Discourses of global citizenship education: The influence of the global middle-classes

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Abstract

This chapter examines the intersections between a growing 'global middle class', their emplacement within national education systems and subsequent changes within provision of education due to the emergence of this new prominent social group. We begin with an analysis of the discourses that call forth notions of global citizenship and global citizenship education – concepts often associated with both the experiences and needs of the global middle classes. We then examine how the growing presence of global middle class students and their families across educational contexts may be shaping the provision of education and potentially altering its intended purposes in some cases. This argument is illustrated by a discussion focusing on the increasing prominence of International Baccalaureate programs worldwide, the integration of cosmopolitan values in local curricula, and a consideration of how mobilities re-shape the imaginaries of future destinations.

Introduction

The rise of multinational corporations, which have come to dominate the global economy in the last decades, has been accompanied by the emergence of a new class of globally mobile professionals. This global professional class provides the expert knowledge and skills needed to facilitate these business and organizations, and consists of highly skilled professionals who circulate the globe – mostly between key cities such as New York, London, and Hong Kong (Beaverstock, 2017; Devadason, 2017; Meyer, 2000). In recent years, researchers have begun to examine this emergent social group which plays a key role in globalization (Beaverstock, 2005; Favel, 2008), but still relatively little empirical research exists on this group (Yemini & Maxwell, 2017). The published studies, however, highlight two key features of this emergent class: frequent mobility and the fostering of a cosmopolitan identity. In other words, critical to conceptualizing this social group is their hyper-mobility and their tendency to distance themselves from holding a single, rigid national identity (Savage, Bagnall, & Longhurst, 2005).

This chapter critically reviews the contemporary literature in the field of global citizenship education, with a focus on the emergence of global middle classes and their increasing presence within local

education systems. We begin with an analysis of the discourses and theorizations that call forth notions of global citizenship and global citizenship education, as these are linked to the kind of identities and experiences associated with the 'global middle classes' and what they are seeking from educational provision. We then discuss the possible consequences of the growing presence of global middle class students and their families across educational contexts. This argument is illustrated by a discussion focusing on the increasing prominence of International Baccalaureate programs worldwide, the integration of cosmopolitan values in local curricula, and a consideration of how mobilities re-shape the imaginaries of future destinations

Discourses and theorizations of global citizenship education

The increasing globalization of education (Oxley & Morris, 2013) has led to the re-imaging of notions of 'citizenship' in classrooms across the world. There is evidence of a shift from a focus on a unitary national identity within citizenship education to the introduction of cosmopolitanism as a core aspect of relations to those around us (Bromley, 2009). The promotion of nationalistic values is now being replaced, or supplemented, in many schools, with a more cosmopolitan narrative about belonging, driven by a concern to prepare students for the changing nature of modern society, which is viewed by a number of scholars as dominated by competition at a global level for jobs, economic growth, political power and so forth (Brown et al., 2011; Dvir & Yemini, 2017; Myers, 2016).

Taking a more globally-oriented approach to the teaching of citizenship is often referred to as Global Citizenship Education (GCE). Broadly stated, GCE can be described as curricular inputs that aim to prepare students to manoeuvre their way through a global society, by developing an understanding of global issues, being empathetic towards people of different origins, having an appreciation of the multi-cultural, and being able to demonstrate a set of skills relevant to work and interactions in the global sphere (Dill, 2013; Oxley & Morris, 2013; Yemini & Furstenberg, 2017). GCE-related contents may also include knowledge of other cultures (Veugelers, 2011), being proactive in raising awareness for the need to protect human rights and the environment, and seeing the self as responsible for issues that affect other people around the world (Schattle, 2008). Many countries now promote GCE as an overarching goal of education, in general, and specifically through subjects such as Civics and Social Studies; while others offer variants of GCE, differentially named the 'Global Dimension' and 'Global Awareness' (Goren & Yemini, 2017c; Oxley & Morris, 2013).

Oxley and Morris (2013) offer a useful typology of GCE by creating an integrative model of previous conceptualizations (see: Osler & Starkey, 2003; Veugelers, 2011). Their typology categorizes

conceptions of global citizenship as either cosmopolitan or advocacy modes. While cosmopolitan conceptions refer to identification, global consciousness, and understanding of global relations; advocacy-based conceptions focus more on global problem solving. Each category Oxley and Morris (2013) suggest is sub-divided into particular aspects of global citizenship—covering moral, political, cultural, environmental, and other issues. As in previous typologies (Veugelers, 2011; Dill, 2013), here also the links between citizenship education and global citizenship education are reinforced through attention to global human rights (Gearon, 2016) and environmental education (Jimenez, Lerch, & Bromley, 2017).

Meanwhile, Andreotti (2006) offers a broad conception of GCE, differentiating between soft and critical GCE. Here, soft GCE could be defined as education *about* global citizenship (providing students with an understanding of the world and cultural tolerance). Arshad-Ayaz, Andreotti and Sutherland (2017: 21) expand on this by suggesting that soft GCE: "…proposes the idea of a common humanity heading toward a common "forward"', in which a privileged few are responsible for the many in a quest to achieve 'modernity' and 'progress' for all". Meanwhile, Andreotti (2006) argues that critical global citizenship requires a deeper engagement with and unlearning of common understandings (in other words, education that copes with the world's complexities and multidimensionality). Thus, critical GCE, shaped by post-critical and post-colonial frameworks, seeks to provide students with the skills to reflect upon and engage with global issues that involve conflict, power, and opposing views. Such an approach facilitates an understanding of the nature of colonial, liberal, and western assumptions, and demands that young people strive for change.

Stein (2015) maps the existing discourses that define GCE, concentrating on the critical angles of these, and suggests a framework that differentiates between entrepreneurial, liberal-humanist, and anti-oppressive dimensions. While entrepreneurial GCE focuses on the students' skills for success in a global market place within a neoliberal logic, the liberal-humanist dimension addresses the concepts of intercultural understanding, empathy and global human rights. According to Arshad-Ayaz, Andreotti and Sutherland (2017) dimensions of GCE, such as these two, are heavily inclined towards a Eurocentric point of view, prolonging and embedding the effects of colonialization and existing power relations. Thus, the anti-oppressive dimension focuses on identification and analysis of the existing power relations and calls for action that will lead to the re-distribution of power and equality of access to resources. Additionally, Stein (2015) emphasizes the 'incommensurable' dimension through her analysis, which promotes a questioning of the concept of GCE. This concept Arshad-Ayaz, Andreotti, & Sutherland (2017:22) argue "points to epistemic racism inherent in the

articulations of GCE that results in an absence of other perspectives, voices, and positions – especially from the colonized populations and knowledge systems".

Both academic and political actors have criticized the concept of global citizenship, arguing that it could weaken nation-states by providing citizens with an alternative identity or that the concept itself is moot in the absence of any global governance structures facilitating the 'global society' GC seeks to promote (Bates, 2012; Bowden, 2003). Critics emphasizing global citizenship's underlying perils note the possibility that like globalization, global citizenship could ultimately benefit the world's dominant social classes while excluding others (Bates, 2012; Goren & Yemini, 2017b; Rapoport, 2009; Stein, 2015), thereby further extending the social inequality it arguably seeks to challenge. Other critiques of GCE emphasise its ambiguity to both latent and explicit Eurocentric assumptions (Andreotti, 2006). In light of these challenges, arguably the whole essence of GCE might be questioned, and perhaps central to GCE is facilitative work with young people to engage critically with the concepts of the global, of citizenship and the purpose of education itself.

The encroachment of the global middle classes within local educational landscapes

Migration, a phenomenon with a very long history, figures centrally as a key social, economic and political question in today's world (Burrell, 2010; Kunz, 2016). Diverse motivations drive people's migratory practices, including war and persecution in their home countries, the quest for greater opportunities, the prospect of better living conditions and the desire to gain educational qualifications. Traditionally, research on migration has focused on immigrants from less developed countries who moved to Western Europe and North America (Burrell, 2010; Massey et al., 1993). More recently, researchers have also begun to explore the mobility practices of other groups, including various economic elites and highly-skilled professionals who migrate between more economically developed nations and have been estimated to total 57 million people in 2017 (Finaccord, 2014).   For example, Koh and Wissink (2017) investigated how the mobilities of the global elites are shaped by the role of professional intermediaries in their surroundings, while Kunz (2016) addressed the configurations of race, gender, class and nationality, in such mobilities.

With the 'deterritorialisation of capital' (Embong, 2000: 991), it has been argued, comes the emergence of a transnational capitalist class (TCC) (Sklair, 2001) – those whom control global organisations – and a global middle class (GMC) (Ball, 2010). The GMC, as a transnational service class, facilitate the dominance of the TCC by providing the necessary expertise and management support for those groups controlling the resources in a global network of production, consumerism, and bureaucracy (Ball, 2010; Sassen, 2000). This global middle class can be understood as primarily

providing the expert knowledge and skills needed for the operation of multinational organisations and the maintenance of global networks of production, consumption, and bureaucracy. It consists of highly skilled professionals who circulate the globe – mostly moving between key global cities – and serve as the financial and legal specialists, managers, engineers, and other professional roles, required in the global economy and system of governance (Beaverstock, 2005; Sassen, 2000).

In today's world, mobility has become a key dimension of stratification (Urry, 2007). It can be argued that the reasons behind the 'push' to exit the nation state will affect the type of mobility that is initially conceived of. It may also be suggested that these initial conceptualizations will become malleable following the experiences of migrants who have of lived elsewhere, including the 'pull' factors encountered along the way. Thus, the extent to which mobility is perceived to have been forced onto a person (provision of a potential employment opportunity that is critical to promotion, a strong political motivation to exit), will affect how they potentially struggle to let go of the ties that bind them to 'home' or seek to embrace the opportunity to accumulate additional and even new types of resources on which they can later capitalise, or in words of Savage, Bagnall and Longhurst (2004) develop 'elective belonging' (p.46). Even families who strategically seek out trajectories of mobility may differentially conceptualize the costs and benefits of this for themselves and their children (affected potentially by the ages of the children, the needs of their particular employment sector, their experiences once they have settled in a new geographical space, and the extent to which they experience a habitus clivé - see Soong, Stahl, & Shan, 2017) and thus develop a range of strategies to mitigate against these costs and capitalise on the benefits.

Researchers have found that individuals worldwide employ a range of strategies to increase their mobility rights, practising varied ways of entering and exiting certain states (Harpaz, 2013). These might include gaining additional citizenships in more 'prestigious' countries or gaining access to positions that allow such mobility. GMC's frequent – and legally sanctioned – mobility across borders sets them apart (Beaverstock, 2005). Mobility not only has the power to stratify groups and individuals, it also shapes subjectivities. The experience of visiting, working and residing in different countries can lead individuals to form new conceptions of themselves and their national and ethnic identity (Ball & Nikita, 2014; Harvey & Beaverstock, 2017; Maxwell & Aggleton, 2016). Studies of mobile professionals with families note the importance of the "imagined future" that begins to shape motivations and concerns around their mobility (Doherty & Shield, 2012; Favell, 2008). Thus, GMC parents might seek to ensure their children have access to the resources that could facilitate their continued high-status mobility in the future, in their own work lives and to guard their futures against

increasing uncertainty. Hence, parental strategies might focus on developing a proficiency in foreign languages, experiences of frequent travel, potentially a second passport, and developing a cultural openness and cosmopolitan attitude to interactions with others.

With regard to identity, the literature on these global professionals has suggested they experience fluidity in their relationship to the concepts of 'home' and 'belonging', and are likely to maintain multifarious ties with their countries of origin, new countries of residence, and via their professional and social networks (Ball & Nikita, 2014). The concept of "global citizenship" has emerged as one that could describe an alternative identity mode for these individuals and their families which replaces notions of national citizenship with something more global in scope (Goren & Yemini, 2016; Goren & Yemini, 2017a; b; c). Some scholars describe mobile individuals as cosmopolitan, who hold no strong ties to a specific place or nation (Andreotti, Le Galès, Fuentes, & Javier, 2013). Though Favell's (2008) research on 'Eurostars' – young professionals moving around the European Union – found that they still articulate a connection to their home nation, while also celebrating that mobility had 'liberated' them from some of its more oppressive aspects.

Members of the global middle classes, variously defined, have been estimated to total 57 million people in 2017 (Finaccord, 2014). Thus, we can confidently suggest that there is an increasing presence of students from GMC families in classrooms across nation states, particularly in larger urban spaces. Given the size of this population, it is imperative we examine further their schooling choices and education practices, but also more specifically how local schools, and, in turn, national education systems, respond to these demographic changes. How do educators and educational institutions interact with this dominant social group and respond to their articulated values and desires? How do the re-imaginings of education and desired futures promoted by the GMCs shape the wants and needs of local populations in terms of curricula provision, the kinds of relations that are fostered between various members of the school community, demands for particular educational credentials and the kinds of knowledges and skills that are promoted (Maxwell, 2018). In the next sections we offer some suggestions for the ways the presence of the GMC is re-shaping education provision, and specifically citizenship education.

The possible influence of the GMCs within education system

Given the increasing presence of GMC within local education systems and the growing engagement over the possible modes of teaching and conceptualizing global citizenship education in local and international schools worldwide, it would be wise to consider possible influences of such transformations on schools. Here we highlight two such visible influences, namely the abundance of IB in local education provision and the integration of cosmopolitan outlook into curricula and pedagogy. We carefully outline each of those phenomena, addressing current scholarly contributions and potential future research directions.

International Baccalaureate (IB)

According to the IB website, the IB organization is described as a "non-profit educational foundation, established in 1968 offered four programs" of "international education that develop intellectual, personal, emotional and social skills needed to live, learn and work in a rapidly globalizing world" (www.ibo.org). The IB organization has grown substantially through the years, now providing programs in 4,775 schools for more than a million students worldwide (data for October 2017 from www.ibo.org).

With a mission "to develop inquiring, knowledgeable and caring young people who help to create a better and more peaceful world through intercultural understanding and respect", the IB organization's focus had been transformed over the years from a previously largely-perceived elite, private, international solution for mobile professionals to a form of provision that seeks to provide a valid alternative to national education systems worldwide (Yemini & Dvir, 2016). The IB organization continues to hold a dual, some claim, contested role of providing rigorous academic curricula together with idealistic elements of peace promotion and the facilitation of mutual understanding (Tarc, 2009). According to the IB organization data, today 56% of the accredited schools are public and IB is constantly being engaged with as a valuable curriculum and credential by governments and national school systems in different places and contexts (Dvir, Yemini, Bronshtein, & Natur, 2017; Prosser, 2018). Moreover, the IB organization has strategically invested in increasing the recognition of its flagship Diploma Program (DP) by higher education institutions around the world, thereby potentially further embedding the appeal it makes to states' and individual institution's developments to their curricula (Resnik, 2016).

One of the major criticisms levelled at the IB organization and the governments who promote the IB provision in state education systems, is that it is elitist and exclusionary, which in turn will reduce efforts to increase equality through education (Doherty & Shield, 2012; Prosser, 2018). Critics identify, for instance, the direct costs of participation in the IB programs incurred by institutions and therefore local communities (on students' fees, cost of 'buying' the program to the schools and for training teachers to facilitate the curriculum) (Kotzyba, Dreier, Mareke, & Helsper, 2018). Others argue that the IB is disproportionately promoted to more academically-able students (usually from higher socio-economic groups), who enter more selective and exclusive IB tracks within local schools or (private) international schools (Goren & Yemini, 2016; Resnik, 2016; Yang, 2016).

However, the relatively recent expansion of the IB beyond its provision in international or elite schools, has demonstrated its attraction as a credential to middle class parents more broadly, looking to secure global competitive advantages for their children (Yemini & Dvir, 2016). Its perceived high status, international branding, securing of a high proficiency in English and additional languages, and the established links between this credential and securing admission to elite higher education institutions therefore enthuses a broader range of parents to consider IB schools or IB tracks in local schools. Additionally, the over-representation of pupils from GMCs in these schools/tracks who already possess 'cosmopolitan capital' (Weenink, 2008) gained through previous and planned experiences of mobility, appears to fuel the desire for more non-mobile families to take up the IB (Keßler & Krüger, 2018). Thus, the IB's expansion is likely to continue to be further demanded by both local non-mobile and mobile/GMC families, often through knowledgeable exploitation of governmental funding mechanisms in order to make this possible (Dvir, Yemini, Bronshtein, & Natur, 2017).

The IB's mission is constructed in global terms - viewing the 'world' instead of a specific nation as the arena in which young people should be educated. If provision of, and desire for, the IB is growing – how does this affect the provision of citizenship education not only in IB schools or institutions with IB tracks, but also in other schools who are competing for recognition in their local/regional/national/international market? How are these schools, even within local- or nationally-set curricula engaging with what the IB represents – a global education for a global future? How might a focus on the global undermine an engagement with local citizenship issues and conflicts, which young people should arguably be engaging with? These questions have yet to be fully investigated theoretically and empirically. Specifically, such examinations must attend to how the

nature and character of the global citizenship education that is delivered which might directly or inadvertently be re-enforcing existing power relations at the local, national and global levels.

Integration of cosmopolitan values within the local curricula

Maxwell (2018) argues that the internationalization of education now flows well beyond the fenced-off domains of elite private schooling, affecting national and local education spaces. Internationalization processes can be distinguished as focused on 'internationalization at home' and 'internationalization abroad' (Nilsson, 2003). Thus we need to carefully untangle the interpretations and outcomes of internationalization processes within education institutions, spaces and systems (Yemini, 2014). For instance, the integration of cosmopolitan values and a desire to create globally-oriented curricular materials through local curricula can be understood as an example of 'internationalization at home'. Cosmopolitanism, in such a reading, which for many is seen as synonymous to the intended outcomes of global citizenship education, can be defined as a set of skills and values that enable people to manoeuvre through a range of spaces and interactions with 'others' (Maxwell & Aggleton, 2016). It is often theorized as a form of cultural capital in Bourdieuan terms (Weenink, 2008).

However, other scholars would challenge this conceptualization of cosmopolitanism – as a disposition facilitating the development of comfortable social relations with 'others'. Appiah (2006), for instance, has claimed that particularly since the events of 9/11 in the US, cosmopolitanism should involve an obligation to others beyond the boundaries of national citizenship and emphasizes the need for a commitment to open, respectful, intercultural understandings and sensitivity. Appiah's notion of cosmopolitanism is similar therefore to many conceptualizations of global citizenship in that it encourages individuals to consider themselves cosmopolitans, and promotes empathy and intercultural knowledge; however, it goes beyond most articulations of global citizenship through its focus on the ethical aspects of being a member of a global society, and seeks not to emphasize the development of practical skills as a necessary aspects of navigating and competing on a global stage.

Overall, most implementations of global citizenship education arguably conceive of cosmopolitism as a form of capital. Particularly in more elite or highly resourced education spaces, cosmopolitan capital is promoted as critical in the 'global war for talent' (Brown et al., 2011: 9; Bühlmann, David, & Mach, 2013). However, across education systems the world over, acquisition of cosmopolitan skills and orientations can be found within curricula (Friedman, 2017; Kotzyba, Dreier, Mareke, & Helsper, 2018; Prosser, 2018). Thus, teaching and extra-curricula opportunities are often focused on meeting

this goal – fostered by parents, further embedded through schools (Keßler & Krüger, 2018; Windle & Nogueira, 2015). While traditionally, it is the upper (middle) classes who have been demonstrated to successfully capture and transmit the benefits of different forms of capital through schooling (Lareau & Weininger, 2003; Reay et al., 2011), data is emerging which suggests that other groups are articulating a desire for the acquisition of cosmopolitan forms of capital - both mobile and less mobile members of the middle class (see Yemini & Maxwell, 2017).

Parental desires for a cosmopolitanism-infused education, as well as national education systems' orientation to the global due to the pressures exerted by international policy demands such as PISA (Münch, 2018; Sellar & Lingard, 2014), are interpreted and differentially facilitated within individual education institutions, and in particular through the practices of teachers (Goren & Yemini, 2016). Various studies have shown that schools teach students the skills and dispositions they perceive to be relevant to their students' respective 'imagined futures' (Ball, 2003; Doherty & Shield, 2012; Goren & Yemini, 2017b). Thus, teachers as critical agents within these spaces are likely to acknowledge and promote cosmopolitanism for children to whom such dispositions are deemed most relevant to their current and anticipated future social status – we see this, for instance, in studies in Israel (Goren & Yemini, 2017b) and Germany (Kotzyba et al., 2018).

Linked to the integration of cosmopolitanism in variable ways within local curricula is the specific teaching of citizenship education. Ichilov (2002) and Levinson (2005) have argued that in many countries, schools are perpetuating a civic/citizenship education gap, where students from higher socio-economic status backgrounds are being taught to become active and involved citizens, while students from lower socio-economic strata are less well informed of their rights, the structural conditions that reinforce discrimination or how they own experiences might have value beyond 'the local'. Goren & Yemini (2017b) have found that the teaching of GCE is differentiated by the perceived future physical mobility and access to opportunities for global engagement (i.e. imagined futures) of the students in the classroom. In this way – access to national or local curricula ostensibly infused by a commitment to the development of cosmopolitan values and orientations will be differentially taken up and experienced by students. In what ways, therefore, does the promotion of GCE actually increase and embed inequalities within education?

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The rising global middle classes - a positive development for global citizenship education goals?

The rise of the global middle classes as a dominant social group across various education spaces requires a closer examination of how they are affecting the provision and experience of local schooling. Research should be undertaken which tracks possible changes and transformations at a multi-scalar level – types of schools and credential frameworks being offered at a local, regional or national level; kinds of values, knowledge and skills being taught; the social relations experienced within and across school communities; and the imagined futures being fostered. Potentially, the increasing presence of GMCs within local schools might encourage an more in-depth engagement with notions of global citizenship, cosmopolitanism and mobility (Ball & Nikita, 2014; Yemini & Maxwell, 2017) – due to the experiences of these children and young people, but also because of GMC parental desires. The presence of GMC families, and the increasing focus on GCE found in so many education spaces, should open up the discursive possibilities for all young people to see themselves as mobile future-subjects and consider the broader world as their frame of reference (Savage et al., 2005). However, some of the research to date calls into question the extent to which the 'encroachment' of the GMC within education systems (previously usually educated in international schooling enclaves) could benefit the broader 'local', and usually, less mobile populations.

Three critical questions emerge from our review of the issues. First, as local communities, especially in urban centers, become more diversified in terms of socio-economic status, extent of mobility (mobility in one direction as part of a migration trajectory which is oftentimes a type of 'forced' mobility, compared to frequent, more privileged and financially secure forms of mobility), and histories of 'belonging' – what notions of 'citizenship' should schools be engaging with and facilitating discussion about? Are notions of global citizenship accessible or even relevant to all, compared to making a commitment to fostering local relations of citizenship? Second, as demand for an IB education grows – partly driven by the desires and needs of the GMC – to what extent can this be done in ways that promotes access to all for an education that remains relevant to a diverse set of future trajectories. Third, how can we support teachers to teach 'cosmopolitanism' to all their students, regardless of background, that engages with their past experiences, frames of references and aspired-for futures? In these ways, the emplacement of the GMCs in our education systems requires scholars, policy-makers and practitioners to critically reflect and further develop our teaching to connect students to both the local and global, as well as imagine futures and foster orientations that will enable them to navigate the various intersections of the local and global they will encounter.

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