhood, which may inform contemporary conceptions of global citizenship education with regard to social transformation. Specifically, the chapter first articulates two Buddhist concepts; namely suffering and no-self. The next section displays my research findings on how educators and/or teachers in Canada who had both conceptual understandings of Buddhist philosophy, including the no-self doctrine, *and* embodied experiences of this doctrine through their spiritual practices conceived of global citizenship (education) in relation to social transformation, which implies possible contributions to the current theory and practice of global citizenship education.

BUDDHIST THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

In this section, I explain briefly two interrelated concepts that are central to Buddhist philosophy; namely suffering and no-self (Mitchell, 2002; Nhat Hanh, 1998; Rahula, 1974).

Suffering

At the heart of the Buddha's teaching are the Four Noble Truths in which the Buddha identified suffering (*dukkha*) and showed a way to end it. In the First Noble Truth, the Buddha taught that life is suffering although he did not deny that we still have moments of happiness. However, happiness does not last long because everything is impermanent. Thus, some people associate Buddhism with pessimism. Nevertheless, for Rahula (1974):

A. A. Abdi et al. (Eds.), Decolonizing Global Citizenship Education, 39–55.

> Buddhism is neither pessimistic nor optimistic. If anything at all, it is realistic, for it takes a realistic view of life and of the world. It looks at things objectively (yathabhutam). It does not falsely lull you into living in a fool's paradise, nor does it frighten and agonize you with all kinds of imaginary fears and sins. (p. 17)

In the Second Noble Truth, the Buddha addressed the root of suffering. Suffering results from humans' ignorance of the impermanent and inherently empty nature of things, including self, and their consequent attachment to them. The Vietnamese Buddhist monk Thich Nhat Hanh (1998) used an example: "When we are attached to a certain table, it is not the table that causes us to suffer. It is our attachment" (p. 21). Similarly, as we ignore the impermanence of *self*, we are attached to it, trying in vain to make it permanent. Buddhists compare this effort to trying to fill a bottomless pit, which will be empty the day after (Hsuan Hua, 2002). We can never satisfy our insatiable thirst, and "[i]t is this 'thirst', desire, greed, craving, manifesting itself in various ways, that gives rise to all forms of suffering" (Rahula, 1974, p. 29). However, thirst is not the only cause of suffering (Nhat Hanh, 1998; Rahula, 1974). There are many causes leading to suffering. Nevertheless, as indicated, the primary cause of suffering is ignorance of the impermanence and inherent emptiness of things. Nhat Hanh (1998) affirmed, "The greatest internal formation is ignorance of the reality of impermanence and nonself. This ignorance gives rise to greed, hatred, confusion…" (p. 109). Fortunately, suffering can be ended, and this is the message of the Third Noble Truth. In the Fourth Noble Truth, the Buddha taught a path to cease suffering; namely the Noble Eightfold Path, with eight practices: right view, right thinking, right speech, right action, right livelihood, right diligence, right mindfulness, and right concentration (Nhat Hanh, 1998). It is worth noting that *right* is not taken as the negation of *wrong*, *Right* means *skillful* or "in accord with the truth of non-duality" (Nguyen, 2013, p. 28).

It is clear that the practice of the Eightfold Path is all-encompassing. However, having the right view of (no)self is probably the most important because it underpins the other practices.

Perhaps, an elaboration of (no)self would help.

No-Self

For Buddhists, there is not a self that is inherently existent. Put differently, self is contingent. Selfhood is comprised of five elements or Five Aggregates (*skandhas*): form, sensation, perception, mental formation, and consciousness. As Mitchell (2002, p. 38) described, the first aggregate refers to *material elements* making up the body; the second aggregate relates to *sensation* which can be *pleasant, unpleasant, or neutral*; the third aggregate is *perception* denoting (re)cognition of *physical objects and of mental phenomena (ideas or thoughts)*; the fourth aggregate is *mental formations* including the *various mental states, attitudes, and dispositions that form*

the character of one's life; finally, the fifth aggregate is *consciousness* comprising *mental awareness* and *discrimination*.

As for the fifth aggregate, Nhat Hanh (2006) explained the nature of consciousness or the nature of the mind on the foundation of what he called Manifestation Only Buddhism. At a minimum, the theory can be summarized as follows (Nguyen, 2013). The first five sensory consciousnesses are the results of contact between our five senses and the objects. For example, visual consciousness will arise if there is contact between our eye and the corresponding object. Next comes the sixth consciousness or the mind consciousness (*manovijnana*). For Nhat Hanh (2006), "[m]ind consciousness is also considered a sense consciousness. Mental phenomena are ideas, notions, and thoughts" (p. 123). This consciousness is the base of actions of body, speech, and mind. Mind consciousness is grounded in the seventh consciousness (*manas*), a center of delusion and self-defense mechanism and also a source of suffering. Since mind consciousness is influenced by *manas*, whose nature is "obscured by delusion" (p. 128), generally mind consciousness does not see the reality as it is.

Still, *manas* is not the last consciousness. The eighth and last consciousness, the store consciousness (*alayavijnana*), is like a storehouse that keeps all the seeds we put there. Nhat Hanh (2006) explained one of the functions of this consciousness:

> The seeds buried in our store consciousness represent everything we have ever done, experienced, or perceived. These seeds planted by these actions, experiences, and perceptions are the "subject" of consciousness. The store consciousness draws together all these seeds just as a magnet attracts particles of iron. (p. 24)

These seeds are lying there, dormant, waiting for the right time to ripen. When they ripen, the store consciousness manifests itself; the manifestation is generally twofold: (a) self and (b) the self's external surroundings. Note that when these karmic seeds ripen, they create a force that drives the person who has them toward a *particular* direction. This operation follows what Nhat Hanh called *Law of Affinity* or "the attraction of like to like" (p. 64). For example, if a person continuously cultivates the seeds of selfless concern about suffering people, (s)he will be drawn to a charity. By contrast, if an individual nourishes the seeds of drug addiction, (s)he will be driven to those who use drugs and have the same suffering.

For Nhat Hanh (2006), in our store consciousness, there are all kinds of seeds including seeds of ignorance and seeds of awakening. Therefore, although we (may) suffer due to our ignorance, we can still liberate ourselves from suffering thanks to our seeds of awakening. In this regard, the practice of the Eightfold Path would help. Through this practice, we can transform seeds of ignorance and cultivate seeds of awakening inherent in us (Nhat Hanh, 1998, 2006). Particularly, the first practice in the Path, *right view*, is very essential for this transformation because right view is to "recognize which seeds are wholesome and to encourage those seeds to be watered" (Nhat Hanh, 1998, p. 52).

Discussing human potential to be awakened, Buddhist scholar Chogyam Trungpa expressed a similar idea through his notion of *basic goodness*. He held that basic goodness is "very closely connected to the idea of *bodhicitta* in the Buddhist tradition. *Bodhi* means *awake* or *wakeful*, and *citta* means *heart*, so *bodhicitta* is "awakened heart" (1999a, p. 19). Trungpa (1999a) posited that *basic goodness* is intrinsic to self and world. In this sense, although the world is turning *sour*, and "[a]lthough you might be in the worst of the worst shape, still that goodness does exist" (Trungpa, 1999b, p. 27). Thus, individual and social transformation is always *possible*.

From here, Trungpa (1984) offered two metaphors to refer to two worldview versions: the Great Eastern Sun versus the setting-sun visions. The former is grounded in basic goodness while the latter is associated with fear, depression, and hopelessness (Trungpa, 1999b). He wrote:

> The vision of the Great Eastern Sun is based on celebrating life. It is contrasted to the setting sun, the sun that is going down and dissolving into darkness. The setting-sun vision is based on trying to ward off the concept of death, trying to save ourselves from dying. The setting-sun point of view is based on fear. We are constantly afraid of ourselves. We feel that we can't actually hold ourselves upright. We are so ashamed of ourselves, who we are, what we are. (1984, pp. 55–56)

In addition to these differences, while the Great Eastern Sun vision takes a non-dualistic view on human nature, the setting-sun version adopts a dualistic approach:

> In the vision of the Great Eastern Sun, even criminals can be cultivated, encouraged to grow up. In the setting-sun vision, criminals are hopeless, so they are shut off; they don't have a chance. They are part of the dirt that we would rather not see. But in the vision of the Great Eastern Sun, no human being is a lost cause. We don't feel that we have to put a lid on anyone or anything. We are always willing to give things a chance to flower. (Trungpa, 1984, p. 58)

Sadly, the setting-sun vision is a source of injustice. "That approach produces an oppressive social hierarchy in the setting-sun world: there are those who get rid of other people's dirt and those who take pleasure in producing the dirt" (Trungpa, 1984, p. 57).

In short, although *self* is impermanent and although humans may still have ignorance of the impermanent nature of self and world and, thus, may undergo consequent suffering, they can transform self and society. People can do this because, for Nhat Hanh, they have seeds of awakening *already* in them, or because, for Trungpa, they have the *inherent* basic goodness.

DESCRIPTION OF THE STUDY

Eight participants were invited to engage in this research (with pseudonyms such as Rose, Mary, Tim, Allen, Jane, Emily, Peter, and Amanda). They possessed two desired features: (a) being educators or teachers, who were teaching adults, in Canada, and (b) having both intellectual understandings of Buddhist philosophy, including the no-self doctrine, as well as embodied experiences of the no-self doctrine to some extent through their spiritual practices. Specifically, I explored how these educators (teachers), from their Buddhist perspectives and experiences, conceived of (no) self, and how this conception informed their understandings of global citizenship (education) (limited to the aspect of social transformation in this chapter). In-depth and semi-structured interviews were employed to collect data.

FINDINGS

The findings of my research include two main categories; namely conceptions of (no)self and conceptions of global citizenship (education) in the context of social transformation.

Conception of (No)Self

I found that all the participants shared the point that self is interconnected and impermanent. However, beneath that impermanence, in each *self* there is *hidden treasure*. In what follows, I offer a snapshot of my journey to find the properties of *hidden treasure*. I focus on this notion as I found that it may add one dimension to current conceptions of self which inform the theories and practices of global citizenship education.

Let us meet Emily. She believed that people have such negative mental formations as greed and fear on the one hand, but they all possess *basic goodness* on the other. Attracted to the notion of basic goodness, I expected further description. Emily said that in her own understanding, *[B]asic goodness* is the opposite of the original sin. Instead of being born with the original sin, we are born with basic goodness." However, she also noted that

> sometimes that basic goodness does not always shine through, does not always manifest. You don't always see it right away because there are so many other things that are getting in the way of that basic goodness shining through. But I believe the more aware a person is of all those other things that are getting in the way of that basic goodness shining through, the more it is shining through.

Emily's explanation of basic goodness was very interesting, and the thing that really caught my attention was her statement, "You don't always see it right away because there are so many other things that are getting in the way of that basic

goodness shining through." I told myself then, "Ah, this is *hidden* treasure." It is inherent in each individual because, for Emily, "we are born with basic goodness." However, that basic goodness is covered by our busy thoughts. Fortunately, Emily showed me a way to uncover it. That is, "if I become aware of that and put all these things aside, the basic goodness just automatically shines through." I was really excited at this, thinking, "This is good news. It is not so difficult to find that hidden treasure."

That said, I had the sense that it was hard to find the whole treasure at one time. Rather, people need to practice meditation in whatever form. The more they practice, the more treasure they uncover. This insight came to me when Emily shared her experience:

> [B]ecause I am aware of it, I can put my grumpy feelings aside and little more basic goodness can shine through. So, if I become aware of that and put all these things aside, the basic goodness just automatically shines through. It's like big light shining through.

It was clear to me that the more Emily practiced being aware of her thoughts and feelings, the more basic goodness she uncovered. She revealed that awareness is connected with meditation.

I continued my journey to find *hidden treasure* from the other participants. Coincidentally, I discovered that the concept of (basic) goodness was also mentioned by Allen and Tim. Tim gave me some more insights into *basic goodness*, "[I]f we have an attitude that we are basically good, the world is basically good, society is basically good…. Our attitude is that the earth is providing us with all that we need to live." Herein, I recognized that *basic goodness* is intrinsic not only to individuals but also to the earth in that "the earth is providing us with all that we need to live." From this stance, Tim believed that what people need to do is "manage [the earth] well." Importantly, through what Tim said, I learnt that basic goodness is not only hidden but also an *endless* treasure that everyone possesses. He said that from the *basic goodness* perspective, *there's no limitation*. Out of curiosity, I was about to request that Tim explain what he had meant by *there's no limitation*, but he continued:

> [I]f you think you have some kind of original badness, that there's something bad in you, then you're worried about that and you think *I'm not good enough. I'm too weak. I'm the type of person who is not able*. And then, your effort will be weak. And then, your result will be weak. You will be a self-fulfilling negative story, where you could be an unlimited blossoming whatever.

For Tim, this treasure is endless because it gives rise to the infinity of *ontological* possibilities ("you could be an unlimited blossoming whatever") and even *epistemological* possibilities ("there's no limit to our capabilities our knowing") as long as people trust their original goodness—the goodness they are born with. Thus, for Tim, "Everything is possible, anything is possible." He continued:

> Generally, the world is always looking at *a problem*. When we turn on the news, there's one problem after another problem, and we get lost in problems, and we try to solve this problem and then that problem…. So we're caught up in our drama. But if we have the view of basic goodness, then we always feel like I'm growing. It doesn't matter where I start, I could be some criminal in jail, but I still have the possibility to grow up and be free from suffering, free from passion, aggression, and ignorance, free from delusions altogether.

In Tim's assumption, people tend to begin their worldview with the dark side of the world and naturalize it, whereas *basic goodness* allows them to recognize its inherent goodness. While listening to Tim, I automatically imaged a telescope, wondering if changing our worldview, from that of *problems* to that of *basic goodness*, was like simply shifting the way we look at the world from seeing through one end of the telescope (to find just negative things) to seeing through the other end (to find positive things only). However, coincidentally I found the answer in Tim's unexpected warning:

> I should add however, it's not about putting rose-coloured glasses on so everything looks good. It's about seeing things as they are. Things go their own way, good or bad; still we can do something about that… If it's fifty-fifty what side will you choose. If the odds are against [you] you can shift the odds. You can choose the way. We're always choosing, making choices every moment.

Now, it turned out to me that adopting the *basic goodness* view is not the matter of shifting the end of the telescope. Rather, it is the matter of removing the lenses of the telescope to see things as they are, and then people can make a choice although they are not certain about its result. However, Tim believed that even when bad things happen, people can still make a change. Again, I found that this point resonated with the notion of possibility Tim had mentioned earlier. That is, with the belief in basic goodness or the infinity of possibilities, a person can make a choice or a change every moment. Ultimately, in my understanding, a person with this view would never see himself or herself being stuck even in difficult situations.

I noticed that while Tim was articulating his understanding of (no)self, he referred to the eighth consciousness of the mind. In Tim's description, human body and human mind (in the ordinary sense) are "gone" when they are dead. This makes Buddhism sound like "atheism or nihilism," Tim supposed. However, he noted that the eighth consciousness is what continues to exist. For him, this consciousness is the "mind stream that goes from life to life." Thus, Tim said, non-Buddhists might think that it is like an "eternal soul." However, he emphasized that the mind stream, or the eighth consciousness, could not be given "that kind of solidity" because it is, in fact, fluid. Specifically, although the eighth consciousness contains all kinds of seeds as a result of people's "mental and physical actions" and it is thus "pregnant

with all kinds of possibilities of all the seeds you put there," Tim believed that the eighth consciousness could be emptied. The fact is that "the Buddha emptied it and then became completely enlightened." From this, I learnt that although the eighth consciousness goes on after one's death, still it is *not* solid.

Let us visit another two characters on my journey to find human hidden treasure: Amanda and Mary. I found that these two participants offered a similar concept to refer to this human hidden treasure: the *subtle mind*. Mary offered a snapshot of the subtle mind while she was explaining death and events after death. In her belief, the mind in the ordinary sense, or what she called the "gross" mind, will disappear when people are dead; however, the subtle mind continues to exist. This mind creates a continuum that still exists after death, causing rebirth or reincarnation. And then, in a new rebirth, a new gross mind is formed. For Mary, this subtle mind is "very peaceful, very clear." Likewise, Amanda affirmed the existence of the subtle mind:

> [O]ur very subtle minds are our subconscious. We think that we can't be in contact with that. We think we only have a cognitive, outer, gross mind that we think with and feel with, and all of that, but really as we go deeper into meditation we realize we can connect with our subconscious mind.

Amanda believed that the source of wisdom is inside this subtle mind. She added, "that's where Buddha nature wants to reside" or the place "where we are already peaceful and living the way of the Buddha already." However, for Amanda, normally people are not in that state because of conditioned layers they construct and identify with, which prevents them from seeing the reality as it is and hence keeps them from returning to their inherent state of Buddhahood or enlightened nature. Thus, to return to this state, Amanda suggested that

> [we should] decondition ourselves to be able to abide in that natural state of just being, instead of all of the other stuff that we've conditioned ourselves with through this life, through our raising, through our culture, and in all of our past lives.

She also said that connecting with the subtle mind or returning to the state of Buddhahood would "naturally bring in compassion" because then "you would see reality as it is which is not separate. There's no duality. There's no you-me and us-them, and everything is interdependent."

In brief, from all the data, I understood that human hidden treasure possesses such attributes as (a) clarity; (b) non-dualistic awareness; (c) peace, unconditional compassion, and wisdom; (d) infinity of possibilities; and (e) expandability in virtue of (meditation) practice. Given these attributes, I called this human hidden treasure the *space of awakening* although I was aware that it was called by different names by my participants, for example "the space of peace and unmediated love" (Rose),

"pure awareness" (Emily and Rose), and "subtle mind" (Mary and Amanda), "basic goodness" (Tim and Emily).

Action Toward Social Justice

Two sub-themes were identified; namely unskillful and skillful work toward social justice.

Unskillful work toward social justice. I learnt from the data that an action toward social justice may end up perpetuating the status quo or replacing one suffering with another. I drew this point, first, from Rose's example:

> Engaging in social justice projects in other countries may be very helpful and excellent but only if the projects are based on deep insight and compassion. However such projects can do great harm if they are based on an ignorant or ethnocentric point of view.

The reader may wonder who decides if these projects come from an ignorant or ethnocentric viewpoints or who decides what is harmful. For Rose, only that person knows this better than anyone else. Meditation on compassion would help the person to see his or her mental formations, including motivation. In her suggestion, after meditation, the person should think about the time when (s)he may have experienced ignorance and ethnocentrism (as a victim, a perpetrator, or both). With meditation on compassion, in Rose's view, the meditator would have some insight into that experience and know what should or should not be done in a particular situation. Here, an idea naturally arose in my mind: mediation would help people to have a *clear(er) mind*." And I wondered, "*What is a clouded mind?"*

Then, I learnt that a clouded mind is the mind covered with assumptions. I came up with this idea thanks to Allen:

> I think the negative aspect of charity is that we don't need to know much about the object of our charity, or we assume we already know anything we need to know about the object of our charity. We push toward them something we think will be useful: our old shoes, or twenty five dollars, or whatever it might be.

Tim even gave a warning about the danger of the imposition of one's opinions on others:

> If you don't understand [people from other countries], and you're forcing your opinions on them or your way of life on them, this always leads to trouble and we can see that trouble going on in the world today. And if we look at history, we see most of the trouble for human beings and civilizations in the world because one civilization is forcing its ways on another civilization and calling it "generosity" which really is selfishness.

It was clear to me that a clouded mind is one covered with assumptions and arrogance. "What else?"I wondered. Right after that, I recalled Emily's example in the educational setting. That is, before her students came out to engage in First Nation communities, they were likely to have misjudgement or prejudice against the other. However, for Emily, if students were aware of their own beliefs, they might have more compassion for First Nations peoples. I now learnt that prejudice also prevents people from seeing the true reality and hence having compassion for others. In brief, from these participants, I inferred that a clouded mind is the one covered with *assumption, arrogance, and prejudice.* Through what they said, I understood that action toward social justice, which comes from a clouded mind, may end up with the same status quo because the global citizen's perspective is not changed or because they do not really understand the other. I thus called this kind of action *unskillful work*.

Skillful work towards justice. The findings revealed that skillful work comes from what I called a *clear(er) mind*. This concept came to my mind thanks to Rose's explanation of the notion of *clarity*. It refers to the state when negative emotions are absent or when "[w]e are clear of misperception, of judgement, of anxiety, of delusional emotions and thoughts that cloud the ability to see things as they are" (Rose). The reader may realize that clarity or a clear(er) mind relates to the space of awakening I had described in the no-self subsection. Also, I discovered from the data that ideally social action should come from that mind, or the space of awakening. Specifically, more social justice would be attained if global citizens' actions come from their clear(er) minds, where "assumptions" are "dropped" (Allen), "previously held beliefs" are "challenged" (Emily), and compassion resides (Rose and Amanda, for example).

Notably, I learnt that meditation would help to obtain this mind. In this research, I did not mean to investigate specific meditation techniques. However, I discovered that relaxation and stillness are aspects of meditation. Now I understood why relaxing is encouraged by Buddhists. Jane even associated social action with relaxing. "[R]elaxing is a kind of social activism. In a tense and anxious culture, relaxing is a form of countercultural activism." She explained, "When the self is relaxed, open, and expansive, kindness, compassion, generosity, helpfulness all arise." Rose stressed the importance of stillness. "[I]f we can cultivate that stillness in ourselves, we are more likely to act from the standpoint of stillness. Then, we are able to draw on that sense of 'no-self' compassion, or unconditional love." Returning to the notion of "clear mind," or the mind where compassion resides, I came across Rose's statement, "It is imperative that global justice action comes from this deeper sense of connection and compassion, so that we do not repeat violence and harm in the world."

In brief, I called the action that comes from the clear(er) mind, or the mind of wisdom and compassion *skillful work*. Amanda offered an example of how skillful work operates:

> [O]ur tradition Buddhism gives us a tool that we need to stay centered, grounded, and positive when we're working [toward justice] so that we don't get angry, we don't get hateful, and we don't become negative, and we also, as we talked about, we include the oppressor in our compassion and prayers and not just the victim.

She continued to explain that being grounded helps to "stay with the course of action [based on Buddhist teachings]," and being centered means "you don't get shaken when we're with the others." Also, it occurred to me that, in this skillful work, there is no anger or hatred. Remarkably, both oppressors and victims are included in the scope of compassion. Amanda explained why she had compassion for oppressors, "they acquire a lot of suffering first. So, they are not peaceful beings. There are struggles in themselves…. So, they need our compassion."

Tim offered another aspect of skillful work through what he called "non-aggressive approach." He gave an example:

> If you have a strong opinion against female circumcision, and you're a Buddhist, you would want to find groups that are actually speaking out on it. And you would like to find a way to speak out on it without being aggressive, so you find a way to peacefully speak out on the subject, a nonaggressive protest approach.

In this regard, for Tim, communication is a good approach. In his view, compassionate communication is a skillful way for Buddhist activists to respond to harmful things:

> You can communicate on the street, you can communicate in the classroom, you can communicate anywhere, anytime, but you practice nonaggression, a sympathetic attitude, in other words, skillful means…. It depends on your ability to be genuinely compassionate in order to communicate with people.

Tim's notions of "compassion" and "nonaggression" reminded me of Rose's statement earlier in which action should be grounded in compassion so that violence is not repeated. I returned to Rose's account again. Her notions of "action" and "non-action" were very interesting to me. "The idea of action itself is only supported by the idea of non-action," said she. It means action should come from non-action, the state of complete peace and stillness. It was clear that an action would be truly compassionate and peaceful if it comes from the space of awakening.

Overall, I learnt from the data that skillful work comes from a clear(er) mind, or the mind of wisdom and compassion. Its approach is *peaceful* and *deeply compassionate*.

DISCUSSION

On the foundation of my research findings and the Buddhist literature presented earlier, I will offer a discussion pertaining to intercultural dialogue about conceptions of self which inform ideas for social transformation.

Conceptions of Self

In some Western conceptions, self is perceived to be the product of society. For example, for Dewey, at birth the human self is a "bare form, an empty ideal without content" (Rockefeller, 1991, p. 99). Thus, human goodness, for some scholars, is not something people are born with, but it is social and relational. For example, Todd (2009), drawing on Levinas's point of view, argued that the good is *not* inherent to human beings, but it only arises in relationships, notably from trauma, and thus it is social and relational. Stating this, Todd also argued against Kant's notion of humanity. Kant's notion of humanity, for Todd, may have the potential for violence because it takes inhumane elements as its opposing forces while, in Todd's view, inhumanity is also a part of human nature. In this sense, for Todd (2009), Kantian humanity was perceived to overlook the complexity of human nature:

> [W]hat Kant gives us here is an image of humanity as building on a seemingly natural germ of goodness that lies in opposition to our human capacity for evil. The conventional reading of Kant's thesis is that evil is an ever-present threat to our well-being. (p. 14)

And then Todd expressed her concern:

> Education thus serves the future not by facing the undesirable aspects of our being human but through nurturing those seeds of goodness that lie "within." My concern is that current educational projects that one-sidedly take up the goodness of humanity risk repeating this same banishment of evil, leaving us without a language for dealing with the antagonistic elements of human interaction, which are indeed rife in educational and social encounters. (p. 14)

It was clear that Todd rejected the duality between humanity and inhumanity, recognizing the complexity of human nature.

Buddhists, from my findings, would share Todd's view in that there is a non-duality between humanity and inhumanity. However, my study findings allowed me to say that Buddhists would not reject the point that humans have their intrinsic goodness. The results indicated that humans are born with the space of awakening. It was also believed that people have all kinds of seeds with all kinds of possibility in the eighth consciousness existing life after life. From this perspective, it was clear that, for some Buddhists, people are not *empty* contents, as understood in an ordinary sense. Contrariwise, they believe that goodness or humanity is intrinsic to self and world. Remarkably, this goodness is non-dualistic because it comes from

the locale of nondual awareness. In other words, the person who returns to that state of goodness would see things as they are, without inner struggle. It also means that, with nondual awareness, the individual would not have enemies to get rid of because then (s)he would no longer work from the place of fear, hatred, and delusion. Thus, the Buddhist view of goodness or humanity is non-dualistic. It is different from any dualistic conception of humanity in which "the rhetorical force of *humanity* is actually made more meaningful against the very backdrop of its seeming negation," expressed in Todd's criticism (p. 10) and in her concern, "appealing to humanity as a ground for nonviolence, conflict resolution, or civil peace… risks, to my mind, the erasure of the very human element to be found in 'inhuman' violence, suffering, and civil hardship" (p. 10). Her concern was also extended to the field of education, as presented above. Buddhist conceptions of goodness may not cause such a concern. As explored previously, some Buddhists affirm human good qualities while still acknowledging perceived bad qualities of human beings, with compassion and with a kind attempt to transform them. This Buddhist view of human nature, in my opinion, may help to relieve Todd's concern expressed earlier.

At the same time, my research findings made me raise two questions when Todd argued that the Good derives from within the relation to the other, and "it cannot or in any ideal that lies outside the human encounter" (p. 18), but "[h]umanity's name *is* [emphasis original] the responsibility that is forged out of trauma and the ever-present threat of violence" (p. 19). First, "Without inherent seeds of goodness, or at least seeds of ethical responsibility, which are *already in* people, how could their goodness or their sense of responsibility arise in that particular situation?" Put metaphorically, without rose seeds, how could roses come to existence? Second, even when there are the inherent seeds, without *various* other factors, how could these qualities manifest themselves? Although Buddhists may appreciate the value of the potential violence or traumatic relationships, as believed by Todd, in creating ethical responsibility, what I learnt from the research findings let me say that some Buddhists would not overlook *sweeter* elements (for example, teacher's role and educational environment) that co-create it, because as presented earlier, self and all its elements are not inherently existent, they are interdependent with others. In this sense, responsibility does not necessarily come from *trauma* or *ever-present threat of violence*." It may also come from a heart with unconditional compassion or any place where compassion is nurtured.

Remarkably, Todd's view is echoed in the idea underpinning the pedagogy of implication advocated by some global citizenship education scholars. A pedagogy of implication is one in which the Eurocentric learning self is informed of "the devastating impact one [sic] one's participation in global relations of exploitation and exclusion" (Taylor, 2012, pp. 190–191). In a similar vein, Swanson (2011) described a "transdisciplinary course" that "provides some possibilities of an alternative globalization project within the academic institution" (p. 134) in which "[p]articipants are challenged to reflexively understand their own complicity and implicatedness in the broader social structures of oppression and injustice" (p. 135).

Although the pedagogy of implication is very desirable and helpful in the context of global citizenship education in that it may facilitate students' ethical responsibility, the consequent challenges are inevitable. For example, students likely face the "uncomfortable and difficult knowledge" (Swanson, 2011, p. 134) or the "knowledge which interrupts and implicates the learning self (Taylor, 2012, p. 180), even with a "profound epistemological and ontological crisis" (p. 180), when the self begins to learn that the Other is not like what (s)he thought, or when the self is exposed to the "violence implicit to the colonial relation and to a learning encounter that threatens to overwhelm the learner with infinite responsibility for the Other's suffering" (p. 189). As discussed earlier, some Buddhists may not let themselves get stuck in this trauma.

I think some Buddhists would say that it is still *necessary* to have students be aware that they participate in global injustices in some way, which is supposed to enhance their global responsibility. However, students would *not* necessarily have to get trapped in the "traumatic crisis of difficult knowledge" that threatens their identity as perceived by Taylor (2012, p. 186) if they are aware of the interdependent and inherently empty nature of self. Also, from a Buddhist perspective, students may not be caught in a sense of "guilt" (p. 188) or overwhelming "infinite responsibility" (p. 189) as observed by Taylor (2012) if they realize that although they may contribute to global injustices, they and other people still have *intrinsic power* to change the world every single moment. Indeed, the notion of a "space of awakening" from my findings and the concepts of "intrinsic seeds" and "basic goodness" from the literature aforementioned make me think that people do not have to get stuck in what Trungpa called the "cocoon" (1999b, p. 6) of darkness and suffering; rather they should be aware of the sun of inherent goodness and awakening. This idea relates to the "Great Eastern Sun" version I described earlier where global citizens would feel responsible for the Other's and their suffering on the one hand, but on the other hand, they still believe that they have basic goodness or inherent power to transform suffering and injustice. Also, this idea reminds me of the "Right View" approach in which healthy seeds (individual and collective) are selected and cultivated. Indeed, the reader may still recall what Tim, my participant, said. From the basic goodness perspective, "Everything is possible, anything is possible." In this spirit, as global citizens, Buddhists, as explored, would not have to get trapped in the "setting-sun" scenario of fear, suffering, guilt, and overwhelming responsibility because then they are confident that they are not alone in creating the suffering of the world *and* are not alone in relieving suffering either. People, individual and collective, *can* always make a good change to the world. My hope is that these research findings may offer an answer to the question by a character in Taylor's (2012) chapter, "How do we feel responsible without just feeling guilty?" (p. 193).

Action toward social justice. My findings earlier indicated that there are two kinds of action: skillful work from the clear(er) mind or the space of awakening *and* unskillful work from the clouded mind or the locale of ego. In fact, the

discovered information regarding unskillful action is not quite novel because there is a substantial body of literature on global citizenship education discussing this issue (for example Cook, 2012; Jefferess, 2012; Taylor, 2012) although these authors did not call it "unskilful work toward social justice." Taylor (2012) addressed the "relation of helper-helpless in the act of charity" (p. 181), and for her, "[t]his relation is cemented in the promise of gratitude from the 'helped' and the acquisition of enhanced 'intercultural' cosmopolitan competencies by the helper" (p. 181). Cook (2012) gave an example of work toward social transformation coming from ego-centric motives:

> Traveling abroad to do development work seems not to be solely a selfless venture of helping for Western women in Gilgit as the politics of benevolence would have it, but also, as it was in the colonial era, a means for metropolitan women dissatisfied with their lives at home to constitute themselves as full, independent, and authoritative individuals and thereby achieve some sense of personal autonomy. (p. 129)

Or, some students, as global citizens, were perceived to "utilize the knowledge, and indeed lives, of others as objects of their own knowledge production and skills development (Jefferess, 2012, p. 35). Thus, as noted, my research results in this aspect are not novel.

However, the findings regarding skilful action may illustrate something remarkable. As presented previously, skillful action is one that comes from the space of awakening, and its approach is non-violent and deeply compassionate. It spares compassion for both oppressors and victims. In a way, this approach parallels the Great Eastern Sun approach and the Right View approach described earlier, grounded upon the belief in human intrinsic goodness and thus is very encouraging and tolerant. These results may add one dimension to current global citizenship practices. As demonstrated earlier, from a post-colonial perspective, there are some perceived limitations of global citizenship practices constructed in the colonial framework. Thus, there is a suggestion of destabilizing the dualistic conception of self held by some First World people. However, some scholars admit to having some difficulties in so doing because in order for the people (students) involved to have a sense of responsibility, they are expected to experience uncomfortable moments when their identity is under threat. Specifically, the learner is likely to have "injury" when (s)he is exposed to "the violence implicit to the colonial relation and to a learning encounter that threatens to overwhelm the learner with infinite responsibility for the Other's suffering" (Taylor, 2012, p. 189). This may risk "the rush of colonial imaginaries and the defense of the self" (p. 186). (To me, this crisis and self-defense are inevitable, especially when people find no alternative ontological and epistemological version to help them be healed after the self-destabilization process). Fortunately, my research findings regarding the relation between space of awakening and meditation presented earlier bring good news. That is, to help students be good citizens or adopt a skillful approach to social transformation, educators do not necessarily render

such moments as traumatic. Rather, instructors can give students relaxed and still moments because relaxation and stillness have social and ethical consequences, as explored previously. It is understandable because some Buddhists believe that all people have a space of awakening as articulated above. However, their busy thoughts and feelings cover it. Thus, relaxation and stillness can help them to return to that space of awakening. In brief, relaxation and stillness specifically and meditation generally are supposed to be significantly valuable in social activism, which would make practitioners act out of not only responsibility but even unconditional love and compassion as well.

CONCLUDING COMMENTS

In terms of conceptions of self, my research indicated that although self is impermanent, there is a space of awakening inherent in self and world. Therefore, suffering and injustice are not the end points. Rather, we can transform self and society, with this inherent power. As for social transformation, the findings identified two versions of social work: (a) the unskillful work, from the clouded mind and (b) the skillful work, from the clear(er) mind or the space of awakening. The second version parallels the Right View approach advocated by Nhat Hanh and the Great Eastern Sun worldview approach articulated by Trungpa. Based on these foundations, I would like to suggest that although the world is still chaotic and humans still suffer, we should not let ourselves be convinced by the belief in "basic badness" of self and world or the assumption that the world could only be bettered if we are responsible for its badness. My hope is that the skilful version could add one dimension to current theories and practices of global citizenship education. Also, I believe that an enlightened society and globe is *not* a utopian vision. Rather, it is *possible* in each moment. Indeed, those who have this view are not supposed to have a concern about "Will society ever be enlightened?" but rather "When is [an] enlightened society not possible?" (Mukpo, 2013, p. 44).

NOTE

[1] This chapter is based on my doctoral dissertation.

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5. EVIL IN CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION

INTRODUCTION

Teaching democratic citizens to have actively mindful engagements with others in the political realm potentially fosters students' sense of agency to shape and hope for the future. Much of the literature on citizenship education lists values and actions consisting of *should be* projections considered necessary for democratic life; however, these calls for schools to inculcate characteristics deemed worthy of responsible or active citizenship often overlook the flaws of modern democratic systems, expecting schools to train or remediate students to fit into idealized visions of actual political life (Couture, 1997; Dean, 2009). This placement of a projected and desired future highlights that pedagogy cannot overwrite experience—students will learn citizenship as much by how they, their relatives, and friends interact with our democratic institutions as what they encounter in schools.

The false idealism of our democratic system embodied by the teaching of the *ideal* attributes of citizens is inversely mirrored by the pessimism of discussions about historical and contemporary evil, which also does a disservice to students. Hutchinson (1996) notes from his research that students can be driven "deeper into avoidance, denial, [with] feelings of futility or of living in the moment" if their classes examine the future in a simplistic fashion, focused on negative trajectories of current problems rather than envisaging alternative possibilities (p. 45). A one-dimensional understanding of evil—as an otherworldly or radical entity beyond our comprehension—contributes to this sense powerlessness. As that which shapes humans beyond their control, evil is often seen as inevitable and too powerful to effectively counter. Badiou's *ethic of truths* provides a necessary secular complication of predominant contemporary understandings of evil to heighten students' reflection on their shared capacities to both be influenced and influential in relation to contemporary pressing issues of social concern.

LIMITS OF TEACHING CITIZENSHIP

Although students can learn much from their teachers, classes are not substitutes for experience, and citizenship education is no exception: "We learn the values of democratic behavior by living in democratic institutions" (Egan, 1983, p. 210).

A. A. Abdi et al. (Eds.), Decolonizing Global Citizenship Education, 57–67.

Experience learned in the surrounding culture contains the potential (or not) to promote democratic experiences and hence dispositions. Even if it were not near an impossible task, citizenship education further complicates itself when it focuses on attributes and dispositions in the form of vague, should-be statements, rather than content that supports both hope and action for preferable future outcomes. Different camps of scholars, such as liberals or civic republicans, debate what these virtues should be and whether they are best taken up as a private or more public concern (Callen, 1997). In either case, what is often unaddressed concerns "the living complexities of students' lives and the role of historical imagining in casting their present intelligible and futures possible" (den Heyer, 2006, p. 86).

Westheimer (2008) points out that simplistic definitions of citizenship based on a list of attributes do not distinguish between citizens of democracies and dictatorships. For example, obeying laws and helping out those less fortunate would be ideal characteristics of a Canadian citizen today as well as a German citizen in the 1940s:

> *good citizenship* to many educators means listening to authority figures, dressing neatly, being nice to neighbors, and helping out at a soup kitchen—not grappling with the kinds of social policy decisions that every citizen in a democratic society needs to learn how to do. (Westheimer, 2008, p. 7)

It would be a fruitless task to find a government who did not want its people to acquiesce to its standards for law and order. The procedural knowledge of understanding what the laws are and what the penalties are for breaking them is insufficient. Compliant students in the classroom and people in the broader social context do not embody the democratic ideal when they demand from authority to "just tell me what I need to know, I don't want to have to think about it", as spoken by a successful Bachelor of Education student describing her success as an award winning high school student (den Heyer, 2009b, p. 29). Moving beyond fostering *personally responsible* and *participatory citizens* into the realm of *social-justice* oriented citizens, who examine the shared policy initiatives shaping contemporary political life, offers a more robust possible school contribution to possible forms of democratic life.

EVIL, POLITICS, AND FUTURE POTENTIALITY

There is little point in teaching students about their obligation to vote or to be kind when they may already have little reason to believe their actions can modify or change existing policy directions. Dictatorships often have controlled participation whereby citizens vote for preapproved *candidates*, although results are still manipulated. This charade runs the risk of lulling some citizens into thinking that they actually have a voice in their government. There are, sadly, many examples of this manipulation, such as the *elections* of President Mugabe of Zimbabwe in 2011 and 2013 (Smith, 2011; Zhangazha, 2013). The façade of democracy in dictatorships provides a

superficial legitimization of the government that needs to be questioned by the citizens. Unfortunately, a similar problem exists even in established democracies. The Canadian federal election in 2011 had significant problems with manipulation of the voting process; in fact, Elections Canada received 1,394 complaints about fraudulent activity spanning 247 of Canada's 308 ridings (Fitzpatrick, 2012; National Post, 2012). The most infamous of these activities was the robocall scandal. Michael Sona, the director of communications for a Guelph Conservative candidate was tried in June 2014 and found guilty for programming 7,000 automated calls to voters directing them to the wrong voting station. The involvement of Conservative Party lawyer, Arthur Hamilton, has called the independence of the Elections Canada investigation into question (McGregor, 2013). Merely participating in the electoral process is not the sign of a healthy democracy.

To identify a *good* citizen simply as one who participates is inadequate when attempting to address the hopes of democratic life. Although participation and a sense of being personally responsible constitute desired characteristics of citizenship whether in a democratic or totalitarian state, we would expect social justice issues taken up in classrooms to be unique to healthy democratic cultures. A starting point could be to examine how we approach foundational concepts that affect how we behave as citizens. One such foundation is our understanding of evil and the ways we see evil shaping the past, present, and future.

History is wrought with violent events, including wars and genocides. In the face of this traumatic reality, we need to ask how teaching history can both face up to these historical realities while maintaining a sense of present-future efficacy (Osborne, 2000). Studying the concept of evil with our students opens up the potential to affect historical thinking and our sense of agency and hope. To what extent and in what ways do understandings of evil also shape passivity in relation to contemporary issues of pressing concern? Our understanding of evil shapes many aspects of our thoughts, beliefs, and actions; yet, in contemporary schools, evil likely receives little attention despite its ubiquitous political usage. Ronald Reagan called the Soviet Union an *evil empire* in a speech (8 March, 1983) to discourage American citizens from voting to lessen the United States' nuclear arsenal. More recently, the *axis of evil* was used as a rallying cry for the United States' war in Iraq, using the assumption that there are "truths that we will never question: Evil is real, and it must be opposed" (Bush, 29 January, 2002). Harper has dubbed Iran as evil and also linked Nazism, Marxist-Leninism, and terrorism together as reinventions of a similar evil that seeks to destroy "human liberty" (Marsden, 2012; Perkel, 2014). Why such rhetoric is dangerous is that it has repercussions for how we behave as citizens: "If we see ourselves as fighting evil rather than a mere threat to national security (among many such threats), we are more willing to make sacrifices" (Stern, 2004, p. 1113). The use of the term *evil* in politics can be a persuasive hermeneutic cheat or meme that shuts down debate, exploiting the semantic impact of word for political propaganda (Dews, 2008). The concept of evil is an important aspect of the rhetoric of international conflict, and yet is

not included in the social studies curriculum as a deposit of hope for democratic citizenship learning.

BEING BENEATH GOOD AND EVIL

To promote hope while learning traumatic historical events requires engaging citizens and youths in questions around the nature of evil as related to the multitude of gross violations of human dignity contained in historical records. As a starting point, students could learn about a variety of interpretations of evil in philosophy; e.g., the notion of *a priori* evil (Kant, 1838), the modern "nightmare" that an evil spirit ("*Dieu trompeur*") deliberately tricks humanity (Arendt, 1958, p. 277), the banality of evil in the political realm (Arendt, 1963/2006), the anamorphosis and indistinct nature of contemporary evil (Baudrillard, 1990/1993), the rejection of transcendent Good/Evil (Deleuze, 1970/1988, 1969/1990; Spinoza, 1677/1985), evil brought on by inventing a morality that contradicts nature (Nietzsche, 1886/2008), and evil as a failure or misunderstanding to uphold a truth (Badiou, 1998/2001). Each of these constructs of evil offers crucial insights. Badiou's work in particular, however, offers a succinct construct of the term. Badiou starkly contrasts the simplistic use of evil as inherent in contemporary political discourse in which normal, ordinary people and processes become the focus of inquiry. Badiou (1998/2001) actively seeks ways to encourage "affirmative inventions of alternative personal and social realities" (den Heyer, 2009a, p. 441). Incorporating the philosophy of Badiou into citizenship education provides a means to examine industrial-level violence in a way that encourages hope for a more peaceful future and the agency to create that preferable future.

Badiou's *ethic of truths* is particularly helpful when examining past and present evils (2001). This ethic is defined as "that which lends consistency to the presence of some-one in the composition of the subject induced by the process of this truth" (p. 44). This some-one can be any human faithful to the truth-process, a multiple singularity "transfixed in an instant of eternity" as s/he breaks with his/her "perseverance of being" (pp. 45–46). For this to happen, not only must an "event" occur, the encounter with that which defies explanation or inclusion into habitual forms of thought that "compels us to decide a *new* way of being," but also we must remain steadfastly faithful to this event by thinking of the present situation from the perspective of the event as "becoming subjects" whether becoming is in the realms of love, art, science, or politics (pp. 41–42). A new truth is not *the* Truth, and thus many more truths do indeed happen. For example, Haydn had a truth-process that broke through Baroque music, but this classical style is not progress per se, but rather an example of a "truth that *forces* knowledges" (p. 70, emphasis original). There have been other truth-processes since the advent of classical music, but, again, this is not "progress," just the emergence of new knowledges. This understanding of truth-processes entails a different approach to the nature of evil.

One of the most common ways to understand evil is that it is a definable set of thoughts or actions (or inactions). Such an idea stems from the idea of *a priori* evil and thus *good* is how we react to *evil*; e.g., creating human rights to counteract crimes against humanity. According to Badiou (1998/2001), this framing has several crucial flaws: a) "identifies a generic human subject and the evil that befalls him/her"; b) "assumes that ethics will guide politics, with the spectator judging the circumstances accordingly"; and c) "hypothesizes that Good derives from a reaction to Evil, rather than the opposite" (p. 9).

Badiou (1998/2001) believes that instead of trying to transcend *evil* and embody *good*, we should see ourselves as "*beneath* Good and Evil" in a much more disorganized fashion (pp. 59–60). We must see evil as a dimension (perhaps even a perversion) of truth-processes in the form of:

- Betrayal: the corruption and exhaustion that tempts us to a betray a truth we have encountered (e.g., failing to pursue a new musical form because of opposition);
- Delusion: the confusion of the simulacrum of an event with a genuine event (e.g., mistaking infatuation for love) which perversion then can result in nihilistic terror (e.g., the Jacobin Committee of Public Safety);
- Disaster: the imposition of a truth out of hubris, attempting to make it objective and absolute, confusing objective knowledge with subjective truth (e.g., Charlemagne forcing people to convert to Christianity or die at the sword). (Badiou, 1998/2001, pp. 71–87)

The existence of relational (not relative) truths precludes the possibility of a transcendent radical Evil because evil only exists as a dimension of truth-processes, not simply a rejection or neglect of the Good. Thus, good precedes evil. Evil as a dimension (perhaps even a perversion) of truth-processes in the form of simulacrum and terror, betrayal, or disaster opens us up to see beyond simplistic dualism, honouring the complexities inherent in the human condition and opening up potentialities for the future.

Citizenship and the state to which they contribute are as much projects to undertake as they are ideals to uphold. Blind adherence to the basics of an ideology is insufficient for citizenship education. Conservatism in its implementation can be too resistant to change in the ways political thought and action can be expressed, which can be to the detriment to alleviating the evils of our world as different approaches to citizenship are not given due weight. The extreme opposite of conservative ideology, absolute relativity, constitutes a potential postmodern ethical trap of nihilistic despair having no sense of right and wrong; if knowledge is nothing but perspective or each opinion is always equal to any other, then the only thing that can really happen to us is death (Badiou, 1998/2001, pp. 34–39; cf. Nietzsche, 1886/2008). Badiou offers a middle way between these extremes. We can embrace the relational aspect of truths and a sense of ethics without falling into absolute relativism, instead embracing "a

relativism of certain kind" (Jenkins, 2004). Unlike postmodernism, this relativism is not having a truth that is only relevant for one person or group; rather, Badiou's relativism, despite existing in relation to a becoming-subject, proceeds in the name of all, rendering differences to be irrelevant. With Badiou's philosophy there is hope for our preferable futures because we are no longer trapped by conservatism nor paralyzed by postmodern nihilism. Every person is capable of remaining faithful to a truth-process, of maintaining our position as a "becoming-subject," and thus we can foster our sense of agency. The egalitarian nature of truth-processes and everyone's ability to counter evil provide the potential for a variety of hopeful futures to come to fruition.

According to Badiou (1998/2001), previous conceptualizations of ethics have examined radical Evil (e.g., extensions of Kant and Levinas), and have been to our detriment because but it prevents us from seeing "the creation of new singularities of Evil" (p. 64). The horrific actions of the Nazis are deemed unique in history, and yet are constantly referenced as an exemplar of evil and compared with other evils (in some arguably similar situations, like Bosnia, but also in even less similar situations like Nasser's Egypt, as well as completely out of context, as on Fox News' description of people or legislation that they simply do not like). Having an extremely negative example like the Holocaust blamed on a radical evil instead of a secular one has created a cycle that not only does a disservice to Jews and those members of other persecuted groups, but also to current and future victims of such violence as citizens are lulled into complacency against an almost otherworldly evil. At any rate, this paradox of imitation of the inimitable not only prevents us from properly diagnosing what happened in Germany in the mid-twentieth century (as "a political sequence," Badiou, 1998/20001, p. 65). Considering an evil entity inside of us, either as part of human nature or as an otherworldly force, instead of as a political sequence contributes to a sense of powerlessness. If people are evil in their core or evil forces manipulate people, then it is difficult to imagine rehabilitation or hope for the future. Terror and disaster have resulted in many historical tragedies. Understanding why these tragedies happen and how evil can be banal might help us avoid the trap of contemporary pessimism, whereby we assume that humans are by their own nature evil and thus historical traumas were inevitable and are doomed to repeat themselves.

An appreciation for the complexity of evil might help us avoid a sense of fatalism and develop a teacher and student sense of agency as the capacity to affect political sequences. Better still, citizens express their agency by avoiding the potential evil that the good of a truth procedure creates. A becoming-subject maintains fidelity, and avoids betrayal, when seeking to act and articulate what the event will have meant in the name of all so as to avoid the evils of terror and disaster, thus inventing a new way of being (pp. 41–42). Being diligent against the perversion of the good of a truth-process opens portals and potential of that which is not yet to potentially become. It is in this way that knowledge of past and present horrors only begins a potentially educative process: "Truth and knowledge […] are not antithetical. Truth

always requires a situation of knowledge to be, just as knowledge requires truth to become" (den Heyer, 2009a, p. 460).

YOUTH UNDERSTANDINGS OF EVIL

Preliminary research has shown a complexity in youth understandings of evil related to their perceptions of historical and contemporary agency. Research on youth understandings of evil, conducted in August and September 2013 consisted of an online survey and informal conversations with grade eleven students, both of which speak to a variety of ways to comprehend evil.

The online survey was given to 107 people aged 15 to 25 years old in the United States and Canada. The purpose of this survey was to establish a starting point from which to develop future interview questions. Participants read statements that reflected common perceptions of evil and then indicated to what degree they agreed or disagreed. Interestingly, participants' responses were combinations of philosophical understandings of evil, some even in apparent contradiction. For example, 65% of respondents agreed that some people are evil to their core, but 87% of those who agreed with the prior statement also believed that any person can do evil things in certain situations and 74% believe that evil people can change their ways. These responses reflect a notion of a radical Evil (e.g., Kant, 1838), but also a sense of banality (e.g., Arendt, 1963/2006), perhaps indicating an inability to distinguish evil (Baudrillard, 1990/1993) or simply a complex understanding which would only become clear as specific examples were addressed. This set of statistics, in its complexity or confusion about the nature of evil, speaks to the potential for including evil as part of citizenship education. Relating these opinions to understandings of historical and contemporary examples of evil opens up discussions to the potential for a variety of future potentiality. Hutchinson (1996) examined how Australian students differentiated between gloomy probable futures and hopeful preferable futures. This finding was mirrored in my preliminary research, as participants predicted a gloomy probable future (75% think that there will be more violence in the future), and yet there is still hope; 74% believe that genocide is preventable, while 65% claim that they would intervene if they saw a homeless person being verbally harassed. Students felt a sense of agency in their ability to intervene in an everyday *evil* situation (e.g., helping the homeless person), and yet still felt the global situation to be dire (e.g., more violence in the future is inevitable). Discussing possible, probable, and preferable futures can help students and teachers break through their preconceptions based upon our grand narratives (den Heyer & Abbott, 2011). Such work on futures can subvert what Hutchinson (1996) calls the *colonization of the future* because attention is paid to the intersections of present beliefs, both personally and in a broader sense, and the animating desire for hope and actions for improvements (p. 36). The future is not viewed as predetermined and so alternative futures emphasize human agency in shaping what is becoming. Examining the concept of evil in the Badiouian sense when examining historical

evils sets up a discussion about potential outcomes because traumatic events were not predetermined or inevitable. Rather, delusion and disaster led to the horrors of history, and evil cannot be simply dismissed as inevitable by citizens.

Informal conversations with 17 grade eleven students in Edmonton, Alberta (all aged 15 to 16) involved students describing what comes to mind when they think of the word 'evil'. Overwhelmingly they identified historical figures and events like Hitler, genocide and terrorism, but also mundane evils such as backstabbing behaviour. Pop culture references such as the horror movies *Insidious* (2010) and *Insidious: Chapter 2* (2013) also dominated, as did certain fictional characters such as the Governor from the *Walking Dead* (season 3, 2012–2013) and the Joker from *The Dark Knight* (2008). Darkness also featured as a repeated concept. Interestingly, many grade eleven students identified images of the devil, black magic, spirits, and spells with evil, which at first seems to contradict the online survey results, in which only 11% of participants attributed blame for evil on supernatural forces. This apparent contradiction, however, may not be as such. For the online survey, the question was likely interpreted in a real-world context, while the open-ended nature of the conversations with grade eleven students allowed them to delve into the depths of their imaginations and fantasy worlds. The question of how youth might see imaginary and realistic evil differently is an obvious research area to be explored. Do youth, or anyone for that matter, encounter difficultly when identifying evil in the world around them because fictionalized evil is so obvious and dramatic? Or, are there other reasons we are often blind and impotent when mundane evil is around us? The students identified Hitler as a prominent "evil" figure, but we have the benefit of hindsight and a curriculum that highlights the atrocities committed by his government. As Hitler rose to power, he was not seen as "Evil" by the majority of German citizens or even by the global community; for example, he was deemed "Man of the Year" for 1938 (Time Magazine, 1939). For us today, seeing historical figures like Hitler as human beings who succumbed to delusion and disaster rather than one-dimensional embodiments of non-human Evil allows us to examine contemporary evil in a more meaningful way. Although it is potentially unnerving to see that we are all capable of evil, it is equal parts heartening that we can make ourselves aware of that capability and thus strive to prevent it. A secular view of the banality of evil presents the potential to encourage a thoughtful citizenry, as they ponder that which they are capable of perpetuating, countering, and preventing.

TEACHING ABOUT EVIL IN THE CLASSROOM

How might we, as teachers, encourage encounters and fidelity to truth-processes and thus avoid evil? There is a strong case for using Badiou in the classroom. Arranging knowledge so that students and teachers encounter their privilege-ignorance nexus; i.e., engaging in what or whom we can choose to neglect or ignore enables us to see our agency in the world and embark on an ethical journey open to the potential of

events and truth-processes (den Heyer & Conrad, 2011). Studying evil can similarly also engage students in the depths of their opinions and attitudes. Using Badiou as a framework to approach a social studies classroom provides the opportunity for both students and teachers to avoid instigating delusion and disaster in their own lives, while providing a meaningful way to discuss past evils without perpetuating glib encounters with difficult historical and contemporary traumatic events framed by discussions of *good guys* and *bad guys*.

By incorporating Badiou's framework into discussions of genocide, students would be better able to comprehend situations like the Holocaust without a passive sense of an Evil being perpetuated by evil-doers, with little to no recourse. It is far too simplistic and prevalent (especially in religion) to attribute blame to otherworldly Evil, separate from what *normal* people see and do. Thinking in such a way prevents us from taking responsibility for our actions and acting against such terror in the future because evil seems like a formidable opponent; however, framing our discussions of a secular evil as a dimension of our humanity through Badiou's ethic of truths provides us with a warning about the ways the "good" of a becoming-subject can run off the tracks into the evil of "disaster" (literally, "losing the way of the stars").

CONCLUSION

An ideal democratic citizen cannot be summed up in a simple statement describing particular attributes. To encourage a deliberative democracy with active participation of the citizenry requires aspects of education distinct from training or concerns for qualification. Laying the responsibility on teachers for creating citizens with vague attributes is a disservice to the complexities involved. Knowledge of procedures such as how to follow the law and to vote in elections are only tiny fragments of what it means to be a good citizen in a democracy. A citizen who obeys the laws and votes regularly is not necessarily someone who would challenge an evil, whether it be terror or disaster.

Governments have used the notion of evil to rally their people behind certain endeavors, and so complicating false dualisms of good and evil might help citizens avoid the trap of such simplistic rhetoric. Popular media portrays evil in a variety of ways, some exacerbating the good-evil dichotomy and others blurring it. Fictionalized evil is often obvious and dramatic, perhaps further complicating the political use of the concept. Future research examining youth understandings of evil in relation to media would provide valuable insights into this issue.

Because the study of history involves discussion of evils such as war and genocide, other obstacles to thoughtfulness are students shutting down their minds to the trauma and considering this violence to be an inevitable result of the actions by evil people. Again, a simplistic dualism emerges, but this time with a sense of powerlessness to do anything about it. Using Badiou's *ethic of truths* in the classroom to analyze evil as betrayal, delusion, and disaster is a starting point to encouraging

students to ponder the past and present in a way that fosters hope for human dignity in the future. An interesting study would be to ascertain youth understandings of evil and hope for the future before and after lessons about Badiou's philosophy and its application to examples of historical atrocities to ascertain if there would be a significant difference in their sense of agency.

Schools might aid the endeavor of teaching citizenship by helping students to re*cognize* what they have already learned, parsing its benefits and inadequacies in relation to the ideals underwriting citizenship desire and to examine pressing issues of present concern in a way that honours complexity and all people's potential for truth-processes. Studying evil is one way to aid student capacities to re*cognize* their own beliefs and actions as well as those of the broader society. Instead of teaching citizenship in narrow terms, we could focus on developing citizens' thoughtfulness and ethical engagement through such topics as the nature of evil, which will then contribute to youth's sense of agency and hope for the future.

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6. DECENTRING THE MYTH OF CANADIAN MULTICULTURALISM

A Post-Structural Feminist Analysis

INTRODUCTION

The experiences of racialized minorities in Canada, as illustrated by numerous scholars (Abu-Laban & Gabriel, 2002; Reitz & Bannerji, 2007; Thobani, 2007; Danso, 2009) constitute varying degrees of incidences of discrimination, racism and prejudice. The vast majority of peoples who choose to immigrate to Canada base their decision, in part, on government policies which promote the image of Canada as a tolerant, accepting and multicultural society in which all peoples, regardless of culture, ethnicity, religion, sexual orientation and gender are equal and whose rights are enshrined in law. This fallacious representation produces relations of power that work to oppress and marginalize racialized minorities in Canada. Abu-Laban and Gabriel (2002) contend that the myth of multiculturalism reproduces existing power relations. Ambwani and Dyke (2007) note that racialized and minoritized women are the most disadvantaged group in Canada. In the case of racialized women, the intersectionality of multiculturalism and gender often portrays the cultures and belief systems of racialized women as conservative, depicting these women are somewhat deficient and lacking a fully established and defined self-identity. The problems women face are seen as a consequence of their own deficiencies as opposed to being attributed to policies and practices which oppress women based on class, culture and religion. The intersectionality of race, gender, class, nationality, and citizenship(s) positions racialized women as outsiders, thereby reinforcing discrimination in the workplace and wider society at large (Crawford, 2004). Through a poststructural feminist analysis, this chapter will explore the concepts of intersectionality and power relations as experienced by racialized women with regards to Canadian multiculturalism in order to gain a better understanding of the multifarious experiences of racialized women in Canada.

This chapter will begin by providing a brief review of literature regarding Canadian multiculturalism prior to developing a succinct theoretical framework pertaining to poststructuralism and poststructural feminism. Consequently, this chapter will be a feminist poststructural analysis of multiculturalism in Canada. Through a consideration of race, gender, class, nationality, citizenship, and the notion of home

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and belonging, this analysis will illustrate the significant and diverse ways in which racialized women experience a gendered-ethnicized oppression that situates women on the margins of Canadian society through the myth of multiculturalism.

WHAT IS MULTICULTURALISM?

Multiculturalism policy was first introduced by Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau's government in 1971 in order to depict Canada as a nation which respects diversity and embraces peoples of various ethnicities. The Multiculturalism Act was adopted by Parliament in 1988. Hyman, Meinhard, and Shields (2011) contend that Canadian multiculturalism refers to the ideas and ideals pertaining to Canadian cultural diversity. Dewing and Leman (2006) note that at policy level, multiculturalism constitutes the formal management of diversity through federal, provincial and municipal initiatives (cited in Hyman, Meinhard, & Shields, 2011). Multiculturalism, therefore, refers to the umbrella of policy and program initiatives introduced since 1971, designed to address the plurality of cultural expression found in Canadian society. These policies and programs are predicated on the notion that ethnic and racial pluralism is a legitimate and enduring expression of Canadian uniqueness, fully compatible with democratic values and the rights of the individual in society (Multicultural Canada, 2012).

According to supporters of multiculturalism policy, multiculturalism removes barriers to participation in Canadian life, thereby promoting integration. Numerous researchers contend that multiculturalism policy has played a positive role in the successful integration of immigrants and ethnic and religious minorities in Canada in direct contrast to those countries which lack an official multiculturalism policy (Kymlicka, 1998; Kymlicka, 2010; CIC, 2008; Banting, Thomas, Courchene, & Seidle, 2007; Bloemraad, 2006). Kymlicka (2000) maintains that an important aspect for accommodating cultural differences in all liberal democracies lies in ensuring the protection of the civil and political rights of the individual; therefore, freedom of association, religion, speech, mobility, and political organization is vital to protecting group difference, thus enabling individuals to "form and maintain the various groups and associations which constitute civil society, to adapt these groups to changing circumstances, and to promote their views and interests to the wider population" (p. 26).

Contextualizing Multiculturalism in Canada

Abu-Laban and Gabriel (2002) note that multiculturalism policy represents the official symbolism of the equality of all, regardless of ethnicity. Matthews (2007) describes the policy as "a form of window dressing" (p. 372), trumpeted in order to improve Canada's reputation on the world stage; according to Matthews (2007), in actuality, the rhetoric of multiculturalism conceals racist, discriminatory, and

exclusionary attitudes and prejudices within the myth of the tolerant nation. Thobani (2007) accuses the Canadian state of invoking a policy which conceals the real experiences of racialized minorities, sidelining acts of racism, and thereby, limiting opportunities for anti-racist action. Chariandy (2007) contends that multiculturalism is a social reality that has been inculcated permanently within the Canadian identity; therefore, those most affected by multiculturalism policies have a responsibility to demand that multiculturalism be better recognized and affirmed.

The discourse of multiculturalism is particularly problematic for Matthews (2007) who asserts that multiculturalism discourse veils relations of power in which one group has the power to tolerate other groups. Matthews (2007) problematizes the discourse of multiculturalism whereby difference is minimized, thus masking the pressure placed on immigrants and racialized minorities to "conform to particular ways of being Canadian" (p. 374). Multiculturalism policy is incapable of addressing racial inequities resulting from institutional barriers, including existing immigration and settlement, human rights, and employment policies. Furthermore, institutional racism contributes significantly to the alienation of racialized minorities (Wood & Wortley, 2010).

DEFINING POSTSTRUCTURALISM AND POSTSTRUCTURAL FEMINISM?

Poststructuralism as a Response to Structuralism

Poststructuralism emerged from structuralism; central to structuralism is the idea that experience or reality is structured primarily through interrelations among the overarching systems. Poststructuralism is a critique of structuralism conducted from within, highlighting integral aspects within structuralism which have been ignored (Peters, 2001). Newman (2005) contends that poststructuralist thought disputes the existence of a single, centralized structure, arguing that instead there are "multiple and heterogeneous discourses, power relations or "assemblages of desire" that are constitutive of identity, and are immanent throughout the social field" (p. 5). Poststructuralism can also place greater emphasis on structures themselves; however, these structures are "indeterminate, incomplete and unstable" (Newman, 2005, p. 5). Poststructuralism, therefore, critiques utopian politics, focusing on the multiple, conflicting and multifarious understandings of the world.

Power and power relations. Poststructuralism enables the observation of power as a legitimating and normalizing force. According to Foucault (1977/2006):

> We must cease once and for all to describe the effects of power in negative terms: it 'excludes', it 'represses', it 'censors', it 'abstracts', it 'masks', it 'conceals'. In fact, power produces; it produces reality, it produces domains of objects and rituals of truth. The individual and the knowledge that may be gained of him belong to this production. (p. 136)

Foucault's understanding of power allows researchers to question existing relations, structures, and truths while examining the role of the powerful in producing knowledge and reality.

Focusing on multiple and heterogeneous understandings of the world problematizes claims of legitimacy and normality within dominant institutions, structures, practices and discourses by unveiling instances, practices and acts of violence and domination which are commonly viewed as normal, legitimate and natural (Newman, 2005). This disruption of the normative worldview is positive in that it illustrates that power is not limited to particular organizations; power is, therefore, not only regarded as power over others, but power for change (Williams, 2005).

The questioning of one truth and acceptance of a world in which there exists multiple truths is essential to poststructuralism. Newman (2005) contends that the emergence of these truths require an *outside* to the systems of power and power relations in order to allow for the emergence of resistance and avoid essentialism. Foucault believed that power resides "in the community of experts that sets up the rules for telling the truth" (Peet & Hartwick, 2009, p. 206). This begets questions of who constitutes the community of experts and whose knowledge is being privileged?

Understanding intersectionality. Central to poststructuralism is intersectionality which embodies varying forms of multidirectional critique influenced by a range of different sources (Peters, 2001). Poststructuralist work provokes a variety of interpretations, resisting universalization and essentialism. Poststructuralism illustrates that identity, discourse, practices, and structures are continually contested and ever-changing. Therefore, poststructuralism exposes the visible and hidden discontinuities behind structures, practices, and discourses (Newman, 2005). Within the constraints of this chapter, a poststructuralist approach will interrogate, deconstruct and critique the discourse of liberalism, questioning issues of *neutrality*, normativity, and universality, thereby exposing particular subjectivities (Newman, 2005). Hence, poststructuralism advocates for working within current spaces to expose inconsistencies (Williams, 2005).

A Brief Introduction to Poststructural Feminism

The central tenet of poststructural feminism is intersectionality: the concept of *women* is problematized and complexified by issues of class, culture, ethnicity, sexuality, and other aspects of identity (Butler, 1999/2002). For poststructural feminists, analysis lies within understandings of difference as depicted through women's struggles with patriarchal structures of domination. Therefore, the struggle for women's emancipation is not simply limited to a liberal feminist notion of equality in which equality continues to be defined by patriarchal constructs. Poststructural feminism posits that there are many feminisms and no single truth. Therefore, the

solution to women's emancipation is a result of a multitude of perspectives in which issues of power and power relations are understood through intersectionalities.

A POSTSTRUCTURAL FEMINIST ANALYSIS OF MULTICULTURALISM

Intersectionality

To define feminism purely in gendered terms assumes that our consciousness of being *women* has nothing to do with race, class, nation, or sexuality, and is solely a result of gender. Poststructural feminism acknowledges that intersectionality – the interconnectedness of experiences of being a woman with race, class, nation and/or sexuality – is imperative to understanding diverse experiences and identities of women. Mohanty (2003) asserts that ideologies of femalehood are a result of intersections of class, race, and gender which position "us as women" (p. 55). The effects of marginalization as a result of gender, class and/or race has varying effects on women, necessitating a thorough understanding of the intersections at play and a possible rewriting of hegemonic histories (Mohanty, 2003). Intersectionality is particularly important within Canada where multiculturalism policies promote a universalizing image of racialized minorities, ignoring class, gender, or ethnic and cultural differences for example (Hogarth, 2011). An understanding of intersectionality can ensure greater understanding of the challenges faced by racialized females for whom immigration and settlement experiences greatly exacerbate feelings of marginalization and increase dependence on family and community (Hogarth, 2011), thereby depicting women as incapable and deficient and in need of saving by the men in their lives. Furthermore, intersectionality ensures that women are characterized by more than simply their gender; a sole focus on gender reduces the world to a construction of binary divisions – men and women – thereby indicating a world in which men have power and women do not, where men exploit and women are exploited (Mohanty, 2003). Intersectionality allows for local responses: a decolonization at all levels (Mohanty, 2003).

Intersectionality – as defined by poststructural feminism – reveals the ways in which women's struggles are local and specific as opposed to totalizing. As a result of complex, constantly shifting and changing relations of power, the daily, ongoing struggles, experiences and victories of women are signalled by resistance and freedom (St. Pierre, 2000). Butler (1999/2002) contends that instances of resistance, the ability of women to challenge their marginalization, and possibilities of agency occur through the reconceptualization of identity in which women understand that the structures of their oppression are in fact a result of existing and constructed power relations which can be dismantled as opposed to natural and everlasting. The dismantling of structures of oppression requires locating local strategies with which to affirm agency in the localized environment as opposed to fighting a global war on patriarchy (Butler, 1999/2002). Additionally, given that the laws of the liberal democratic state (such as Canada) implicitly espouse beliefs on sexuality and,

thereby, the morality of women, gender and familial connections, as well as race, the struggle for women's emancipation must be located at the intersections of the issues of gender, race, class, and sexual paradigms as they are regulated by the liberal state (Mohanty, 2003). After all, the state has a particular view of the racialized female, a view which limits the focus to issues of sexuality, religion, and family and in which women are objectified, existing only in relation to men as opposed to being their own subjects.

"Sexism, racism, misogyny, and heterosexism underlie and fuel social and political institutions of rule and thus often lead to hatred of women and (supposedly justified) violence against women" (Mohanty, 2003, p. 3). This violence is both subjective and objective (encompassed by symbolic and systemic violence), and inherent to issues of power and power relations. Power is never static; it is dynamic, operating at various levels, in a multitude of ways and with disparate motivations. St. Pierre (2000) notes that given the lack of a universalizing understanding for power and power relations and the complexity of women and women's lives, there cannot be one grand vision shared by all women. This highlights the problematic nature of policies such as the Multiculturalism Act of Canada. Written within a liberal democratic framework, Canadian multiculturalism espouses a *one size fits all* vision for racial/ethnic/ cultural harmony in Canada. Through the limited understanding of the complexities of gender, sexuality, and class and when connected to culture and religion, multiculturalism policy perpetuates acts of violence upon women through exclusionary practices and hierarchies of power. To assume that all women share a history, identity, and future due to the misperception of a shared tradition, culture and belief system among racialized women depicts women as victims without agency. Women are defined by their supposed lack of power in comparison to men who hold power.

The Gender Binary

Women as a unitary and homogeneous notion, created as the direct counterpart of men, presupposes a natural binary within the world in which women are unified by their oppression at the hands of men (Butler, 1999/2002). Within this conception, gender – male and female – is the norm, constituting a form of social power. Furthermore, within the binary, men possess power whereas women are devoid of power (Mohanty, 2003). Men are unified in their oppression of women through power relations; women are united in their shared marginalization. This dichotomy between men and women assumes that all women share a common struggle regardless of class, race/culture, or sexual orientation. Mohanty (2003) sees this vision of women as a homogeneous group as particularly problematic when all *third world* women are grouped as one, destined to always be the objects upon whom decisions are made. This has been exemplified through the experiences of racialized women in Canada whom are often associated with belonging to *barbaric* cultures which enforce female genital mutilation or the wearing of burqas. It, thus,

becomes the role of the civilized Northerner to save the *savage* from the barbarity of their culture or religion.

The discourse of multiculturalism not only enforces the binary of man-woman but also that of North-South/first world-third world. The actions and practices of the racialized woman are constantly scrutinized and judged and the subject is found deficient. The actions of white women are rarely judged to the same extent. Whereas, the practice of hijab or burqa is continually questioned by policymakers, the media and citizens, harmful practices by White women are rarely questioned: the growing plastic surgery industry is an important example of the ways in which women representing the first world mutilate their bodies and appearance in order to appear younger and more beautiful. However, there is little discussion regarding the oppression of these women through relations of power. The discourses of multiculturalism are integral to structuring an environment in which the practices and identities of racialized women are constantly examined in order to assess whether they meet the guidelines developed by those in power.

Multiculturalism, Gender and Capitalism

Official multiculturalism policy in Canada has been legislated to "encourage and assist the social, cultural, economic and political institutions of Canada to be both respectful and inclusive of Canada's multicultural character" (Canadian Multiculturalism Act, 1988). It is interesting to note that the duty of the government lies in encouraging economic equity as opposed to legislating equity through additional policies aimed at penalizing those who violate the Multiculturalism Act. One possible legislative solution could be the Employment Equity Act. According to Pendakur and Pendakur (2000), however, the Act is a hiring policy that also *encourages* but does not legislate the employment of diverse groups. Danso (2009) refers to the Act as "toothless," calling for its repeal. Pendakur and Pendakur (2000) assert that the primary aim of the Act is the breakdown of institutional barriers to employment, barriers which occur by ignoring the historical specificity and diversity found within racialized workers. The groups most affected by lack of sound government policy regarding employment equity are those constituted of racialized women. Mohanty (2003) contends that citizenship and immigration laws and, therefore, multiculturalism policy, are connected to the economic agenda with regards to the search for cheap labour and instrumental in defining the *Other*, the outsiders who occupy a separate space from the insiders who are juxtaposed against the outsider.

Racialized women are defined in terms of their colour, gender, religion and sexual orientation. These definitions are integral to their constructions of identity in the social world as well as in the economic realm. Women tend to be concentrated in low paying employment, most often in casual, part-time and contractual employment (Gupta, 1994), and their *job labels* are aligned with their externally constructed sexualized and racialized identities (Knight, 2004; Mohanty, 1997); they tend to

be the last to be hired and first to be fired. Racialized, gendered and sexualized ideologies place women in the margins of the economy. Capitalism exploits the racialized and sexualized bodies of women in the search for profit (Mohanty, 2003) as racialized women tend to be underemployed and underpaid in comparison to both racialized men and White Canadian women (Gupta, 1994). In addition, immigration and multiculturalism policies further exacerbate the problems faced by many racialized women.

The point systems for immigration, introduced in 1967, reinforces the patriarchal, male dominated family structure in which men apply to immigrate as the principle applicant and women as dependents. Changes to the points system in the 1990s and 2000s have resulted in the deregulation of professions in which women tend to be employed (teachers and professors, for example) and a renewed focus on skilled trades such as plumbers and electricians as well as engineers. This further cements women's status as second class citizens within Canada, reinforcing patriarchal family norms (Gupta, 1994). For those in power, the patriarchal structures of capitalism encourage the continuation of the status quo; capitalism, therefore, perpetuates the status quo through relations of power. For many women, one possible solution to the power of capitalism and, thereby, the power of men, is the complete reversal of the hierarchies of power; bell hooks (2000) contends that the only solution is a redistribution of wealth and resources in which the power of capitalism is subverted through a shared class struggle.

FEMINIST UNDERSTANDINGS OF *HOME, BELONGING, NATION,* AND *COMMUNITY*

For racialized women, questions of *home, belonging, nation,* and *community* are central to a feminist engagement attempting to traverse local, regional and national borders. Chapra and Chatterjee (2009) contend that women's understanding of *home, belonging, nation,* and *community* are shaped by diverse factors such as "women's communal history, stages of migration, personal experience, world view and socio-political understanding of Canada as a stolen land of the Aboriginal people" (p. 18). They are also shaped by women's socio-economic status, sexual orientation, and culture/ethnicity. The diversity of factors influencing women's understanding of *home, belonging, nation,* and *community*, necessitates an extensive analysis of the ways in which multiculturalism contributes and shapes this discourse.

Lack of engagement in the workforce significantly impacts raciialized women's sense of belonging and feelings of acceptance and of being *home*. Home, after all, denotes a place of safety, comfort and acceptance accompanied by a sense of belonging to a larger community (neighbourhood, city, province, nation or a shared sense of identity among a large group of people). Fang and Heywood (2010) note that the abuses experienced in the employment sector due to a racialized status shattered all possible feelings of belonging racialized women expected to achieve. Experiences of misrepresentation, unmet expectationsand underemployment

resulted in immense feelings of dislocation and *unbelonging* (Hogarth, 2011). This was particularly problematic given that new Canadians are sold an image of Canada as a paradise of multicultural acceptance, only to discover the existence of a false paradise.

Mohanty (2003) argues that our understanding of home is inherently political. In outlining her own personal experiences as a migrant in a new country, Mohanty (2003) depicts the existence of the racialized female as outsider, as never belonging. For these women, even the act of official citizenship is devalued as they are only citizens on paper (Fang & Heywood, 2010). Sara Ahmed (2000) asserts that the creation and existence of the nation is based on the theory that **i**n order for some to belong, others cannot belong. Home and belonging are constructed by the political.

A deep yearning to belong, to call a place in which one lives *home* is a goal which has not been achieved for many women. Hogarth (2011) asserts that feelings of belonging are often associated with an "innate sense of knowing one belong[s] to a collective," shared ownership, acceptance and feelings of being *at home* (p. 66). Furthermore, women's sense of belonging is increasingly affected by the devaluation of the experiences of motherhood of racialized women as liberal democratic societies – which tend to espouse liberal feminism (if they espouse any particular type of feminism at all) – devalue work done in the home. The devaluation of women's work both inside and outside the home heightens feelings of displacement and unbelonging, once again leading women to question whether home exists for them. Discovering that the discourse of multiculturalism which celebrates *acceptance* of all peoples in the Canadian mosaic is a myth can be debilitating for many who have made the *choice* to live in Canada based on a false promise. They discover that their gender, class, culture/ethnicity, religion and sexual orientation works to further marginalize them in a society which promises equality of all. This "promotion of a monoculture" occurs within the facade of settlement, diversity, and inclusion (Chapra & Chatterjee, 2009, p. 15).

CONCLUSIONS

Defining feminism purely in gendered terms assumes that our consciousness of being *women* has nothing to do with race/ethnicity, class, nation, or sexuality, and is primarily concerned with the binary of gender as represented by male and female. A poststructuralist feminist analysis illustrates that there is no single feminist truth but multiples feminisms through which women experience their lives and must negotiate their realities. In Canada, women's identity and conception of self should be protected by multiculturalism and employment equity policies as well as the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms. However, multiculturalism policy and discourse has permeated any space for criticisms of multiculturalism and the ways in which this policy plays out in the Canadian social, political and economic world, thereby severely impacting the lives of racialized women.

The discourse of multiculturalism occurs within a liberal democratic paradigm in which a liberal feminist epistemology is espoused by those in power. The discourses surrounding women and women's bodies tend to be framed within a particular framework in which gender norms are reproduced; racialized women are made incapable of traversing already established gender norms which are based on the understandings of women with vastly differing experiences of the ways in which gender, class, race/ethnicity, religion, nation and sexuality intersect to define women's identities. These powerful discourses surrounding multiculturalism produce a single *truth*, in which the experiences of many women are not taken into account. Racialized women must live in a society in which their experiences and identities are not valued, and they are disengaged and disenchanted; their sense of belonging, of nation, of home and of community, and, thus, their identity and consciousness are incessantly questioned and contested. They are always reminded of their status as outsiders.

This chapter problematises liberal feminist understandings of women's lives through the depiction of the varied experiences of marginalised women and illustrates the necessity for epistemological and ontological re-centring of racialized women within Canadian society. This recentring begins with the very question of what is feminism. All that *feminism* encompasses must be released into multiple significations where "unanticipated meanings might come to bear.… In a sense, what women signify has been taken for granted for too long, and what has been fixed as the *referent* of the term has been *fixed*, normalized, immobilized, paralyzed in positions of subordination" (Butler, 1992, p. 16; cited in St. Pierre, 2000, p. 505). This is a recentring which calls for a rethinking of the ways in which the world is ordered.

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7. MOTHERHOOD AS A COUNTER-HEGEMONIC READING OF CITIZENSHIP AND AGENCY

Why are there women here dancing on their own?
Why is there this sadness in their eyes?
Why are the soldiers here
Their faces fixed like stone?
I can't see what it is that they despise
They're dancing with the missing
They're dancing with the dead
They dance with the invisible ones
Their anguish is unsaid
They're dancing with their fathers
They're dancing with their sons
They're dancing with their husbands
They dance alone They dance alone

It's the only form of protest they're allowed
I've seen their silent faces scream so loud
If they were to speak these words they'd go missing too
Another woman on a torture table what else can they do
They're dancing with the missing
They're dancing with the dead
They dance with the invisible ones
Their anguish is unsaid
They're dancing with their fathers
They're dancing with their sons
They're dancing with their husbands
They dance alone They dance alone

Sting: They dance alone (Gueca Solo)[1]

INTRODUCTION

Dominant articulations and understanding of citizenship and agency are gendered. From the *seminal* reading (and understanding) of agency and citizenship by E. P. Thompson and T. H. Marshall respectively, to groundbreaking work on agency in Paul Willis' Learning to Labor (1977), both the structures and the subject of these

A. A. Abdi et al. (Eds.), Decolonizing Global Citizenship Education, 81–94.

structures in relation to citizenship and agency has always been male. While Janice Radway (1984) tried in earnest to recast agency through a feminist lens, dismantling the master's house with the master's tools proved to be a formidable challenge. Since then, third wave feminists have been at work trying to strip these notions of their colonized articulations.

In this essay, we make a humble attempt to *decolonize* articulations of citizenship and agency by positing motherhood as a counter hegemonic reading of citizenship and agency. Our main argument is that motherhood as an exclusively female political construct has the prowess to transgress, disrupt and rearticulate colonized understandings of citizenship and agency. Specifically, we take the narrative of motherhood from Argentina (Madres de Plaza de Mayo) to demonstrate the transgression, disruption and rearticulation of citizenship and agency by motherhood as a counter hegemonic way of knowing.

WOMEN, THE STATE, AND CITIZENSHIP

State, in its dominant articulation, plays a key mediating role in *defining* women, citizenship and the relationship between the two. It is, thus, important to examine the impact of the state on women and how the activities of different women and women's movements impact on the state and are in turn impacted upon by the state.

Scholarship that deals with the relationship between gender and the state either does so from a macro-theoretical perspective that looks at the state in terms of a mechanism that regulates the interaction between various structures such as the economy (capitalism) and social system (patriarchy) or focuses on micro-theoretical empirical analysis centering on personal and individual aspects of womanhood in relation with the redistributive activity of the state.

The state in itself is not a homogeneous, unitary category. It is but an amalgamation of different sets of institutions, agencies and discourses, in particular configurations across specific historical, political and spatial junctures. It is, thus, useful to view the state as an arena where struggles and contests for identities, rights and discourses take place. Conceptually, it is useful to understand the state as influenced by the society while also autonomous of various societal institutions. In this sense, gender and gender relations are both a part of state and are shaped by it. Gender relations and gender inequalities are partly framed and legitimated in and by state practices and discourses. On the other hand, gender identities also emanate from the contest for rights i.e. when civil society or a particular part of it (e.g. women) engages the state. This can be in the form of engagement from within feminist/women groups, for instance *femocrats*, or through social movements.

This engagement can be seen in two broader contexts. In the first, women choose the state as the principal site of collective action to protest the unequal gender division of labour created and perpetuated by the structures of industrial/late capitalism. These structures – while incorporating women into the work force – do

only accord them the status of supplementary workers. This status is maintained in and by the labour unions and even by political institutions, the recognized channels for collective actions. Women, in such contexts, choose to engage the state directly. In the second context, it is the state itself that is perceived as the perpetrator of inequality and /or violator of citizenship rights.

Consequently, the nature and forms of protest are sometimes understood in terms of a practical versus strategic gender interest dichotomy (Molyneux, 2001). Practical gender interests refer to those *everyday* and local interests of women that have an immediate and personal effect on their lives, for instance inflation, price hikes, rise in rents. Strategic gender interests, on the other hand, refer to the collective interest of the larger feminist movement that aim to redress the andro-centric bias at the systemic level. This dichotomy, in our opinion, is superficial on two counts: one, it obscures the linkage between the personal and the strategic interests, and second, it does not address the modalities through which the movement based on practical gender interests can *log on* to the larger feminist movement. Furthermore, this line of reasoning places gender based social action in an ends-means framework, thus losing sight of the more subtle nuances, such as collective identity formation and agency, which have been some of the most significant aspects of these movements.

For instance, as we discuss below, the movement of the Madres of Plaza de Mayo, by successfully politicizing motherhood and engaging the state, blurred the practical-strategic or the private-public divide. At the same time, it also sharpened the contours of the feminist discourse by pointing out that women of age, like women of color, are as much a part of the discourse and the movement as any other group. It also demonstrated that the performative *private* identity (motherhood) could be politicized to demand citizenship rights. Inherent in the blurring of the practical-strategic/private-public dichotomy is the demand for a redefinition of traditional notions of citizenship.

Citizenship

Citizenship is one of the most important ways in which individuals and collectivities engage with state. It, however, remains one of the most contested concepts especially when it comes to its analytical relevance in explaining gender and politics in developing societies.

In his influential work, T. H. Marshal (1950) defines citizenship as a "status bestowed on those who are full members of a community. All who possess the status are equal with respect to the rights and duties with which the status is endowed" (pp. 28–29). While original and useful at the time of its articulation, Marshal's notion of citizenship has been variedly contested, expanded and refined by scholars. The feminists, for example, point to the gender blindness inherent in Marshall's argument (Charles & Hintjens, 1998; Lister, 2003, 1997; Waylen, 1998; Waylen, Celis, Kantola, & Weldon, 2013; Yuval-Davis, 2011). On the other side are those who point

out the importance of specific historical contexts in the development of citizenship rights and also in reconceptualising citizenship as a product of the struggle against its bestowed status (Lister, 1997, 2003; Oxhorn, 2003, 2007; Waylen, Celis, Kantola, & Weldon, 2013; Yuval-Davis, 2011). In comparing the evolution of citizenship rights in England (Marshall's empirical base) and Latin America, Oxhorn (2003) argues that development of citizenship is a process intimately linked to the development of civil society. In Europe, the evolution of civil society historically preceded the advent of democratic regimes, and thus, it is to a certain extent independent of democratic regimes. In Latin American on the other hand, where political power is more concentrated, civil society evolved differently and often its autonomy is suppressed in order to maintain political stability. Consequently, long term prospects for a stable democratic order that can provide space for civil society to operate fully remain low (Oxhorn, 2003). It is, thus, the struggle between the state and civil society and between unequally developed groups within civil society that citizenship is socially constructed. In Latin America, as elsewhere in the ex-colonies, while the state employs strategies of exclusion and controlled inclusion to define citizenship, various groups in civil society contest these strategies by demanding citizenship rights through the operationalization of a multitude of identities and spaces. These identities provide alternative points of reference to the *national* identity constructed by the state and the spaces (motherhood, city slums, etc.) provide alternative arenas where agency is realized.

A second major critique of mainstream (Marshall's) notions of citizenship has come from feminists. The feminist argument entails problematizing the gender-neutral notion of citizenship. Lister (1997, 2003), for instance, questions whether an ideal such as citizenship based on the exclusion of women can be effectively rearticulated to include rather than merely appending women to it. Furthermore, she questions if such rearticulation has the prowess to fully recognize the shifting, lucid, and varied identities that women hold. An implication of sameness as synonymous with equality in Marshall's articulation of citizenship has also come under scrutiny on the grounds that sameness does not have the analytical capacity to encompass difference (Charles, 2000).

For it to be a more inclusive and analytically robust, citizenship must be reformulated as a process and not merely as an outcome. In such a reformulation "citizens appear on the stage of both theory and practice not simply as the passive holders (or non-holders) of rights but as actively engaging with political and welfare institutions, both as individuals and in groups" (Lister, 1997, 2003). Grounded in social construction of citizenship rights, Lister's prescription, however, stops at the engagement of political and welfare institutions by the citizens and does not include the inter-group contests or struggles within civil society viz-a-viz each other and the state as the means of construction of citizenship (Oxhorn, 2003). Citizenship, thus conceived as a process has the analytical strength to integrate structure and agency (individual and collective) and the interplay between the two.

Agency

Our understanding of agency is grounded in a poststructuralist feminist articulation. This perspective goes beyond E. P. Thompson's articulation of agency as *conscious human choice* expressed through volition and will of a knowing subject. Poststructuralist feminist perspective problematizes Thompson's notion of agency as a wilful, direct act of resistance to structuralist constraints and instead sees it as a dialectical relation between constraint and action. Poststructuralist feminist articulation of agency is also sceptical of the earlier feminist understanding of agency as an endowed capability for independent reflection and deed and individual as a unified subject. It is suspicious of understanding action mainly through residual categories of resistance to or dislocation of dominant norms (cf. Willis' lads in Learning to labor (1977) or the romance reading women in Radway's (1984) Reading the romance). Instead, poststructuralist feminism argues that dislocation and direct resistance denote strategies of subversion, which have a tangential relation to dominant norms and, thus, cannot be fully conscious models of radical and consciousness altering change.

Poststructuralist feminist thought understands agency as the destabilization of power within a dialectical relationship between constraint and agency. It is argued that understanding agency as a direct, wilful resistance to oppression/constraint obscures understandings of technologies that help power turn agency into more submission and through which power extends its grip on subjects. Following Foucault, poststructuralist feminism sees direct oppositional resistance as a consolidation of power rather than its subversion. Direct oppositional action and its suppression become moments or occasions for the strengthening of disciplinary institutions such as the police, judiciary, and schools. Judith Butler (1993), for example, suggests that material structures come about and get entrenched through normalized recurrences of embodiment. The embodied subjects have varied fragmented subjectivities that have the potential to digress from the regulatory norms. In other words, subjects and subjectivity in part results from a ritualized performativity. Yet in their embodiment of the ritualized norms, they dialectically engage with power to realize their agency.

Below we argue that Madres of Plaza de Mayo dialectically engaged with their performative subjectivity (Motherhood) as a category of resistance to and dislocation of dominant norms in order to challenge power relations and articulations of citizenship in Argentinian society. Motherhood, in this sense, operated as the *constitutive outside* of the gendered norm (passive womanhood, subjects of autocracy). Agency, thus, was constituted not in the wilful volition of the subjects (women, citizens) but in the marginality of identities and practices that manipulated motherhood as a constitutive outside of the hegemonic gender and citizenship norms in Argentina. Motherhood as a counter hegemonic discourse of agency and citizenship transcended the immediate sphere of Argentinian women to transform individual as well as collective behaviour. In this sense, following Butler (1993),

motherhood can be seen as an embodied potentiality, as a process of *materialization* in which constraints of social and political structures are partially transcended by the actions of the agents. It is in this conceptual perspective that we examine the agency of Mothers of Plaza de Mayo in Argentina.

THE MADRES OF PLAZA DE MAYO

Madres of Plaza de Mayo of Argentina is perhaps one of the most well-known gender based social movements. The fame and popularity of this group is partly due to the novel nature of protest that it employed in its quest to locate the disappeared persons during Argentina's *dirty war* and partly from the fact that it provoked the scholarship on Latin America and social movements to look at women's agency from different lenses than the ones they had been employing.

The Madres of Plaza de Mayo are credited with success on a number of counts. They were the first ones to take on the authoritarian military regime in Argentina when no other group or institution was willing (or able) to stand up and protest. It was also this group, which shattered the myth of Junta's invincibility. The novel strategy of protest employed by the Madres also drew the attention of the world to the atrocities of the military regime in Argentina. Last, but not least, Madres are credited for re-igniting and revitalizing the feminist movement in South America, in general, and in Argentina in particular.

At the same time their success has also been questioned on a number of counts. The Madre's movement has been termed as an one-off human rights movement that has, by and large, been unable to achieve its goals. It has also been argued that though they were indeed the first ones to protest against the mighty Junta, the events that led to the re-democratization of Argentina overtook and largely bypassed the Madres and other women in Argentina. Yet others point to the demobilization of the movement as a sign of the failure of gender based movements, especially in the wake of the transition to democracy.

In order to examine the movement of Madres of Plaza de Mayo, especially its role in creating new gender identities in the Argentine society, its engagement of the state, its demands with respect to citizenship and its effect and impact on the development of civil society in Argentina, it is important to first take a look at the gender constructions in Argentine society.

GENDER IDENTITIES IN ARGENTINA

Historically gender identities in Argentina were in line with the patterns of elite formation and the value system that accompanied this process. Women were essentially seen as private beings attached to the private context of the household, family and society. During the earlier period, citizenship was defined in masculine terms and women were by and large excluded from the public sphere, which was exclusively a male domain. By the middle of the 20th century, a new economic and

social elite that also traced its origins to Europe but whose strength was in the new manufacturing and industrial base replaced the rural elite. With the change in the mode of production, the social relations of production also underwent a change. It was industrial capitalism that organized both the social relations of production and the gendered divisions of labor. The dynamics of industrial capitalism required induction of women into the work force as paid labor. This, on one hand, drew women out of their traditional role as unpaid domestic (home) workers; on the other, it never fully incorporated them. Men became the principle bread earners while the women were ascribed the role of supplementary wage earners.

Politically, however, the importance of women as a *voting block* increased. This became more evident during the first Peronist period when the regime led by Juan and Eva Peron went on to coopt women without changing identities. Peronist politics had gendered implications largely framed by the political agenda. The Peronist regime in its quest to incorporate the women into the *movement* were careful enough to not identify with the feminist movement which it perceived as *antinationalists*, oligarchs and representatives of imported views. The women's movement along with socialists, peasant organizations and those trade unions that resisted co-optation were excluded from the Peronist notion of citizenship as it had the capacity to generate its own brand of populism (Westwood & Radcliff, 1993, p. 11). While women were rhetorically encouraged to become *full citizens*, the exclusion of women from the *public male* domain was not only maintained but also strengthened. For example, Eva Peron set the identity construction agenda by portraying herself as a strong leader who was nonetheless subservient to her husband. In the educational realm, school texts were designed to socialize students into perceiving women as housewives and mothers, as against men whom the text portrayed as the breadwinners and jobholders. Even in terms of personal and individual traits, the texts were gendered to retain and strengthen the machismo-marianismo dichotomy between men and women respectively. Men were portrayed as stern, rational, strong and dominating while for women Marian attributes were emphasized. The Peronist construction reinforced the traditional identities in order to justify the hierarchical authoritarian rule and power relations within society. The Peronist regime incorporated the workers without questioning the patriarchal system or trying to alter the balance of gender relations in any meaningful way.

The second period in Argentine history is important with respect to the construction of gender identity is the post 1973 period. While the last Peronist regime did little to alleviate the status of women despite having a female president after the death of Peron in 1974, the Junta that assumed power in 1976 immediately embarked upon a process of identity formation that was based on the exclusionary *national* identity. This process and the resultant construction aimed to create an identity and citizenship criterion that excluded anyone, individual or group, who was perceived as a threat to the Junta.

In order to legitimize the takeover, the Junta embarked upon creating a discourse and a *new* social order that was inherently masculine, hierarchical and militarized

and, thus, highly gendered (Westwood & Radcliff, 1993, p. 10). This discourse also laid down the criteria for inclusion into nationhood and the according of citizenship status. This discourse identified men as the defenders of the nation and protectors of the family including women, while women were tied to the image of reproducers of the nation as wives and mothers.

Junta's discourse on citizenship and construction of identity employed the use of gendered symbolism in order to justify its use of violence. Junta operationalized the maternal image of motherhood (Patria) to justify the violence by the *protectors* of women and mothers (de Volo, 2004; Taylor, 1997). The language employed by Junta's *nationalist* discourse further strengthened and explicated these images. For instance, the military's claim that it "had to save her, for "she" was being "raped," "penetrated" and "infiltrated" by her enemies" (Taylor, 1997, p. 184) further strengthened these patriarchal and masculine images.

The Junta also created a dichotomy between *good* and bad women. While the former was one who, in accordance with the criteria laid down by the Junta, remained within the private sphere, was non-political and adhered to their images and identities as mothers (reproducers) of the nation, the latter were declared subversive for violating these limits. Interestingly, however, it was the same "non-political" gender identity constructed by the Peronist and the Junta that engaged the authoritarian regime and the state when other *political* identities dared not. The marginal identities politicized the private spheres and spaces that the masculine, nationalist discourse had confined them to. Family and motherhood, two of the *non-political* spaces perceived and constructed by the military regimes emerged as major spaces for protest and engagement of the state. It was in this backdrop that Mothers of Plaza de Mayo emerged and challenged the authoritarian regime.

The values and the morality of Christianity, patriotism and family were used to demarcate the spheres in which non-political, intellectual and organizational activity was to be positioned and allowed. These values and morality also defined the contours of citizenship that the Junta was willing to accord While the values and morality of *patriotism* was aimed at the suppression of dissent, those of *family* were aimed at depoliticization of the society. Values inherent in religion provided justification for both. The *ideal Argentine citizen* was, thus, masculine, conformist and apolitical. Anyone outside of these parameters of citizenship was to be dealt with severely and ruthlessly. Little could the Junta perceive that the depoliticized spaces (e.g., family) that it constructed were to emerge as a political space of protest and a site from which the civil society would engage the state.

In April 1977, fourteen women between the ages of 40 and 60 organized collectively at the Plaza de Mayo to demand to know the whereabouts of their "disappeared" children. These women defied the ban on public protest imposed by the ruthless Junta adamant at crushing any and all dissent. These women had been going around to various government offices, prisons and courthouses in hopes of finding some clues to the whereabouts of their missing children. It was in these fruitless sojourns that they had met each other. By July 1977 the number of these women had grown to

150. This group came to be known as Les Madres de Plaza de Mayo (Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo). Their children, the *disappeared*, mainly but not exclusively were workers or students and belonged to the middle class strata of Argentine society. They were abducted in the name of "values and morality of Christianity, patriotism and the family" (Fisher, 1989, p. 12). These values also provided justification for the Junta's rule of terror and violence. Anyone not conforming to the Junta's definitions of these values and morality was liable to *disappear*. Although there is no consensus on the actual numbers of those who disappeared, the National Commission on the Disappeared (CONADEP) estimated the number to be in the vicinity of 9000. Other sources have put the mark at 30,000. Yet others put it as high as 45,000 (Bouvard, 1994, p. 31). 30 percent of those registered as arrested or having disappeared were women (Feijoo & Gogna, 1990, p. 84).

The Mothers of Plaza de Mayo in its composition and membership was nothing extraordinary. They came from different parts of the country, belonged to different religious denominations and though a majority of them were from working class backgrounds, they belonged to different classes. Most, though not all, had their children abducted by the repressive state apparatus in the name of the holy (dirty) war. None of them had any political experience prior to the advent of Proceso and the holy war. This was also a group that did not have any linkages with either human rights groups (identified with the Communist Party lead Liga) or with feminist groups.

These *mothers*, perturbed and insecure but adamant in finding their missing children went from one office to another in search of clues. It was in the official and bureaucratic corridors that they met each other. Frustrated by the bureaucratic red-tape and intransigence of the official agencies (and even the church), they decided to meet at the Plaza de Mayo on April 30, 1997 in order to draw attention to their cause and also their plight.

The choice of the Plaza de Mayo as the site of protest is significant in three respects. First, being the heart of Buenos Aires, it is the most natural place to attract public attention. It was also virtually the seat of power of the military government. The Mothers, thus, wanted to engage both the regime as well as the public. Second, Plaza de Mayo also holds immense symbolic value for Argentines. It holds the commemorative icon of the independence movement of 1810: the last resting-place of Argentina's liberator General Jose de San Martin. Thus, any challenge emanating from the place itself had a symbolic value. Third, the choice signified after all that the Junta was not invincible and that protest against it could be mounted. Plaza de Mayo's historical space provided the geographical space where private became public.

Another symbol that signalled the politicalhood of the *private*, personal identities was the use of white headscarves. While on one level it helped them identify each other and helped others to identify them as a group, on another level it signified a collectivization of identity. It was a metaphorical "political uniform of a collective political identity that aimed to demand citizenship rights and affect policies"

(Navaro, 1989, p. 251). It is interesting to note that initially the Madres used religious symbolism and imagery, for instance a carpenter's nail on their backs in the memory of Christ's sacrifice (Navaro, 1989, p. 251) and perhaps also to convey their identity as mothers with reference to Mary. However, soon this religious symbolism gave way to the particular symbol of Madres identity – the white head kerchief.

The mothers wrote themselves and the *disappeared* into the historical narrative of Argentina that, until then, had been written exclusively by those in power. The bodies of the disappeared inscribed with names, dates and faces became a part of the counter narrative. The act of inscription was fully within the *culture*, yet also outside it. The inscription kept reminding Argentine society that somebody is responsible for the disappearance of their loved ones. At the same time, they also kept reiterating to the Junta that the disappeared ones were real and that taking identity from the individuals cannot cover up the suppression and violence. The Madres, thus, resisted the a-historical and a-political citizenship discourse with a counter hegemonic discourse located in marginal identities.

The Junta's initial reaction to the Madres was that of dismissal. Having assigned them identities and confined them to a private sphere, the Junta refused to take them or their protest seriously. Interpellated as las locas de Plaza de Mayo (the mad women of Plaza de Mayo), the Junta invoked the good woman-bad woman binary and identified Madres as the latter. They were portrayed as women who were not performing their *assigned* role and duties properly and adequately. Their *sons* according to the junta had not disappeared or been detained but had left the country because of their subversive character that itself was the fault of the mothers who had not provided their sons with adequate Christian and patriotic values.

The Mothers, however, not only refused to cow down but also challenged the a-political and dichotomous identity construction by the Junta. They also resisted the character assassination and the police brutalities that now were becoming more frequent since the regime started to take their resolve seriously. The Madre's response to the authoritarian rule and contracting political spaces was unique in that it cut across party politics and class divisions and created political spaces where none had existed. By politicizing motherhood they redefined the traditional identities and space constructions based on machismo and nationalism. They redefined family as founded on *political* rather than biological ties (Taylor, 1997, p. 193). In the absence of public spaces where political issues could be discussed, they politicized the notion of family by presenting them as sites where the members could *do* politics.

By 1979, the politics of motherhood lent impetus to the women's movement to reemerge and revitalize. It also lent a similar impetus to political institutions to realize that protest was possible after all, even under the most repressive of the military rules. They also drew the attention of the world to the atrocities of the Junta. Perhaps their greatest contribution was to call attention to the fact that motherhood was a social, not just a biological construct. Viewed from this perspective, motherhood brings together and diffuses the artificial separation of reason and emotion. Their emotions

of love as mothers, not only of their own but also of all disappeared children fueled their demand for a just Argentine society.

CONCLUSIONS

Motherhood, traditionally, has been framed, constituted and understood as a private, individual identity located largely in the private sphere. In the dominant sense, motherhood is articulated as a biological fact, an emotional relationship, and a psychological frame. It is, however, implicated into the political in times and contexts of nationalistic violence and war. States invariably invoke metaphors of maternalism and motherhood in aid for paternalistic justifications for nationalism, violence and war. Discourses steeped in maternal imagery help the state to appropriate motherhood and thus strip it of agentic potential while at the same time channeling maternal grievances to the private realm. Such appropriation also has the added advantage of ensuring a regular supply of bodies (sons) for the nationalistic or other forms of violence over which the state claims a monopoly and which it strives to justify. In the context of citizenship, the liminal alterity of motherhood (as a condition or requisite) is, at best, contingent on the nature, supply side dynamics and the consumption of human lives during violent activities of the state. Motherhood framed in terms of mothers of the draftees, mothers of the soldiers, mothers of the martyrs, channels the grievances of the mothers of the fallen, disappeared, maimed soldiers/sons away from the state (de Volo, 2004).

Madres of Plaza de Mayo not only challenged the apolitical (colonized) articulation of motherhood but also destabilized the power of the post-Peronist articulating discourses. Madres subverted the regulatory norms (in Argentina) with the recurrent embodiment of motherhood that was constituted to keep them on the margins of the citizenship realm. Motherhood in this new agentic articulation aggregated the emotional (female) and the geographic spaces (the plazas and the market: male) to create political spaces that themselves became active agents of dissent. Madres initially demanded that their loved ones be returned to them or at least their whereabouts be made known to them. Soon after the end of the junta rule in Argentina, the Madres demanded a bicameral parliamentary commission in which the mothers and other strata of civil society had a representation in criminal proceedings against perpetrators of heinous crimes through trial by jury. This was clearly an exercise in strategically channeling their agency in order to rearticulate citizenship through a dismantling of the public-private binary and aimed at bringing together the personal (motherhood) and the political (demand for justice in the new democracy).

The new *democratic* government instead repealed the amnesty order and ordered a trial to be conducted by the Supreme Court of the armed forces of the three military juntas. The Madres responded by stating: "we asked him for a bicameral Commission and he [Alfonsin] gave us a national commission [CONADEP] which we did not elect. We said no to military justice and he gave us military justice…" (Cited in Jelin, 1990, p. 89). Madres' response to this act of Alfonsin's constitutionally elected

government indicates more than their disgust and disappointment with the new system. Their words "we did not elect" indicate the disappointment with regards to the expectations for a more true and representative democracy for which they had sacrificed and paved the way. It also indicates that the deeply entrenched structures (military justice) dialectically engaged in a discursive struggle with the fragmented subjectivities of the mothers and were not easily subverted. Does this then mean that Madres' struggle and agency was, like that of Willis' *lads* or Radway's romance reading women and just symbolic and personal? In other words, was the Madres' movement a failure? If success is to be measured in terms of political outcomes then the Madres movement was indeed not very successful. The disappeared neither returned (with few exceptions) nor were the perpetrators of heinous crimes brought to the book and adequately punished. However, if by success one means the long-term effects that this movement had on civil society, citizenship and identity politics in Argentina, then the narrative of Madres of Plaza de Mayo is that of success.

The Madres, through their struggle, proved that even under the most dictatorial of the regimes politics do not simply disappear. They appear in spaces that are (were) traditionally considered apolitical. The movement also confirmed that the civil society, no matter how weak or suppressed, could mount the challenge and engage the state and other strata of the civil society to renegotiate citizenship rights. It also harbingered the revitalization of the feminist movement in Argentina and more importantly it provided impetus to women's movements elsewhere in the world to redefine and choose their own sites for engaging the state. For instance, the Mothers movement in Sri Lanka took its bearings from the Madres movement in Argentina. Madres narrative, in this sense, is a counter hegemonic narrative of agency and citizenship that seeks to decolonize the meanings of citizenship and agency.

NOTE

[1] They Dance Alone (Cueca Solo) by Sting is a song dedicated to mourning Chilean women (arpilleristas) who dance the Cueca, the national dance of Chile, alone with photographs of their disappeared loved ones in their hands.

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8. FACING ACADEMIC MINDERS, THE INSTRUMENTS OF INSTITUTIONAL INTERFERENCE IN HIGHER EDUCATION

This book chapter is largely a narrative version of a plenary keynote address I delivered on 2 November 2013 titled "Facing Academic Minders, the Instruments of Institutional Interference in Higher Education" at the Decolonizing Global Citizenship Education International Conference organized through the Centre for Global Citizenship Education and Research at the University of Alberta (Edmonton, Alberta, Canada). The content is much informed by my service as a member of the Canadian Association of University Teachers' (CAUT) Academic Freedom and Tenure Committee from 2007 to 2013, as well my ongoing engagament with CAUT's work as the "the national voice for academic staff. Today, representing 68,000 teachers, librarians, researchers, general staff and other academic professionals, CAUT is an outspoken defender of academic freedom and works actively in the public interest to improve the quality and accessibility of post-secondary education in Canada"(CAUT, 2013c).

This work identifies a set of pressing concerns in Canadian higher education and underscores related implications for global citizenship education as a common project. These concerns include administrative interventionism in higher education and related controls on the campus workforce, as well as constraints on academic freedom and diminution of civil liberties, including freedom of expression. These negative characteristics of contemporary higher education prompt consideration of how competing claims on global citizenship education occur within this activity and the need to better safeguard academic integrity and collegial governance in the interest of global citizenship education as an open task. A basic question that emerges in this context is: To what extent is the future of global citizenship education to be a business plan or an academic plan?

A look at several Canadian media reports leading up to the Decolonizing Global Citizenship Education International Conference, held 1–2 November 2013, illustrate the broader federal context in which competing claims on global citizenship inevitably must play out. In *The National Post*, Margaret Munro wrote on 15 March 2013: "Federal librarians fear being 'muzzled' under new code of conduct that stresses 'duty of loyalty' to the government" … Federal librarians and archivists who set foot in classrooms, attend conferences or speak up at public meetings on

A. A. Abdi et al. (Eds.), Decolonizing Global Citizenship Education, 95–105.

their own time are engaging in 'high risk' activities, according to the new code of conduct at Library and Archives Canada."(Monroe, 2013). In a newspaper article in *The Star* titled"Stop muzzling scientists, protesters tell Tories*,* Ben Makuch wrote on 16 September 2013: "Hundreds of frustrated scientists clad in white lab coats descended on Parliament Hill Monday to demand that Harper government stop muzzling scientists and cutting research funding"(Makutch, 2013). In a story in *The Ottawa Citizen* titled "Wounded vets asked to sign form saying they won't criticize the military on social media," David Pugliese wrote on 20 September 2013: "The Canadian Forces is requiring physically and mentally wounded soldiers to sign a form acknowledging they won't criticize senior officers or discourage others in uniform with their comments on social media sites such as Facebook and Twitter" (Pugliese, 2013). And on 20 October 2013, a piece in Montreal's *The Gazette* looks at how "One of Canada's most respected and well-known scientists, David Schindler, is retiring from the University of Alberta." "In his early days, federal scientists had prominent positions and direct input into public policy. Under Prime Minister Stephen Harper those days are long gone, Schindler said, and scientists are muzzled and told to stay out of public policy. "Harper pushed it over the edge," he said. "It feels like Soviet control in the Cold War era" (Pratt, 2013).

Putting such pieces together with acuity, Len Findlay (Chair of CAUT's Academic Freedom and Tenure Committee) contributed to the September 2013 *CAUT Bulletin*, noting: "the Canadian academy is one of the last refuges of organized labour, independent thinking and expression, and peer review and whose authority resides in the intellectual energy and integrity of academic staff" (Findlay, 2013). His assertion, in part, prompted me to insert a reality check of sorts into my plenary address at the Decolonizing Global Citizenship Education International Conferencein which I posed the following set of questions to the conference audience:

> Are you giving a session at this conference at which you are representing your place of employment? If so, do you need to bear in mind a loyalty oath you signed? Does your institution have guidelines about speaking with one voice that instructs you how to negotiate the tension of showing the public face of an organization consistently and professionally while allowing you as professional within that organization to seek autonomy and freedom of speech?
>
> If you plan to tweet or blog from this conference, do you know if you will bump up against a social media guidelines policy at your institution?
>
> Would you do what University of Ottawa academic librarian Jennifer Dekker did and post to her personal blog about alleged issues at the Canadian Library Association (CLA) Conference 2012 held in Ottawa? Therein she asked: "What does it mean when librarians are physically removed from a library conference for circulating information regarding library funding? And, what does it mean when the national library association in this country is the body removing

> them?" Was Dekker's blog posting something to support? If so would you have supported it openly? Would there have been unstated sanctions if you did?

In higher education, sanctions imposed on academic staff do occur. For example, CAUT reported on its website on 3 October 2013 it "released an investigatory committee report into the actions of the administration of King's University College in relation to Professor Ken Luckhardt [a retired, contractual instructor who had taught in the Social Justice and Peace Studies program at King's University College at the University of Western Ontario], who was banned from the campus after writing a letter to the Principal and Dean, upon his retirement, expressing grave concerns about what was happening in the program in which he had taught. Concluding that the Principal and Dean acted inappropriately by publicly releasing Luckhardt's private letter to them, the report finds that the release created difficulties for other faculty and created an environment that discourages staff from criticizing the administration, even in private letters. The report finds that Professor Luckhardt's academic freedom was violated" (CAUT, 2013d).

There is a growing interest in Canadian higher education in putting more of our efforts on collective bargaining and less on collegial governance in this climate. The idea is to deal with civility codes in our negotiating. Of course, the status of collective agreements is a hot-button issue.

The October 2013 *CAUT Bulletin* (CAUT, 2013d) included coverage of the University of Manitoba Faculty Association having been in conciliation talks with the university administration following a strong member turnout and vote in favour of strike action earlier this month.

> Our major issues are those related to governance, members' rights and academic freedom," said faculty association president Sharon Alward. "We have an administration at this university that is attempting to corporatize the institution, that devalues collegial governance, and that pays lip service to principles of academic freedom while trying to set criteria for preferred areas of research. The outcome of this round of bargaining will determine the culture and mission of this university far into the future." "Other issues include prohibition of performance management systems, privacy of member email and other materials, provision for adequate technical support for newly-introduced electronic administrative systems, and guarantees of meaningful input into plans to amalgamate faculties." A post to the University of Manitoba website at 11 pm on Monday, October 21, 2013 reported: "The University of Manitoba and the University of Manitoba Faculty Association (UMFA) reached a settlement for a new collective agreement through mediation late on Monday night (University of Manitoba, 2013).

At The Harry Crowe Foundation Conference *The Limits of Academic Freedom*, held 1–3 February 2013 in Toronto, Len Findlay delivered a talk titled "Institutional

Autonomy and Academic Freedom in the Managed University" in which he articulated an analysis as follows:

> Here and now, the independence of post-secondary institutions is reduced by external interests while being increased internally as a form of executive privilege to be wielded as a weapon against the academic freedom of academic staff. Meanwhile, institutional leaders claiming to be the university try to conceal the contradictions of their own practice in the conflicted notion of institutional autonomy as something to be apologized for and traded away in the name of accountability or exigent partnership, and also as managerial obligation and entitlement to control intramural and extramural freedoms key to the effective undertaking of academic work and to institutional health and the public interest. The "managed university" uses autonomy as an alibi for transforming itself from independence and collegial self-governance into bad compliance and uncollegial intimidation, both of which are designed to contain and commercialize the academic activities of academic staff. Indeed, academic capitalism seems even in better shape in Canada today than when Richard Wellen reviewed *The Exchange University* in 2009. New versions of the extramural and intramural are being used by academic managers to simultaneously extend and decrease the limits of their own powers, this with a view to requiring academic staff to adhere to and promote a neoliberal agenda posing as the public interest. (Findlay, 2013)

Such depictions of the managed university are relatable to many academics increasingly familiar with the following developments, in part fueled by technological and economic determinism:

- transfer from education to vocation
- ubiquity of distance delivery models
- eroding professoriate and increase in number of adjuncts in relation to faculty
- rise of the contingent worker model
- full implications of students as customers and tuition sovereignty
- new civility and speech codes
- competitive scuttle to cost recovery models
- certificates for professionals
- internationalization and its sister fee structure
- dwindling cores in curricula
- labour restructuring (e.g., educational technologists designing courses for teachers to facilitate or moderate)
- management movements toward post-tenure review

In Hans Skott-Myhre's (then president of Brock University Faculty Association) review of Benjamin Ginsberg's 2011 book *The Rise of the All Administrative University and the Fall of Faculty,* he wrote:

> Ginsberg traces the development and growth of the managerial class in the academy illustrating both its influence and tactics through numerous empirical examples. … while the context is largely U.S. (there are some Canadian examples), the trends and issues brought to light are relevant for North American and European institutions of higher learning. In particular, the author explicates strategies for the growth of administrative influence and its impact on faculty governance and voice. … the foundation for what the author terms the all-administrative university—one in which faculty have no significant role except as contract labour who produce piece work, such as on-line courses, and then move on. If this is the goal of ever-expanding administration then there is no need for shared governance. The author also notes strategies such as study commissions and strategic plans are largely borrowed from managerial business models. As these exercises have little to do with research, scholarship or pedagogy, their deployment by administration gives them an arena in which managerial expertise trumps the centrality of the academic core mission. While such plans pay lip service to the academic mission, their true function is the spread of hierarchical corporate models of management in which faculty take the role of workers subjugated to the will of management. (Skott-Myhre, 2013)

In Richard J. Cox's 2010 book *The Demise of the Library School: Personal Reflections on Professional Education in the Modern Corporate University,* branding, risk management, and information technologies and concomitant new communications systems (e.g., email powered by Google) all received attention. Cox observed: "Over the past century we have watched libraries and archives being destroyed because they represent symbolic identity and community memory. Destroy them, and you destroy a people's identity." (p. 59). As I noted in my professional review of *The Demise of the Library School*, in turn, we can ask:

> What is the future of academic identity? Is it delivering (not teaching) technical information competency credentials, workshops, institutes and in-service training programs? Is information security akin to knowledge stewardship? We do not have to be archivists to understand the basic politics around saving the human record—what records get saved, by whom and why. It is the same for academics more broadly—what programs and disciplines will survive, who decides and how? Why do students come to university and what do they experience when they get there? What are our responsibilities to cultivate intellectual curiosity, reading, writing, literacy in all its forms, critical thinking, intellectual freedom and open and frank debate, continuous learning, knowledge dissemination and public policy? To what extent will such fundamentals be determined by current models of computer literacy and information literacy in service of business and the marketplace?

Meanwhile, global citizenship education is defined, redefined and confined in step with success or failure in obtaining, claiming, maintaining and sustaining academic freedom. What is academic freedom?

CAUT's (2011) Policy Statement on Academic Freedom[1] is a staple and it affirms:

1. Post-secondary educational institutions serve the common good of society through searching for, and disseminating, knowledge, truth, and understanding and through fostering independent thinking and expression in academic staff and students. Robust democracies require no less. These ends cannot be achieved without academic freedom.
2. Academic freedom includes the right, without restriction by prescribed doctrine, to:freedom of teaching and discussion; freedom in carrying out research and disseminating and publishing the results thereof; freedom in producing and performing creative works; freedom to engage in service to the institution and the community; freedom to express freely one's opinion about the institution, its administration, or the system in which one works; freedom from institutional censorship; freedom to acquire, preserve, and provide access to documentary material in all formats; and freedom to participate in professional and representative academic bodies.
3. Academic freedom does not require neutrality on the part of the individual.
   a. Academic freedom makes intellectual discourse, critique, and commitment possible.
   b. All academic staff must have the right to fulfil their functions without reprisal or repression by the institution, the state, or any other source.
4. All academic staff have the right to freedom of thought, conscience, religion, expression, assembly, and association and the right to liberty and security of the person and freedom of movement. Academic staff must not be hindered or impeded in exercising their civil rights as citizens, including the right to contribute to social change through free expression of opinion on matters of public interest. Academic staff must not suffer any institutional penalties because of the exercise of such rights.
5. Academic freedom requires that academic staff play a major role in the governance of the institution. Academic freedom means that academic staff must play the predominant role in determining curriculum, assessment standards, and other academic matters.
6. Academic freedom must not be confused with institutional autonomy. Post-secondary institutions are autonomous to the extent that they can set policies independent of outside influence. That very autonomy can protect academic freedom from a hostile external environment, but it can also facilitate an internal assault on academic freedom. To undermine or suppress academic freedom is a serious abuse of institutional autonomy.

Notwithstanding the clear affirmations written into the above Statement, a growing number of interrelated threats to academic freedom are now recognizable. These include:

- introduction of corporatist managerialism into the university in part characterized by more administrators and a move away from the tradition that we do not have duty of loyalty in the academy and that academic freedom is the underpinning of the academy
- importance placed on market values, students as customers, and market demand for courses
- impact as a principal factor in the determination of university funding
- attack on basic research
- dispensing of patronage
- casualization of the academic workforce (on a global scale)
- erosion of tenure (e.g., for clinical faculty in medical schools)
- contracting out academic work
- climate of regulation
- discrimination against and harassment of members of marginalized groups and where marginalization for equity seeking groups is hard to prove and discern; exclusion impacts the academic freedom of those academic staff members.
- growing national security state resulting in cancellation of controversial speakers and issues around security and academic freedom, as well as politicized context of tenure cases
- collaborations, new donor agreements, and partnership with associates (e.g., in joint programs without academic freedom), corporate influences, and external political pressures
- homogenous institutions and ideological and faith tests
- expectation of loyalty to administrative leadership, cabinet solidarity, management rights or commitment to a team by administrators
- custody and control of academic staff records (e.g., email)
- corporate consulting contracts.
- conflicts of interest and misconduct
- do tanks rather than think tanks
- deskilling by decoupling teaching from scholarship and service
- diminution of civil liberties (e.g., freedom of association)
- restricting trade union rights
- institutional autonomy
- redefining the scope of academic freedom

On the latter point, in his *Whither the U of A* blog, Professor Jeremy Richards posted an entry on 1 October 2013 titled "Renaissance Committee[2] comes up with odd definition of tenure, new FEC [Faculty Evaluation Committee] proposal", which

probed a new definition of tenure proposed at the University of Alberta. Richards wrote:

> Tenure is the protection afforded by the university to all qualified academic staff after a probation period demonstrating qualification to voice supported concerns and opinions on local, provincial, national, and international matters with due protections from outside pressures and without risk of loss of employment or of rank-, salary-, and/or legal-reprisals or sanctions. It is unclear how this definition of tenure differs substantially from academic freedom, although it helpfully adds to that definition the protection from being fired as a consequence of asserting one's academic freedom. But crucially this definition of tenure does not confer the general permanence of employment that the current definition of tenure provides. Ralph Klein would have loved this new definition. It also seems to have little relevance to scientists, engineers, or doctors, most of whom deal in facts and interpretations, not opinions. And as pointed out by a questioner at the forum, does the condition of "supported concerns and opinions" mean dissent is not protected? Is it unacceptable to be the only person who has a particular opinion?

Pushes for open tasking global citizenship education perhaps automatically involve a collective commitment to dispelling unquestioned language and entrenchment into academic managing and minding. An existing condition is a forceful focus on academic workers' labour conditions and the global academic enterprise in which they function and fight for their rights and responsibilities to society and the meaning in their work. A good lesson is provided in the critical "Open Letter to the Yale Community – AAUP Media Releases (December 4, 2012)" which addressed Yale's decision to collaborate with Singapore College. The missive expressed "growing concern about the character and impact of the university's collaboration with the Singaporean government in establishing Yale-National University of Singapore College." The AAUP's specific concerns were about:

> whether it is possible to maintain academic freedom in an authoritarian country. There have been issues with lack of transparency throughout the planning process. Some of the concerns listed include: surveillance protocols, impact on free speech, will faculty, students, and staff be granted immunity, will libraries be exempt from restrictions on importation or publications, risks to students, faculty, and staff of various sexual orientations.

Less than two weeks after the *Decolonizing Global Citizenship Education International Conference* wrapped, CAUT released a report on 20 November 2013, noting:

> In their drive to attract new revenues by collaborating with corporations, donors, and governments, Canadian universities are entering into agreements that place unacceptable limits on academic freedom and sacrifice fundamental

> academic principles, according to a report released today by the Canadian Association of University Teachers (CAUT). *Open for Business: On What Terms* examines twelve research and program collaboration agreements between universities, corporations, donors and governments to determine if universities have protected their academic integrity. "Our findings should raise alarm bells on campuses across the country," said CAUT executive director James Turk. "In the majority of the agreements we reviewed, universities have agreed to terms that violate basic academic values." According to Turk, seven of the twelve agreements provide no specific protection for academic freedom, and only one requires the disclosure of conflicts of interest. Only five of the agreements give academic staff the unrestricted right to publish their research findings and just half provide that the university maintains control over academic matters affecting staff and students. "Universities have allowed private donor and corporate partners to take on roles that should be played by academic staff," stated Turk. "They have signed agreements that side-step traditional university decision-making processes and undermine academic freedom." The report concludes by recommending a set of guiding principles for university collaborations to better protect academic integrity and the public interest. "Collaborations can be beneficial to faculty, students, institutions, and the public, but only if they are set up properly," Turk added. "Universities owe it to the academic community and to the public to do more to safeguard the independence and integrity of teaching and research. (CAUT, 2013b)

A month later, on 17 December 2013, CAUT (2013e) called on universities and colleges to cease their ties with institutes funded and supervised by the authoritarian government of China. "In agreeing to host Confucius Institutes, Canadian universities and colleges are compromising their own integrity by allowing the Chinese Language Culture International to have a voice in a number of academic matters, such as curriculum, texts, and topics of class discussion," said CAUT executive director James Turk. … Turk noted that the University of Manitoba rejected hosting a Confucius Institute out of concerns over political censorship, and McMaster University ended its agreement with the Confucius Institute earlier this year following a human rights complaint by an instructor who alleged discriminatory hiring practices against members of Falun Gong."

Looping back to the start of this book chapter, the federal context continues to loom in the New Year. For example, *The Winnipeg Free Press* reported in its online edition on 10 March 2014 that the Canadian Human Rights Museum was under fire for alleged censorship. Bartley Kives (2014) wrote: "The Canadian Museum for Human Rights is weathering a censorship allegation after deleting a blog post it commissioned from a Tyrell medal-winning Canadian historian."

There are new initiatives in and levels of advocacy and activism for public knowledge, particularly around a matrix of transparency, secrecy, new technologies and legislation. Citizens simply seeking to engage in democratic processes struggle

alongside journalists and researchers in the face of denied access to government information (Gillis, 2014). On 24 March 2014, CAUT posted news on its website pertaining to a victory for staff at Library and Archives Canada (LAC).

NOTE

[1] The Renaissance Committee at the University of Alberta is a Joint Committee of the Association of Academic staff and Administration (on behalf of the Board of Governors).

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9. GLOBAL CITIZENSHIP OR INTERNATIONAL TRADE?

A Decolonial Analysis of Canada's New International Education Policy

INTRODUCTION

In early 2014, Canada released a higher education policy that outlined a new vision and practice of internationalization of Canadian education. Even in its title, *Canada's international education strategy: Harnessing our knowledge advantage to drive innovation and prosperity (CIES),* the Canadian government has declared its understanding of the economic importance of the internationalization of education. This policy is a significant shift in how Canadian higher education is conceptualized and promoted. Where are the social goals of education and the ideas that students need to be global citizens that have previously framed international engagement in the last decade? What is being assembled in Canadian higher education through this policy? This chapter approaches the analysis of the policy through two theoretical frameworks to help understand how this policy came to be and what its impact might be for higher education institutions in Canada and the domestic and international partners and students assembled by its application. I use a decolonial analysis to understand the historical, material and social context for the policy, its underpinning values and principles, and its policy actors and spaces. I will use a process-based analysis of policy to understand how this policy works, including a consideration of action- nets and the relations among actors, spaces, and knowledges to understand how the multi-scalar connections create and restrain what education is possible through this policy.

As an education policy that will impact the direction of higher education in Canada and the relations among universities, academics, and students implicated in the policy (both domestic and international), it is important to understand the policy in light of the need for education that prepares or educates students about and for life on this planet. As Walter Mignolo (2009) indicates, the "geo-politics of knowledge and the geo-politics of knowing" (p. 3) are currently issues of *great* significance as we encounter the legacies of colonialism playing out in intensely globalized social, political and economic relations. Knowledge and knowing are the foundations of education. How does a higher education policy that locates the actions of universities

A. A. Abdi et al. (Eds.), Decolonizing Global Citizenship Education, 107–117.

in the global market position knowers knowledge, teachers, and learners? Are there alternative action nets emerging that might shift the centrality of the market framing of higher education? How might global citizenship be employed as a resistant action net that engages higher education actors, knowledges, and relations differently than those of a marketized/marketizing education system?

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK FOR POLICY ANALYSIS

The increased focus on internationalization and globalization in education policy has demanded attention to how the histories and legacies of colonialism continue to shape such policies, particularly as they support global neoliberal capitalism. This study explores how colonialism *works* through and with policy to create actors, objects, and a stabilizing discourse that legitimizes particular relations and practices.

> No new discourse can be new in the sense of being created from a void; it can only be new in the sense of being constructed from the material at hand. Thus, new discourses always employ elements of old discourses. (Czarniawska, 2013, p. 17)

The internationalization of education policies is emerging around the world and with very notable similarities. We see new discourse communities being assembled through purposeful linking of macro, national and micro policy actors and objects. The intention is that the macro policies are translated and domesticated in order to stabilize the global policy network (Czaniawska, 2008, 2013). Education policy carries with it the legitimacies of its context and at the same time, a legitimizing power to enroll particular actors and exclude others according to their willingness to align their interests with those of the leaders in the policy process.

Enrolment of Local Actors to Stabilize Macro Policy Networks

Bruno Latour (2005, 2013; cited in Hernes, 2008) describes how organized systems are made durable through enrollment and how this works as a multi-scalar process. "Internal actors [are] able to significantly influence the outcome of [a case] by speaking with the voices of their chosen institutional macro-actors" (Hernes, 2008, p. 74). Through processes of translation, particular policy knowledge is made legitimate. When conflict arises, the local actors (having been enrolled as actors and legitimized by their macro-actor connections), point to the indisputablility of macro-institutionalized logics and the actors who espouse these logics (also being actors created and made legitimate by the local actors). In Latour's study of policy networks, he found that "macro-actors tend to be perceived as facts in themselves, and this confers upon them a temporal stabilizing force. Therefore, although they are perpetually in the making, they are treated as ready-made entities with certain characteristics" (Latour, cited in Hernes, 2008, p. 77). This study also examines how policy acts and as Czarniawska (2013) points out:

> the style of discourse is also a style of action, and although a change of discourse is rarely of the type desired by those who introduced the change, the changes are usually more profound than the most hard-bitten skeptics would allow. (p. 17)

Policymakers seldom see the impacts that their policies will have. Action-net analysis helps us understand why this might be the case. Seldom do policymakers attend to the processes of enrollment, legitimization, and authority in which they are embedded. For example, the colonialism that legitimized particular policies in Canada from the 1800s was viewed as constructive by the policymakers, as nation-building and citizen shaping for a *new* country. The immense violence and destruction was made invisible to the policy actors who had been enrolled and legitimized as creative actors in the emerging system. An action-net analysis helps to make visible how newly created discourse communities and their policies perpetuate old exclusions. Czarniawska (2013) found that "although the main purpose of new discourses was new communities and therefore inclusion, they excluded the same outsiders- women and strangers- as did the previous ones" (p. 17). It was clear that colonialism's racism also bounded who was included and excluded and this resulted in the long tradition of excluding the knowledge and knowledge holders of any place outside of Europe. As long as education policy is based on education for and through colonialism's triad of imperialism, patriarchy, and racism, (Abdi, 2012; Mignolo, 2000, 2011, 2012; Shultz, 2012) we will continue to have policies that legitimize the same colonial style exclusions.

Decolonizing Policy Analysis

Since the past centuries' European colonization of the majority of the world, writers and activists have provided evidence and analysis for the need to decolonize the land, the people, and the relations put into place through this domination of one region over so many others (see for example, Cesaire, 2001; Dussel, 2013; Fanon 1963/2004, 1959/1965). This study draws on Mignolo's framework of global coloniality and the global matrix of power (Mignolo, 2009, 2011). Tlsotanova and Mignolo (2012) revisit these ideas to provide a conceptual framework that maps the social relations where the struggle for power takes place (p. 44–45) and the intersectionality of economic imperialism, political exclusion and the control of authority, sexism, and epistemicide or the destruction of knowledge that was not Western: ego-logical and transcendent (2012). This destruction was often done through killing the minds and/or bodies of people who thought and acted outside the colonial system (NgugiwaThiong'o, 2009; Odora Hoppers, 2009) and its legitimized Western epistemic orientation. Education was used to control the legitimation of knowledge and subjectivities (Abdi, 2012; Shiza & Abdi, 2014). Mignolo describes how the Renaissance university was installed throughout the colonized world (e.g., Harvard was established in 1636) and served to legitimize Western rational thinking

and faithful knowledge of a transcendent (masculine) divinity as the only legitimate knowledge in the colonial space (Tlsotanova & Mignolo, 2012).

This study attends to how the recent Canadian education policy for international relations acts as part of a policy net for the global colonial matrix of power and as an evolving / emergent response to the history of Western consolidation and imperial expansionism. In this, it is understood that historical patterns of colonialism have given rise to neocolonial variations as well as decolonial options. The focus of the study is on both acts of constraint and resistance to globalized colonialism where we seek to understand the everyday translations: "through everyday translations, an action net is created, connecting the local to the translocal/micro to the macro" (Czarniawska, 2013, p. 30).

THE POLICY AS ACTION NET: ACTORS, KNOWLEDGE, SPACES

Enrolling and Stabilizing the Discourse Community

The Canadian education policy context: recognizing links to Canada's colonial history and its first international education policy. In addition to the policy's contents, it is a significant policy in that rarely does Canada have any education policy at the national level. However, it must be affirmed that the first international education policy in Canada was the policy that excluded education equity for indigenous people and the First Nations of the land that became Canada. Historically, all education of settlers/immigrants in Canada has been within the jurisdiction of the provinces, leaving Canada with no national education policies. This decentralized model of education was part of the early agreement of the colonial powers that formed the country called Canada and wrote its Constitution, the British North America Act (BNA) in 1867. With the tension between France and England tested by war and economic rivalries in the *new* colony, the provision of education was negotiated to give English and French colonialists access to education that they saw as familiar and that would encourage increased numbers of immigrants to come to *settle* the vast land claimed by England. The resulting system of education saw local communities able to make policy and practice decisions, including religious and language of instruction preferences. It is important to note that, just as with the colonial histories in other lands, the European masters limited these decisions to either French or English language of instruction, and either Protestant or Catholic Christian orientations to education.

However, this decentralized empowerment was only for immigrants. The indigenous people's education was to be handled by the federal government. The paternalism and racism at the foundation of the Canadian education system was made clear in this very early declaration. While European settlers (mostly from Western Europe) were seen to be capable and trustworthy enough to make their own educational decisions, the indigenous people were viewed as both deficient and dangerous and therefore, were to be controlled through education provided by the

government of England. The colonial powers wanted the land and the resources of this expansive territory; they did not want its people. The intertwining of capitalism, imperialism, and colonialism is evident throughout the settlement and nation-building that resulted in the country of Canada. The exclusion of indigenous people from all forms of citizenship has been present from the beginning of Canadian policymaking. The settlers who arrived pre-BNA were *the peopleof the Constitution,* and the indigenous people, *the people of the land*, were invisible in the policy. This was the history assembled by colonialism and while a full discussion of the legacies and current realities of colonial education is beyond this chapter, we should not be surprised to see that the values and principles that are expressed in the recent education policy show no sign that the colonial hand has disappeared from Canadian governance. As with federal government policies before it, the 2014 education policy excludes many for the benefit of a few; the pattern of colonial thinking continues to invade this country. The international focus of this higher education policy might open education institutions to *the world*, but the world it describes is as limited as the world the colonial governors in 1867 imagined, and the local benefactors also share the privileged status of those benefactors of the colonial policy 150 years ago.

2014 and Canada's International Education Strategy

From the first page of CIES, the policy document reveals that it is an effort to build a particular policy network: "harnessing our knowledge advantage to drive innovation and prosperity" (p. 1). It is claimed as a Canadian policy despite the historical location of education at the provincial level and the history of fierce struggle to keep power decentralized. The links to industry and economy are clear, even in the location of the policy within the jurisdiction of International Trade and Development. The opening message from the Minister of International Trade makes clear how the policy is linked to Canada's Global Markets Action Plan (Government of Canada, 2014, p. 4) and that international education is key to "ensur[ing] our future prosperity" (p. 4). It should be no small surprise then that the Advisory Panel for CIES creates education policy actors from members of the corporate community. Even the few people with connections to higher education institutions are not academics or educators but business or corporate leaders who have become part of the new style of academic administration. The mining and extractive industry and the financial sector are well represented. Other members have strong work histories with the corporate sector. Besides the Advisory Board there is also a stakeholder group that meets under the umbrella term: the National Education Marketing Roundtable (NEMR) chaired by Foreign Affairs, Trade and Development Canada (DFATD). While many of the organizations represented will have much broader goals (for example, the Association of Universities and Colleges), the people who take part in NEMR will be the translators of the marketization of education agenda into their local organizations. Here Latour's idea of durability (2008) becomes important. NEMR becomes an important member of the discourse community and

responsible in stabilizing the discourse as it spreads the language, values, and norms of education as a marketable commodity into a wide range of Canadian institutions. The more stable the discourse, the more easily the policy becomes implementable. In the Canadian context, the policymakers will have carefully constructed these groups to ensure that their ideas have legitimacy in localized institutions, thereby achieving the enrollment of decentralized institutions into a centralized policy network.

For an education policy, there is very little discussion of education in this document. The focus is generally on the economic benefits that are gained through the money brought in either by international students or through increased research when sold to industry.

> International students in Canada provide immediate and significant economic benefits to Canadians in every region of the country. Data for 2012 show that 265,400 international students spent a total of some $8.4 billion in communities across Canada, helping sustain 86,570 Canadian jobs (see chart). Additionally, the activities of international students helped generate more than $455 million in federal and provincial tax revenues. (CIES, p. 7)

One exception is a statement by His Excellency the Right Honorable David Johnston, Governor General of Canada.

> The process of uncovering, sharing and refining all kinds of knowledge across disciplinary boundaries and international borders is something I call the diplomacy of knowledge…..[cross-disciplinary action is] most potent when we cross international borders and cultivate interactions among teachers, students, researchers, and others in different countries. (p. 15)

For this study, it is important to note that Dr. Johnston is speaking here in his capacity as the Governor General of Canada, which is the Queen of England's representative in the Government of Canada and the highest position of authority in the Canadian government. The link to the colonial past is in both Johnston's position and his words. He becomes (intentionally or otherwise) a powerful agent of enrollment in the legitimizing process of the policy shift toward the marketization of higher education.

Education policy actors who are notably absent in the policy and discourse enrollment are indigenous people and immigrants who might want to come to Canada to improve their own life expectancy (for example, refugees from conflict, economic crises, or environmental devastation). While the policy presents the strength of Canadian education as an important contribution to the world, the policy makers have crafted a controlled location for such benefits. CIES policy is to support the countries identified in the Global Markets Plan (pp. 9–10) and include only countries and geographical locations that have demonstrated a strengthened economy and where Canadian corporations would like to increase their market influence. These include Brazil, China, India, Mexico, North Africa, the Middle East, and Vietnam (p. 10) as well as continued connections with strong, longstanding economic partners: the UK, USA, France, Germany, Japan, and South Korea (p. 10).

Branding Canadian education. **"**Across the 'brand spectrum,' Canada's brand is one of the most trusted in the world" (p. 10). The rise of the corporate university has brought with it a new focus on the university brand and the creation of units to market the institution based on branding and advertisement. The Canadian government's attempt to brand Canada's higher education is difficult, again, because of the decentralized model of education. Higher education is particularly decentralized with each individual institution historically having significant independence about how it conducts its work of teaching, research, and engagement with the broader community. The new international education policy, CIES, requires a much more homogenized approach to the inclusion of international students including corporate interests into the academy, and providing support for international partnerships developed outside the institution. The process of branding Canadian higher education is a very active process of enrollment. What university would want to be seen to be left out of the Canadian brand especially a brand that promotes "a consistently high-quality education at an attractive price in a tolerant, diverse, safe and welcoming environment" (p. 10)?

The Advisory Panel for CIES committed the Canadian government to providing resources to coordinate marketing in priority markets (p. 11) and "reallocating resources to key posts in Canada's diplomatic network, including economic diplomats dedicated to achieving Canada's key education objectives within those markets" (p. 11). Not only does this highlight the changed education landscape but also that the diplomatic core is now focused on promoting Canadian economic interests rather than exclusively participating in international relations for peace, security and development. The branding is clear: Canadian universities, colleges, and technical institutions are being sold in an international market of students, teachers, and ideas.

Creating an imperialist action net. CIES prepares us for a particular action net where, as Czarniawska (2008, 2013) highlights, different types of actions are translated into one another to create stability for a particular unit or discourse. CIES translates education and business into an imperialist action-net that seeks to help create a global market for education and then claim a dominant spot within that market. Education's wider goals, for example, citizenship, society building, enlightenment, social justice, and creating knowledge for society, are destabilized in the new discourse of an urgent need be part of a global knowledge economy. In a similar way, Stanley Deetz (1992) described how the reconstruction of teaching and learning into a *knowledge economy* was a process of reconstructing meaning through a process of discursive closure. In this, policy makers suppress potential conflict and privilege particular voices which serves to delegitimize alternatives. Claims of neutrality and universalism are used to suggest that only one way is possible. Tlostanova & Mignolo (2012) remind us that the link between imperialism and colonialism continues "as long as the final horizon of life is guided by the desire to accumulate capital, as long as the economic gains and benefits continue to define 'development'" (p. 49). The neocolonialism of CIES emerges from its limiting

whose ideas are legitimate and by capturing and transforming all knowledge into its solely economic agenda. Here the elite class with business knowledge is seen as more relevant to education policy process than citizen-based and/or education or academic knowledges. The policy acts in a colonizing way as marketizing policy knowledge is made legitimate by limiting who speaks on behalf of education and translating education goals into business goals.

The CIES policy is focused only on the benefits to participating Canadian institutions and business; yet as part of a global education market action net, its influence will be cast much farther, making institutions, students, teachers, and ideas (international and domestic) into policy objects (Shultz, 2013a). There are contradictions here as education institutions become enrolled into very specific relations based on these economic goals rather than knowledge/education goals, and within these institutions, individuals become less able to engage in a free exchange of ideas (through research and teaching) than before the policy. In addition, while education goals generally promote equity and citizenship, CIES locates higher education in a competitive global market for ideas, learners, and teachers. CIES begins to act as part of a global colonial matrix of power (Mignolo, 2000, 2011).

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS: GLOBAL CITIZENSHIP AS ALTERNATE EMERGING ACTION NET

This chapter seeks to provide an analysis of a new Canadian policy on higher education that moves its core mandate from education to business. By using a decolonial analysis supported by organizational process theories of action and networks, the study provides an important understanding of the policy and how the processes of enrollment, legitimization and authority act. An action-net analysis helps to make visible how new policies perpetuate old exclusions. The CIES (2014) is clearly a policy that positions education as part of a global market strategy and in doing this, it acts to enroll domestic and international students, teachers, researchers, and the ideas that form the foundation of education, within what Mignolo (2009, 2011) calls the global matrix of power, an action-net that continues to legitimize the legacies of European economic, social and political colonial practices of the last 500 years. The discourses of this colonialism continue to be renewed because, as we see in the case of Canadian education policy history, the power of the colonial roots to direct policy has never been resolved and continues to act through relations of discrimination, mis-recognition, and exclusion. The durability of these relations is important to understand if we are to disrupt the colonialism that informs our current policy context and processes as reflected in CIES.

The second area of interest in the analysis of CIES 2014 is the enrollment of Canadian higher education into an international imperialist action net, as related to education planning and provision. Here, the action net includes global and local actors enrolled to participate in the creation of a global education market. While higher education has always been international, with ideas, researchers, and students

moving across borders through research collaborations and knowledge sharing, the new marketization of ideas as proposed in CIES creates a very different situation where all aspects of education are captured in the mechanisms of a global market. Of course, the control and profit from this market is not evenly distributed. Given the colonial history of our current global market systems, education is enrolled to perpetuate the violent histories and legacies of European colonialism that divided the world into two categories: civilized and *knowing* or *savage* and knowledgeless. The oppression and violence of this system enters into the neocolonial relations of the global knowledge economy and is evident in how education actors are positioned in the global action net.

Global Citizenship as a Frame of Resistance

When we study action nets and networks, the possibilities of a transformed system can also be highlighted. As a conclusion to this chapter, I would like to suggest that transformation of the system is possible. While the new CIES (2014) has not yet had time to have its results tested, there are other discourses and emerging action nets of interest being connected even in these early stages of the policy processes. Of interest in this study (and edited volume) is the idea of global citizenship. The appearance of a *global citizen*, an anonymous body positioned in the global geo-political realm, has achieved more than any one specific meaning (see Shultz, 2007). In the midst of a dismantled public sphere (see Shultz, 2013b) and the dismal state of what we might think of as the commons or a shared planet, there is also the disappearance of localized political mediation which has been replaced through the enrollment of neoliberal ideologies and national governments beholden to transnational corporations and institutions. The global citizen acts as a subject in this sphere and as a connector to a new emerging action net. The global citizen undermines state-capital control of what is legitimately public by disrupting the role of the obedient marketized citizen (see Shultz, 2013a) through scale (local-global or glocal) and through action (global social/political movements, mobile labour, and mobility of idea networks). In this action net, global citizenship is not a replacement for local or national responsibilities and rights but an expanded citizenship to match the emerging action net that is responding to planetary crises and interdependencies. Global citizenship is a changing discourse that demands a global commons. It is globalization beyond the capitalist elite, beyond the authoritarian patriarch, and colonial master. We have been too timid and cautious in our encounters with global citizenship, limiting it to a modern, liberal imaginary. By bringing, for example, global decolonial, feminist, environmental, labour, jihadist, fundamentalist, and crime movements from the periphery and into view, we move from tamed to transformed citizenship spaces. Global citizenship as action net has the capacity to respond to this complex world of connection. This capacity makes it a dangerous idea for some (thus the need to tame it) and a liberating idea for others. Regardless of the entry point into an encounter with global citizenship, it creates a space for debate

and an unexpected publicness emerges that is relevant to, for example, precarious youth looking for ways to take their place in worldmaking; to the assaulted woman who looks for solidarity in her liberation struggle; or the small farmer who needs to be allowed to live a sustainable life of simplicity without global agri-business or land speculators changing the rules in their own favour. The problems of liberalism, neoliberalism, and neocolonialism are surfaced in these spaces and the resulting action net produces the need for citizens with global perspectives and engagements.

Can global citizenship shift colonizing policies like CIES (2014)? The work of decolonial and anticolonial scholars and activists in the past decades has contributed new understanding of international relations and interconnections. These people demand that the histories of colonial struggle for land and sovereignty and for even the possibility for leading lives of full humanity be heard at every level, local to global. We can't view a policy like CIES (2014) without its history, which is a colonial one. The liberal citizen, tied to Westphalian notions of belonging to a national territory, has been a problem throughout the colonial world. A global citizenship action net is emerging that is highly influenced by decolonial discourses and actors. By using an action net analysis with a decolonial framework, new insights emerge that identify how different policy actors and spaces will change policy spaces and processes. A *global citizenship as action net* conceptualization of higher education holds some possibility for creating a space for non-corporate/corporatizing actors to be connected in ways that will lead to changes in neoliberal policy and practices that have led to CIES (2014). More studies of global citizenship as action net are needed to help us understand policies like CIES in their broader context and with regards to the enrollment of actors, and the creation of actionable spaces of legitimacy and authority.

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10. THE OECD NEOLIBERAL GOVERNANCE

Policies of International Testing and Their Impact on Global Education Systems

INTRODUCTION

When making education policies, we pose the question: whose interests are served? It is usually said that education must be in the best interests of students. In fact, neoliberal global education policies push for conflicting agendas as they appear to serve the interests of students and their communities, and at the same time they serve other players such as International Organizations (IOs). The other question is: who governs education policies locally and globally – is it the state, the market, IOs or communities?

In this chapter, I examine the role of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) in shaping global and local education policies. In this sense, Kofod, Louis, Moos, and van Velzen (2012) state: "The OECD has become one of the most influential transnational organizations in education" (p. 32). My main focus is on the impact of international assessments like the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) and *Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study* (TIMSS) on education policies. I, therefore, chose a neoGramscian theoretical framework to discuss the hegemony of neoliberalism in contemporary international education policies that manipulate education policies and the economy, thereby promoting certain kinds of market epistemologies. Second, I argue that there is a need for a liberating democratic education to engage in the process of a decolonization of mentalities and neoliberal structures.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

For the analysis of the domination of the OECD in education policies and its utilization of PISA, the Gramscian concept of hegemony (Gramsci, 1971) is an important tool to demystify such domination. In this sense, Kaufman (2003) explains the connotation of hegemony by arguing:

> Gramsci uses the term hegemony to describe the way that ideology systems come to legitimize or support the interests of the ruling groups in society. As

A. A. Abdi et al. (Eds.), Decolonizing Global Citizenship Education, 119–129.

> the views of the dominant groups come to be widely accepted, they turn into common sense. (p. 21)

Based on this meaning, hegemony is currently manifested through the ideology of neoliberalism that seeks to govern the world systems, promotes the interests of a global elite and makes subjugated world populations believe in such hegemony. This is highlighted by Mayo (2008) who explains that hegemony holds the meaning of "ruling by consent and not simply through force" (p. 419). It is thus the approval of the voiceless masses that legitimizes the neoliberal domination due to their lack of critical awareness. Short (2012) further details the significance of neoliberalism by stating:

> Neoliberalism is an intellectual, political and economic project: it emphasizes the use of market-based mechanisms to organize economic, political and social affairs, and promotes economic policies designed to lower inflation, deficits and public debt and to create "macroeconomic stability." As a theory of political economy, neoliberalism promotes the universalization of the market form, based on the ethico-political positions that markets are a direct expression of human rationality. (p. 47)

Given this, it is worth noting that neoliberalism becomes the *modern* political-ethical project/hegemony that seeks the supremacy of the market over other spheres and the standardization of criteria when making local or global policies. People within this project become simple producers and consumers who are unable to engage in social action and change (Mayo, 2012, p. 603). To achieve this purpose, decentralisation and devolution are the main tools for the effective operation of the free market (Ozga, 2009); in this way, the neoliberal market marginalizes the role of the state that used to be the most important maker of public policies. Therefore, a new economic structure has been constructed where the market is centralized and boundaries among the market, state and society blur.

To maintain this hegemony of neoliberalism, there is a need for organic intellectuals (Gramsci, 1971) who build alliances and find allies in order "to persuade subordinates to comply with their rules" (Hartmann, 2007, p. 90) and the rules of the market. In providing further explanation of this vital task performed by organic intellectuals, Gill (2012) argued:

> Organic intellectuals both articulate the goals and legitimate the actions and institutions of the ruling elements of a given society, seeking to stabilize the basic relations rulers and ruled, simultaneously marginalizing and incorporating opposition. One function of these organic intellectuals is to depoliticize fundamentals questions relating to the nature of capitalism. (p. 30)

Therefore, organic intellectuals are the speakers of the neoliberal project, and they work hard to legitimatize the discursive practices of the neoliberal rulers; on the other

hand, they try to silence counter-hegemonic voices. Within the neoliberal context, organic intellectuals are embodied in the International Organizations, such as the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, the World Trade Organization and the OECD; they construct a coalition that advocates for neoliberal ideologies and policies; indeed, these institutional intellectuals "articulate a political-ethical project for the whole society, which not only includes the promotion of a specific production and accumulation regime but, in more general terms, involves the promotion of a specific lifestyle, as well as way of thinking and consuming" (Hartmann, 2007, p. 88). As such, the project of IOs is profound as it seeks a radical shift in terms of consumption and a culture of world citizens. Importantly, within this neoliberal lifestyle and for the sake of efficiency, the state is selling public services to the private sector as with the process of privatizing education and the myth of the school choice (Hyslop-Margison & Sears, 2006, p. 12). For social services, the neoliberal state becomes neither a decision maker nor a service provider and citizens are left to the fierce rules of free market games in which they have to pay for their choices. In doing so, the private sector and IOs have been the main players in reducing the role of the state as argued by Mundy (2007):

> OECD, EU and WTO were "disciplinary" in the sense that they contributed to the diffusion of neoliberal approaches to public choices developing in the US and UK, placing particular emphasis on the marketization of educational services and the use of crossnational comparison to show the relative efficiencies of downsizing the state. (p. 28)

Obviously, IOs have instilled new epistemic forms of comparison, competition, efficiency, consumerism, and the knowledge economy (KE); this renders neoliberalism as another form of colonialism and IOs become its agents as they find out or create spaces to conquer them with free market approaches. In this vein, Short (2012) notes that: "As a political project, neoliberalism transforms the state and international organizations into institutions governed to the largest extent possible by market logic and responsible for inculcating market mechanisms and rationalities into spheres previously governed by other means" (p. 47). In brief, neoliberalism as hegemony has generated a new format of the state and IOs, as well as its organic intellectuals, governing the globe based on the mechanisms of the market in which the ends justify the means and human values are dehumanized.

THIN FORMS OF OECD GOVERNANCE

The OECD as an organic intellectual of the hegemonic project, neoliberalism, has created international testing of students as a tool to dominate global education policies. On its website, the OECD (2013) defines PISA as "an international study that was launched by the OECD in 1997. It aims to evaluate education systems

worldwide every three years by assessing 15-year-olds' competencies in the key subjects: reading, mathematics and science." It is apparent that there is an emphasis on mathematics and science. The OECD (2013) adds that the other purpose of PISA is to rank student performance by country. This demonstrates that this economic organization has the power to select the kind of school subjects and to rank schools, teachers and school system, creating a kind of hierarchy of world education systems and placing them in constant competition.

PISA, engineered by the OECD and other international assessments such as the*Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study* (TIMSS), have become essential tools in education policies. According to Grek (2009), "PISA is the OECD's platform for policy construction, mediation and diffusion" (p. 26); this reveals the importance of such international assessments to direct local and global education policies. However, there is a need to look at them with a critical lens and to question their rationale as they may have a negative impact on education discourse and do more harm than good to schooling (Torrance, 2006, p. 833). The ATA Newspaper (2014) has mentioned that the OECD's PISA report for 2012 ranked Canada 13th in mathematics and 11th in science. According to these sample student achievements, the PISA report recommended that some countries change their curricula and instructional systems in order to improve their performance in mathematics and science, which is an explicit intervention in local educational policies. The OECD report also states that: "Some of the highest-ranking countries on the 2012 PISA test are estimated to spend between $1,000 and $9,000 USD on private tutoring per student," proving that PISA is an elitist approach to education and excludes students from low socio-economic status as there are specific private programs for such testing. Importantly, it is usually public education that is targeted by these international assessments in order to make communities think of alternatives to public schooling, such as privatized education, as discussed by Ravitch (2013): "critics use data from international assessments to generate a crisis mentality, not to improve public schools but to undermine public confidence in them" (p. 61).

Therefore, data from PISA and TIMMS raise doubts of their goals and their uses. Obviously, the data result in binaries in education systems: good/bad, strong/weak and pleased/disgraced that add more disparities to world education. One of the effects of such binaries is described by Takayama (2008) who found that: "By ranking nations vertically, the PISA league tables serve as a mechanism of public shaming and blaming, pressuring participating nations to compete to better realize the OECD's particular vision of schooling" (p. 388). Instead of celebrating diversity of learners and learning, PISA becomes a tool of humiliation and exclusion of some education systems that do not conform to its standards. Based on this insight, the OECD seeks to control its members' education policies for the sake of improvement but also for a kind of "static uniformity" (Bank, 2012, p. 198) of their school structures and curriculum. This harmonization of school systems is another form of oppression of local knowledges and worldviews; for instance, students in Chile have

to learn and be taught in the same way and the same content as students in Hungary or in Japan. To maintain this control and top-down view of education, the OECD uses the mechanism of comparison to compare and to rank school systems. In this regard, Martens (2007) argues that:

> Since rating and ranking activities by the OECD appear to be based on objective criteria, scientifically, researched by experts and presented in an easily accessible manner, it puts States under pressure to import and apply models for education which seem to have worked better in other countries instead of continuing on their own path. (p. 54)

Within this OECD governance, participant countries in the international assessments of education must constantly claim the *best practices* of other governments that usually clash with local practices and views of education. To this effect, PISA and TIMSS may elicit a crisis in education systems and the indignation of local populations, instead of enhancing students' achievements. A comparison of education systems through tests is a futile process in the sense that there are differences of contexts, languages and students that are not considered; seen in this light, Holliday and Holliday (2003) have pointed out: "There is no reasonable way of comparing the curricula among so many countries, because such comparisons are confounded by unknown differences among students selected to take TIMSS's science and math tests" (p. 253). That is, differences among and of students make the comparisons of their learning abilities and achievements unreasonable. Viewed in this way, data generated from international tests remain an unreliable source from which to build policies that seek the betterment of education.

Significantly, PISA and TIMSS are forms of international comparison that promote a scientific approach to political decision making (Martens, 2007, p. 42). Decisions and policies in education are grounded on scientific criteria and data that are generated by these assessments. This reveals the intimate connection between rationalism, as a scientific approach, and global governance. Rationalism is meant to rule and to control as seen by Pal (2010): "rationalism, as a key point of the modernist project, has deep roots in an impulse to centralize, categorize, and control" (p. 20). Using rational quantitative methods to compare global education systems is a maneuver to control them and to guide them to certain ideological purposes. Moreover, the emphasis of the OECD on math and science is an explicit discourse on the dominance of science subjects over others, which is a limitation of human creativity and an exclusion of non-scientific sources of knowledge. Education is reduced to knowledge in math and science that have become the main indicators of a quality education. In this regard, Torrance (2006) considers that:

> Maths, Science, and latterly Reading are clearly being taken as proxies, as indicators of the more general 'health' of our education systems, and proxies moreover, that are closely related to the (assumed) economic purpose of education. The assumption seems to be that economic prosperity depends

> on technological advance and this in turn depends on the production of mathematicians and scientists. (p. 825)

Given this and with regards to the neoliberal governance of the OECD, the meaning of education has been redefined and certain school subjects are highlighted and others are marginalized. This market approach excludes values of citizenship, democracy and community from schooling systems and policies.

Free Market Fundamentalism

Under the neoliberal governance the market becomes the center of everything and education becomes a vulnerable field that is dominated and dependent on what is economic. This market logic is being promoted globally by international organizations as described in the following:

> The dominant political and educational discourse suggests that the logic of the neo-liberal market is irrefutable. This logic is expressed ideologically and validated as "common sense" by powerful institutions such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank and the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). (Hyslop-Margison & Sears, 2006, p. 10)

In this sense, the neoliberal economy has restructured education and knowledge locally and globally with a market-oriented episteme that is instilled in mentalities, institutions and policies. The OECD, through PISA, explains education as "a functional sub-system of the economy" (Bank, 2012, p. 195), which proves that the market subjugates education, and more than that education is assessed as invalid and out of context if it is not embracing the same market jargon and practices. Schools have embraced the neoliberal business model uncritically as discussed by Cho (2013) when stating that "we have seen the market logic creeping into education. The education reform movements since the 1980s have couched their ideas in privatization, marketization, standardization, accountability, efficiency and competition" (p. 106). These notions of market and knowledge economy are being moved to and applied on education systems and policies; they therefore "serve and symbolize the increasing colonization of education policy by economic policy imperatives" (Ball, 1998, p. 122).

The free market is not only seen as a way to govern schools, but it also becomes the purpose of education. The OECD has managed to place economic growth as the focus and the aim of education. As noted by Hamano (2011), the OECD group sees "education as a means to economic growth" (p. 3). That is, schooling is now assigned for the task of preparing students with vocational skills for economic growth, and schools become sites for a future labor force.

In addition, the ultimate goal of education systems is to create more technical professionals who are able to expand markets, increase consumption and accumulate

wealth. In this liaison between economic growth and technical professionals, Hanushek and Woessmann (2008) argue that "a number of models of economic growth in fact emphasize the importance of scientists and engineers as a key ingredient to growth" (p. 638). In other words, technical professions and technical training become the backbone of neoliberal economies and whatever is related to art and humanism is downsized.

Hence, this association between testing and economy has been constructed and normalized by IOs as with the "OECD member governments [who] continue to highlight the importance of international testing and benchmarking for global economic competitiveness" (Mundy, 2007, p. 348). The OECD, immersed in the hegemony of neoliberalism, has shaped global governance for market values, where freedom and justice are threatened and where hierarchies and inequalities within students, schools and countries are reinforced.

Furthermore, to implement its market agenda, the OECD allies its activities and policies with the World Bank. Both organizations abuse the spaces of education and knowledge for market sophistication. Related to this point, Hamano (2011) shows us the extent to which the OECD and the World Bank are similar:

> [C]onsidering the OECD's view of education as a means of creating human capital and driving economic growth—and, on account of a strong American influence, as a means of advancing neo-liberal policies—the OECD has much in common with the World Bank. However, one difference is that the World Bank has influence over the educational policies of developing countries, on account of its provision of financial loans to those countries; the OECD, on the other hand, does not provide such financing. (p. 3)

Apparently, the OECD and the World Bank work in different ways, but for the same purpose: the free market that weakens everything that is public. It is essential to note that the World Bank now functions as a hegemonic agent that promotes the epistemologies of the OECD, of testing, science and market; in this regard, Mundy (2007) has argued that: "The international testing culture developed under OECD auspices is now being spread by the World Bank to many regions of the developing world" (p. 348). The World Bank is in a constant search for other allies among world governments to implement its agenda and spread the neoliberal project. In the Norwegian context, Birgit Brock-Utne (2007) has used the term "Worldbankification" to explain the way the Norwegian government imposes World Bank conditionalities through its official bilateral aid policy. In other words, some nation states adopt the neoliberal policies of the World Bank and try to play a similar role to that of IOs, mainly in "developing" countries. As an example, Tikly (2001) discussed how "educational change in Africa has been profoundly shaped by global forces both in the contemporary and modern periods" (p. 169), which hardly seems undeniable as the OECD and the World Bank are major forces that intervene and encroach on global education and economic policies through the mechanisms of market, science, testing and loans.

Resistance in Global Governance

Public intellectuals and scholars may have different views and strategies regarding resistance and activism to dismantle the oppressive neoliberal governance that is downsizing public education and local epistemologies. For some scholars, as with Jennifer Chan (2007), going beyond crisis in global governance and achieving democratic participation needs to be through "an overhaul of the decision-making institutional structure" (p. 372). For others, there is a need to decolonize institutions from the ideologies of free market and science. It is a sort of decolonization that "forces us to conceptualize the whole system and its structures" and to make "visible which people are de-citizenized and how this takes place" (Shultz, 2012, p. 32). This shows that the structure and the human being are connected, and there is no liberation of one without the other. Yet, it is the human being who initiates the change and directs structures towards effective participatory democracy. For this purpose, Mignolo (2006) suggests:

> If changes cannot come from new laws and public policies, they should come from changes in people's minds, in their understanding of the historical roots that have formed their sensibilities and beliefs. And to that end, the decoloniality of being and of knowledge is of the essence. (p. 323)

This perspective of change emphasizes human agency and the ability to find liberating alternatives for neoliberalism and laissez-faire capitalism. It also demonstrates the importance of decolonizing minds and knowledges, which is a process of self-liberation and transformation. Freire (1993) situated the mechanisms to make a radical shift and end oppression:

> Functionally, oppression is domesticating. To no longer be prey to its force, one must emerge from it and turn upon it. This can be done only by means of the praxis: reflection and action upon the world in order to transform it. (p. 51)

From this perspective, world citizens and communities have to think and reflect critically on this neoliberal domination that has devalued education through IOs, and they have to take actions to transform their realities and to assert their capacity for social change. It is vital to think out of the boxed definitions and to develop a critical understanding of neoliberal hegemony to eschew any kind of cynicism. As noted by Cho (2013), "one route to combat the TINA [There is No Alternative] despair is to go beyond and imagine outside the current logic of neoliberalism" (p. 107).

Critical thinking in this context stimulates intellectuals' minds to pose questions of: Who is served and who benefits from OECD governance structures, policies and practices? What are the roots causes of social inequalities? What are other options to neoliberal governance? Why do we need international assessments of education? How do we improve public education and make it play its role of personal and social development and transformation? Why do we have to connect schooling to profit? Furthermore, critical thinking is a major component of democratic education that aims

"to give voice to those whose ideas, histories, cultures and current understanding of the world is not highlighted in the dominant relationships of schooling" and aims for "the horizontal decolonization (both in the national and international spaces) of both the physical and mental being of individuals and groups" (Abdi & Richardson, 2008, p. 3). In this respect, decolonizing minds and school systems remain important factors to engendering a democratic education that is able to counter neoliberal hegemony and to end the indifference of intellectuals and committed citizens. Having said this, Giroux (2001) recommends educators and social activists to reject schooling that marginalizes least advantaged students. For him, teachers and communities need to have school and classroom authority and should not leave it "under the control of "experts," imported from the business community or the world of for-profit schools" (Giroux, 2001, p. xxv). International assessments, such as PISA and TIMMS testing, should be "attentive to the cultural resources of the communities in which students live their daily lives" (Giroux, 2001, p. xxv). Education in general, then, becomes meaningful when it is relevant to students' contexts and needs.

CONCLUSION

In this chapter, I have highlighted the impact of neoliberal policies of the OECD through PISA on larger education policies. I have argued that the OECD promotes some neoliberal epistemologies and ideologies of testing, science and economic growth that marginalize local knowledges and public education. In this milieu, education becomes a subfield of economies, and world school systems have to embrace market ideologies to survive. I have showed that the OECD is initiating a kind of global governance based on comparison, which is hegemonic and increases inequalities between individuals and groups. Global governance systems that do not value human agency, creativity and other forms of knowing need to be deconstructed. Democracy and social justice are in danger because of neoliberalism and its organic intellectuals, i.e., the OECD, WB, and WTO. Therefore, there is an urgent need for democratic education that contributes to the decolonization of mentalities and systems and for engaged public intellectuals to initiate and maintain critical discussions and pedagogies that disturb taken-for-granted assumptions and pave the road for social transformation and justice.

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11. RECLAIMING THE CITIZEN AND RENOUNCING CITIZENSHIP

A Case Study of an Arab Woman

INTRODUCTION

Citizenship is essentially a "contested concept" that resonates with subjective and psychological implications (Crick, 2000, p. 3). By exploring Zainab Salbi's autobiography *Between Two Worlds* (2005), this chapter examines how citizenship becomes a site of conflict for Arabs who seek to rediscover their identity in diaspora. Salbi's experience as she journeys from Iraq to America becomes a case in point of how only by renouncing citizenship, as a socio-political construct that stipulates nationalism, can Arab newcomers become active citizens. Due to the lack of citizenship education in their home countries, Arabs tend to conflate the notion of the citizen with national identity. In effect, this study explores how some Arab immigrants tend to conceive citizenship as external – that is, as the obligation of ascription which negates any sense of psychological citizenship. By elucidating on how Salbi experiences citizenship in two worlds, this chapter deconstructs notions of citizenship based on a fallacious sense of duty that entails comradeship and notions of citizenship being synonymous with national identity.

In his article *Psychological Citizenship and National Identity* (2011), Denis Sindic explores the interchangeability of the concepts of citizenship and nationality in the sense of how the "subjective sense of being a citizen" is "intertwined with a sense of national identity" (p. 202). He points out that "the concept of citizenship is not merely legal but also encompasses political and psychological dimensions" (p. 202). Sindic defines psychological citizenship as a state that "implies seeing one's status of citizen as more than a mere external and objective ascription and thus ... it is often assumed that such subjective citizenship also goes with a sense of identity" (p. 203). To view citizenship beyond the sheer identification and extension of the narrative of a nation is imperative in a world that is increasingly heterogeneous. Some scholars have explored the possibility of transcending citizenship as a reiteration of national identity (Habermas, 1992; Baubock, 1994; Parekh, 2003). Hence, since identity impinges on the notion of citizenship, the autobiographical aspect becomes an overriding concern in citizenship formation.

A. A. Abdi et al. (Eds.), Decolonizing Global Citizenship Education, 131–140.

An Iraqi-American writer, media commentator and humanitarian activist, Zainab Salbi is the president and co-founder of Women for Women International, an agency that "helps women go from victim to survivor to active citizen", as stated on the organization's website. The winner of several awards and featured several times on Oprah Winfrey's Show, Zainab grew up in Iraq and moved to the States at the age of 19 for an arranged marriage and to escape the gazing eyes of Saddam, who was her father's employer: "Technically, he was just my father's employer. My father was his pilot, a commercial airlines captain Saddam drafted to serve as his personal pilot in the early 1980s" (p. 4). Being among the members of the close circle of the president's acquaintances, Zainab's personal life as a child was overshadowed by a dominating presidential presence: "When I was growing up in Iraq, people used to refer to me as the 'pilot's daughter.' I hated that term. I still do. It stole from me my very identity, everything I wanted to be. It defined me in terms of my father and defined him, in turn, by his most infamous passenger: a despot millions of Iraqis feared" (p. 4). In that context, for Zainab, the personal was always politicized and the political was always implicated as Saddam made frequent visits to their home.

Growing up during the Iran-Iraq war, Zainab became quite sensitive to issues of race and national identity. She narrates how, when she was a kid, she went to a candy shop to buy chocolates and the shopkeeper told her that she has "an Iranian beauty" to which she retorted: "I'm not Iranian ... I'm Iraqi" (p. 27). She also explains how "Saddam Hussein brutally solidified his control over Iraq through his nationalist pan-Arab Baath Party" (p. 33). Like all kids in Iraq, Zainab was introduced to the horrifying idea of the enemy of the state when she "found out that our enemies weren't just Iranians, but unseen Iraqi collaborators who secretly supported Iranians" (p. 33). To be an Iraqi citizen is, therefore, to be both a staunch Saddam loyalist and of Arab descent: "The government was deporting Iraqis "of Iranian origin." Nobody knew how many people had been deported" (p. 43). Her family and relatives were threatened as she explains how two government agents showed up at her aunt's house "for citizenship papers" to prove that they were not Iranians (p. 44). In response to this shocking news, Zainab asked her relatives in shock: "But how can you be Iranian! ... You've never even been to Iran! You're Iraqi! Your parents are Iraqi!" (p. 44). Then one day the unimaginable happened as her father told her that her mother "may have to leave the country" (p. 43). Later on, when the dust has settled, Zainab asked how they could be safe now and her mother explained that it was a presidential interference: "We talked to the president ... It just took us a while to reach him ... We showed him my grandfather's birth certificate – not that that means much, but it was something. So he made us a "special file"" (p. 49). The concern over citizenship continued to be a living nightmare for Zainab's family: "Being a "special file" was a threat that remained with our family all our lives. At any time government officials could request our citizenship papers and ... anyone checking them knew immediately that my mother's family's 'Iraqi' citizenship was in question, subjecting them to fear and intimidation" (p. 50). It was quite obvious

that in Saddam's Iraq, there was only one acceptable form of citizenship which was an inseparable combination of nationalism and ethnicity.

In *Nationalism and Ethnicity* (1993), Craig Calhoun speaks of how national and ethnic identities tend to go hand in hand: "While it is impossible to dissociate nationalism entirely from ethnicity, it is equally impossible to explain it simply as a continuation of ethnicity or a simple reflection of common history or language" (p. 211). In this sense, nationalism acquires a notorious aspect: "Nation and nationalism are among those terms used to refer not to any clearly definable set, the members of which all share some common features which non-members lack, but rather to a cluster of 'family resemblances'" (Calhoun, 1993, p. 215). Likewise, Saddam's resolve that being Arab Iraqi, or Iraqi of no Iranian origin such as Turks, Assyrians, and Turkmen, furnishes some sort of family attestation to national allegiance, and painted Iraqi citizenship with an ethnic brush. Calhoun, therefore, asserts that nationalism is "a kind of second-order political movement based on a false consciousness which ethnicity helps to produce but cannot explain because the deeper roots lie in political economy, not culture" (1993, p. 227). In fact, Zainab refers to the economic factor that mobilized the oppressive act of deporting Iraqis of allegedly suspicious origin: "They're deporting the wealthiest people first ... How many people are gone? Thousands, tens of thousands maybe. We are all Iraqi, and yet there are empty houses all over Baghdad!" (p. 49). The act of deportation was one of the most brutal acts against Iraqi citizens exercised by the Baathist Regime: "More than two thousand Shias were imprisoned, and Saddam expelled two hundred thousand to Iran on the pretext that they were non-Iraqis. He followed the deportation by formalizing the expulsions and enacting discriminatory citizenship laws" (Aburish, 2000, p. 122). Ultimately, citizenship is defined unequivocally as "a devotion to president and country" (p. 59).

Allegiance to Saddam, as Zainab explains, mixed with fear and apprehension, was very much like a core curricular activity practised in all schools countrywide: "All children in Iraq were taught to call him 'Amo Saddam,' which means 'Uncle Saddam' ... Loyalty to Amo Saddam was so instilled in every student in school that it became almost indistinguishable from loyalty to family and to Iraq itself" (p. 59). This unfaltering sense of nationalism became a monitored obligation that each family had to demonstrate through parents' participation in public donations and by urging their children to join patriotic school activities:

> Everyone was expected to join in an extracurricular activity showing our patriotism ... I joined the school's marching band ... We were taught not just how to move our feet, but how to look – focused and determined – and how to sound – loud and sharp ... The sheer monotony and repetition took something out of us. Later, I realized it was our own individualism. After a while I could hear no single voice, not even my own. I was part of a united whole, doing what our leader wanted us to do: march and shout. (pp. 59–60)

As absolute ascription to national identity eliminates subjective citizenship and therefore inhibits any deviation from state policy; children are accordingly programmed to become future military recruits through a stratagem called Al-Tala'a, which Zainab joins as part of an extracurricular activity. Al-Tala'a is one form of, or just another word for, Al-futuwa, which means "youth", that Baathism hijacked: "The Ba'th not only took over the name futuwwa but also set its media to work to remind the public of its historic precedents" (Bengio, 1998, p. 155). The political commotion in Iraq from the 1940s to the 1970s was a catalyst for the emergence of a national identity whose "dominant tendency was the one prevailing among the Iraqi youngsters imbued with the sense of involvement in a historical mission aiming at a 'total renovation and restoration of the Arab society.' A whole political culture was built on their role as a 'national vanguard' ready to redeem the 'corrupt interests' and 'inclinations for compromise'" (Lukitz, 1995, p. 109). Al-futuwa, therefore, grew out of this vigorous tradition of militarism, Arabism and nationalism (Wien, 2006, p. 78–79). The concept of Al-futuwa is often romanticized because it originally signified a sincere attempt to decolonize Arab states in the first half of the 20th century and to establish independent states with actively participating citizens. Saddam's Baath party managed to monopolize this nationalistic heritage to serve his despotic purposes and reinforce his domination.

The closest cognate in Arabic to its Western equivalent, namely, citizenship, remains inherently tied to nationalistic and patriotic alliances:

> There is no word in Arabic, Persian, or Turkish for 'citizen.' The cognate term used in each language means only 'compatriot' or 'countryman.' It has none of the connotations of the English word 'citizen,' which comes from the Latin *civis* and has the content of the Greek polities, meaning one who participates in the affairs of the polis. The word is absent in Arabic and the other languages because the idea – of the citizen as participant, of citizenship as participation – is not there. (Lewis, 1996, p. 55)

In *Language and Change in the Arab Middle East: The Evolution of Modern Arabic Political Discourse* (1987), Ami Ayalon explains the etymological structure of the Arabic term muwatin which is "a derivative of w-t-n which meant to reside or dwell" (p. 52). Muwatin is generally conceived as the Arabic equivalent of citizen but it rather means a patriot "a word associated with strong sentiments of loving attachment and loyalty. A *patriot* was described as ibn al-watan, *child of homeland*, or by the adjective noun watani" which "gradually gained a political connotation ... Being a patriot came to signify conscious identification with the homeland" (Ayalon, 1987, p. 52). Moreover, in *Citizenship in the Arab World: Kin, Religion and Nation-state* (2009), Gianluca Paolo Parolin sets a clear-cut distinction between the Arabic *muwatin* and the notion of citizen: "Just like 'citizen', muwatin relies on a relation with a place (namely the city) more than with an authority. Unlike 'citizen', however, muwatin does not immediately entail the idea of a status and rights enjoyed by the subject, but rather the simple distinction between the national

and the foreigner" (p. 25). This disposition to equate citizenship with *muwatin* arose out of what Mohammad Jawad Ridha calls "the over politicization" (p. 12) of Arab education. In *Education and Change in the Arab Countries: A Platform for the 21st Century* (2013), Ridha points out how Arab educationalists' self-proclaimed and overstated war against imperialism and Zionism over the last eight decades has obliterated "the most essential aims it was supposed to serve: a better understanding of the learner, a greater appreciation of his human developmental needs, and to work more assiduously for the total development of his potentialities" (p. 12). An actual move towards citizenship education, in terms of active implementation of civil rights and a departure from indoctrination and authoritarian agenda, has only recently been seriously considered and pedagogically incorporated into school curricula in the Arab world in an attempt to transcend any nationalistic agenda, especially in the wake of the Arab Spring. However, certain problems tend to persist.

In *A Review of Citizenship Education in the Arab States* (2013), Muhammad Faour speaks of three impediments in Arab citizen education. The first barrier is that citizenship education tends to be erudite, edifying, and extremely instructive: "Citizenship education is largely limited to rote instruction. Lessons tend to be didactic and teacher-directed, and they promote official political and religious views" (p. 1). Students, therefore, were deprived of any serious exposure to active citizenship education: "Instruction in all subjects in public schools, including civics, remains didactic and directed by the teacher, with limited opportunities for students to engage in open discussion or express their opinions without fear of intimidation by teachers" (Faour, 2013, p. 5). In an interview at Al-Jazeera, Zainab Salbi describes how "teachers often ask the kids, "what does your Daddy think of Uncle Saddam?" and "what does your Mommy think of Uncle Saddam?" and there are horror stories of parents being executed because of what the child innocently charged" (Khan, 2007). The issue of citizenship was intensively monitored and inseparable from the notion of allegiance: "The majority of the nations studied use the term "national" in their civics courses to emphasize the concepts of patriotism and loyalty to the political" (Faour, 2013, pp. 8–9). Citizens are expected to be unquestioning patriots.

Zainab has struggled over the years to escape from being trapped in this already framed nationalistic identity. On her "way from an Iraqi past to an American future" (p. 171), she managed to start over by means of repressing her own memories: "I erased the pilot's daughter and started over ... You could read the first half of the book of my life, then read the second half, and not know they were lived by the same person" (p. 4). Quite aggravating, however, was Zainab's miserable arranged marriage experience that her mother schemed to get her out of Iraq at a time when Iraqis were writhing under economic sanctions. Zainab explains how she had to comply with her mother's insistence to find life somewhere else despite her father's reluctance to see her leave. She found herself "stranded in America by the Gulf War" (p. 4) under the mercy of an abusive husband who stereotyped her as a friend to Saddam and sadistically mistreated her. Those days for Zainab were characterised by domestic violence, "culture shock" (p. 181), and homesickness (p. 186). The

psychological challenge that Zainab confronted was to rediscover her identity by asserting her subjectivity.

Despite her traumatic marriage, Zainab felt comfortable in America: "I felt comfortable with Americans, and after all my father's summer training at Boeing, I considered Seattle my second home" (p. 181). The change of heart, however, occurred when she started to notice the social and political repercussions of the first Gulf War. The shift in sentiments from the national to the psychological was quite compelling and swift, which later on affected her reception and conception of the notion of citizenship:

> If Americans could feel so much sympathy ... why didn't they even mention the millions Iraqi children who didn't have their milk today? Americans were a generous and emphatic people. Why had they remained silent about all the crimes Amo had committed when he was one of America's best friends and the U.S. government was sending him money? ... Why, now that everyone was aware of his tyranny, was the White House talking about bombing his victims? (p. 188)

For Zainab, the psychological shift was mostly colored by cultural concerns; the question of citizenship, at this stage, was still informed by exclusive affiliation to a certain community. Fathali M. Moghaddam (2008) asserts that "the cognitive and behavioral characteristics" of "the *psychological citizen*" continue to "function effectively as part of, and to sustain, a sociopolitical order" (p. 881). In this socio-politically oriented context, Zainab was not impressed by how some Iraqi-American citizens were being unfairly treated and mistaken to be suspects in a new "sociopolitical order":

> Why was the FBI harassing Iraqi-American children at school? Sending agents into Iraqi-American homes and questioning their loyalty to America? Even considering putting exiles into internment camps as they had Japanese-Americans during World War II? The way the U.S. government was demonizing Iraqis reminded me of the way Amo had demonized Iranians, dehumanizing them in preparation for war. (p. 188)

Being a citizen is not only about showing willingness to participate in a fair and just socio-political order but is also about how accommodating the receiving country is. Irene Bloemraad (2006) speaks of certain studies which postulate that "the problem of political incorporation stems primarily from the characteristics of immigrants" (p. 2). However, she argues that "while the characteristics of immigrants and newcomer communities matter ... the story of citizenship is not just about the immigrants we receive, but also fundamentally about the reception we give them" (Bloemraad, 2006, p. 2). Claiming that she "had come to the United States on vacation, on a tourist visa, and gotten stranded," she seemed to pose no threat:

> I was the lucky one, the innocent, nonthreatening Iraqi who got to see only nice, kind people while other Iraqis I knew were being called 'sand nigger' and having their cars smashed and houses attacked, even though some of them had been born in the United States. The harassment brought back memories of our passports, stamped generations later with 'of Ottoman origin' or 'of Iranian origin.' Why were these people being demonized? (p. 191)

Iraq-Americans were so often antagonized and alienated to the extent that one Iranian-American advised her one day to hide her identity: "Never tell anyone you're Iraqi' ... 'Trust me, you'll just be harassed. Say you're from Saudi Arabia" (p. 188). To that advice, Zainab responded with defiance and assertion. Among the things to be restored is her own self-esteem: "I decided I would rather be harassed. My family had suffered too much trying to prove its Iraqi citizenship. I was a citizen of Iraq. I was proud to be Iraqi" (p. 188).

Foreign affairs and international relations can either hinder or help assimilation and in due course the formation of newcomers' new identities: "Scholars point to the increasing hostility between the United States and Arab nations in the Middle East as one influence prompting Arab Americans to renegotiate their identities in relation to American culture" (Wray-Lake et al., 2008, p. 85). Based on personal experience and ethnic background, some immigrants tend to see these countries, which are politically antagonistic to their original countries, as quite inhospitable: "For immigrants, feeling marginalized erodes allegiance to the United States and increases allegiance to their sending country ... Negotiating the relationship between sending and receiving nations is particularly challenging when diplomatic relations between those nations are contested, and such conflict may result in feelings of exclusion for immigrants from such nations" (Wray-Lake et al., 2008, p. 85). Zainab speaks about a significant part of the community of Iraqi immigrants, which her ex-husband vehemently joined, who have shunned the American way, embraced exclusion and adherence to religious identity: "But the people in Fakhri's community were like neither the Americans nor the Iraqis I knew ... this was where they had wound up, heels dug into round-the-clock jobs, doing their best to educate their children, and embracing, more fervently than most ever had in Iraq, the religion for which they had been persecuted" (p. 181). This attitude of social inhibition and seclusion stems from a deep sense of disillusionment: "It is proposed that the processes that led to making religious identity in many Muslim contexts simultaneously involved the failure of the promises of modernization and accompanying citizenship rights and participation, and the resulting stepping in of the religious discourse to fill in the void, to provide a new sense of hope" (Arthur, Davies, & Hahn, 2008, p. 294). This segment of frustrated immigrants found solace in embracing isolation and abandoning any prospect of future assimilation. In effect, it seems that the world has already seen too much with immigrant Muslims, which was a premonition of a post-9/11 world:

> The issues of this immigrant group are increasingly important in light of the contested relationship between the United States (their receiving country) and their country or region of origin (i.e., the Middle East). Even before the terrorist attacks by Islamic extremists (of Arab descent) on September 11, 2001, strong negative stereotypes of Arabs existed and were being constructed by the media (Merskin, 2004), compromising the inclusion of Arab immigrants as full U.S. citizens. (Wray-Lake et al., 2008, p. 84)

Mistaking the notion of national identity as the only way towards achieving a complete sense of assimilative citizenship is one of the deciding influences that lead to this type of exclusion.

Citizenship education provides the motivation and the vision for marginalized citizens and alienated immigrants to press their rights rather than recoil into an antagonistic disposition: "In countries with significant ethno-radical diversity such as the United States and Canada, the glue that binds strangers is citizenship in the political body. Citizenship is not only a legal status that accords rights and benefits, but it is also an invitation to participate in a system of mutual governance, and it can be an identity that provides a sense of belonging" (Bloemraad, 2006, p. 1). Disheartened by the anxieties and the sense of ambivalence that national identity impinges, Zainab sought another form of identity that is basically gendered and more cosmopolitan in nature. Her political views have become informed by a feminist agenda as she ties political oppression with the female plight for recognition. Her political orientation has moved out of the narrow path of national identity into the open terrain of the gendered citizen: "But who would charge Saddam with crushing human souls?" she exclaims, "who would remember, given the countless people he killed, the seemingly trivial wounds of those he allowed to live? Would women once again fall beneath the radar screen of history ... How long would women continue to be complicit in their suffering by remaining silent?" (p. 5). Consequently, the shift towards a more sex-role stance that defines her educational and socioeconomic status was inevitable: "I enrolled full-time at George Mason University and decided to major in women's and international studies ... I learned about feminism and found it odd that Western women were still struggling for some rights" (p. 212). Zainab's proclivity towards gender affiliation serves as a defining principle of her newly acquired identity.

Virginia Sapiro (1990) speaks of how in the feminist project the personal is never separated from the political: "The well-known slogan, "the personal is political," has been used by feminists to refer to the belief that much of what is regarded in liberal democracies as "person" and "private" is properly the subject of political discussion and has also long been the object of state regulations" (p. 277). Zainab's enterprise to create "a whole new identity for [her]self as the founder and president of a nonprofit women's organization called Women for Women International, which supports women survivors of war", asserts her ongoing understanding of how subjective citizenship has global implications (p. 4). Her marriage trauma pushed

her to rediscover her identity and search for a more favorable alternative that transcends nationalistic boundaries: "For over a decade now, I have gone around the world, meeting with victims of war and the awful mass rape the world seems to accept as an inevitable consequence of war" (p. 4). Sapira points out how the private can be rigorously connected to the public sphere of active citizenship: "personal identity is inextricably linked to social and political identity, and [those] private and public exercises are not as distinct as some would hold. The subordination of women within families or to domestic duties is not merely a private practice that can exist within a larger framework of 'democracy' (Sapiro, 1990, p. 277). In this context, a sense of gendered citizenship that is marked by a feminist vigour towards political consciousness enriches the democratic structure. Her individualism – which years ago she felt was subsumed within the grand narrative of national identity under Saddam's regime as she marched unanimously with other Al-Tala'a kids – has started to re-emerge and the *psychological citizen* aspect of her identity is complete.

Due to the lack of citizenship education in their sending countries, some Arab immigrants like Zainab struggle to acquire a new sense of citizenship. Unaware that nationalism entails an outdated sense of comradeship and ethnicity, they remain uninformed of any other modes of conceptualizing citizenship, or *muatana*, that may seemingly go against ascription to national identity. Some may erroneously understand citizenship as the act of forced assimilation with mainstream society in the receiving country. The ensuing sublimation of citizenship as the state-given duty of subscribing to a homogenous social order finds its roots in the colonial desire to become like the colonizer. The so-called *noble quest* to civilize the Other through mimicry – that is, by imitating the civilized colonizer – is a representation of colonial pretentions: "The objective of the colonial discourse is to construe the colonised as a population of degenerate types on the basis of racial origin, in order to justify conquest and to establish systems of administration and instruction" (Bhabha, 1994, p. 70). Likewise, John McLeod, in *Beginning Postcolonialism*, argues that colonial desire populates the fallacy that "the colonized are … essentially outside Western culture and civilization" (2000, p. 53) and hence there exists the dire need to embrace the superior culture of the colonizer. In other words, neither nationalism nor forced mimesis should be the only option for immigrants in order to materialize citizenship. The pursuit of either of these elusive grand narratives will inevitably result in contempt, antagonism, and exclusion. Zainab herself asserts that access to education, not merely as a form of literacy but as a resource of civil rights, needs to be re-addressed: "Where I have evolved in my thinking is that access to knowledge is equally important as access to resources. And rather than just distributing aid, it is vitally important to help each woman stand up on her feet with her knowledge of her rights and her ability to earn her own living" (Kanani, 2011, para 4). In order to battle this lack of knowledge in citizenship education, more scholarly attention should address how Arab immigrants view what it really means for them to become citizens of the receiving country and how different this acquired notion is from their previously held conception of citizenship. Citizenship as a grand narrative that

entails being a grateful and obedient subject should be renounced. Among the things to be reclaimed is the notion of the psychological citizen as an active, participating agency.

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12. NORTH-SOUTH PARTNERSHIPS IN CANADIAN HIGHER EDUCATION

A Critical Policy Analysis of Contemporary Discourses and Implications for Higher Education Internationalization

INTRODUCTION

There is a clarion call to internationalize Canadian higher education through the formation of partnerships between Northern (read here Canadian) institutions and Global South communities (AUCC, 2010; Beck, 2012). Underlying this trend is the idea that universities, as a source of knowledge production, are a natural complement to economic activities (Marginson, 2007; Delhi & Taylor, 2006), and as such, may be called on to support economic activities in sites, including the Global South, which continue to contend with trenchant poverty and inequality and have been identified as potentially profitable markets. The Southern sites serve both as the grateful recipients and potential consumers of the innovative applications of research produced within or by the Northern institution. The discourses of North-South (hereafter N-S) internationalization do not speak directly to institution-to-institution collaboration; rather, the current focus is on research production from the North and its subsequent application within the South. The concerns raised in this chapter centre on the enactment of N-S higher education partnerships that assume an ahistorical and oversimplified context for the transfer of knowledge. While the global field of competition for higher education continues to intensify, and the highest caliber research institutions jostle with one another to maintain or increase institutional status and ranking, the South has become a renewed site for universities to demonstrate institutional excellence. This calls into question the motives and responsibilities for universities from the Global North acting as partners in what is arguably an asymmetrical relationship. As the functions and frameworks for higher education in Canada evolve, and neoliberal public policy reinforces the notion of knowledge production for profit and/or export, the call to form partnerships must be understood to be a relationship that seeks to confer some benefit or return on investment for Canadian partners.

A. A. Abdi et al. (Eds.), Decolonizing Global Citizenship Education, 141–155.

The macro focus in this chapter problematizes the call to form N-S partnerships in higher education within an ahistorical and/or power-neutral context. The broad context of Canadian higher education internationalization is examined through an analysis of recent reports produced by the Association of Universities and Colleges in Canada (AUCC, 2012a, 2012b, 2010). In these papers the tensions and contradictions of N-S partnerships are aligned against the strong discourse for a more profit-oriented approach to international education activities. It will conclude with a discussion of attempts by multilateral organizations, specifically the OECD, to establish a working framework for the practice of N-S partnerships, to recognize the specific historic, geopolitical and socioeconomic context of North-South relationships. The Paris Accord, Accra Agenda for Action, and Busan Agreements for Partnership (OECD, 2013a, 2013b, 2013c) represent an ongoing global discussion to secure a commitment from Northern or more highly developed international partners who seek to engage in a broad range of economic activities with Global South partners, to act responsibly and equitably. Among the points highlighted within these documents, to which Canada is a signatory, is the commitment to strengthen national development strategies by aligning partner project with national development agendas, to engage in transparent financial transactions, to delegate management authority to local sources and to take "concrete and effective action to address remaining challenges, including weaknesses in partner countries' institutional capacities" and to "provide more predictable and multi-hear commitments on aid flows" (OECD, 2014). It is significant that the objectives included in these three documents which provide a framework for N-S partnerships are excluded from recent reports that call for widespread engagement in N-S partnership for higher education. This silence on matters of equity in partnership demonstrates that a move away from multilateralism has implications for the effects and actions of universities participating in N-S partnerships.

This research is concerned with the growing alignment between Canadian higher education internationalization with recent national policy shifts related to international development, foreign policy and the delivery of humanitarian aid through corporate social responsibility initiatives. Specifically, the move to merge the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), formerly the primary delivery organization for humanitarian aid from Canada with the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade suggests that as higher education policy is brought into line with national economic policy, there are significant implications for how higher education engages with international partners. Policy sociology and critical policy analysis are the methodological frameworks engaged here to explore these themes.

Policy sociology draws on historical as well as sociological context to analyze the content of policy and its effects (Ozga, 2000; Gale, 2007, 2001). It is a methodology that contends policy is not value neutral, that it is influenced by multiple sources, both within and outside of the institution, and it is a method committed to investigating the biases and privilege embedded in official policy texts (Gale, 2001). Meutzenfeldt

(in Taylor, 1997) argues that policy sociology examines how "political processes and policy making shape and are shaped by both social power relations and the power of the state" (p. 25). What counts as a policy text is contested in this framework; critical policy sociology acknowledges the production of discourses outside of official policy documents which inform and frame institutional practices (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010; Ozga & Lingard, 2007). Recognizing the absence of research on education policy at the global level, Rizvi and Lingard (2010) call for critical policy analysis as a method to examine the discourses and power relationships operating within different sites that influence and shape the direction of (in)formal global education policy.

In this chapter, I will consider several recent publications by the Association of Universities and Colleges in Canada as sites of analysis and examples of unofficial policy texts whose discourses have implications for future institutional internationalization activities (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010). These documents highlight the both tensions between and the alignment of higher education with N-S humanitarian and development goals versus market principles. Further, recent national policy decisions related to international development privilege political or trade interests over development, which further rationalizes and normalizes the discourses of N-S ventures that seek to profit from these higher education partnerships. It is a neoliberal strategy that avoids explicit reference to the equitable distribution of partnership benefits, assuming the efficacy of the market will ensure efficient redistribution.

INTERNATIONALIZATION AND HIGHER EDUCATION POLICY: FRAMING N-S PARTNERSHIPS

Considered within the context of the global knowledge economy, higher education is a key site where economic interests seek to capitalize on new knowledge and research products. Seeing education as a commodity removes it from the sphere of public goods and opens it up to marketization, with the potential to generate revenue and profits. It is in this context that the internationalization of higher education and subsequent call to form N-S partnerships between Canadian universities and Global South interests is considered. Within higher education, there is a growing body of research literature that argues that in the long term, global neoliberal educational policies are unsustainable because they contribute to producing social inequality, political instability, undemocratic processes and environmental degradation. Rizvi and Lingard (2010) contend that global education policies founded on notions such as "global imperatives and the demands of the global economy, …discursively position contemporary rationales for education policy, (sic) based on (a) neoliberal imaginary of globalization" (p. 187). Moreover, Rizvi and Lingard (2010) identify the individual beneficiaries of higher education activities pursued in this manner. They argue global neoliberalism has:

> created a global architecture of economic and political relations that is not only largely undemocratic, but which has also polarized global wealth. It has enabled transnational corporations to acquire unprecedented, and arguably unregulated, amounts of power and has also reduced collective opposition such as that of the trade union movement. (p. 186)

Hill and Kumar (2009) concur with Rizvi and Lingard, arguing that neoliberal policy skews resources toward profitability from educational activities, and that the combined effects of neoconservative social policy along with free market policies works to resist the pursuit of equality. They identify a phenomenon termed by Myers, (in Hill & Kumar, 2009, p. 16), "equiphobia—fear of equality" which produces resistance to actors perceived to be active in the promotion of equality or equal opportunities. The antidemocratic bias inherent within neoliberal approaches to higher education is problematic for the negotiation of equitable partnership and the pursuit of equitable development for Global South partners. The focus on much of the development literature on attempts to improve partnerships incrementally through identification of best practices (Brinkerhoff, 2002), misses the significance of the global economic paradigm shift that has occurred since the financial crisis of 2008 and the influence this crisis has had on higher education policy through governments search for new sources of revenues. Within the Canadian context, there is clearly a belief that internationalizing education will not only provide greater revenues through knowledge products and the penetration of new markets, but that it will provide Canadian universities with opportunities to recruit students and faculty from abroad (as both providers and producers of revenue) and will position national research universities to compete at the highest level globally (AUCC, 2012a).

The effects of competitive higher education internationalization strategies have particular implications within a Sub- Saharan African context. Drawing on policy documents that explore the potential for partnership between Canadian and African universities, the disparities between the resources and expectations for partnership between Northern and Southern stakeholders is clear. Although Africa holds great potential as a site for future research, the institutional weaknesses within local universities makes a partnership of equals a tenuous future aspiration. The research literature on African higher education internationalization points to the history of partnership with Global North institutions that followed a direct aid model, one where the partner (donor) with the resources enters into the relationship with a specific end in mind, often one that does not necessarily correspond to local development agendas (Obama, 2013a, 2013b; Obama & Mwema, 2009; Samoff & Carrol, 2004). The end result is that the targeted project for the partnership is often attained, however with little new local capacity created or few additional resources available to address locally identified needs. There is an added ambiguity and asymmetry to N-S higher education partnerships when it is formed as a temporary or informal relationship, for example, between a university and local community agency or an NGO.

A NATIONAL DISCOURSE OF HIGHER EDUCATION INTERNATIONALIZATION AND N-S PARTNERSHIPS

A series of public policy papers produced by the Association of Universities and Colleges in Canada (AUCC, 2007–2013), have addressed higher education internationalization and outlined both the opportunities and exigencies to engagement for Canadian institutions on the global level. In particular, the most recent AUCC papers focus on the opportunities for innovative partnerships between Global North (Canadian) universities and partners in the South (AUCC, 2013). Although the AUCC reports are not representative of individual institutional internationalization policies, they present a perspective on both the direction of internationalization on the national level and a chance to identify the gaps and silences present in arguments promoting N-S partnerships. By focusing on the opportunities intrinsic to partnership for Canadian universities, the longer history and practices that have governed N-S relationships is elided, paving the way to N-S engagements that do not sufficiently consider and or take steps to mitigate the negative externalities potentially produced by partnerships for the host community. The AUCC (2012a) report, *International Education: Key Driver of Canada's Future Prosperity*, argues that

> international education makes an important contribution to Canada's culture, diplomacy and prosperity. Canada can be a model of excellence for the world… (there is an)…importance for internationalizing education in Canada…as a strategic component of the Government of Canada's Economic Action plan, its international trade and innovation strategies, and its immigration and foreign policies. (AUCC, 2012a, pp. 38–39)

The alignment of internationalization in education with trade and foreign policy is addressed as a measure to provide greater policy coherence. The report further states:

> the importance of internationalizing education in Canada has to be recognized as a strategic component of the Government of Canada's Economic Action plan, its international trade and innovation strategies and its immigration and foreign policies. (AUCC, 2012a, p. 39)

Recommendations from the report focus on elevating internationalization of education in Canada to compete with standards established by other prestigious institutions and nations. The goals target establishing centers for excellence in research, scholarships that will compete with Rhodes and Fulbright, recruitment of top researchers and students globally and a significant increase in the number of Canadian students studying and researching abroad (AUCC, 2012).

Related reports produced by AUCC consider the opportunities for engaging particularly with African universities in partnerships designed to create greater industrial and economic capacity (AAU/AUCC, 2012b; AUCC, 2010). The 2012 (AAU/AUCC) report, *Strengthening University-Industry Linkages in Africa: A Study on Institutional Capacities and Gaps*, explores possibilities for Canadian-African

partnerships to increase capacities within African institutions as well as the broader industrial and manufacturing communities. The report emphasizes the relatively weak infrastructure of African universities which could obstruct the formation or function of North-South partnerships, citing deficits in institutional revenues, state-of-the-art equipment, employment prospects for students, requisite staff, and opportunities for contributions to be made by African universities to the local economy (AAU/AUCC, 2012b). Moreover, the list of deficiencies continues, identifying a lack of an *entrepreneurial spirit* among African academics (2012b, p. 1.4) and an unawareness of possible linkages between university research products and local commercial interests. The report concludes that although there is tremendous potential and capacity within African higher education, strong concerns remain, including: securing intellectual property rights and ownership; the costs of applying for and holding of patents; and the institutional commitment to sustaining research relationships (AAU/AUCC, 2012b).

More recent reports produced by AUCC focus more broadly on the possibilities for North-South partnerships to mutually benefit all partners. *Innovative North-South Partnerships* (AUCC, 2013), focuses on elements that build strong, collaborative relationships and offers several best practices for N-S higher education research and development partnerships. There is a detailed discussion of the elements identified as key to the success and sustainability of the partnerships under study: the foundational principles of the partnerships, processes designed to ensure sustainability along with a sense of clear results and locally appropriate activities. Key features of innovative and effective partnerships are cited as "the incorporation of various types of knowledge" and "fostering a culture of learning" where "the northern partners are not always in the driver's seat and shared-decision making is the preferred mode of operation" (AUCC, 2013, p. 2). These goals are arguably in line with a vision and practice of N-S partnership that foregrounds local interests and invests in local development processes, however, the shadow side of partnership emerges at the report's conclusion.

There is a conceptual shift in the 2013 (AUCC) report, recognizing both the position and potential contributions of local participants and contexts to partnerships. This inclusion is in contrast to the AUCC (2012) documents that prioritize the potential economic benefits that may accrue to Canadian universities and the broader national economy through a market-driven approach to higher education internationalization and excludes any discussion of collaborative N-S partnership. Only in the AUCC (2013) report is the point raised that high quality and equitable N-S partnerships should be founded on principles that echo those of the Paris Accord, Accra Agenda or Busan Agreements for Partnership (OECD, 2013a, 2013b, 2013c). The report calls for N-S partnerships founded upon

> shared vision, strong leadership, power equity, interdependency and complementarity, mutuality manifested through shared decision-making on project design, shared resources and recognition of the importance of all

> partners' contributions and of the validity of the various types of knowledge. (AUCC, 2013, p. 5)

The values expressed in the policy excerpted above suggest an awareness of the deleterious effects of N-S partnerships that ignore the local context where partnership is enacted and a. Achieving these ideals, however, remains a trenchant challenge within the current context of Canadian higher education.

North-South projects and partnerships in higher education struggle to maintain adequate resources and to secure priority status among the myriad goals for internationalization. In the 2013 (AUCC) report, participants acknowledge how the rigidities of university research timelines and programming frameworks disadvantage local community participation, and suggests a measure of resistance to the overtly competitive positions advocated in other documents. Although the articulated intention of *Innovative North-South Partnerships* (AUCC, 2013) is to "deepen knowledge and understanding about a new type of collaborative approach that constitutes a departure from the traditional, hierarchical model of North-South partnership focused on knowledge transfer from the North to the South (AUCC, 2013, p. 2), the report remains skeptical about the fit between Canadian university interests and local development agendas for communities and universities. Despite acknowledging the lead role to be played in partnership by Global South partners, the report concludes with a list of institutional barriers within universities that make it unlikely that progressive changes will soon translate into new N-S practices. The competitive context of higher education dictates that research and institutional reputation will outweigh costly and time-sensitive considerations of southern partners.

Development-oriented projects and partnerships are typically not as highly valued by key stakeholders who determine how institutional resources are invested. University administration does not typically "consider these types of international partnerships to be very beneficial for their institutions," and can be very "slow to respond to the resource needs of these international partnerships" (AUCC, 2013, p. 9). There is a sense that international development partnerships, if entered into, should conform to the standards outlined above. Even faculty members are sometimes reluctant to relinquish power and authority within partnerships or to subordinate publishing and research goals to accommodate local objectives. There is a sense that an altruistic approach to partnership may compromise academic rigor. The authors of *Innovative North-South partnerships argue* that if

> universities overemphasize this aspect of North-South partnership, as outreach programs rather than research or educational programs, there is a risk of reducing their value for Canadian researchers and faculty members. Researchers naturally still place a high value on the production of research outputs and look to achieve these goals through partnership. (AUCC, 2013, p. 9)

All too often, efforts to maintain equitable and progressive partnerships are challenged by institutional and economic interests that continue to pursue more profitable and high profile opportunities internationally. Redirecting efforts in N-S partnerships to promote sustainable and equitable partnerships will have to resist shrinking university funding from national and provincial sources and the temptation to secure international position through research and other global activities pose significant obstacles to reorienting N-S partnerships. There has been a broader shift on the national level away from international development as the delivery of aid or humanitarian assistance toward a model of corporate social responsibility initiatives (Brown, 2012a). Under this model, corporate social responsibility proposes delivering development programming by select trade partners to facilitate economic relationships abroad. It is a shift in the discourse of development that has several implications to promoting equitable N-S partnerships.

Historically, the Official Development Assistance Accountability Act (Government of Canada, 2013a) affirms a commitment to development projects and humanitarian aid where the primary objective is the alleviation of poverty (Government of Canada, 2013a). The purpose of this act is

> to ensure that all Canadian official development assistance abroad is provided with a central focus on poverty reduction and in a manner that is consistent with Canadian values, Canadian foreign policy, the principles of the Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness of March 2, 2005, sustainable development and democracy promotion and that promotes international human rights standards. (Government of Canada, 2013a)

The standards for official international development partnerships established by this Act are potentially challenged by a more recent move to deliver humanitarian and development assistance through corporate social responsibility initiatives. The Canadian government (2013b) published a Corporate Social Responsibility Strategy in 2009, directed primarily at enhancing the extractive mining sector's ability to engage with local communities in developing countries in order "to operate in an economically, socially and environmentally sustainable manner." According to this strategy,

> Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) is defined as the voluntary activities undertaken by a company to operate in an economic, social and environmentally sustainable manner. Canadian companies recognize the value of incorporating CSR practices into their operations abroad. Operating responsibly also plays an important role in promoting Canadian values internationally and contributes to the sustainable development of communities. (Government of Canada, 2013b)

The emphasis within CSR is to "improve the competitive advantage of Canadian international extractive sector companies by enhancing their ability to manage social and environmental risks" (Government of Canada, 2013b). There is a strong

emphasis on ethical and non-corrupt practices for Canadian interests operating abroad, but in the context of the merger of the Canadian International Development Agency into the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, it is a move that indicates that the focus for national development priorities continues to remain on activities that facilitate economic progress. It raises the specter of competing interests within Canadian international development initiatives, and as will be seen below, may not sufficiently recognize the objectives of local development agendas.

A MULTILATERAL CONTEXT FOR PARTNERSHIP

Partnerships have been identified as a significant policy trend in global education policy, promoted no only by local interests as a means to network and secure collaborative enterprise but also by the World Bank and OECD, suggesting that partnerships are "an important feature in the current reconfiguration of education within the frames of neo-liberal governance (Seddon et al., 2007, p. 236). The neoliberal framework for partnerships excludes interests that do not translate to the market including: culture, race and the legacies of history (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010). Excluding consideration or acknowledgement of history, culture and race erases the influence that context has on partnership formation. Rizvi and Lingard (2010) argue that N-S education partnerships have

> major social consequences, benefitting some individuals and communities while further marginalizing the poor and socially disadvantaged. This is so because the neoliberal social imaginary upon which this policy framework generally is based has rejected the need for redistributive policies, extensive social protection and measure to ensure equality of educational opportunity. (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010, p. 185)

In the interest of "fast knowledge" (Peters & Besley, 2006), neoliberal policy discourses that conceptualize N-S higher education partnerships as economic opportunities de-emphasize local cultural complexities and focus on particular points of partnership, such as an innovative solution to a persistent development problem. Further, policy prescribes the norms for N-S partnerships, contributing to the sense that international engagement, designed to assist communities struggling with poverty, are inherently ethically positive endeavors. This is an approach, however, founded on a western humanist approach to international engagement that is uncritical of the ethnocentric values embedded in a weak version of N-S partnership practice (Andreotti, 2011).

In 2005, beginning with the Paris Accord, the international community turned its attention to practices of North-South partnerships that conferred benefits to Global North stakeholders through partnerships that provided access to Southern resources (OECD, 2013a). Decades of efforts to modernize or develop the Global South were stymied by the "lack of co-ordination, overly ambitious targets, unrealistic time-

and budget constraints and political self-interest" by particular stakeholders (OECD, 2014). A full debate of the critical implications of international development practices lies outside the scope of this particular discussion, however, the alleviation of poverty through free- market trade has not materialized and global inequality appears by many accounts to have worsened in recent decades (Harvey, 2006). The intractability of poverty and inequality and failure of development initiatives throughout much of the Global South renders any initiative between North and South open to critique to determine which interests potentially benefit from individual projects. A strong majority of the international community agreed to the Paris Accord, a multilateral agreement designed to establish clear parameters for the enactment of partnerships between Northern interests in Southern sites. The primary motivation for the Paris Accord was the regulation of economic interests, sponsored by Global North interests operating in the Global South. To mitigate exploitation and to further efforts to create local capacity in host communities, the Paris Accord sought to establish guiding principles including

- *Ownership*: where developing countries set their own strategies for poverty reduction, improve their institutions and tackle corruption.
- *Alignment*: donor countries align behind these objectives and use local systems.
- *Harmonisation*: donor countries coordinate, simplify procedures and share information to avoid duplication.
- *Results*: developing countries and donors shift focus to development results and results get measured.
- *Mutual accountability*: donors and partners are accountable for development results (OECD, 2013c).

The goals for the Paris Accord (OECD, 2013c), and subsequent multilateral agreements that build on its principles, map out a "practical, action-oriented roadmap to improve the quality of aid and its impact on development" It was an effort to "put in place a series of specific implementation measures and establishes a monitoring system to assess progress and ensure that donors and recipients hold each other accountable for their commitments" (OECD, 2013a). It is unclear how stakeholders are to be held to account to their actions or practices, particularly if they do not adhere to the principles outlined in the above agreements. Further, higher education occupies an ambiguous position; it is neither a clear corporate or commercial actor nor is it wholly representative of national government (Marginson & Rhoades, 2002). The ideal vision of the university posits its role as producer of knowledge for the common good, however the emergence of the knowledge economy and current competitive agendas for the production of knowledge render a neutral role for higher education implausible (Peters & Besley, 2006). There is need for further research to consider the specific role and obligations of the university as its activities expand to encompass more commercial and political interests.

N-S PARTNERSHIP AND POLICY ENACTMENT

The current notion of partnership is widely linked to neoliberal practices, particularly those that advocate for public-private partnerships in education. It is a strategy that integrates market principles to educational practices with results that subordinate local and contextual interests to market mechanisms (Ball, 2012; Olssen & Peters, 2005). In the case of N-S partnership, the concept is particularly seductive, especially when chronic poverty and inequality on the surface appear to be resistant to international development efforts. On the one hand, partnership is a notion that implies the potential creation of mutual benefits and collaborative opportunities for participants, yet on the other, a competitive and market driven practice of partnership opens the possibility that partners, (those with the comparative resource and mobility advantage) are participating in the relationship to achieve Global North institutions to showcase or sell research in sites within the Global South.

Historically, constituting the Global South as a site or subject for higher education partnership has overwhelmingly worked to the advantage of the Global North partner, and in the process, has contributed to perpetuating dependency versus the creation of local capacity (Samoff & Carol, 2004). The contemporary discourses of higher education internationalization, and subsequently the desire to form N-S partnerships, excludes reference to historical or local contexts and is noticeably silent on the matter of existing multilateral agreements which lay out the terms and conditions for N-S relationships and the distribution of the benefits produced by those endeavours. This silence is further underscored in the case of Canada where the clear move away from multilateralism in other fields of public policy is now mirrored in the closer alignment with higher education and foreign policy and trade strategies (Brown, 2012a, 2012b).

The call to North-South higher education partnerships responds to diverse national interests and aspirations, including the pursuit of opportunities to produce new knowledge in new sites and yields to pressures exerted by global competition among research universities. In the case of Canadian higher education, recent economic and political trends are reshaping the nation's international relations in the fields of international foreign trade and policy. The merging of the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) with the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (DFAIT) in 2012 has redefined the delivery of humanitarian aid from Canada to many communities in the Global South; the terms of aid are now negotiated to align with specific trade goals, ostensibly to bring more coherence to foreign policy and trade initiatives, highlighting a desire to garner better "return on investment for Canadians" (Fantino, 2013).

Peters (2002) analysis of discourses in higher education policy illustrates the discursive and institutional relationships between the terms *knowledge, economy*, and *education*, linking them specifically to market oriented interpretations and to

global mega-trends in education (p. 100). One effective example of the intertwining of discourses, from business, sports and education, is illustrated by the call from leadership in higher education for an "own the podium" strategy for higher education (Chakma, 2013). Drawing on the popular Canadian Olympic slogan, higher education is conceived of in this sense as another field where Canadians can demonstrate prowess, ability and dominate the global field. This discourse sets the course for an internationalization agenda in higher education that seeks out economic and remunerative rewards specifically to achieve dominance; it suggests that educational programs that do not produce returns or measurable results, or whose value is realized over time, are less likely to be pursued at this time (Seddon et al., 2007). The disembodiment of higher education from specifically local priorities allows for the exercise of interests from a potential mix of provincial, national and globalized sources (Marginson & Rhodes, 2002). The pressures of globalization and competition encourage the production of knowledge for export versus collaboration, a tension which generally disadvantages impoverished regions or institutions struggling to build a tertiary education sector (Larkin, 2012).

There is no clear understanding as to how universities should articulate or manage their interests within N-S partnerships, although several concerns related to international development and N-S emerge from AUCC (2013): first, although the main interest in partnerships is assumed to be the transfer of knowledge from North to South, the hierarchical model of partnership continues to challenge efforts to decentre leadership and to share power and decision making with Global South partners; second, the institutional processes and frameworks that govern research projects, including the need to showcase research findings "to enhance the profile and reach of the institution" disadvantages the Global South partner (p. 8); third, funding arrangements do not allow for the funding of full partner participation in research projects; and finally, in the end, Northern participants in research are able to engage in and exit the partnership without clear obligation or accountability to local partners, often terminating the relationship when the research or data collection phase is complete (Larkin, 2013).

CONCLUSIONS

The intertwining of higher education with national political aspirations has significant implications for potential partner institutions in the Global South. The current call to partnership is one that emphasizes the potential economic benefits of a commercialized relationship, and in the process, suppresses history, culture and/or local context. The possibility of sustainable engagement or the creation of local capacity is diminished in a competitive environment. Recent research suggests that global education policy enacted along neoliberal lines produces greater social inequality and interferes with the ability of host partners to achieve local development goals. In the current context of internationalization, and the expectation of profitable N-S partnerships, there are no mechanisms for democratic accountability, either for

higher education institutions or community organizations engaged as participants in partnership (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010; Hill & Kumar, 2009).

Multilateral agreements, including the Paris Accord and Accra Agenda sought to construct a framework for equitable North-South engagements. However, the lack of a mechanism for accountability among partners and the pressures of globalization are disincentives for partners otherwise willing to commit to equitable practices. The turn to a market-driven purpose for N-S higher education engagement obscures potential benefits to be achieved through a balanced approach to partnership. Global education policy must recognize local context and acknowledges difference, lest N-S partnership lapse into the latest incarnation of neocolonial relationships. This move will demand rethinking of the role of higher education and a decoupling of education with national political and economic agendas.

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13. SOLIDARITY MOVEMENTS AND DECOLONIZATION

Exploring a Pedagogical Process

INTRODUCTION

A tragic litany of ever-increasing inequities and global injustices has been well documented for decades; yet there have been few authentic attempts to alleviate this global tragedy, much less take a radical departure from the dominant social, economic and political structures that are built upon the historical foundations of colonialism. In the face of these enduring global injustices, global citizenship education seems a worthy instrument for social justice. Yet, global citizenship education is not without controversy. As an epistemological and pedagogical project, global citizenship education precariously straddles an ideological divide between singular universality and pluralistic diversality (Andreotti, 2011). Positioning global citizenship education within a singular universalized framework obfuscates the multiple and complex epistemologies and geopolitical realities and formulations of globalization, citizenship and education, covertly entrenching the practices and values of the neoliberal knowledge economy and continued "colonialities of power" (Andreotti, 2011; Kapoor, 2011; Quijano, 2000). Yet, as Andreotti (2006, 2011) argues, conceptualizing critical global citizenship education within a political economy framework opens new spaces of critical inquiry and engagement with diverse theoretical approaches, epistemologies and pedagogies and, crucially, enables a decolonizing and reflexive praxis.

This chapter emerges out of the invitation to consider the question of "global citizenship education as a colonizing or decolonizing project." In our view, this demands that we problematize the meanings of global citizenship education through unpacking its historical and contemporary relationship to colonialism and offer a pedagogical process that contributes to the possibilities of critical global citizenship education. We begin this chapter by interrogating global citizenship education from this perspective. We then focus the middle of the chapter on a pedagogical process used in a graduate seminar that activates an alternative avenue towards social justice through solidarity movements. We describe the process from multiple perspectives – instructor, guest facilitators and students – demonstrating that, for solidarity to be *decolonizing*, we must first interrogate our own location in the narrative of

A. A. Abdi et al. (Eds.), Decolonizing Global Citizenship Education, 157–172.

colonization. However, because we cannot remain mired in self-reflection, in the final section, we discuss praxis, prefigurative politics, and moving into action through authentic solidarity built on the solid foundation of our own decolonizing autobiographies.

TROUBLING GLOBAL CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION

Global citizenship education with its ethical commonalities of rights, responsibilities and actions has given us many social justice tools to help us challenge a rapidly globalizing and unjust world. The terrain around global citizenship education, however, is contested given the various meanings and agendas attached to the words global, citizenship and education (Andreotti & Souza, 2012). To this extent, we investigate global citizenship education by first asking the questions: What is the ultimate aim of this project? And for whom is this project designed?

If the aim of global citizenship education is to advance neoliberal discourses, it is at grave risk of becoming "a new civilising mission…of saving/educating/civilising the world" (Andreotti, 2006, p. 41), reinforcing a system that abdicates the very intentions of global citizenship education – social justice. Within this rubric, the global is a manufactured concept that often bears little semblance to the real geopolitical relations that unfold unevenly throughout all the corners of the globe (Kapoor, 2011; McEwan, 2009). Disarticulating globalization's immutable representations and discourses reveals its positioning within the northern metropole and its aims to violently reify colonialism, exploitation and corporatization (Connell, 2007; Quijano, 2000). As Savage (2010) articulates, we should be skeptical of "any spaces that might be imagined as decoupled from the powers and interests of dominant social actors and groups" (p. 105). This is true of citizenship which is traditionally conceptualized within the conscripts of political/legal and cultural constructs, and historically located within the material and social rubrics of the nation state (Peters, Britton, & Blee, 2007). At its most basic, citizenship has been an imperialist and colonialist process of exclusion and discrimination, constructed in spaces of power and domination (Quijano, 2000). Drawing from Taiaiake Alfred (2010), we must recognize that the concept of citizenship is a form of colonization and we must engage in the process of decolonization to expose the highly racialized and gendered constructs of citizenship that delimit inclusion and full participation in the right of access, freedoms and civil liberties. Within this context of exclusion, the corporatization of education exemplifies the fundamental tenets of neoliberal globalization. With calculated agendas, the multifarious apparatuses of "colonialities of power" assault educational systems/structures, diminishing learning to modes of production and 'human capital development' for the global economy (Baker & Peters, 2012; Spring, 2009). Most lamentably, the enforcement of cognitive imperialism "denies the capacity of local traditions, institutions and cultural values to mediate, negotiate, reinterpret and transmute the dominant model of

globalization and the emergent form of knowledge capitalism on which it is based" (Olssen & Peters, 2005, p. 330).

EXAMINING NEW SPACES OF CRITICAL GLOBAL CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION

On the other side of the divide, critical global citizenship education has the potential to reframe meanings associated with the global, citizenship and education, opening up new spaces for inquiry and action (Andreotti, 2011; Andreotti & de Souza, 2012). Given the purpose of this chapter and our concentration on alternative pedagogies, we briefly explore the potentials of critical global citizenship education as a space to which our pedagogical process can contribute and co-exist.

Drawing upon Andreotti's (2011, 2006) work, critical global citizenship education challenges universality and the "epistemic blindness to one's own ontological choices and epistemic categories" (Andreotti & de Souza, 2012, p. 2). Through engagement with multiple theoretical approaches and pedagogical processes, global citizenship education can be critiqued and broadened to encapsulate the complex social and material systems/structures that are continuously mediated across geopolitical terrains. Given the breadth of Andreotti's (2006, 2011, 2012) work and the specific scope and purpose of our chapter, we focus here only upon her work related to decoloniality and self-reflexivity. Andreotti's (2011) analysis of Torres' "darker side of modernity" (p. 382) articulates the making "of an epistemically neutral subject" (p. 386) who speaks from the northern metropole, ostensibly disarticulating and dispossessing situated geopolitical relations and knowledges, which results in '"epistemic blindness" (Andreotti, 2011, p. 386). Furthering this analysis, Mignolo (2011) argues that the construction of knowledge is situated within and driven by politically and economically motivated actors and agendas, which are historically dominated by western discourses. To this extent, the collective social imaginary has been impregnated with an artificially designed epistemology that is rooted within imperial and colonial inventions. Disrupting the global project requires a delinking from colonial systems and structures, which "opens up to the grammar of decoloniality" (Mignolo, p. 277) and enables us to "reorient our thinking and our doing" outside of hegemonic systems of power (Mignolo, p. 274). Mignolo asserts that the process of delinking from universal prescriptions enables counter-hegemonic responses and catalyzes new spaces that engage with "global equality and economic justice" (p. 274). This sense of egalitarianism is extended in Andreotti's (2011) analysis of de Souza Santos (2007) *ecology of knowledge* that recognizes the plurality and diversality of knowledges fluidly interacting and engaging with one another (Andreotti, 2011, p. 391). "A self-reflexive 'epistemology of seeing' that creates knowledge through solidarity should replace the 'epistemology of blindness' that creates knowledge through ordering and control in the abyssal divide" (p. 391). It is in this space that our pedagogical process is situated, offering an alternative approach for educators and students to engage, critique and share knowledges and learnings that exist outside western-centric paradigms, contributing to decolonization and social justice.

REFLECTING ON A PEDAGOGICAL PROCESS

Students in a graduate seminar on social movements were introduced to solidarity movements through a process involving film, invited guest facilitators, guided activities and online discussion. Participation in a solidarity movement was one of the objectives of this particular learning module. However, stories of solidarity are often fraught with problematic images of the "White savior" (Spivak, 1988) and endeavours that are "misguided and arrogantly based on one's assumed knowledge of what is good for the unknown other" (Ferguson, 2011, p. 245) further invoking legacies of colonialism and domination. For solidarity to be truly decolonizing, we must first interrogate our own location in the narrative of colonization without getting mired in cycles of guilt and blame, and then recognize that "the obligation for decolonization rests on all of us who share in one way or another in the legacies of colonialism and other structures of oppression" (Walia, 2012, p. 250). In this section, we illustrate, from instructor, facilitator and student perspectives, a pedagogical process of decolonization. Through a series of written reflections, the instructor explains her intentions and objectives, the facilitators describe how and why they designed the activity and the students reflect on their experience of the process.

Setting Up the Process

The seminar was entitled "Learning in Social Movements." It is offered every second year as part of a graduate program of study about the teaching and learning of adults. The course focuses on the pedagogical dimension of social movements, including experiential, transformative, social, and political learning. Course objectives aim for awareness raising, theorizing, reflection, and praxis related to learning in social movements. Students are expected to become familiar with diverse expressions of social action and a variety of progressive social movements, including feminist, labour, global justice, Indigenous, anti-poverty and environmental movements; gain basic knowledge of the historical trajectory of theorizing to explain the processes and purposes of social movements and to critically engage with fields of study about learning in social movements; develop an understanding of the intersections between power and privilege based on race, class, gender, and other processes of marginalization and how these relate to social movements and social action; contribute skills and knowledge to an activist group and, gain awareness and experience through engagement in a social action project. Students in the course have a variety of backgrounds, though most have spent some time as teachers or other professionals before undertaking graduate studies.

Donna Chovanec is the instructor of this course. She

> bases her pedagogical design on the principles of critical pedagogy, which involves facilitating the development of students' critical consciousness by enabling them to identify, question, and challenge oppression, hierarchies of power, and the beliefs and practices that support domination… Such pedagogy facilitates healthy

> skepticism about power, opens space for students to question and comprehend their own privilege, and provides conditions for students to understand their positionality. (Kajner, Chovanec, Underwood, & Mian, 2013, p. 37)

As such, she selects course materials and designs class activities that challenge students to examine privilege and power.

In 2013, the course was offered in a blended format that, in this case, meant half the course occurred in an asynchronous online environment using the University's Learning Management System (Moodle) while the remainder of the cour]\se occurred face-to-face in the classroom. Online, there were diverse digital activities, online discussion forums, videotapes of guest lecturers and links to videos or music as well as "lecture" content through Powerpoint presentations with detailed notes and references.

After three modules on social movement theory and social movement learning theory, the final two modules focused on *praxis*. In Marxist terms, praxis refers to the dialectical relationship between action and reflection. The primary objective in these final modules was for the students to gain an appreciation of the challenges and rewards of consciously and intentionally attending to the dialectic of action/reflection in social movements. In the penultimate module, the students were to explore cyberactivism and coalitions. These are often connected in the current age of e-activism wherein we express our solidarity with struggles across the country or farther away through social media such as Twitter, Facebook and blogs. Therefore, in this module, the students would have an opportunity to connect these two aspects of contemporary social movements in their learning activities.

Donna recalls her original intentions, assumptions, and expectations for these learning activities:

> I assigned the National Film Board of Canada documentary Kanehsatake: 270 Years of Resistance in conjunction with a chapter from the course textbook (Kaufman, 2003) to provide a basis for understanding the colonial legacy within which Indigenous struggles and resistances are situated and I encouraged the students to make connections between the film and the Idle No More[1] movement in their online discussion. In addition, I was hoping to engage the students in an experience of praxis through solidarity similar to what occurred organically during the previous offering of this course in 2011.

Misty Underwood was a student in the 2011 course. She describes this same activity from her perspective:

> The class was happening at the same time as the Arab Spring [in 2011]. Specifically that class day, there were major protests occurring in Egypt and protesters were demonstrating in Cairo's Tahrir Square. The instructor asked us to engage the protesters in a dialogue related to the learning happening within those demonstrations. We were given newsprint and sticky notes and we worked together to quickly "tweet" using the sticky notes. I kinda watched

> off to the side as my classmates were trying to craft their 140 character sticky notes. Another student and I decided to start a live conversation on twitter instead. We created a hashtag and started tweeting the sticky note tweets and before we knew it, the activists on the ground in Cairo were responding. It was really incredible to engage in a conversation with activists!

Two years later, in 2013, Donna was teaching this course again. She hoped to recreate this powerful learning opportunity for the students in the course:

> The most recent large-scale social movement was the Idle No More movement that had attracted the attention of many related social movements in Canada, who then joined in solidarity with Idle No More through demonstrations and social media. I asked Misty (who was now my Graduate Assistant) to design a social media activity (e.g., Twitter) for the students to engage in solidarity with Idle No More. I also invited Ruby Smith Díaz, whom I knew to be an activist engaged in Indigenous solidarity activism in British Columbia, to talk to the class through an uploaded video on eClass about her life as an activist focusing on her solidarity work with Indigenous peoples and movements.

However, for diverse reasons, Misty and Ruby both felt uncomfortable about Donna's request. Ruby recalls:

> When I was first invited to participate in the class as a lecturer on Indigenous solidarity, I have to admit I felt a little strange. I felt uncomfortable with my position as a "lecturer" which, in my mind, implies the assumption that I would be sharing knowledge that others did not know about, and that others don't have any valid knowledge to share. I also questioned my own position around how I would be perceived as an expert on the subject, especially given that I am not Indigenous, I am young, and I am still very much learning a lot about what solidarity means. Finally, I didn't feel that I could call myself an ally to any community unless I am seen as such by the community I am working with. After much thought, however, I decided that I would participate; technically as a lecturer, but as much as possible as a facilitator, a human being, and a learner.
>
> Most importantly, I wanted to assert that Indigenous solidarity could not be talked about without talking about colonization and its historical and active effects. We could not talk about it without talking about the decolonization of our selves.

After her initial enthusiasm turned to discomfort, Misty came to the same conclusions.

> When the instructor first asked Ruby and I [sic] to come up with an activity that would capture the heart and essence of the twitter activity taken up two years prior, I was excited. My enthusiasm soon dwindled, however, as I began to reflect on an appropriate activity to engage with Idle No More. Something in me screamed STOP! I knew that I couldn't proceed as planned. I became increasingly uncomfortable with the idea of asking students to engage in an

> act of solidarity with Idle No More when we had only scratched the surface of colonization and students hadn't done anything around who they are in relation to Indigenous peoples of this territory. Questions such as what is their relationship to colonialism, how did they come to be here, how does the colonial relationship benefit them, etc. had not been asked of students yet. These questions swirled in my mind when I finally remembered a reflection activity I engaged with in my Indigenous Research Methodologies course called "decolonizing autobiographies."

Thus, although the instructor had a fairly clear vision of what she wanted, both facilitators struggled to design an activity in the manner requested. In the end, Ruby and Misty resisted Donna's framing of the request and ultimately re-conceptualized what solidarity meant to them. They knew intuitively that, without a deep engagement in unpacking colonial relations by asking who we are and how we came to be on this land, a collective movement towards solidarity would never be realized. They both questioned whether engaging in solidarity should be the goal in the context of this activity and resoundingly said "no" – important decolonizing work needed to be taken up first. The instructor reflects: "Being strong and wise young activist womyn, the facilitators created something much different than what I had imagined based on my somewhat unproblematic and naïve notion that we were going to 'do' solidarity in class."

The activity. In addition to viewing the film and reading the assigned articles, the students participated in a reflective activity designed by the facilitators before engaging in an online discussion. In a video uploaded to the course website, Ruby began by sharing her cultural background and identity, her experience in social movements and the expectations that were given to her for the video so that the students would have a clear understanding of how she related to the world around her, and so that they might be able to identify parts of their own story as they heard hers. She invited the viewers to have an open mind, to commit to action instead of being paralyzed by guilt (if it came up), and to be gentle with themselves and each other in the process.

Ruby began by asking them to find out where their ancestors came from before arriving in the land called Canada and then to consider the following questions:

- What were/are the forces at play that caused them to migrate?
- Who are the Indigenous peoples of the land on which you are living today?
- What were/are the forces at play that caused these peoples to be displaced?
- How do these two histories connect?

Ruby recalls:

> My intention was for the participants to actively engage with this subject in an honest, vulnerable way, through the lens of decolonization. I was asking folks to share their families' stories and through that, what their relationship was to

> unceded land, to their own culture, and to their own identity. I was asking folks to listen. I was asking folks to make a change at the level at which they had the most agency – their own selves.

Like Ruby, Misty wanted to model a process of coming to know who we are, how we came to be here, and what is our relationship to the original inhabitants of the land that we now call Canada. She remembers: *Once I saw Ruby's video for the course I was relieved because I realized she and I were taking a similar approach and that I could then ask students to build on her activity.* Therefore, in class, Misty introduced a written reflective activity by Celia Haig-Brown (2009) called "decolonizing autobiographies" (as modelled by Dr. Rebecca Sockbeson in class).

We set up the activity during an in-class session of the course. Misty started with a famous quote about solidarity by Aboriginal Elder Lilla Watson: "If you have come to help me, you are wasting our time. But if you have come because your liberation is bound up with mine, then let us work together." She then modeled Haig-Brown's approach by sharing her own decolonizing autobiography. This was very similar to the process of engaging with the questions posed by Ruby. Building on these questions, Misty asked the students to interrogate how they benefit from unearned privilege as a result of colonization.

Learning from the activity. The students took up the activity with energy, honesty and thoughtfulness. No other online activity in the course had engaged the students so intensely before this point and it was the first time that *all* the students interacted deeply and fully online. It seemed to be a pivotal point in the course. Modelled after Misty and Ruby, the students and the instructor shared their family histories of migration and settlement and they raised challenging questions about their place in the colonial narrative. Here, Saima, as a student in the course, shares part of her online decolonizing narrative:

> Growing up in northern Alberta, a first generation *Canadian* the ever-racist question of where are you from is something that I've been used to answering all my life. This is in part a reason why I don't really identify as a *Canadian* citizen. Ever since I can remember people have been adamant about letting me know I don't look like a Canadian. When we were asked to find out where our ancestors came from before arriving to *Canada*, I didn't have to go too far. My father is a Pakistani born economic migrant while my mother is a Scottish born migrant who came to Canada for something new. As I traced my lineage back, I realized I did not know more than a few generations of my history. Why was this? Was the displacement of my family a part of a colonial plan to cut our ties to our roots, our past, our histories? While I struggled to unearth my roots, I was also contemplating and problematizing the notion of settlers. While I am a settler on this land, I do not fit the white settler narrative of the average *Canadian*. My citizenship has always been questioned and I have always known that I don't belong.

Saima's posting exemplifies the kind of honesty and openness with which the students approached the online discussion as well as their emotional connection to the activity. According to Naomi, also student in the course: "This exercise was terrifying because it challenged us to look within and confront our own interactions and relationships with colonialism. It dared us to remove ourselves from the cerebral and to recognize lived experiences."

In reflecting together on the process of this activity, the authors observed a number of facilitating factors. First, the online environment (i.e., posting narratives into a discussion forum) was conducive to the process of (re)engaging with colonialism on a personal/family level. Naomi suggested:

> This mediated the vulnerable aspects that often erupt when discussing highly emotional subjects and allowed for an inclusivity and freedom of expression in a public space, which disrupted the notion of public/private space of citizenship and for Indigenous people's spaces that are exclusionary. Spaces where those who contest are mapped immoral and delimited from full participation in the rights, access and freedoms of citizenship.

Second, an element in the content of the postings that seemed to mediate the emotional element was that many of our ancestors were fleeing famine and persecution from their countries of origin, and they were often persecuted here in Canada as well. Donna speculated:

> While the students could recognize their own generation's privilege after the migration and settlement of their ancestors, it seemed that they were able to approach this with less of the experience of "the White burden" than is often the case in these discussions because they could draw on their own histories of oppression as well.

Similarly, Saima suggested a third important factor was recognizing our mutual settler status: "It allowed all of us non-Indigenous students to level the field in acknowledging that none of us are from here and if our histories are attached to land, then our roots are somewhere else."

Finally, and perhaps most profoundly, Naomi pointed out that the course generated the space for creating and experiencing a mutual understanding and narrative space where we (the participants in the course), as a potential collective, could contest colonialism and imperialism. Thus, we began to unpack our decolonizing autobiographies in nuanced and complex ways and to engage with one another in that process. The result was transformative. As Ruby remarked:

> I was so incredibly moved by seeing people's honest reflections to these very difficult and personal questions. To hear their families' stories. To witness a sense of shared history. And to see them questioning their own actions within the context of colonization. I felt extremely honored to have taken part in such a meaningful experience – even if it was only through a screen.

Moving to Solidarity

As mentioned earlier, one objective of the module was to move into active solidarity with Idle No More. The facilitators proposed that the decolonizing autobiography was an essential first step to help the students achieve the honest heart and mind that would lead to doing meaningful solidarity work. True solidarity work begins from a place of honesty about our privilege, positionality and our relationship with others. As Davis and Shpuniarksy (2010) found in their study of alliances between Indigenous and non-Indigenous activists, "a principal site of learning for non-Indigenous participants is awakening to their own personal, family and community histories" (p. 341).

As we discovered in our online reflections, our ancestors' migration experiences were deeply inscribed within the colonial narrative. Referencing Sharma and Wright, Walia (2012) states: "Migration itself cannot be conflated with colonialism and the divides between 'Indigenous peoples' and 'migrants' are in fact perpetuated by colonial categorizations" (p. 246). However, "rather than debating the dichotomy of victim/oppressor, we [in No One is Illegal] have focused on cultivating an ethic of responsibility based on understanding ourselves as beneficiaries – intended or not – of an illegal appropriation of Indigenous Peoples' resources and jurisdiction… This makes our participation within anticolonial movements a necessity" (pp. 246–247). Through their reflections, the students began to understand this process. Within the collective space of the online discussion forum, we discussed the complex dialectic of being colonizers and colonized, oppressed and oppressors. We gained new learnings about our place in the colonizing narrative. We began to reconceptualize our relationship to this land and to the Indigenous peoples of this land.

But, what would it take to actively engage in anticolonial movements from this new understanding? What would solidarity look like? In this section, we explore notions of solidarity and praxis from the literature and from our own experience.

In a series of writings, Women's Studies professor Ann Ferguson (2009a, 2009b, 2011) grapples with the concept of solidarity and social justice in relation to the challenges advanced by women of colour, poor women and women in the global south within the women's movement. She poses the question of whether solidarity across vastly different subject locations and material conditions is possible. "The mere formal commonality of being identified as a woman by one's society does not automatically give one common interests with those whose, class, racial, ethnic, sexual or national interests and privileges are not the same as one's own" (2009b, p. 191). While her reflections are mainly about the women's movement, her arguments are relevant to other intersecting issues of solidarity and justice. In her analysis, Ferguson traces a variety of conceptual frameworks for justice (2009a) and also for solidarity (2011) ultimately proposing a juxtaposition of both in her "solidarity paradigm of justice" (Ferguson, 2011), Drawing on (and critiquing) Nancy Fraser, Iris Young, bell hooks, and Chandra Talpade Mohanty among others. She points to the many coalitions and political networks that have emerged in recent decades

to suggest that the material realities upon which such movements are based have addressed some of the concerns about the essentialist and identity-based solidarity of earlier generations.

A radical project of solidarity is necessary, Ferguson (2009a) believes, in order to construct "alternative systems which subvert the logic of capitalism, racism, and sexism" (p. 171). However, this is only possible when people "transform their own identities so that they re-conceive what their common interests are" (p. 172). She argues that critical self-reflection on self-understandings and values by those with privilege can transform and create *bridge identities* to form "new empathic solidarity connections [that] allow people to transform their identities and individual goals toward a more collective vision… [for a] radical change in the total system" (p. 173). She invokes the Zapatista ideal of "a 'convivial' set of social relations based on community solidarity" (p. 175).

Indigenous activist-scholars envision solidarity as a form of meaningful interconnectedness. According to activist Zainab Amadahy (2010), our solidarity should be grounded in "understanding the world through a Relationship Framework, where we don't see ourselves, our communities, or our species as inherently superior to any other, but rather see our roles and responsibilities to each other as inherent to enjoying our life experiences" (para. 8). Decolonization implies building new patterns of relationships to each other, to the earth, to our ancestors, and to future generations outside the parameters of the "settler state and colonial mentality" (Walia, 2012, p. 251). It is nothing less than "a dramatic re-imagining of relationships with land, people, and the state … it is a practice, it is an unlearning" (Hussan cited in Walia, 2012, p. 247).

Through recognizing our attachments and relationships with our environment and acknowledging the histories and specificity of place, we can begin to heal and reconnect with our responsibilities for social justice. Bouvier (2012) articulates the complex system of kinship relationships (self, family, community and the sacred) that provide direction for harmony and balance in our lives together. Like a tree, as we nourish our relationships with our kinship, our roots strengthen and grow (Tuhiwai Smith, 1999). These roots are firmly planted within place, and within distinct social, cultural and political histories.

It is these histories, places and relationships that Indigenous social movements work to reclaim. In solidarity with Indigenous struggles, therefore, "we must see *ourselves*, as nonnatives, as active and integral participants in a decolonization movement for the political liberation, social transformation, renewed cultural kinships, and the development of an economic system that serves rather than threatens our collective life on this planet" (Walia, 2012, p. 241). This process, argues Walia, is "necessarily entwined with" (Ferguson, 2009) struggles against racism, violence, poverty and environmental degradation. In a radical re-imagining of our common interests (Ferguson, 2009), solidarity activists, especially those with privilege, can begin to recognize our own place in both colonization and decolonization (Walia).

When identities are transformed, relationships are strengthened and common interests are forged, solidarity is experienced as a deep commitment not a fleeting interest in *doing good*. As bell hooks (2000) articulates:

> Solidarity is not the same as support. To experience solidarity, we must have a community of interests, shared beliefs and goals around which to unite, to build Sisterhood. Support can be occasional. It can be given and just as easily withdrawn. Solidarity requires sustained, ongoing commitment. (p. 67)

Thus, we must be very self-reflexive and mindful of how and why we engage in solidarity and from what location. From a more grounded understanding of our own location after the decolonizing activity, the students in the graduate seminar were invited to connect with Idle No More utilizing social media such as Twitter, Facebook, blogs, and so forth, and Misty provided some pointers for advancing in this direction. However, the decolonizing activity was so moving for the course participants that only in hindsight did the authors realize that movement towards solidarity was never realized during the course.

Mirroring our classroom experience, Andrea Smith (2013) pinpoints the importance of self-reflection when she says, "These rituals around self-reflexivity in the academy and in activist circles are not without merit. They are informed by key insights into how the logics of domination that structure the world also constitute who we are as subjects" (p. 264). However, getting stuck there – in the internalized and individualized process of reflecting upon and challenging ones' own individual privilege – is a common experience for budding activists. As Saima mused: "After having the chance to problematize and reflect upon my place in the world, where do we go from here? How do we move from self-reflection to action?" How do we move from the paralysis of privilege into genuine solidarity? In other words, "How would one collectivize individual transformation?" (Smith, 2013, p. 264). Smith reminds us:

> For this process to work, individual transformation must occur concurrently with social and political transformation. That is, the undoing of privilege occurs not by individuals confessing their privileges or trying to think themselves into a new subject position, but through the creation of collective structures that dismantle the systems that enable these privileges. (p. 264)

As Allman (2001b) points out, "using concepts critically will not, in itself, change anything" (p. 50). Structural change takes action, action combined with reflection, i.e., praxis. According to Paula Allman (2001a), we engage in a critical or revolutionary praxis when we "choose to question critically the existing relations and conditions and actively seek to transform or abolish them and to create relations and conditions that will lead to a better future for all human beings" (pp. 167–168).

As we prepared for this chapter, our small group (a subset of the participants in the course) came to a clearer understanding of solidarity that was only reached through

engaging in an open, kitchen table dialogue, acknowledging our own locations, our connections to place and our histories. We acknowledged that the limitations of an institutionalized classroom setting were not conducive to authentic solidarity. For example, time (one university term) and timing (at the end of the course) were impediments for moving into action. Further, the lack of face-to-face interaction in the classroom during this learning module might have contributed to a disconnection that prevented the students from acting on their new reflections. Yet, the ongoing connection of our small group of authors, already activists in various struggles for social justice, offered an opportunity for sustained dialogue beyond the classroom to explore the meaning and commitments involved in solidarity with Indigenous and other intersectional struggles for social justice.

Andrea Smith (2013) proposes that we move beyond "confessing" privilege, which she sees as a strategy to continually "constitute the white/settler subject" (p. 267), to actively working at creating the world we want but can't yet fully envision, to not focus on the "goal of 'knowing' more about our privilege, but on creating that which we cannot now know" (p. 275). This could signal the prefigurative politics of our time (Kaufman, 2003). Such models are often informed by Indigenous movements that are "taking power by making power" (Kaufman, 2003, p. 275). In solidarity spaces, this means that we start from the assumption that we are all implicated in structures of oppression and we make "action plans for how we should *collectively* try to transform our politics and praxis" (Kaufman, 2003, p. 277). Because we are always implicated in hierarchical and oppressive social structures based on gender, race, class, geography, ability and so forth, even in our activist spaces, and we experience different social locations and material conditions, coalition work rarely feels fully *safe* or comfortable (Davis & Shpuniarsky, 2010; Johnson Reagon, 1981; Smith, 2013). "It is challenging to both address the external oppressions and challenges as well as the internal dynamics of feminist organizing" (Butt, 2013, p. 18). This is why Johnson Reagon (1981) advocates a distinction between coalition politics (solidarity across difference) and our activist "home." As Saima explains:

> The first is "done in the streets;" you can't stay there all the time because it is disruptive and dangerous. Sometimes your own narrative gets lost and you lose parts of yourself. The latter is where you are fed and nurtured and get to practice your politics; it's where you "act out community." You can't stay there all the time either because none of the hard work would get done.

Moving between and across self-reflective, identity-transforming, *confessional* spaces to home spaces where we can *act out* new politics and ways of being together, to solidarity and coalitions across difference, creating new structures through living them. All of this requires a commitment to decolonize ourselves, our relationships and our world. We experienced a small piece of this complex and life-enhancing process in our graduate seminar.

CONCLUSION

Our intention in this chapter was to offer solidarity movements as an alternative to global citizenship education for social justice work. Although we see the potential of critical global citizenship education as a decolonizing process, we are cautious and argue that, if left without critical inquiry and engagement with multiple theoretical approaches, notions of global citizenship ultimately sanction the exclusion of peoples and the erasure of histories of colonization. While solidarity movements offer an alternative avenue towards global justice, solidarity is not inherently decolonizing either. Authentic solidarity demands that we interrogate colonizing processes and engage in decolonizing processes within our selves and our communities.

In the chapter, we described and reflected upon a decolonzing pedagogical process that the authors experienced in their narrative positions as instructor, facilitator or student. The participants in a graduate seminar constructed and shared their "decolonizing autobiographies" as an antecedent to a social media solidarity action. Facilitators invited the students to consider the migration and settlement histories of their families, their historical relationship to Indigenous peoples and places, and how they benefit from colonization. Participants genuinely engaged in the activity through the online discussion forum, sharing their family histories and complex questions about their place in the colonial narrative.

Upon reflection, we recognized that the decolonizing activity did not lead to the intended solidarity action during the course; yet it created the space for the necessary first step of critical self-reflection and opened up an ongoing collective dialogue between a subset of the participants that became the authors of this chapter. Yet, as Smith (2013) and others have argued, we cannot stop there or become mired in a perpetual cycle of reflection. "We need to remember not to let process impede action…Action and process need to co-exist" (Granke & Layne, 2011, para. 12). The point is to radically change unjust and oppressive social structures. Decolonization requires collective relational and structural work in solidarity with others who are also striving to articulate and to *live* today a vision for the future.

We argue that solidarity movements engaging in prefigurative politics present a radical pedagogical alternative to global citizenship education in striving for social justice. But the prerequisite is to engage in the difficult self-reflective work of decolonizing ourselves. While engaging in the decolonizing activity described in this chapter, we experienced a collective transformational space that was easily integrated into the existing curriculum and classroom pedagogy. However, what would it take for such a pedagogy exercised in a university classroom to move beyond reflection into active solidarity in dismantling and rebuilding oppressive social structures?

NOTE

[1] "Idle No More has quickly become one of the largest Indigenous mass movements in Canadian history – sparking hundreds of teach-ins, rallies, and protests across Turtle Island and beyond… It has also brought together a number of solidarity groups and allies looking to work against the current and

pending governmental policy that impacts on collective rights, social safety nets, and environmental protections. The impetus for the recent Idle No More events, lies in a centuries old resistance as Indigenous nations and their lands suffered the impacts of exploration, invasion and colonization." http://www.idlenomore.ca/story

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14. WHOSE KNOWLEDGE IS TRANSMITTED THROUGH PUBLIC EDUCATION IN AFRICA?

EDUCATION: PHILOSOPHICAL AND THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS

John Dewey (2008) in *Education and Democracy* described education as a social process that promotes a particular social ideal. According to him, a criterion for educational criticism and construction implies therefore a particular social ideal (Dewey, 2008). The worth of a form of social life according to him is measured by the extent in which the interests of a group are shared by all its members, and the fullness and freedom with which it interacts with other groups. The value of a legitimate aim is that it can be used to change conditions so as to effect desirable changes. Education in Africa should free its recipients from slavery of both the mental and their social conditions (Freire, 1989).

Emile Durkheim described education as the influence that adult generations exercise on those that are not yet ready for social life. Its object, according to him, is to stimulate and develop in a child a certain number of physical, intellectual and moral states which are demanded of him by both the political society as a whole and by the particular milieu for which he is specifically destined (Durkheim, in Williamson, 1979). Influences of good behaviour and morals in African indigenous societies were passed on to the young by their parents and members of society at large. Society expected all members of society to lead by example.

Lundgren views education as "the genetics of society" (Lundgren, 2007, p. 35). According to him, it is through education that we produce, from generation one generation to the next, our values, habits, attitudes and knowledge. It is through education that we create the conditions for cultural and economic growth (Lundgren, 2007). This means that the society reflects to a large extent the kind of education they have received.

PRE-COLONIAL EDUCATION IN AFRICA

African education was until colonisation a societal affair. It was determined by the needs of communities and it responded to needs of communities. The knowledge transmitted through education involved self knowledge, cultural knowledge, the environment, social issues, values, attitudes and expectations as well as

A. A. Abdi et al. (Eds.), Decolonizing Global Citizenship Education, 173–178.

responsibilities to self, community and the world. The content of education in African society has always been about their physical and social situation driven their own needs (McCormick, 1976).

Values were taught hand in hand with the content at hand. Societal ties and relationships, which were part of the cultural life, ensured that cultural norms, values and education itself were transmitted throughout generations where those who already had the necessary knowledge and skills, saw it as their duty to educate the younger members of societies. This allowed for a relationship of mutual dependency of respect as younger members of communities saw the elders in their societies as holders of knowledge and the elders saw their responsibility as education of the young. African societies in pre-colonial Africa reflected values in their own cultures as they welcomed the soon to be colonisers in their own land. They were extending values consistent with Ubuntu.[1]

The hospitality of the Africans towards the first explores/voyagers/visitors to the continent who soon turned to be colonisers reflect values in the African culture that history has forgotten. Many of these sailors arrived on the shores of Africa after a tumultuous long journey at sea almost dying and were actually welcomed by Africans, nursed back to health by Africans, fed by Africans and taught everything that they needed to learn about their new habitat by Africans themselves. That was a demonstration of values.

Pre-colonial education in Africa was therefore an education that prepared the recipient for his responsibilities as an adult in his home, his village and his tribe (Scanlon, 1964). African societies were therefore generally self reliant and relied on their skills and knowledge to grow their own food, look after their livestock and had an understanding of the relationship between plants and health. Education in these societies was decided upon by members of their own communities and mediated by both the elders of these societies who as they grew older were expected to demonstrate wisdom and desirable attributes which earned them places of honour in their societies.

African indigenous education took the form of a variety of formal observances as well as the experiences of daily living. These impressed upon the youth his place in a society in which religion, politics, economics and social relationships were invariably interwoven (Scanlon, 1964; Baguma & Aheisibwe, 2009).This holistic education prepared learners for life in the community as opposed to life outside the community. It was not education about facts only, but also about how to be part of society, so as to ensure that every aspect of community life was taken care of (Baguma & Aheisibwe, 2009). While the major part of African education was geared towards self reliance with core activities like growing one's food or building one's house as desirable skills that society expected in all Africans of a particular age, there were many other specialised forms of education for example, metallurgy and many other technologies that were part of the African cultures that some members were specialists in.

There are numerous pieces of art, now lying in the museums of countries that colonised the Africans and branded Africans as ignorant barbarians that exemplify

art in pre-colonial times. These artefacts are just an example of a knowledge that Africans had long before the colonisers set foot in Africa. These artefacts showcase the skill of knowing where to find the precious metals, processing of these materials and moulding them into artefacts without the modern technology that everyone now relies on. That was indigenous knowledge.

COLONIAL EDUCATION: THE SCHOOLING SYSTEM

Colonisation brought with it a total disorientation of life in Africa. Every part of African life was affected in what has often been described as *the scramble for Africa*. What followed after this invasion was a systematic attack on the being of Africans and their existences. The big continent that Africa was now came under the brutal control of the invading European nations, slicing every bit of Africa using extreme brutality made possible by the superior European armoury that the Africans did not have access to.

Colonial education replaced the whole African indigenous education system with the schooling system, where children left their families and spent the better part of their days in classrooms, taught by people who were not from their communities, teaching them in languages they did not understand well and learning content that had nothing to do with their everyday lives (Nyerere, 1967). The introduction of subjects into the education system of Africans, gave them pieces of knowledge some of which they already had in a rather disoriented form, scattered across subjects, a contrast from the holistic nature of knowledge production and dissemination in the African educational systems and epistemology. This knowledge, now scattered around subjects, presented to the indigenous peoples by their former colonisers was hailed as superior knowledge, but it was in fact in most cases the scientization and mathematization of what they already knew, now presented as different knowledge and very important for indigenous nations to have if they hoped to develop.

This form of education has been described by some scholars as cultural imperialism and a colonialist creation that enables the capitalist class system to perpetuate itself by creating a class of schooled members of the population who later become the ruling class (Carnoy, 1974). This form of education seems to be a way of channelling people in a particular direction in order to control what they should know and not know, therefore protecting the rights and privileges of the rulers by not making room for competing thoughts. This form of education also seems to be geared towards serving the industrial, capitalist democracies of the west with little attention towards social issues amongst Africans.

The relevance, appropriateness and effectiveness of what this formal education has to offer have been questioned by students, parents, communities and many interest groups throughout history (Carnoy, 1974; Illich, 1974; Volmink, 1998, in Naidoo & Savage, 1998). This formal education has rewarded those who were able to acquire it in the capitalistic environment that was structured to reward only those who had acquired it. Education for employment in a capitalist world has offered

Africans an education that contrary to African Indigenous education had nothing to do with their own lives. It is an education that has left them alienated from their own communities, speaking a language different from their communities and having little to do with their communities and in some cases identifying more with the interests of countries that once colonised them.

The most devastating aspect of colonial education was its ability to instil the myth of the European superiority and African inferiority that came to be internalised by the coloniser and the colonised as well as the dependency that led Africans to rely solely on their colonisers for solutions to their everyday problems.

POST COLONIAL EDUCATION

Odora Hoppers (2001) asserts that African tertiary institutions as pinnacles of authority in knowledge production, and as institutions that have the power to choose what knowledge need to be disseminated to the population at large; do not seem to have engaged in the critical scrutiny of existing paradigms and the epistemological foundations of existing academic practice. According to her, they seem to have taken the role of repositories and dispensers of European thought and logic, complete with European language to transmit European ideologies, some of which continue to hamper African development and continue to allow Europeans multinationals to dictate agenda on minerals and development in general in Africa (Odora Hoppers, 2001). European knowledge, while useful in many instances, poses a challenge to the African if it is at the centre of African curricula. African philosophy and epistemology has yet to be the driver of education in these universities. This knowledge continues to *privilege* white scholars in African institutions and marginalizes Africans and African knowledge (Asante, 2011). Africans are being urged to look back into what Africa knew, African values, and promote an education that promotes the African epistemology back into the education of their own children. Some believe that it is only when the education of the African is designed by the Africans, run by the African themselves, can Africans hope to drive their own modernisation, development and social being.

African leaders have tried to infuse the African ideas of education in the education of their countries with differing degrees. Education for self reliance, as advocated by Julius Nyerere, was a type of education that had always been part the African society (Nyerere, 1967). Julius Nyerere, rejected the simplistic forms of western education, which he argued do not reflect the local environment and does not allow the community to be part of the teaching force. Education for self reliance he argued, gives students the power to make their own decisions, learn from their mistakes and control the resources emanating from their work.

The challenges of changing the African education system of their countries into a completely new education system has meant that Africans have remained with problems that they are not able to solve because the western education has little room for social problems or problems that communities experience in their communities.

War, hunger, poverty and poor infrastructure remain as critical areas needing attention in Africa. OdoraHoppers and Richards (2011) in their book, *Rethinking Thinking*, raise very pertinent questions on the relationship between education and the challenges facing humanity. In calling for new paradigms in the production of knowledge; they call for knowledge that addresses human suffering, knowledge that brings solutions to the visible everyday problems (Odora Hoppers & Richards, 2011).

CONCLUSION

Decolonizing global citizenship education should begin with the former colonised designing their own education. Global citizenship can only be achieved when all nations come together to dialogue on the form of education that should take place to achieve global citizenship. For Africans, it is only when they become masters of their own fate by deciding on the education that their young deserves, incorporating ideas from other nations as and when they realise the need. Is is only when all Africans participate in this process without the burden of colonisation that talk about decolonisation and decolonising citizenship can emerge**.** Africans need to critically look into the systems that have shaped them and recognise that change from within the systems that constrained them in the first place will hinder transformation.

NOTE

[1] An African philosophy of recognising humans as deserving of respect and honour.

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15. 21ST CENTURY LEARNERS

Economic Humanism and the Marginalization of Wisdom

21ST CENTURY LEARNERS: ECONOMIC HUMANISM AND THE M`ARGINALIZATION OF WISDOM

> Education is not just job training, nor a 'mental spa.' Also, the widespread view that technology is value-neutral, inevitable, and always here to help, needs to be exposed as the dangerous ideology it is. Mark Kingwell

Digital citizenship is a new iteration of moral education concerns, extended to the virtual space of the Internet and emergent technologies such as social networks, digital media, cloud computing, smart phones, and so on. The practical rationale for educating the young on how to behave in the digital world are occurrences of cyber-phenomena that in the real world have been heavily regulated or even criminalized, for example, bullying, harassment, privacy violations, and so on. Fears about safety and personal freedom, therefore, are at its core.[1] The desire to control on-line behaviour also stems from the moralistic and, more generally, humanistic requirements for maintaining social justice and harmony. In this context, the mandate to teach digital citizenship to all students in Edmonton Public Schools has a preventive aim – by developing digital citizenship competencies, it is expected that young people will turn into ethical citizens who care for the welfare of others and conduct themselves with integrity and respect both on-line and off-line.

Digital fluency is one of the 21st century literacies the Alberta Ministry of Education has set as a learning objective which the revised curriculum must detail and authorize. The *Framework for Student Learning* (Alberta Education, 2011, *Framework* hereafter) anticipates that the educational reform will enable "enhanced access to curriculum that is supported by technology" (Alberta Education, 2010a). In response to this mandate, a few years ago Edmonton Public Schools published a series of documents called *Spotlight on Literacy* (Edmonton Public Schools, 2010a, 2010b),[2] envisaging the students the public educational system will create by 2030: the 21st century learners. The description is succinct: future citizens of Alberta will be "engaged thinkers and ethical citizens with entrepreneurial spirit" (Edmonton Public Schools, 2010a). Digital literacy and its sub-component – digital citizenship, are identified as interdisciplinary sets of "interrelated attitudes, skills, and knowledge." In these documents, digital literacy and digital citizenship seem to specify integral aspects of strictly citizenship competencies such as "social, cultural, global, and

A. A. Abdi et al. (Eds.), Decolonizing Global Citizenship Education, 179–188.

environmental responsibility" and communication (Alberta Education, 2011, p. 3), but also of competencies related to personal management, self-actualization, and leadership. The noble goals are obvious, but what tensions and hidden controversies the published documents reveal as theory and practice collide in educational policy making today?

If, as Smith (2012) proposes, the curriculum – broadly defined – is "the stories we tell the young about life," there is a reason for concern. The philosophical and ideological foundations on which the *Framework* is built betray market logic incentives and an underlying conception of education as a commodity that is on offer for personalized and privatized use. Moreover, notable also is the appropriation of humanistic rhetoric to articulate ethics that loosely can be defined as "economic humanism." So, what is silenced seems to be the praxis of thoughtful consideration of the wholeness of life, which the teachings of the ancient sages clearly articulate.

The starting point of the analysis is the rationale for the need to develop digital citizenship policies as expressed in the provincial key guiding documents: the *Framework* and the *Guide*. The need is a perceived *split* in the students' lives, resulting from the use of purportedly ubiquitous mobile technologies, which students employ outside of school control and for non-educational purposes (Alberta Education, 2012, p. 10). The desire to channel the potential for learning is cited as the main reason, but other factors also play a role. For example, the *Guide* states: "A division of lives has left students technically able to project significant power, yet lacking the supporting structures to guide ethical development" (Alberta Education, 2012, p. 10; also, the *Guide*'s Appendix A, pp. 62–67). In this sense, students' inability to show "consistent patterns of moral and ethical thinking about digital dilemmas" is sufficient rationale for taking an action in guiding and regulating their behaviour online (Alberta Education, 2012, p. 10). But the important point is the psychologically confusing existence they lead in the "open, non-hierarchic, and often anonymous context" (Alberta Education, 2012, p. 11) of virtual interconnectedness.

According to the *Framework*, digital citizenship is the competency to use technology "critically and safely, and in an ethically responsible manner" (Alberta Education, 2011, p. 5). The same document also defines the "ethical citizen with entrepreneurial spirit" as namely an individual who "builds relationships based on humility, fairness, and open-mindedness; who demonstrates respect, empathy and compassion; and who through teamwork, collaboration and communication contributes fully to the community and the world" (Alberta Education, 2011, p. 6). The new Ministerial order, published on May 6, 2013, further details the definition of ethical citizen by emphasizing the values upon which the educational reform rests: the values of "opportunity, fairness, citizenship, choice, diversity, and excellence" (Alberta Education, 2013, Appendix, p. 1). The document stresses the importance, as Lao Tzu advises, of "putting [oneself] last" (Cleary, 1993, p. 38) by stating that students, as ethical citizens, will "understand that it is not all about them" (Alberta Education, 2013, Appendix, p. 2) and that they will be able to "see beyond self-interests," being appreciative of the "effort and sacrifice that built [Alberta as a]

province" and Canada as a country (Alberta Education, 2013, Appendix, p. 2). The needs of the community, the Ministerial order suggests, must precede individual self-interests, as Albertans work together for the common good and prosperity of the province and the nation. The ethical citizen is committed to and promotes the democratic ideal. Furthermore, an ethical citizen contributes to the global society by fulfilling his or her responsibilities as a "[steward] of the earth" (Alberta Education, 2013, Appendix, p. 2), working devotedly to minimize the environmental impacts. Ethical citizens are adaptable and caring, respectful of various cultures and ways of life. They adjust easily to different cultural environments by engaging with local communities, showing compassion and empathy, as well as cultural sensitivity and understanding (Alberta Education, 2013, Appendix, p. 2). Thus, the rhetoric the document employs seems to conform to Rorty's vision of a global community, where "the term *cultural difference* may have outlived its usefulness" (Alberta Education, 2013, Appendix, p. 2) because, as the American academic contends, diversity would mean "individuals differentiating themselves from other individuals, rather than cultures differentiating themselves from other cultures" (2008, p. 42). The individualistic ethos in the Ministerial order is introduced through the requirement that, as ethical citizens, future Albertans will care for themselves "physically, emotionally, intellectually, socially, and spiritually," being able to "ask for help, when needed" both for themselves and for others (Alberta Education, 2013, Appendix, p. 2). As such, the focus on the individual as an agent of change is prevalent and unquestioned.

Both documents further describe the qualities of individuals with *entrepreneurial spirit*, stressing that such individuals "create opportunities and achieve goals through hard work, perseverance and discipline; [they strive] for excellence and [earn] success; [explore] ideas and [challenge] the status quo; [they are] competitive, adaptable and resilient; and [have] the confidence to take risks and make bold decisions in the face of adversity" (Alberta Education, 2011, p. 6). The Ministerial order, too, offers an inventory of qualities through which the *entrepreneurial spirit* of the ethical citizen will be manifested. The list includes: "motivated, resourceful, self-reliant, and tenacious." It expands to include self-discipline, persistence, and hard work (typical virtues that historically have been included in the moral education curricula of Alberta, reflecting an older, predominantly Protestant moral value orientation), as well as competitiveness, drive to achieve success, and readiness to "transform discoveries into products and services that benefit the community, and by extension, the world" (Alberta Education, 2013, Appendix, p. 2).

The above two paragraphs clearly reveal the paradoxical collision of competing views about human beings – the economism and humanism paradigms – that characterizes current conceptualizations of digital citizenship: on the one hand, principles of cooperation and reciprocity, expressed through the virtues of humility, empathy, and compassion, are combined with economic principles such as competitiveness, bold risk taking, and adaptability. Personal goals of wellbeing and success are linked with socially sanctioned contributions, for the future citizens of

Alberta are expected to participate fully in their communities and in the world. In that sense, the educational reform in Alberta follows a trend that current business management theory describes as "humanism in business."[3]

Pirson and Lawrence (2010) explain: present-day *economistic* conceptions derive from the utilitarian moral philosophy of the European Enlightenment, which in Bentham's, Mill's, and Smith's theories found a rationale for the articulation of an economic theory of prosperity, grounded solidly in the maximization of individual material wealth at the expense of societal interests. Perhaps, it was not the intended effect, but as these two authors argue, over the centuries of industrial and technological progress, economic theory became divested of ethical content, "enabling the instrumentalization of human beings" (p. 5). Ironically, however, the source of both the economistic and humanistic paradigms is the view of the autonomous individual with inalienable rights, a rational agent in control of her fate. *Homo Oeconomicus* (in educational lingo – the individual with *entrepreneurial spirit*) by definition is hostile to collectivist causes. Pirson and Lawrence paint the following portrait: the Economic man is self-serving, engages in short-term, transactional interactions with other people who are but means to an end in the opportunistic pursuit of happiness and maximization of the individual's immediate utility (p. 6). They add: "his actions are not evaluated for universal applicability, and hence he is *amoral*" (Dierksmeir & Pirson, as cited in Pirson & Lawrence, p. 6; emphasis added).

Dressing the economistic view of human beings in neoliberal or even social democratic rhetoric is a practice scholars of neoliberal cosmopolitanism have consistently deconstructed, exposing the maintenance of hegemonic relationships of power and the resulting political and social inequalities. Enrique Dussel and Alain Badiou are two of the most vocal contemporary critics. In his *Ethics of Liberation* (2013), Dussel claims that today "we are confronted by the overwhelming, yet contradictory reality of a 'world system' in crisis five thousand years after its inception, which has globalized its reach to the most distant corners of the planet, at the same time that it has paradoxically excluded a majority of humanity" (p. xv). From within the capitalist system, historically speaking, critiques have been levelled at the modern culture and its values, reminding of the "contradiction posed from within by its own victims" (Dussel, 2013, p. 206). Yet, as Badiou (2001) also makes clear, the current ethical orientation presumes "the existence of a universally recognizable human subject possessing 'rights' that are in some sense natural … held to be self-evident, and the result of a wide consensus" (p. 14). This is a presumption that the guiding documents here considered share and, in a sense, the humanistic rhetoric they employ is, perhaps, potentially meaningless, serving to disguise a more deeply entrenched economic agenda in preparing young Albertans as human resources for the local and global capitalist market.

In its insistence that future Albertans function successfully in the context of global competition, the *Framework* perpetuates a utilitarian ethical logic, which "reduces, simplifies, and rationalizes the complex reality of human corporeality … in which the subject is … but a corporeality reduced to mere empirical subjectivity oriented

by means-ends calculus and geared toward the control of happiness" (Dussel, 2013, p. 70). The intent to prepare young people for participation in the *imagined* neoliberal cosmopolitan community unveils the government's effort to connect citizenship education to "a political economy of social, cultural and economic relations" in which two competing views of community arise (Camicia & Franklin, 2011, p. 312). Through face-to-face interactions, Albertan students are expected to develop the penchant for collaboration and team work, to grow into caring and open-minded individuals as they partake in their local communities – schools, clubs, churches, sport teams, etc. Through their on-line connections, they are expected to respect and protect themselves and others, to demonstrate cultural awareness and intercultural competence as they participate in the "global community, related … [by means of] *technologies of standardization*, *surveillance*, and *accountability*, [where] the best students and workers are *self-motivated entrepreneurs*" (Camicia & Franklin, 2011, p. 314; emphasis added). Both open-mindedness and intercultural competence are terms currently under *construction*, as stakeholders, political and educational leaders seek a consensus on what such competencies mean. The unwarranted assumption is that ethical behaviours formed in face-to-face, localized interactions will transfer into the virtual space, and become the guiding principles of ethical conduct, both on-line and off-line.

Historically, religiously defined values and virtues have supplanted the content of moral instruction in Alberta and across Canada, from Temperance education (in the 1800s) to character and citizenship education (in the 1970s and afterward). The references to typically Protestant values such as hard work, perseverance, and discipline (presumably, in the form of self-control), not surprisingly, inject honourable impetus into the *Framework*. The countervailing force of civil discourse, supporting the conceptualization of digital citizenship, also bares influences from the liberal (or rather, neoliberal) moral ideology represented through requirements for inclusion and fairness, certainly reiterating deeply rooted beliefs about the inalienable universal human rights, "attributed to everyone, independent from ethnicity, nationality, social status and gender" (Pirson & Lawrence, 2010, p. 6). This impetus is clear when one reads the definition of digital citizenship offered in the *Guide*, which is based on the following premises: 1. Digital citizenship is rooted in traditional citizenship, and the two together constitute the cornerstones of democratic societies in the knowledge-economy age; 2. Education is the vehicle to ensure the "continuance and shaping of [the democratic] political and cultural ideal" (p. 7). At this junction, it is worth asking: which discourse is the dominant one – the ethical citizenship civil demands or the neoliberal entrepreneurial paradigm?

Neither the *Framework*, nor the *Guide* outwardly account for the corruption of the democratic ideal due to the ubiquitous and pervasive influence of market-logic in the extant global capitalism. In fact, both documents strive to balance the competing demands of global capitalism and western liberal democracy, further looking at the Canadian law to reinforce requirements for protection of personal autonomy and safety, particularly in the sections offering policy guidance for an essential element of digital citizenship curricula – digital security. The *Guide* identifies nine

such foundational elements, listed here in the order of their presentation in the document: access to digital technologies and personal digital devices for learning, digital commerce, digital communication, digital literacy, digital etiquette, digital law, digital security, digital health and wellness, digital rights and responsibilities. Thematically, the *Guide* organizes the elements in three major groups, according to the proposed by Churches "respect and protect" model: 1) Digital wellbeing; 2) Digital interactions; and 3) Digital preparedness (Alberta Education, 2012, p. 38).

The underlying concept that informs the selection of elements to be included in the guiding policy for further clarification and regulation is the concept of the individual, autonomous person who makes *rational* decisions about his or her actions in the virtual world. The expectation is that teachers will enable ethical rational decision-making by creating an environment conducive of proper on-line behaviour in the classroom. Traditionally, the main strategies of moral education in Alberta have promoted the desired behaviours through exposure to literature with moral content. However, since the 1940, moral education has been marginalized and made optional (at least in public schools), allowing schools to choose whether to run moral and character education programs, or not. The social studies curricula, since the 1970s, and the value clarification approach, have been the main source of teaching for citizenship traits and social action. Today, it seems the expectation is to discuss inappropriate actions and decisions with students in hopes that they will adopt the appropriate and desired behaviours when interacting with others in the virtual space outside of school too. For example, at the large and diverse school where I teach, improper on-line behaviour is sanctioned with confiscating the device and talking to the principal or assistant principal. If the infraction is significant, the student will be suspended. There is also a Technology Agreement, which requires a signature from all students prior to having them use the technology available at the school. But mostly, the teaching of digital citizenship remains inconsistent, ad-hoc, and fragmented as there is no plan or specific school policy to ensure the implementation of the principles that the *Guide* outlines.

Digital citizenship conceived as an extension of traditional citizenship is said to require high moral standards, concerning the *effective functioning* in "on-line, time-separated and geographically independent, multi-cultural, global communities" (Alberta Education, 2012, p. 8). One of the greatest challenges to digital citizenship is establishing balance between personal and communal interests in environments where "individual members can affect unforeseen consequences upon the community and other individuals," given that they usually are not immediately obvious because of "time and geographic independence" (Alberta Education, 2012, p. 8). Since high moral principles are product of long-term training and moral maturity, the guidance that teachers provide is essential in achieving the goal of educating young people to be ethical digital citizens. However, there lies the rub! The intent of the *Framework* is for Albertan students to be prepared to participate as global citizens, but the meaning of this citizenship is complicated by the mixture of narrow conceptualizations of rights and moral responsibilities.

According to moral psychologist Haidt (2012), the "moral palate" of neoliberals, especially in the WEIRD cultures of North America,[4] operates on the basis of two moral foundations – the principles of care and fairness (p. 96). The *Guide* clearly states that the goal of any digital citizenship policy is to provide access to digital technology (also, defining it as a "right" of students to use technology while learning). Digital citizenship policies also must protect students' safety and security as they use digital tools for learning. Equity and equality are the pivotal values, granting that every student in Alberta, regardless of race, ethnicity, gender, religion, social or economic status, has access to digital technology.

But as Haidt (2012) contends, the human moral palate is far more diverse. In his work, *The Righteous Mind,* he demonstrates convincingly that there are three major moral systems, which generate numerous moral matrices used by the members of various cultures to organize their behaviour – the ethics of autonomy, the ethics of community, and the ethics of divinity (p. 99). Both the *Framework* and the *Guide* do not acknowledge the plurality of moral foundations and the need to educate global citizens who are familiar with the wisdom traditions of the world. As Dussel (2008) points out, such understanding is essential for the global dialogue in which future generations will address the "core problems" of humanity since the solutions to the rising crises require "trans-modern" and pluralistic perspectives (p. 11). In this sense, Taoism, for example, offers a better starting point for the articulation of foundational conceptual structures, for it advises adherence to a profoundly humane and *natural* way: "Rank, power, and wealth are things people crave, but when compared to the body they are insignificant" (Cleary, 1993, p. 34). Basing ethical developments on values fulfilling economic mandates for personal and collective success and prosperity is paradoxical, but what the concept of the 21st century learner misses most noticeably is the holistic consideration of the human condition. Despite the talk for a balanced and harmonious existence, exemplified in demands for digital health and wellness literacy, it is evident that the future policies will heavily depend on western conceptualizations of such notions. Even more troubling, it seems, is the fact that the *Framework*, while including concepts that refer to the well-being of communities, does not make that a priority, but only a requirement for individual participation as an ethical subject in such communities. Thus, the logic that drives the *Framework* is the logic of the *Self*, which, as Smith (1999, pp. 12–25) has argued, is the source of the current moral and spiritual crisis in the west.

One of Smith's key points is that western preoccupations with identity – the idea of the autonomous person, and definitions of subjectivity – the concept of the intelligible, irreducible, individually experienced ego, are products of long-lasting socio-historical and cultural processes that have led to their globalization and supremacy within the world ethical system(s). However, today the possibilities that such conceptual models afford are exhausted (pp. 11–12). As Smith underscores, current attempts to rethink the notion of identity have addressed issues concerning the irreducibility and relationality of the *Self*, but they have not addressed the more fundamental issue regarding the fictitiousness of identity – the expediency of mental

constructs such as *Self* or identity when striving to understand how humans relate to the world and to each other.

Smith grounds his examination of the question concerning identity in a wisdom pedagogy that proceeds, as he states, "from a third space" (1999, p. 16): from a concern with the lifeworld of human beings performing their daily activities "as parents, teachers, colleagues, friends, and especially enemies" (p. 11). His affirmation of life as the primary ethical principle is a call to recognize the "pre-existent unity of the world" (p. 19) and to abandon the false dichotomies and discriminations our various systems of signification produce. He reminds us that, in the most profound sense, to live a life means to engage the world by responding mindfully to the reality of lived experiences in all their paradoxicality, tensions, and "unresolvability" (p. 21). In this sense, he insists on asking the essential question: what sustains us as human beings?

In many respects this question is the original pedagogical concern that each teacher faces when attempting to guide students on their journey of discovering what it means to exist as a human being and how to find their place in a changing world. Smith claims that teachers' profound responsibility is "to protect the conditions under which each student in his own way can find his way" (p. 19). But, as he also hastens to stress, the teacher herself carries an obligation to "face [her] Teacher" – the world, in all its "variegation, complexity and simplicity" (p. 24). A sustained sense of wonder, of openness to new experiences, of embracing the unexpected, unknown, and the terrifying is a prerequisite for trusting life as the only teacher whose authority we cannot refuse or renounce.

In this respect, ethical requirements for wholeness and integrity as knowing and living in the real conditions within which our lives are embedded are not part of the deliberations on digital citizenship curricula. The Taoist adage: "[Sages] adjust to their real conditions and refuse the rest, not craving gain and not accumulating much" (Cleary, 1993, p. 34) has no bearing on the fundamental philosophical categories that the authors of the *Framework* and the *Guide* use.

It seems that the stories we will be asked to tell our students, both in the virtual and the real world, suffer from a dangerous myopia about which the ancient philosophers, such as Lao Tzu, have warned: "Colours blind people's eyes / sounds deafen their ears / … making people's actions harmful" (Cleary, 1993, p. 11). The policies that will be created will work for the "eyes" rather than the "core" against the advice of the legendary Taoist Master. "Those who know how to nurture the harmony of life cannot be hooked by profit" (Cleary, 1993, p. 35). Yet, our educational policies will require attention to the profit and the power of the capitalist market to continue its triumph and flourish: the future *ethical citizens with entrepreneurial spirit* will ensure the sustainability of the global capitalist economy, and the growth of the virtual community will be constrained by the same essential fears for the protection of the individual rights and property that today underwrite the functioning of the highly unjust, extractive, exploitative, and delusional (if not paranoid) technologized WEIRD cultures.

The "conceptual structural categories" of these two documents are not conducive of a dialogue and do not resist the "rationality of the age of [technological] *logos*" (Dussel, 2008, p. 11) as this precursory reading of the documents attempted to show. Henceforth, the questions about the practical implementation of a bifurcated framework become even more urgent, for it precludes laying "pedagogical foundations" for shaping "a new generation that can begin to think philosophically from within a global mindset" (Dussel, 2008, p. 16). Digital literacy and digital citizenship are a reality demanding all the seriousness we can muster to work from the belief of the ancient wisdom teachers, who "did not let themselves act or think arbitrarily" because they knew that their "measures could be regarded as models for the whole world" (Cleary, 1993, p. 36).

NOTES

[1] According to the *Digital Citizenship Policy Development Guide* (Alberta Education, 2012, *Guide* hereafter), "bullying is one of the most upsetting online risks that students face," even though it constitutes only 6% in comparison to 19% off-line violations (Alberta Education, 2012, p. 70). Because of its "perseverative nature," the psychological effects on young children and adolescents are of gravest concern, given also the media attention the cyber-phenomenon has received in recent years. It is a trend conceived to be on the rise (Alberta Education, 2012, p. 70).

[2] The documents are no longer available on the website.

[3] The connection between economic prosperity and personal wellbeing is not surprising. The selection of values to some extent reflects desired psychological traits that will ensure the reproduction of 'human capital' for the global knowledge economy, which the *Framework* explicitly acknowledges in the section outlining the vision for the proposed educational reform. See also the report at the core of all future educational reform initiatives of the Alberta government – *Inspiring Education* (Alberta Education, 2010b).

[4] WEIRD stands for western, educated, industrialized, rich and democratic. The acronym was first used by the cultural anthropologists Joe Henrich, Steve Heine, and Ara Norenzayan in a 2010 article titled "The Weirdest People in the World?" (Haidt, 2012, p. 96)

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16. DECOLONIZING ALBERTA'S EDUCATIONAL POLICIES TO MAKE POSSIBLE THE INTEGRATION OF REFUGEE YOUTH LEARNERS

INTRODUCTION

Permitting entrance into the borders of Canada to migrants as asylum seekers opens yet a new chapter in the lives of these migrants. As newcomers to the vast land of Canada, with its' over 500-year history of immigration, these newcomers are labeled as refugees and expected to integrate. It is as though while they are being identified as asylum seekers or refugees, their identities and histories are simultaneously being erased. There is no discussion of why they became migrants and needed to flee their homes and seek refuge in a foreign land. There is no desire to learn their histories, experiences, and accomplishments, or even to uncover their goals and dreams. Equally, there is no discussion of how Canada can best provide opportunities for these migrants to reach their full potential and become full participants in society. Given the recognized benefits of education for healing and growth, in this article, with its particular focus on educational policies in Alberta, I discuss the lack of educational policies that address the needs of refugee learners. The lack of policies has resulted in many forms of restrictions and societal limitations that have led to dismal experiences for students from refugee backgrounds in Alberta (Roessingh & Field, 2000). Further, based on my literature review and building upon the foundations of a holistic model, I will make policy recommendations to enable refugee youth with formal, nonformal, or limited education to overcome current restrictions and decolonize Alberta's educational policies to ensure that all learners will fully benefit from the opportunities that exist in Alberta's learning institutions.

Canada, as a signatory to the United Nations' Conventions, and in keeping with its humanitarian traditions, has implemented a process that protects people who fear being persecuted if they return to their countries or need protection from global geopolitics. Canada, therefore, ranks fifth among developed nations that receive refugees, and Alberta has the fourth highest number of refugees among Canadian provinces ("Teaching refugees", n.d.). According to Citizenship and Immigration Canada, Canada annually resettles 10,000 refugees under government and private sponsorship, and 25% of the refugees are under the age of 18 (Crowe, 2006). Although the majority of these people are forcibly removed from their homes and

A. A. Abdi et al. (Eds.), Decolonizing Global Citizenship Education, 189–205.

nations because of larger overriding politics and the resulting conflicts and are collectively labeled as refugees, they are not a homogenous population. Depending upon global geopolitics, Canada receives an influx of refugees from varying nations. For example, Alberta hosted refugees from Yugoslavia during the late 1990s, whereas in the early 2000s, the majority of refugees were from Iraq and Afghanistan, and in the late 2000s, Somalis formed the majority of the refugee population in Alberta. Therefore, each population brings with it its own stories, challenges, and backgrounds. It is similarly important to note that the language used to define and categorize refugees has become politicized, derogatory, and discriminatory. Thus, it is important to understand some of the underlying causes—in particular, the broader global policies—of the creation of a refugee class, as well as the policies that result in refugees, the formation of their identity, and the challenges that they face in their newly adopted country. Finally, it is crucial to understand the policies that target refugee youth and their educational journey in Alberta.

POLICIES AS TOOLS OF COLONIZATION

Policies have been essential throughout history to ensure that the values of human dignity and safety of the majority are upheld, as well as to maximize human potential and individual productivity both for personal fulfillment and to best meet the needs of the larger society. Confusion arises in trying to understand the underlying purpose of designing and utilizing policies: whether they are designed as human inspiration to serve the purposes of peace, respect for human dignity, humanitarian values and to enhance social progress; whether they emerge in the face of the deterioration of peace, respect for human dignity, and values because of human self-interest and greed; or, alternatively, whether they are designed to maintain the self-interests of a few while maintaining the image of societal prosperity by utilizing the language of inclusion and projecting the values of democracy. Shore and Wright (1997) questioned the role of citizens in the formation of policies; through the work of Foucault, they demonstrated the role of power and authority in shaping policies and thus further shaping the rights of citizens within society. These policies become the tools of regulation from the centre to the periphery, and those in the centre exude power. Given refugees' peripheral position globally and their unwelcome positions locally, their presence is easily dismissed, and they become invisible in policy development. As Bauman (2004) wrote, "They [refugees] are outcasts and outlaws of a novel kind, the product of globalisation. … Refugees are human waste, with no useful function to play in the land of their arrival" (p. 76).

FACTORS THAT CONTRIBUTE TO FORCED MIGRATION

Given the negative attitudes and reactions prevalent in mainstream society toward the refugee class, I will explore the factors that cause the forced displacement of populations. Comprehensive understanding of the how refugees come to be, for

example as a by-product of globalization and its varying impact can be a positive step towards changing the discourse of refugees as "human waste" (Bauman, 2004, p. 79) to capable and deserving citizens.

Early globalization encompassed colonization, industrialization, and nation formation based on ethnocultural displacement, which led to increased forced population mobility (Castle, 2003). More recently, developed nations' adoption of neoliberal economic discourses has been another factor in the increasing refugee population. Neoliberal ideology became prevalent in the Western world during the late 1970s and a more dominant force during the 1980s as it oozed its way into every aspect of governance and social arenas. In the critical literature, researchers such as Dei (2006, 2008); Hill and Kumar (2008); Klees, Samoff, and Stromquist (2012); Klein (2008); and Stiglitz (2002) defined neoliberalism as the resurgence of political and economic liberalism in response to the unremitting wariness of the welfare state and a commitment to the central value of individualism; it is a philosophy that holds that citizens are motivated only by self-interest. Therefore, there is minimal need for government interference; in particular, governments should abstain from regulating the market economy (Gamble, 2007). Neoliberal economics is understood in terms of a free market, which "naturally balances itself via the pressures of market demands, a key to successful market-based economies" (Shah, 2010, p. 17). The objective of a self-regulated economy is to create sustainable growth and promote the progress of humanity. Economic globalization under the banner of free trade and competitiveness, free of government interference, would remove the inefficiencies of the public sector and is assumed to create a just platform for the allocation of resources among the world's population (Thorsen & Lie, n.d.).

At the international level, neoliberal ideology is translated into free trade, free circulation of capital, and freer international investment (Shah, 2010). Therefore, although the past three decades have witnessed unprecedented innovation and growth in the history of humanity, they have come with the heavy cost of sharp global inequalities. Half of humanity, about 3 billion people, earn less than $2 a day; and 20% of the world's wealthiest consume 86% of the world's resources (Shah, 2010). One of the factors that contributes to the imbalance of wealth globally is the trade imbalance between the North and the South, mainly Africa and Latin America. Further, the economic weakening of Southern nation states has led to internal turmoil based on ethnicity and religion to dominate and gain limited resources. Further, the Northern nations have benefited from internal conflicts within nations of the South in that they can more effectively access the natural resources of the Southern nations (Castle, 2003). In the implementation of policies stemming from neoliberal ideologies, the discussion of power is generally absent, and the question of who influences trade and whose benefit and concerns are considered in a global market are conveniently set aside.

Additionally, a large number of emerging refugees fall under the banner of environmental refugees who cannot sustain their livelihoods because of many different environmental factors such as drought, soil erosion, deforestation, and

desertification, among others. Such environmental damage is attributed mainly to developing projects, industrial accidents, and the deliberate dumping and destruction that occurs in developing countries, which have the least economic and political power (Mann, 2005). The increased refugee population after the Second World War led to the formation of the office of the UNHCR in 1950 as a small organization with a three-year mandate to assist in the resettlement of the European displaced population (Cutts, 2000). The UNHCR of the 1950s, with its three-year mandate, has now grown to meet the demands of the increasing refugee population, estimated at 50 million in 2011.

REFUGEES: IDENTITY AND SPACE

Refugee identity continues to be shaped in policies formulated by those in power for those who have been forcibly removed from their homes. Hyndman (2000) analyzed and defined humanitarian action towards refugees by dominant forces as the *scripting* of humanitarianism. She characterized forcibly moved populations through the lens of outsiders as helpless populations who need to be cared for, controlled, and brought to order through the "exercise of counting, calculating and coding refugees" (p. 121). Hyndman argued that the United Nations has become the medium through which the global North exerts and imposes its powers. In the post–Cold War era, Western nations reacted to global displacement by demanding that the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHRC) control the displacement of populations by creating safe zones that it and NGO agencies would establish and maintain. UN donor agencies would thus differentiate populations deserving of need and protection from undeserving populations, which would increase the "politicization of need and the politics of need, that is, questions of who is deserving and who has the power to decide" (p. 181). This UNHRC framework that Hyndman described does not deem all of humanity as deserving of protection under the banner of humanitarianism.

Although the conditions of refugee camps have proven to be less than ideal for living on a temporary basis, they have become long-term housing for many displaced populations. The absorption of these populations into nations where they might have an opportunity to grow has been slow and limited. Particularly with the need for skilled workers in Western nations, the permeability of borders competes between the discourses of economics and humanity. As Hyndman (2000) revealed, the mobility-via-economics discourse has been prioritized and encouraged: "International borders are more porous to capital than to displaced bodies" (p. 30). As I have illustrated in this section, the conception and conservation of refugee populations have been vastly attached to policies that have been devised and delivered. The conception of policies for the rights of refugee populations has not ensured their full enforcement and optimum benefit. Further, policies that address refugee populations have been delayed, sporadic, and difficult to enforce, if they are enforced at all. In many instances the human rights of displaced populations are not upheld during the

resettlement process; by extension, children's welfare and best interests, although stated to be of prime importance, in practice are not taken into consideration (Crowe, 2006).

Refugees in Canada

A general overview of policies on refugee support in Canada is limited and at times confusing. To begin, it is difficult to gain a consensus on the number of refugees in Canada because the numbers vary significantly; for example, in 2009, the number of resettled refugees in Canada ranged from 10,000 to 33,227 (Canadian Council for Refugees, 2008; Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2011; Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada, 2011; "Teaching refugees," n.d.). It is also important to note the discrepancies between government promises and their actions. In December 2011, Canada announced a 20% increase in the number of refugees to be resettled in Canada. However, in 2012, the number decreased by 26%, the lowest number of refugees in the past 30 years (Canadian Council for Refugees, 2013). Additionally, the policies that address refugees are limited, and refugees are usually aggregated with the immigrant population, with the main focus being language acquisition and job training. Although family reunification is indicated as a basic human right and a major foundation for the success of refugee youth, in practice, family reunification is very limited (Canadian Council for Refugees, n.d.). Similarly, education is considered a cornerstone of the healing process and integration of refugee youth into mainstream society (Rossiter & Rossiter, 2009). But Canada has few comprehensive policies nationally, and because education in Canada is delivered provincially, this chapter focuses on educational policies in Alberta as they relate to refugee youth.

Upon entering Canada, refugees face an array of challenges that effectively impede their integration into mainstream society; the major hindrances that newcomers face are their lack of familiarity with the predominant culture, the language barrier, and their lack of proper documentation. Refugees leave their homes in crisis and do not have important documents such as birth certificates, school transcripts, and their credentials with them (Rossiter & Rossiter, 2009). A major unrelenting societal issue in Canada that refugees face is the rampant racism and the negative consequences of this action (Northern Alberta Alliance on Race Relations, 2004). The combined challenges make navigating the Canadian system difficult; this leads to low-paying employment and family income and the inability to access essential services such as health care and education, which will further drive this vulnerable population to the periphery of society.

Refugee Youth in Alberta

The education of some refugee youth has been interrupted, but others might also not have even basic skills in their own language or familiarity with the proper behavior required to attend formal educational institutions (Kanu, 2007; Lund, 2008).

However, even though refugee youth and their families highly value educational institutions and processes, the Canadian education system has failed to retain refugee youth within its institutions, meet their needs, and maintain their interests in schooling (Ngo, 2009a). Given the high dropout rates among students for whom English is a second language and a multitude of other factors such as discrimination, poverty, lack of ability to access resources, and peer pressure, their tendency to join gangs and commit crimes is high (Kanu, 2007). It is, therefore, crucial to redefine the role of schooling and the process of education for refugee youth to help them to fulfill their potential and lead secure lives. Although a myriad of social factors influence the effectiveness of education for refugee youth, this study focuses on the importance of educational policies and programming. Proper education has proven to be essential in the development of a sense of self and a return to normalcy, feelings of belonging to a community, and confidence in one's ability to learn and critically analyze, evaluate, and grow in a manner that best suits and benefits one's life and surroundings (Winthrop & Kirk, 2008).

ALBERTA'S EDUCATIONAL POLICIES WITH REGARD TO REFUGEE YOUTH

Given the important role of education in refugee self-development and successful integration into mainstream society, it is important to locate policies and statements that address the needs of refugee youth and to evaluate their success within Alberta's education system.

A literature search on educational policies related to refugee youth yielded several documents: *English as a Second Language [ESL] Guide to Implementation* (Alberta Education, 2007), *School Act* (Government of Alberta, 2011), *Alberta Assessment Study* (Government of Alberta, Education, 2009), *Funding Manual* (Alberta Education, 2009), *Policy Resolutions May 2007* (Alberta Teachers' Association [ATA], 2007), *Submission to the Minister of Education Regarding School Act Review* (ATA, 2009), and *Teaching Refugees With Limited Formal Education* ("Teaching refugees", n.d.). The documents discussed the following topics in relation to migrant students: ESL education; the honoring of multiculturalism, respect, and diversity; and assessment and funding. With a specific focus on refugee youth, I will explore the implications of each policy in relation to refugee youth's educational undertakings.

ESL Education in Alberta

Considering that language is one of the main barriers that refugee youth and their families face in their adopted country, it is important to review documents designed to guide English-language education for English-language learners. My review revealed detailed documentation of the need, importance, and means of delivering proficiency in the English language to learners. English as a Second Language

[ESL] Guide to Implementation (Alberta Education, 2007) provides information on various types of learners and their backgrounds. Descriptions of the different kinds of learners help educators to better understand their students, their backgrounds, and their purposes for migrating to Canada and therefore to better accommodate their learning needs. It is important to note that some learners come to Canada after extensive research, with strong educational backgrounds to take advantage of the better educational opportunities here, whereas other learners with minimal formal education migrate to Canada through the Canadian government's granting of asylum. The guide also discusses various means of delivery of ESL education at varying points in learners' education. Given the diverse background of ESL students, it is essential to offer various modes of educational delivery to meet their needs. Alberta Education has also set out ESL benchmarks for each age group and grade level. The documentation also points to the importance of bilingual programming and teacher training and identifies resources for educators to utilize in the educational setting.

Although a review of ESL policies in Alberta surfaced a comprehensive strategy, studies conducted to evaluate ESL policy implementation and outcomes reveal inconsistencies between the policies and intended outcomes in schools. Howard Research and Management Consulting Inc. (2009) reported Alberta Education's lack of planning and resources to deliver ESL studies to students. More than half of the respondents in Howard Research and Management Consulting Inc.'s study contended that schools rely on families' or individual teachers' requests to identify ESL students' needs. Further, 64% of ESL support comes from regular-subject teachers who, as the majority of the survey respondents reported, have no ESL training to enable them to support ESL students in their classrooms. The consulting firm concluded that the ill training of teachers to deal with ESL students, as well as teachers' low expectations for refugee youth, intensify the ineffectiveness of ESL training in Alberta. As a result, in 2006, the provincial test scores of ESL students in Grades 3, 6, and 9 were between 16% and 28% lower than those of other learners in language arts (Howard Research and Management Consulting Inc., 2009). Only 17.4% of the students, parents, and teachers whom the firm questioned in the study believed that their schools have formal screening procedures to identify ESL students' needs. The major gap in policy documents is the lack of inclusion of ESL classes in regular subject matter. As Taylor and Sidhu (2012), among other scholars, argued, addressing ESL at the expense of other learning needs is ineffective because placing newly arrived students mainly in ESL classes fosters and maintains their isolation and neglects their educational training in other subject areas.

Further, documents have noted that funding for offering English as a second language education is limited to five years. Language acquisition is also a complex process, and in optimum circumstances it takes three to five years to develop oral-language proficiency and four to seven years to gain academic-English proficiency (Brodie-Tyrrell & Prescott, 2010; Cummins, 2001). When students' schooling has been interrupted and they are in disadvantaged socioeconomic circumstances, it

can take up to 10 years for them to acquire academic proficiency (Brodie-Tyrrell & Prescott, 2010).

English as a second language [ESL] guide to implementation. Alberta Education (2007) very briefly outlines the research findings on the benefits of bilingual education. Research has indicated that allowing English-as-a-second-language children to use their native languages in school will help educational institutions to create environments in which the students feel welcome and their identities are valued. The feeling of belonging creates an atmosphere in which all students believe that they can contribute equally, participate in activities, understand, and create knowledge. Research has also shown that children who continue to learn in their native language develop superior linguistic skills and acquire the second language much faster because of their ability to transfer their prior knowledge of literacy skills to their second language (Cummins, 2001). By gaining a deeper understanding of their native language and how to use it effectively, students gain the ability to process language (Cummins, 2001; Dei & Rummens, 2010, Kirova, 2008). Therefore, the emphasis on language learning in the policies that I reviewed can prove to be a positive feature if educational institutions properly implement the programming. However, the documents offered no guidelines or recommendations for funding for the delivery of bilingual education to newcomers who do not benefit from existing bilingual programs such as those in established communities in Alberta; for example, German, Chinese, Arabic, or Ukrainian.

Multiculturalism and diversity in Alberta education. The School Act (Government of Alberta, 2011) outlines the importance of diversity in education: "All education programs offered and instructional materials used in Schools must reflect the diverse nature and heritage of society in Alberta, promote understanding and respect for others and honor and respect the common values and beliefs of Albertans" (p. 20). This statement refers to multicultural education and respect for diversity in Alberta education. The literature on multicultural education has criticized that the delivery of education has not incorporated inclusion and respect for the "other." As Ghosh and Abdi (2004) explained, the difficulty with implementing multicultural education is that "the Multiculturalism clause for education is vague," and the "lack of federal control over education, and provincial legislation in general, has limited federal ability to influence education in this direction to any meaningful degree" (p. 45). The ambiguity of multiculturalism in education has resulted in varying conceptual understandings among various groups who advocate for antiracism, antidiscrimination, human rights, and language and is an obstacle to pedagogical practice. Therefore, a gap exists between theory and practice in multicultural education (Kirova, 2008).

It is interesting to note that the above statement from the School Act (Government of Alberta, 2011) refers to respecting the "*common* [emphasis added] values and beliefs," whereas diversity brings with it diverse values and beliefs; therefore, it

is crucial to unpack the values and beliefs system that the Government of Alberta considers acceptable to be valued. Critics of multiculturalism have further argued that the insistence on identifying with a specific cultural ethnicity can create difficulties in the identity development of students from minority backgrounds (Kirova, 2008) because students are forced to identify with one particular culture independently of the social context. Critics have pointed to the difficulty of maneuvering through the particulars of mainstream and minority cultures. Identification solely with a minority cultural background results in segregation from mainstream society; on the other hand, utter identification with the mainstream culture creates dissonance among family members and networks of minorities.

Critical theorists have also criticized multicultural education as a means of masking political and social conditions (Giroux, 2001; James, 2001). They have argued that institutions base individuals' shortcomings on their lack of knowledge and utilize multicultural education as a tool rather than implementing the needed societal changes to address the inequalities (Giroux, 2001; James, 2001; Kirova, 2008). An evaluation of diversity in Alberta education reveals a general lack of cultural awareness in every segment of society, including curriculum development and implementation (Lund, 2008; Ngo, 2009a; Winthrop & Kirk, 2008). Ngo argued that the Educational Resettlement Project for Refugees reinforces only the incorporation of the mainstream culture into the refugees' culture; no education is designed for the community or the institutions to address the refugee population's culture or their plight and needs. Students' and staff's lack of awareness of refugees' circumstances with regard to culture and the realities of racism further hinders refugee students' integration into the school environment. For example, refugee students' inability to resolve bullying through accepted means and their resorting to physical confrontations leads to repeated expulsions and exclusion, which unwittingly isolates refugee students. Such segregation is a result of refugee students' lack of understanding of the school culture and of the unfamiliarity of mainstream society with refugee youth, their circumstances, and their special needs (Rossiter & Rossiter, 2009; Winthrop & Kirk, 2008).

Educational assessment and funding in Alberta. An analysis of the documents revealed that one of the most important deficiencies in educational policies with regard to refugee youth is the lack of planning for the evaluation and placement of refugee students (Kanu, 2007). In the Alberta Assessment Study, under the heading Fairness and Equity, Alberta Education (2009) questioned the validity of the existing assessment of refugees and special-needs students and recognized the dire need to design and implement policies to assess refugee students. The government document notes the lack of progress in supporting at-risk children in the context of ESL, refugee, and special-needs student populations: "Our assessment practices should be effective for all students, special needs and ESL. We need to focus on them as well" (p. 41). In its study of refugees in Northern Alberta, the Prairie Centre of Excellence for Research on Immigration and

Integration and Population Research Laboratory (2001) established that over 50% of refugee youth aged 15 to 18 years who had arrived in Canada were placed in inappropriate grades.

In its business plan, Alberta Education (2011) consistently articulated its principles or discourse on responsiveness, accessibility, equity, and accountability; however, an examination of the funding allocation for immigrant/refugee youth services reveals a lack of priority for support for refugee students (Crowe, 2006; Ngo, 2009a; Rossiter & Rossiter, 2009). A review of the 2009 funding manual specified the allocation of limited continuing education funding only for refugees enrolled in high schools who have filed proper refugee claims (Alberta Education, 2009, p. 18). This allocation does not include refugees in Grades 1 to 9, asylum seekers whose claims have not yet been processed, and high school refugee students who are enrolled in home education or blended, outreach, or online programs. Such regulation has the potential to exclude some refugee students. Given the low family income of refugee families, the youth also need to work to contribute to their family income, but their work might hinder their regular attendance in classes. Therefore, other options such as access to online programming might be effective means for refugee students to continue their education.

The lack of funding is also evident in the limited number of programs and services targeted to refugee students. Examples of deficiencies include the limited number of settlement workers allocated to a limited number of schools and the elimination of popular school-to-work and community-based augmented academic-support programs (Ngo, 2009b; Yohani, 2010). The *Submission to the Minister of Education Regarding School Act Review* (ATA, 2009) and *Policy Resolutions May 2007* (ATA, 2007) both identify a lack of funding to meet the needs of refugee students: "The Alberta Teachers' Association urge[s] the Department of Education to create a funding code to address the needs of refugee students with limited formal schooling" (ATA, 2007, Resolution 7.B.31). It is interesting to note that funding for these services has not increased in proportion to the government's increased acceptance of high-needs applicants from refugee camps (Rossiter & Rossiter, 2009).

Teaching refugees with limited formal schooling. Alberta Education, in collaboration with the Calgary Board of Education, has designed best-practice programs to address the needs of refugee students with limited education ("Teaching refugees", n.d.) in terms of language training and the effectiveness of bilingual education and community support. The program provides background information on refugee youth, the challenges that most refugees face in coming to Canada, as well as some of the challenges that they face as newcomers to Canada. The program does not address the fundamental concerns that refugee youth face on their educational journey: effective placement evaluation or the best means of transition from ESL classes into other subject areas. Further, the benchmarks included reflect the assessment strategies that Alberta Education already utilizes, which, as I have already discussed, do not meet the special needs of these students (Government of Alberta,

Education, 2009). The programs are not based on any purposeful framework that reflects the principles of equality, equity, inclusion, and participation for all citizens; nor do theyhave clear statements of goals and objectives, activities, or targeted outcomes that address the needs and issues of refugee youth in the context of youth development and acculturation. The programs also have no coherent delivery and teaching strategies (Ngo, 2009a, 2009b). With regards to the integration of youth into mainstream culture, the programs address only the early stages of acclimatization and adaptation. To help refugees deal with discrimination and encourage a higher level of citizenship, more in-depth programs are needed that address the issues of social justice and leadership (Ngo, 2009a).

Evaluation of educational policies for refugee youth in Alberta. Although schools have been recognized as essential centers to promote the healing process and development of children, in practice, learning institutions have not created a space to foster the growth and empowerment of refugee youth (Rutter, 2006; Taylor & Sidhu, 2012; Winthrop & Kirk, 2008). Alberta has limited educational policies, proper programming, and targeted policies to address the needs of refugee youth in Alberta's educational institutions.

Refugee youth's lack of success in educational institutions attests to their invisibility in educational policies. The psychological needs of refugee youth and their classification as high risk are the only differentiating markers between them and other migrant students. Psychological discourses that inform educational policies on the issue of refugee youth's so-called shortcomings in education further contribute to their marginalization. These psychological discourses are grounded in European epistemologies that strive to control the differences and encourage participation in the social and cultural reproduction of a hegemonic society (O'Loughlin, 2002). Additionally, psychological models universalize and normalize the refugee experience without taking into consideration the heterogeneity of the refugee population—their diverse ethnic and religious backgrounds (Mosselson, 2011). In Rossiter and Rossiter's (2009) study, a criminal justice representative in Alberta indicated that the educational system is not prepared to offer the education and services that refugee youths need: "Education—I think that's where we're failing right from the onset" (p. 418).

Holistic Model for the Education of Refugee Youth

Ensuring the success of refugee youth is a multifaceted endeavor given their limited educational experiences, their experience of emotional trauma, and the negative implications of prejudice for their right to education. Therefore, it is difficult to imagine students achieving meaningful success without a holistic approach to their educational journey, with particular attention to the areas of learning and the social and emotional needs of the students. The holistic framework of policy development will inform not only the needs of refugee youth, but also the means to reach these

goals. Therefore, a multiprogram policy designed for refugee youth will prepare them for long-term success within the larger society as well as outside the safe boundaries of educational organizations. A holistic model strives to raise awareness of refugees, most importantly to identify and signify the targeted group. Stead, Closs, and Arshad (2002), among other scholars, warned about the harm that a lack of acknowledgement and the invisibility of certain populations can cause:

> Invisibility can be expressed as not being understood, not being acknowledged, not being valued, and of having feelings of non-existence, with these experiences of difference and negative identity gaining analytic strength when placed alongside questions of social and structural marginalization and isolation. (p. 49)

Further in a holistic model the responsibility is defined in terms of placement, the social inclusion of students, and the means to meet students' needs. Other goals of a holistic model that Arnot and Pinson (2005) identified include valuing the existing experience of ethnic minority students, promoting positive images of asylum-seeker and refugee pupils, establishing clear indicators for successful integration, taking a holistic approach to provision and support, and offering hope. Accordingly, creating a holistic model requires the joint collaboration of various experts to design a program that will address the complex emotional, psychological, medical, and educational needs of students (Arnot & Pinson, 2005).

PROPOSED POLICIES: REFUGEE YOUTH EDUCATION

Policies on the education of refugee youth require the creation of a welcoming atmosphere, with effective leadership, holistic programming comprised of targeted evaluation programs and a proper inclusion process, and the assurance that the specific needs of students will be met through child-centered learning and the support and acknowledgment of the political and cultural leaders of the community.

Welcoming Atmosphere

Arnot and Pinson (2005) and Rutter (2006) concluded that the best practices to create successful educational experiences for refugee youth in the United Kingdom include a holistic model in a welcoming environment. The philosophy of a welcoming educational institution includes "an ethos of inclusion, celebration of diversity and a caring ethos and giving of hope" (Taylor & Sidhu, 2012, p. 45). Because the unfortunate prevailing attitude toward refugees is one of fear and refugees are considered threats to national security as well as added burdens to the economic well-being of a country, it is essential that educational centers be welcoming and promote positive images of refugees and asylum seekers. The presence of refugees in schools needs to be seen "as a gift rather than as a deficit" (p. 51). One of the

aspects of a welcoming environment is the proper inclusion of students in the school culture, which emphasizes the importance of suitable evaluation programs.

Evaluation and transition. Rutter (2006) stressed the need for practitioners to refrain from homogenizing refugee students and the importance of targeting specific groups of refugee youth who need educational and psychosocial interventions. Therefore, proper evaluation programs that focus particularly on cultural and social accuracy and the implications of evaluation procedures are needed. Evaluation programs must also pay equal attention to the proper assessment of language and other subject areas for students to benefit the most from their educational experience and for institutions to be able to create programming that best meets the needs of their students.

Schools in which refugee youth demonstrate a high rate of success emphasize language learning, but they also offer additional support to enhance student learning and transition students into mainstream classrooms as soon as they have gained basic language proficiency. This transition is possible through the adaptation of creative programming, such as the use of visual resources to provide information or co-teaching in regular classrooms between teachers who have experience in ESL education (Taylor & Sidhu, 2012). Welcoming educational institutions recognize the special needs of their students, and, to best ensure student success, they are willing to adjust policies to suit the best interests of the students. Extension of the education-completion period, particularly for older refugee youth (15 and older), is an important concept to consider. Acknowledging the importance of Cummins' (2001) research makes it essential to develop programs for older refugee youth to ensure their basic educational success and successful bridging to postsecondary education.

Child-centered learning. A child-centered learning environment has proven to be a fundamental factor in refugee youths' engagement and success in their educational journey. Research has indicated the need for students to gain proficiency in their native language, which researchers have argued will help them to develop a student identity and gain a deeper understanding of language and how to use it effectively (Roessingh & Field, 2000). A child-centered learning environment values the lived experience of all students and does not push students to the peripheries. Child-centered learning aspires to cultural sensitivity to deal with the existing educational gap, language deficiencies, and psychosocial issues. In an environment in which students feel that their conceptual and experiential knowledge is valued, they do not need to abstractedly search outward for irrelevant knowledge to find answers. In this environment learners will begin not only the learning process, but also, and most important, the thinking process. Empowering learners and valuing their experience creates a novel relationship between students and knowledge, and students will therefore gain social power when they understand the curriculum. This newfound social relationship between knowledge and curriculum, based on learners'

understanding of reality and reflection on their own experiences in learning centers, will further empower students to recreate their standing and power relation within the larger society (Kincheloe, 2005).

Community programming. Schools that embark on a holistic approach work in partnership with other agencies to best meet the needs of students both inside and outside schools. Effective schools coordinate and collaborate with other agencies to reinforce and support students' academic learning, enhance their language acquisition, and promote cultural integration. Particular support that refugee youth need includes counseling services, homework clubs, and various extracurricular activities to introduce the culture of the host country to the newcomers as well as to introduce the newcomers and their many potentials and gifts to the larger society.

Supporting foundations. Creating a welcoming atmosphere is not possible without dedication and acknowledgment from governing bodies and agencies. It is not difficult to outline a series of recommendations and strategies to be adopted into policy; however, to ensure the proper implementation of the policies to benefit all Canadians—both long-term residents and newcomers to the country—it is important that both federal and provincial governments recognize the need for more intensified support for the refugee population. The literature identified leadership and funding as the two pillars required for the effective implementation of policies and practices (Arnot & Pinson, 2005; Kanu, 2007; Lund, 2008; Ngo, 2009b; Rossiter & Rossiter, 2009; Rutter, 2006; Taylor & Sidhu, 2012). Given the recognition of the need to offer holistic support to the refugee population, governments need to provide agencies with the required funding for essential initiatives to ensure the proper integration of these newcomers into mainstream society. Creating a welcoming environment and inclusive and holistic programs in the face of the negative political and media presentation of refugees and asylum seekers requires exemplary leadership and advocacy skills. The literature stressed the importance of leaders' advocating for refugee youth and their social and human rights, supporting and taking the initiative in schoolwide programs, "sometimes guid[ing] and sometimes coerce[ing]" (Taylor & Sidhu, 2012, p. 49), and supporting teachers' initiatives to address the challenges that refugee youth face. Given the extensive needs of refugee youth, school leaders must form relationships with varying agencies not only to maintain and supplement the support that refugee youth receive within schools, but also to extend the support beyond the educational setting. Effective leaders require assistance from governmental and legislative bodies in the form of human and capital support to properly implement policies and programs.

CONCLUSION

Given the historical conception of refugees after the WWII, refugees have been and are the construction of policies, which are drafted locally and globally. With

the rapid rise in the number of refugees globally, the demand not just to protect refugees, but also to provide opportunities for them to rebuild is evident. In Alberta, given the current bleak statistics on the success of refugee youth in our educational institutions, regardless of which lens this issue is viewed through—social justice, economic, human rights, the duties and obligations of governments, or compassionate grounds—it is time to decolonize the educational policies and plan and implement a responsive policy that addresses the multifaceted needs of the refugee population. Refugee youth have a right to equal access to services in all social, educational, political, economic, and cultural spheres that are "squarely positioned within a framework of rights and social justice, and should reflect the principles of equality, inclusion and participation of all citizens" (Ngo, 2009b, p. 93). These concepts are the pillars of our society and are further enshrined in a variety of policies from provincial legislation to international frameworks; however, it is time to place more emphasis on policies that address social justice.

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17. VIRTUAL LEARNING ENVIRONMENTS' CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE PROCESSES OF DECOLONIALITY OF BEING, KNOWING AND KNOWLEDGE PRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION

The technologies associated with computer telecommunications have led to radical changes in society that are based on virtualization. A new revolution emerges, the digital revolution. This new revolution aims to break with the historical dichotomy of teaching and learning that separated the school reality from social reality, and proposes a new dimension in the teaching-learning relationship, that is the non-linearity for interactivity.

An innovative university that should also happen as a process of decoloniality, that is to say, a break in the dependence of Eurocentric cultural models and preconceived American models in order to create their own culture, can be facilitated through the use of Moodle. The writing exercise that establishes the reconstruction process of the human being itself, the wisdom and knowledge that builds new ways of thinking about realities, demands constant renewal by teachers.

This chapter aims at discussing and analyzing effective possibilities of space organization for teaching and learning with the support of virtual learning environments, considering that the authors are teachers working in the classroom with the use of Moodle and have made significant contributions and realize new requirements arising from this differentiated pedagogical mediation. It occurs both in relation to the provision of study materials and in the relation and interaction of monitoring and perception of student productions.

The reflections presented here are grounded in the perspective of building a relationship of autonomy and authorship, considering knowledge and knowledge production, as shared between teachers and students. Its reference is the decoloniality discussion about learning and knowledge, widely discussed by Latin American intellectuals, called Voices of the South.

NEW DIMENSIONS OF NON-LINEARITY FOR INTERACTIVITY

The challenge for Higher Education Institutions (HEI) is the wide use of resources in the production of new knowledge that is the main mission of the University. This

A. A. Abdi et al. (Eds.), Decolonizing Global Citizenship Education, 207–220.

challenge is a prerequisite for university teaching performance, having as a great ally virtual learning environments, similar to the Modular Object Oriented Dynamic Learning Environment (Moodle). The resources and opportunities arising, since the society is inserted in virtual social spaces of interaction, form a permanent and extensive network of learning.

In this sense, the premise lies on the existence of "a tendency to seek proposals that provide multiple interactions among participants and developing activities that encourage reflection and reconstruction of knowledge" (Prado, 2006, p. 116). The idea that technologies serve to dehumanize has already been addressed; what we see is a more democratic production, with more participation in production, since the old ghettos of knowledge production are being invaded.

We are not making an apology for trivializing, but for praising the greatest possibility of movement and democratization of knowledge, the approach proposed by the principle of Pedagogical Mediation. Prado (2006) and Santos (2003) present pedagogical mediation as a cooperative and interactive practice from the perspective of being together, which is especially possible with the support of virtual spaces, being constructed by the subjects in the process of authorship and co-authorship from constant re-creations of strategies during the development of a course. It is a process of interplay of materials and activities, founded on a process of interactivity.

The cooperative environment that is installed ensures that one is effectively able to learn from another. Spaces and interfaces allow the collective production of knowledge through various communication channels and can take place in a one to one, one to many, or many to many process. In addition, it is possible to appropriate resources that manage the various databases, with statistical control and monitoring of actions and information circulating in the environment. According to Demo (2001), "the smartest face of learning [is] the ability to handle non-linearity of reality […] learning depends heavily on the ability to search and prepare to hand to […] in the critical sense of listening attentively to reality" (p. 22) and networked learning made Possible by virtual learning environments acquires this characteristic of having a broader view of reality.

It is worth recalling Bakhtin and his concept of dialogicity, and Paulo Freire's (1996) concept of dialogue as knowledge exchange. "The role of the teacher is essential as a guide mainly because it provides a glimpse of the complex dialectics of the pedagogical relationship" (Demo, 2001 p. 25). In this sense, monitoring students is favored by the possibility of a broad and systematic look about the productions and interactions, from reviews and analysis in real time, synchronously and asynchronously. This allows convenience in launching and calculating average student marks, thereby decreasing the workload of the teacher and allowing teachers more time on other more productive activities of greater academic relevance. Through a detailed analysis, scrutiny of the movement established during the semester allows students to revisit the production and use it as research material for the improvement of teaching.

According to Meadow (2006), "there is usually a supremacy between these actions, for example, when the focus is centered on teaching, the mediation tends to emphasize the production of materials" (p. 116). Instead of this focus, when the emphasis is focused on learning, the mediation privileges interactions. In the forums organized with the support of Moodle, it is possible to effectively stimulate the individual production of knowledge and exchange of knowledge in a cooperative way, when the class is divided in groups.

Networking means more than sharing information and knowledge; it means sharing with the group their worldview, their emotions and aspirations. That is, we are much more sensitive as our linguistic choices denounce us, as it is evidenced by studies undertaken by those engaged in critical discourse analysis. In the socio-interactionist perspective, there is always the co-construction of meaning with others in interaction, as favored by collective work.

The development of this type of work requires the people involved to hear openly (without preconceptions) as well as having the humility to recognize their own limitations and the desire to overcome them. In virtual interaction, interpersonal relationships and affective are strongly evident. Therefore, attitudes must be loaded with values such as respect, reciprocity and trust so that the telematics network can rebuild itself as a network of human learning (Prado, 2006, p. 121).

Although we have no illusion that the network concept applies fully to the relations of the classroom, we understand that the roles occupied in the network are not always in a linear fashion with the same levels of power interpellation and production. Remember the warning made by Bourdieu (1992) in "The economy of symbolic exchanges" about the constant struggle for the already occupied places of discourse in society and Foucault (2012) in the *Order of discourse* about the risks of interdiction; therefore, speech suffers. The discussion about the value, the ability to be recognized and the status given to every speech within society helps to establish the importance of analyzing the relevance of certain cultural artifacts in determining the roles assumed by individuals. Remember the principle that the narration itself is a political act; in Foucault (1992), the author proposes questions from the questions: how can the relationship constitute a political exercise? What does culture of oneself has to do with the analysis of public and private spheres today? The author also points out that despite the ban, there is always the possibility for resistance and the creation of other forms of expression that do not submit themselves to silencing.

The teacher is faced with other kinds of student needs, not restricted to cognitive issues, but also in relation to the handling abilities of technological tools. According to Meadow (2006), teachers must be sensitive to the needs of virtual students, as this will give teachers the opportunity to modify their pedagogies and lesson plans in order to better help students achieve their educational goals.

As for the teachers, when it comes to the use of technology for educational purposes, it is clear that many of them offer resistance and even ignorance. They cannot imagine the advantages that they can get by appropriating these resources.

The Reconstruction Program of Educational Practice (PRPD/UCB) offers courses and many vacancies are left idle for several reasons, including the lack of interest about technologies by teachers. Prejudice is another factor because teachers think engaging in such a course is not integral to their learning due to their belief that it is about technicism,[1] a philosophy which has an extremely controversial history within the Brazilian education system.

Students show consistent proficiency in the use of technologies, both individually and when it comes to matters of personal interest. However, when asked to use the tools to support classes, they offer resistance, thus giving the impression that they consider these tools as *electronic toys* and only as entertainment and not as a possibility to assist them in their student tasks. The results of the searches on the internet, for example, are often used for plagiarism of papers in the illusion that they will be convincing the teacher the text is their own, and worst, betting that the teachers do not read the papers required for assessment.

> It is important to emphasize that having access to information does not mean having access to knowledge and to educational opportunities. Students and some teachers need to understand that knowledge production is a much more complex action, and at certain moments, it happens from the interaction between people and the environment. (Brandini & Bresciani Filho, 2004, p. 122)

On the other hand, the intervention of the teacher should be careful to neither undermine the dynamic of the group, nor the discovery process of the students. In the process of interaction between them, the exchange of ideas takes place, favoring insights and questions that may indicate new directions to be explored.

This tendency to open up to new subjects of study requires the teacher an attitude of flexibility and commitment to contemplate unusual issues, arising from interactions with the purposes of the course. Flexibility should not be seen in the perspective of Toyotism, as Kuenzer's (2000) criticism, which supports the flexible accumulation i.e., flexibility of work processes, markets, products and patterns of consumption, requiring new forms of disciplining the workforce, different from Fordism and Taylorism which are sustained by the rigid disciplining of workers supported propaedeuticly and professional schools preparing a workforce suited to the requirements of companies.

What spreads is a need for general training, combining theory and practice that will be obtained by integrating the school and the workplace. In this perspective, the mediation and intervention must constantly introduce new issues for discussion, causing the deepening and broadening of views and the exchange of knowledge, experiences and perceptions. Student learning experiences should integrate the global, the local and particular knowledges. Seeking information and interacting with the ideas of authors who are physically distant decreases the difficulty of accessing library materials previously inaccessible through portals in the public domain.

UNIVERSITY INNOVATION AND THE DECOLONIALITY PROCESS

With the contemporary evolution of computers, and as a consequence of telematic networks, and with an explosion of virtual communities, better known as social networks, there is a permanent movement to increase the possibilities of access to information (Brandini & Bresciani Filho, 2004). According to Demo (2001), the changes that are occurring in the use of technologies bring the discussion back to the role of education as more than to inform, but to form. This process makes the subject also responsible for their own knowledge and is not limited to reproduction, but interferes with both the present and past and with the fulfillment of the political function of changing oneself, the others and the environment as a permanent and dynamic relationship of reconstruction.

The recent Brazilian public policies for inclusion allowed the admission of students who very recently were not allowed to even imagine entering a university, mainly due to their socioeconomic status. This *new* (Brito, 2008) student requires more care, especially those who are the beneficiaries of the University for All Program (PROUNI) and other social programs offered by institutions of higher education for there is a cultural mismatch trajectory in terms of the ideal student expected by universities, as historically in Brazil, the children of the elite took the spaces in the university (Scardua & Scholze, 2012).

Boaventura de Sousa Santos proposes the concept of abyssal thinking to refer to the geographic, cultural and economic conditions in which

> the division is such that the other side of the line vanishes as reality becomes non-existent and is even produced as non-existent […]. Everything that is produced as non-existent is radically excluded because it lies beyond the realm of what the accepted conception of inclusion considers to be the Other. (Santos, 2010, p. 32)

This perception can also be applied to education, when the teacher's knowledge is considered superior, students' knowledge cannot develop when they are not asked to think together. The risk from the use of technology is from replicating what happens in classrooms, through models supported in video conferences and virtual classes, in which knowledge is selected by the teacher and simply presented in a one-way street, without provocation or counterpoints by students.

In addition to that, the so-called *popular*, lay knowledge, produced outside the institutions legitimated by power, is disqualified and ignored by the school at all levels, from elementary school to higher education. The knowledge produced outside these instances receives adjectives that qualifies it as beliefs, opinions, magic, idolatry, intuitive, subjective, and must be subjected to scientific inquiry to be accepted and framed in scientific criteria for *truth*.

Another type of relationship can be established by looking at the other as the possibility of protagonism and authorship. And the space of the classroom, whether

virtual or face to face, is a possible space for the establishment of a productive relationship where the students, if seen as knowledgeable, are welcome to bring their reflective contributions to the group and, both individually as well as collectively, feel challenged to create and propose new solutions to the problems they have had in their study area, reversing the logic of coloniality that presupposes the invisibility of the Other, giving visibility to other ways of thinking and questioning reality.

The Use of Moodle and Writing Exercises

Moodle is a virtual learning environment, characterized by Silva (2003) as a living organization, ample space and fruitful signification, where humans and technical objects interact in a complex process that organizes itself in its dialogical network connections where humans and technical objects interact, thereby boosting learning, re-framing knowledge, allowing authorship, as well as building and sharing knowledge. This is a perspective that escapes the technicality aspect previously mentioned, as related to the design of academic curricula communication, and political, economic and cultural integration touched upon in the various spaces currently available in digital form and in an open, flexible, synchronous and asynchronous way that would enable a variety of practices, pedagogies and communications. It can also be interactive, instructional and cooperative or the combination of several such factors.

Acording to Okada (2003), the organization of a viable space for teaching and learning with the support of Moodle considers the following characteristics and actions of the actors involved:

a. Provide content that add intertextuality and connections to other web sites or documents; intratextuality and connections to the same document; multivocality by adding a multiplicity of viewpoints; navigability which ensures a simple environment and easy access to transparency of information; mix for the integration of various languages: sounds, text, static and dynamic images, animations, simulations, graphics, maps, multimedia, integration of various media supports. This allows for the production of interesting materials that makes classes dynamic and more enjoyable; and expands access to knowledge produced in different parts of the world and in real time, wherein it becomes possible to monitor the processes in development.
b. Foster synchronous interactive communication, real-time communication and asynchronous communication at any time – sender and receiver need not be at the same communicative time.
c. Create research activities that encourage the construction of knowledge from problem situations, where the subject can contextualize local and global issues of their cultural universe.

d. Create ambiance for formative assessment, where the knowledge to be constructed in a communicative process of negotiations, where decision-making is a constant practice for (re)signification of the authorship and co-authorship process. Changes take place very fast and shall be accompanied by the demands of the market, updated and alert to the risk of becoming obsolete knowledge.
e. Provide and encourage artistic and cultural connections.

Moodle allows a permanent dialogue between the thought of the teacher with the student and dialogue with authors and texts that circulate, preventing the colonizer character of thought as many truths are put into discussion in an ongoing and constant co-creation and authoring.

The principle of emancipation consists of the three logics of rationality logics: aesthetic-expressive rationality of the arts and literature, the cognitive-instrumental rationality of science and technology and the moral-ethical practices of the law (Santos, 2000). That is what should be considered in pedagogical interactions.

Writing, as a permanent exercise, addresses different topics of current interest, provokes reflections on the contemporary concepts considered essential for those who enter higher education, brings challenges such as increasing student competence in the production of texts, and guarantees clear exposition, progression of ideas, proximity to cultural norms, and proximity to academic text and/or scientific use of the rules of scientific writing (Scardua & Scholze, 2012). Using Moodle allows agility production wherein student and teacher provide opportunities for feedback, ensuring that a dynamic process is installed. The challenge is to use the tool for academic purposes since most students are familiar with it.

Foucault (1994) states that the act of writing should change ourselves so that we no longer think the same way we did previously. It is necessary to understand that the meanings of discourses (texts) are constructed both in subjective relation of the subject to himself, as the intersubjective subject with other subjects – mit-sein (Heidegger, 1967) or in dialogism (Bakhtin, 1995). Therefore, it is necessary that relationships in the group are friendly and cooperative; there is respect for the student history, understanding that throughout his student life he was asked to be quiet.

It is necessary to create meaningful strategies that make sense and do not promote self-exclusion resulting from feelings of inadequacy or anticipated certainty of failure that has the power to freeze the action. The teacher has the responsibility to assist the student in this new universe. The challenge proposed is in constructing a new narrative through the certainty of the ability to achieve a new level of relationship with knowledge (Scardua & Scholze, 2012).

The teacher's role is to launch questions and provocations (Demo, 2001, p. 31), creating an environment favorable to reflection and to small displacements that may cause the destabilization of the rooted certainties and beliefs, thus allowing for the expansion of the visions on the truths and statements taken as permanent.

Being, Knowing and Knowledge

The risk appears when teachers are formed within Eurocentric standards and place themselves in relation to ownership of knowledge, not believing in the possibility of the student, not creating situations favorable to the production of knowledge for the student. At this time, this feeling comes from the concept – that is being called Eurocentrism – that results in the conception of humanity according to which the population of the world was different in lower and higher, rational and irrational, primitive and civilized, modern and traditional. People educated in this hegemony naturalize these conceptions and individual experiences of seeing themselves as colonized individuals and act subjectively. They immobilize and naturalize the idea of cognitive disability.

On the other hand, when students from underprivileged social classes are introduced to the University and have access to activities that require autonomy, critical thinking, and authorship is broken. It is understandable that there is resistance. However, if the practice of oral and written reflection is not explored, students are denied a safe way to their intellectual autonomy (Scardua & Scholze, 2012).

The intention is that the work contributes to the integral formation of the students; this increases their chances of success in academic life and decreases dropout rates resulting from self-exclusion in the face of disbelief with the possibility of overcoming the challenges of this natural formation stage. Giving students opportunities to feel welcomed and supported in the face of difficulties and confident in the possibility of overcoming them better prepares them to move forward, always accepting new challenges.

The discussion about the need for innovation in the University, not only in Brazil, but in Latin America, as well, revolves around the need to reduce inequalities, a need to implement mobility and the expansion of regional access (internalization of the offerings of higher education), the need for implementation of a new paradigm and new educational models, and more sensitivity to cultural and linguistic differences. Against the understanding of knowledge construction only in the unidirectional center/periphery perspective (sustained by the Eurocentric conception) and the perception of a universal knowledge lies the need to create a critical mass from the university, which would aid in reclaiming social credibility by widening the voice of the University.

This movement toward protagonism – wherein youth, for example, are the chief actors in education and not merely objects upon whom curricula is imparted – follows in the wake of what has been termed as voices from the south (Santos, 2010) with regards to perspective of decoloniality of knowledge that aim to contribute to the decoloniality of power and being (Maldonado-Torres, 2010), thus going beyond colonized thinking that has historically trapped many Latin American intellectuals.

The protagonism of Latin America will occur when each country abandons the colonized identity, believing in the value of the production of knowledge. It will

be the *rematch*, as Milton Santos (2001) suggested, the rematch of South against North. This is a break with Eurocentrism and the supremacy of the United States and Europe, and places Latin America on the world stage, not as culturally and economically dependent but as leaders (Brandão & Scholze, 2013).

The concern with the access and retention of students is also linked to their skills in using technologies, such as the use of Moodle. From the first day of class, it is important to establish this relationship showing that it is a means of democratizing access that will bring benefits to them. These mechanisms will allow the ghost postponed elimination, conceptually developed by Freitas (1991), that identifies one of the situations generated in the exclusion of the underprivileged classes in the school, "the concept referred to the retention of underprivileged students in these schools for some time, thereby delaying their removal and performing it in another more opportune time" (Freitas, 2007, p. 972).

This process is cruel in two senses because, while feeding the dream of the possibility, it charges the student himself for his failure, removing him from the time perspective of the university degree. Although the author is analyzing the process of evaluating the elementary school, this perverse logic can be observed in different educational levels and different movements that occur in the school, even when it does not favor access to technologies that, in theory, would be more democratic than the way we have to offer students access to knowledge currently. At the university, it is mandatory that this access is implemented, because this level of education is a condition for students' autonomy.

The flexibility promoted by globalization can show worrying results, requiring teachers and students to develop new skills, encouraging them to adapt to "changing circumstances, to produce in changing situations, replacing customary procedures (sometimes repetitive, sometimes successful) by *new* and always *fertile* ways to promote teaching. A teacher willing to take risks and invest in personal updating is what is necessary" (Kramer & Moreira, 2007, p. 1041).

Underlying this movement, concepts such as quality, efficiency, effectiveness, productivity, competitiveness, and quality of education within the standards of contemporary models of corporations are at stake. In Kramer and Moreira's (2007) perspective, "The school is designed as business; intelligence is reduced to an instrument for achieving a given order, and the curriculum is restricted to knowledge and employable skills in the corporate sector" (p. 1041). With this model, we run the risk of the homogenization of local cultures that insist on persisting and creating friction and tension.

Reconstructive and political learning (Demo, 2001) is fundamentally an interpretive phenomenon, being that the subject's task to make sense of it through reflection, i.e., to construct knowledge. In this process, creativity also has a fundamental role. It is this process that makes us the subject of our own knowledge, not limited to reproduce but to interfere with reality and history, thus fulfilling the objectives of political change, to change others and the environment in a permanent relationship and dynamic reconstruction.

Educational technologies are at risk of being seen only as elements that would contribute to the acceleration of these disputes. However, if looked at as possibilities of revanchism from the underprivileged (as promulgated by Milton Santos, 2001), promoters of other ways of thinking about the historical and social relations, in which the coexistence of different ethnic groups and nations with different cultural and cognitive characteristics may be appropriate and also distributed, may contribute towards the consolidation of the information society with democratic characteristics and a production of knowledge that is not hegemonic. The circulation of different languages, ethnicities and cultures and the preservation and deepening of varied traditions of knowledge must be able to occur under favorable discursive and contextual conditions.

Teacher's Renewal

Although it is possible to notice an increasing commitment of the government regarding the training of teachers, it is important to highlight that most of the undergraduate courses and enrollment, as well as elementary teacher training in Brazil is owned by the private sector (Barreto & Gatti, 2009). In this sense, there are two challenges to be faced: to circumvent the damage caused by basic education of poor quality, on the one hand, and educating teachers in order to break the vicious circle that maintains this status quo, on the other (Scardua & Scholze, 2012).

The use of possible features with new technologies has become complex, sometimes bringing fear and worry to the academic environment, because participating in this reality means having the perspective of forming open-minded citizens, aware and able to make decisions, and work as a team. These citizens must be educated in how to learn and use technologies for searching, selecting, analyzing, and articulating information (Brandini, Costa, & Lopes, 2010). The introduction of the concept of reconstructive learning presents itself as a challenge to students and teachers as the reconstruction of knowledge itself (Demo, 2001, p. 10) with formal and political qualities. When the term policy is linked to learning, it presupposes the activity of the subject that occupies its own space and that turns the event into an opportunity for understanding that knowledge and the subject are closely linked.

The ability to deal with the limitations and challenges in a continuous motion always starts by learning about the non-linearity of reality, the hypertextuality of reading and how to access information, without discarding the conflict of ideas and positions that is a necessary condition to advance. Students come to the course with new demands and new training requirements for media interaction, which asks teachers to take differentiated actions in line with these requirements and demands which can arouse profound reflections on teachers about their roles, actions and attitudes that may promote learning and ensure the process of knowledge construction in students. The teacher's role focuses, according to Perrenoud (2000), on "the creation, management and regulation of learning situations" (p. 139).

According to the concept of reconstructivism, we learn from what we have learned, we know what we already knew; therefore, according to the author (Demo, 2001), we reconstruct knowledge rather than build it. In this sense, the teacher needs to take a reflective stance and investigative constituents on various aspects of teaching and learning, so that it is possible to strategize the pedagogical mediation that is meaningful to student learning. In the virtual context, it is clear that the strategy of pedagogical mediation is relational, which also requires that teacher competencies focus on knowledge management and the management of pedagogical practice.

In relation to issues of cultural differences, it is necessary to look favorably on the relationship between teacher and student – the teacher is expected to be sensitive to the demonstrations of students, pay attention to their cultural backgrounds, recognize differences of wealth, as well as the idiosyncrasies, with the possibility of intervention, that are respectful in such a way that contributions can be brought and circulated within the group. These different cultural events are favored in this context as "information is the main ingredient of our social organization, and the flow of messages and images between networks constitute the basic thread of our social structure" (Castells, 1999, p. 505).

When scanned, the information is reproduced, shared, modified and is updated on different interfaces. You can scan sounds, images, graphics, text (a plethora of information), giving a productive character to student's contributions. The teacher's role is to guarantee that the activity is aimed at the realization of the objectives proposed, but never in a closed form that prevents content from being included in the materials to be discussed. This challenge is embodied by the student who becomes more familiar with the tools and can, then, produce better quality work. Those who face the most difficulty in meeting these objectives can be supported by peers and teachers. Cooperative work is most likely to be developed through technological tools enabling each student to bring their contribution.

It is important to ensure the connectedness among the following: teacher and student production, revision, editing and constant feedback from the teacher and from colleagues. Teachers and students can make use of the materials available on the Internet, such as textual corrections through text editors, also available online, as well as dictionaries and translators to assist in the review and to complement the production. Interactions established on the virtual environment have shown the importance of quality, considering aspects related to new forms of relationships, communication and learning. Safety, acceptance and companionship by the teacher are aspects that must be cultivated in order to ensure effective participation of the students. In this context, the teacher has the role of observing, articulating, intervening and guiding the student, aligning these functions to the possibilities of educational technology, especially virtual learning environments. This is not a result of replacing resources but due to a new attitude to the process of knowledge production, through differentiated pedagogical mediation.

FINAL REMARKS

We are witnessing a technological revolution that usually affects the exchange of information, proposing new social challenges for teaching and learning both in general and in particular. Teachers still do not know how to cope in the classroom with the use of Tablets, Smartphones and other technological resources that appear daily. On the other hand, students tend to use these resources to escape the classroom and remain connected with the outside world. It is necessary to urgently act to integrate the outside world with the world of the classroom; through the effective inclusion of these features, students can become well assimilated through a pedagogical dynamic planned by the teacher.

The permanent observation made in the process of student learning, and to communicate is essential for the teacher to intervene and significantly guide their learning. The intervention can be carried out directly, clarifying the confusing information and concepts exploited in a wrong way, and indirectly, through the creation of different learning situations that can instigate the student to make new relationships with knowledge and their reconstructions. These actions are only possible when teachers and students take part in knowledge production, regardless of the resource/medium used.

In a perspective of caring for others, we deconstruct the idea of colonizer X and the colonized. The "humanized" teacher who sees the student as someone with potential who can and should work assumes the dialogical approach postulated by Freire (1996) wherein careful language, hosting doubts and questions, and developing an approach that respects all opinions and points of view are necessary. Questioning, yes, but not deconstructing the knowledge of each other and bringing the issues that leads students to reflect and expand on their way of seeing colleagues, cultures, and truth, (be them scientific, religious, political, social) is integral.

Working from the perspective of developing learner subject autonomy, as proposed by Paulo Freire (1996) in his work as a whole, and most notably in the book *The Pedagogy of Autonomy,* allows for abandoning the abysmal posture (Santos, 2010) when the other is not to be treated as a human being lacking knowledge. It is in this sense that new work and observations should be conducted and aimed at the possibility of interacting with different fields of knowledge and languages. However, combining science with art and recovering the holistic view in an Ecology of Knowledge is important (Santos, 2010). Different languages interacting simultaneously allows for a more complete view of the possibilities of teacher intervention, as expanded through the help of technological resources.

NOTE

[1] Technicism is a Brazilian educational term most commonly used in educational contexts pejoratively, to refer to learning or success defined by the mechanistic achievement of targets which reduces the process of education to teaching through techniques and does not focus on obtaining fuller knowledge or deeper understanding.

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18. GLOBAL CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION OTHERWISE

Pedagogical and Theoretical Insights

CONUNDRUMS OF EDUCATIONAL PRACTICE

In 1998, after 8 years as a K-12 teacher in Brazil, I left the classroom to become a project coordinator at a British Council office in the State of Parana. My first job was to coordinate a program aiming to connect Brazilian and British State-funded schools for partnerships involving mutual visits (of teachers) around projects that should be 1) sustainable in the long term; 2) of mutual learning; and 3) focused on global citizenship. This followed a government initiative to get every school in the UK linked to a school in a *developing country*. My first task was to participate in a school principals' conference in the UK promoting the program and consulting with my *stakeholders* in that country.

There was a great deal of interest in Brazil and I had the opportunity to ask many principals why they would like to link their schools with a Brazilian school and what they would like to see (*educationally*) happening in the partnership. The general response was that they wanted a school *out-in-the-sticks* (preferably in the middle of the Amazon forest and without running water) in order to teach students in the UK *how lucky they were* (so that they could appreciate their privilege) and give these students a sense of agency and achievement based on *making a difference to unfortunate others*. When I asked what they thought this would mean (*educationally*) for Brazilian teachers and schools, the overwhelming response was: "Do not worry! We will send poor schools in Brazil (old) books, computers, stationary and (used) shoes/clothes."

I knew intuitively something was wrong, but I did not have the language at the time to name the problem. My next task was to do the same with principals and teachers at a conference in Brazil. There was again, a great deal of interest in the program, and I asked the same questions (honestly, but naively, hoping my colleagues would help me articulate what the problem I encountered in the UK was): why do you want to link your school with a school in the UK and what do you want to see (*educationally*) happening in the partnership? The response was both surprising and not: "We would like to connect our schools to schools in the *developed world* to teach our children what progress looks like, what students here should aspire for."

A. A. Abdi et al. (Eds.), Decolonizing Global Citizenship Education, 221–229.

When I asked if they saw any problem with that statement the response was: "Yes, our schools are under-funded. They could share their resources by sending us (old) books and computers too."

I was left in a very difficult position. My *stakeholders* agreed with each other, the success of the program seemed secure: the partnerships could be sustainable, they were learning from each other what they wanted to learn, their (thin/soft) common notion of global citizenship is the one upheld by most educators and institutions worldwide. As a project coordinator, my work was easy. As an educator, though, something kept me awake at night. The word *educationally* (which I emphasized above) demands a very different kind of responsibility than the responsibility of implementing a project.

THE MODERN/COLONIAL GLOBAL IMAGINARY: A DIVIDED HUMANITY

Since then, the task of naming and addressing this problem has become central to my work (see Andreotti, 2006, 2011a, 2011b). I have focused my research efforts on trying to articulate how and why humanity has been divided between those who are perceived to be leading progress, development and human evolution; and those who are perceived to be lagging behind. I have recently started to articulate this problem as the result of the violent dissemination of a dominant modern/colonial global imaginary based on a single story of progress, development and human evolution that ascribes differentiated value to cultures/countries that are perceived to be *behind* in history and time and cultures/countries perceived to be *ahead*. Many scholars have examined this educational phenomenon (see for example Willinsky, 1998; Eriksson Baaz, 2005; Heron, 2007; McEwan, 2009; Bryan, 2008; Andreotti, 2011a; Shultz, 2007; Abdi & Shultz, 2008; Tallon, 2012 among others) and have been perplexed by its power to capture our collective imagination and desires in ways that are extremely difficult to identify, let alone interrupt.

This single story equates economic development with knowledge of universal worth, conceptualises progress as advances in science and technology, and sees those who possess knowledge, science and technology as global leaders who can fix the problems of those who lack these traits (see for example Spivak, 2004; Jefferess, 2008; Andreotti, 2011). Therefore, in this modern/colonial global imaginary, humanity is divided between those who perceive themselves as knowledge holders, hard workers, world-problem solvers, rights dispensers, global leaders; and those who are perceived to be (and often *perceive their cultures* as) lacking knowledge, laid back, problem creators, aid dependent and global followers in their journey towards the undisputed goal of development. I have been interested in examining how this mythology has been constructed, sustained, normalized, and naturalized through education, why we have held to these constructs for so long despite the observable violence that they create, and whether we can re-orient education away from these tendencies (see for example Andreotti, 2006, 2011, 2014a).

In my educational practice, I find it easier to demonstrate the systemic production of inequalities through a visual narrative inspired by the work of Gayatri C. Spivak. I use a modified version of Jens Galshiot's sculpture of *Justitia – The Western Goddess of Justice* to offer a glimpse of her critique. In Galshiot's sculpture, a very heavy white woman is being carried by a skinny black man. She has her eyes closed and is carrying a scale (representing justice) in one hand and a staff in another. She is saying: "I'm sitting on the back of a man. He is sinking under the burden. I would do anything to help him. Except stepping down from his back". I have re-drawn the scene to invert gender relations as a picture of a gagged black woman carrying a blindfolded heavy white man holding the scales and saying the same as the woman in the sculpture: "I will do anything to help you except what would really change the historical conditions of our relationship" (Andreotti, 2014b).

When I present this to my students, I ask if they can count and name the injustices in the scene – both immediate injustices and injustices by implication. For example, the division of labour could be traced back to violent colonial/imperial processes involving expansionist control of lands and exploitative accumulation of wealth grounded on racialized notions of cultural supremacy and exceptionalism. Carrying the scales could represent the onto-epistemic violence of the *worldling of the world as West* (i.e., the definition of what is meant by justice and the control of institutions that deliver it). The blindfold and the promise of help as long as nothing changes makes visible the connection between denials, desires and fantasies, where those enabled to dispense *help* (education, development, health, credit, rights, and democracy) project themselves onto the world as benevolent agents of justice. I use the gagging of the subaltern woman to talk about Spivak's essay *Can the subaltern speak?*, in relation to two key questions: *What are those over-socialized in cultural supremacy able to (and what do they want to) hear?;* and *Can the subaltern be a self-transparent autonomous speaker?* I also use the image to problematize the tendency to see the *Third World* as a repository of data for First World students to write papers about (and become *experts* of).

NORTH-SOUTH ENGAGEMENTS

The relationship between the white man and the non-white woman in the picture mirrors historical patterns of international engagements that are extremely challenging to communicate, such as the often unacknowledged connections between knowledge production, discursive enunciations, and denial of complicity in harm. In response to the need to identify harmful tendencies in international engagements and representations, I have created a checklist of seven historical colonial patterns that forms the acronym *HEADS UP*, describing representations and engagements that are

1. Hegemonic (justifying superiority and exceptionalism)
2. Ethnocentric (projecting one view, one *forward*, one idea of development, as universal)

3. Ahistorical (forgetting historical legacies and complicities)
4. Depoliticized (disregarding power inequalities and ideological roots of analyses and proposals)
5. Self-congratulatory and self-serving (oriented towards self-affirmation/CV building)
6. (offering) Un-complicated solutions (offering easy solutions that do not require systemic change)
7. Paternalism (seeking affirmation of superiority through the provision of help) (Andreotti, 2012a, p. 2)

I have also created a second list to complexify our attempts to address these tendencies. This second list asks how we can address:

1. hegemony without creating new hegemonies through our own forms of resistance?
2. ethnocentrism without falling into absolute relativism and forms of essentialism and anti-essentialism that reify elitism?
3. ahistoricism without fixing a single perspective of history to simply reverse hierarchies and without being caught in a self-sustaining narrative of vilification and victimisation?
4. depoliticization without high-jacking political agendas for self-serving ends and without engaging in self-empowering critical exercises of generalisation, homogenisation and dismissal of antagonistic positions?
5. self-congratulatory tendencies without crushing generosity and altruism?
6. people's tendency to want simplistic solutions without producing paralysis and hopelessness?
7. paternalism without closing opportunities for short-term redistribution? (Andreotti, 2012b)

Working in this area has shown me that every *solution* I find to a problem generates other problems that could not be predicted from the outset. I am now convinced that undoing the legacy of the single story will require an attitude of permanent vigilance and compassion. As we realize our wider complicity and vested interests in social hierarchies and principles of separability, the auto-pilot position is to reproduce these same patterns precisely while declaring our innocence or transformation. Maybe it is only when we realize the circularity of our responses that other possibilities (for different mistakes) may open up. Until we learn this lesson, we will keep making the same mistakes we have made before.

IS KNOWLEDGE ENOUGH?

Wrestling with these ideas for the past 17 years has led me to question whether knowledge is enough to change how people imagine themselves, their relationships with each other and with the world at large. The modern/colonial global imaginary is extremely powerful and works as an invisible frame that structures specific

configurations of cognition, affect, embodiment, imagination, and aspiration. For those of us over-socialized within it, the imaginary is normal, natural and unlimited in its capacity to apprehend reality. It defines what is intelligible, the range of questions that can be formulated, and the appropriateness of responses: what is possible to think and to identify with. The modern/colonial global imaginary consecrates its *shine* (of seamless progress, heroic human agency and evolution as wealth accumulation) while denying its necessary shadow (of violent dispossession, destitution, extraction and genocide) (Mignolo, 2011; Andreotti, 2012a). In other words, for *us* to think of ourselves as more knowledgeable, educated, ingenious, sanitary and evolved dispensers of rights, schooling and democracy, we have inevitably needed others who embody the opposite characteristics (see also Bhabha, 1994). The potential equality of the Other as well as the awareness of our dependency and complicity in their material impoverishment significantly threatens our self-image and perceived (pleasurable) entitlements to intervene in the world as *change makers*. This constitutive disavowal (foreclosure) of complicity in historical (colonial) and on-going harm is one of the most difficult aspects to be addressed in international education.

Exposing the production of these relational hierarchical dichotomies is not enough to change them because our attachments to these hierarchies are not only cognitive or conscious. Drawing on psychoanalysis, Kapoor (2014) outlines how we are *libidinally bound* to the pleasures of this modern/colonial global imaginary and its by-products (e.g., nationalism, exceptionalism, consumerism, materialism, narcissism) as we enjoy the (false) sense of stability, fulfilment and satisfaction that they provide (e.g., the sense of belonging, community, togetherness, prestige, heroism, and pride). Kapoor (2014) reminds us that our unconscious desires and (humanitarian) fantasies circumscribe the ways we think and act: we do not necessarily know our vested interests in the global imaginary, global citizenship and/or international education.

Gayatri Spivak's earlier work has also been particularly enabling in giving me the language to talk about these issues in educational contexts. Her elaborate examination of unequal global relations emphasizes the importance of complexifying analyses, exposing paradoxes, problematizing benevolence, uncovering our investments and addressing the constitutive denial of (our own) complicity in systemic harm (see for example Spivak, 2004; Kapoor, 2004; Andreotti, 2007; Andreotti, 2014a). By focusing on foreclosures rather than knowledge deficits that can be addressed with more information, Spivak problematizes the idea that by imparting knowledge we can change the way people behave. For Spivak, colonial modernity has conditioned us to desire things that reproduce systemic harm. It is only when we interrupt our satisfaction with these desires that we may be able to change how we feel and relate to the world. More knowledge (of what to do, for example) does not necessarily change the allocation of desire, but identifying desires can help de-mystify the fantasies behind them and mobilize desires in alternative directions to open up possibilities previously unintelligible to the invested self. In this sense, she conceptualizes

education as "an uncoercive re-arrangement of desires" (Spivak, 2004, p. 526) that aims to generate "an ethical imperative towards the Other [of Western humanism], *before will*" (p. 535).

In order to illustrate what she argues in practice, I usually propose a problem solving exercise, which is the following:

> You are the teacher of Narcissus. Narcissus transforms into a mirror everything you show him. Your task as a teacher is to find a way to show Narcissus what he is doing so that so that he can relate to a world beyond himself. How do you do that? Most importantly, as you perform this exercise and start to unpack the layers of representations within it, your task is also to observe yourself respond to this task – you need to hold before you any affect (e.g., joy, frustration, etc.) that is expressed in your body (rather than have the affect hold you). These affects are expressions of your conditioned (and consciously disavowed) desires that the exercise intends to put on the table.

As people move the focus beyond trying to provide solutions and start to see Narcissus as an image of themselves, they tend to get frustrated with the impossibility of the task. This is the point where some start to realize how our analyses of problems are already subordinated to our hopes for solutions, our desires for betterment, progress, knowledge, innocence, entitlement and futurity. People want to see themselves in a positive light in the mirror and this quest for satisfaction severely restricts their perception and what is possible to happen. In other words, the exercise tries to show that it is precisely by confronting the impossibility of our desire for changing the world without changing ourselves (by interrupting our satisfaction with pleasurable desires), that lies a possibility for change that can challenge the modern/colonial imaginary.

In my recent work in this area, I have used a strategic distinction between political and existential spheres of existence that has been extremely useful (see Ahenakew, Andreotti, Cooper, & Hireme, 2014). The political sphere is marked by socially and historically constructed scripts of identity and institutions, while the existential sphere operates beyond these scripts. In the political sphere, our relationships to each other are mediated by knowledge, identity and cognitive understandings. In the existential sphere, we connect to each other through an ineffable and visceral pull that centers our interdependence and that commands inter-entity responsibilities, before individual will (Spivak, 2004). The educational task lies at the interface of both spheres: how do we address the modern tendency to either over-determine the world, or to withdraw from it (Biesta, 2014)? How can we disarm and de-center ourselves and displace our desires and cognitive obsessions to wake up and grow up to face a plural, undefined, wonderful and terrifying world which inevitably brings both pain and joy, without turning our back to the violences we have so far inflicted upon it? How can we think about global citizenship education with/out constructs like the nation state, the market, modern subjectivities and modern educational institutions? What does global citizenship education look like for those enchanted

with modernity and invested in its continuation? What does it look like for those disenchanted with it and already looking for alternatives?

UP THE RIVER WORK

I would like to finish this chapter with a visual narrative that speaks to the pressure to communicate critical analyses quickly and with precision. I have often encountered resistance coming from those advocating the speedy support for the (more urgent) immediate needs of people who are affected by poverty or injustice. In this context, critiques that problematize the benevolence of those trying to help are perceived as elitist, irrelevant and paralysing. I use this visual narrative in my response to this assertion to show the importance of deep reflection and coordinated efforts in any form of intervention/ activism. The visual narrative involves a group of people who see many young children drowning in a river with a strong current. Their first impulse would probably be to try to save them or to call for help. But what if they looked up the river and saw many boats throwing the children in the water and these boats were multiplying by the minute? How many different tasks would be necessary to stop the boats and prevent this from happening again? There are at least four inter-related tasks: (1) rescuing the children in the water, (2) stopping the boats from throwing the children in the water, (3) going to the villages of the boat crew to understand why this is happening in the first place, and (4) collecting the bodies of those who have died to grieve and raise awareness of what has happened. In deciding what to do, people would need to remember that some rescuing techniques may not work in the conditions of the river, and that some strategies to stop the boats may invite or fuel even more boats to join the fleet. They may even realize that they are actually in one of the boats, throwing children in the river with one hand and trying to rescue some of them back with the other hand.

I propose that education should help people in the task of learning to 'go up the river' to the roots of the problem, so that the emergency strategies down the river can be better informed in the hope that one day no more boats will throw children in the water. Going up the river work, while rescuing children in the river, involves asking essential, difficult and often disturbing begged questions that may implicate rescuers in the reproduction of harm. In the context of global citizenship education in Canada, questions could include: Why does it seem natural for us (and for people in other places) to believe that people in poorer countries need the help of Canadians? What ideals of knowledge and society are disseminated in these encounters if assumptions are left un-problematized? How is the implication of Canada and Canadians in unjust political and economic practices rendered visible or invisible in global citizenship initiatives? How is Canadian benevolence framed in the narratives of global citizenship (and what does it say about Canadian culture)? How is Canadian international benevolence mobilized in ways that deflect attention from (and responsibility for) local injustices that reproduce *here* similar violences, poverty and suffering to those experienced elsewhere? What are the implications

of incorporating global citizenship into universities' corporate brands? How is the practice of global citizenship supporting or suppressing deeper education about global issues, and ethical solidarities with dissenting communities locally and globally? What global imaginaries and ideas of development are mobilized in global citizenship initiatives? How can education become a space for conversation where, together with our students, we can examine our desires for progress, innocence and futurity and our cravings for certainty, comfort and control? How can we secure spaces for grown up conversations in global citizenship education beyond fears of confronting (white) privilege and (Canadian) exceptionalism or the wish for a quick exit/redemption from implication in harm? (see also Andreotti, 2014c; Andreotti & Pashby, 2013; Tallon & McGregor, 2014).

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