Going Global? Defining, Characterising and Constructing Global Citizenship

A report on an Irish Research Council/Irish Aid funded research project between Maynooth University's Sociology Department, Comhlámh and Suas in Dublin and the Centre for Global Education (GCE) in Belfast.

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Introduction: Project Origins, Objectives and Main Findings

Between January and June 2022, Comhlámh and partners from the Global Citizenship Education (GCE), Development Education and international volunteering sectors, undertook an engaged research project to explore emerging modalities of global solidarity and active global citizenship in the Republic of Ireland.

INTRODUCTION: PROJECT ORIGINS, OBJECTIVES AND MAIN FINDINGS

Led by the principal investigator for the present project, Dr. Barry Cannon, from Maynooth University's Sociology Department, the project provided participants with theoretical inputs around democracy, citizenship, and globalisation, supporting and challenging the group to examine, deepen and extend their work on global citizenship. The project report concluded that:

- Globalisation has created new complexities around the sovereignty of states, who are the traditional guarantors of citizenship. It has opened up new avenues for citizenship claims while bringing challenges in the nature and realisation of these claims.
- The concept of global citizenship is one response to the challenge of conceptualising democracy beyond the nation state frame. Yet it was noted that there was no specific model for global citizenship and in fact contemporary citizenship responds to multiple sovereignties, below, within, across and beyond states.
- The report recommended that further work be done with the sector to explore these issues on global citizenship.

This call led to a successful application to the Irish Research Council's New Foundations funding stream for the present project under the title "Going Global?" This project seeks to build on the previous work with Comhlamh on the theme of global citizenship, but extending it to the island of Ireland, holding two regional workshops with personnel in the development and global citizenship education fields, one in Belfast and one in Dublin. These workshops had three objectives:

- To gather views from participants on the meaning and content of global citizenship;
- To provide theoretical input to inform these discussions; and,
- To enable participants to envisage more practice grounded means to construct global citizenship in their work.

This report is an account of this experience. The report will firstly outline the project, providing its theoretical rationale, identify project partners and then outline project objectives, content, design and outcomes. The main finding from the project is that participant attitudes to global citizenship can range from the pragmatic, through the agnostic to the sceptical, but that none of these positions are mutually exclusive or exhaustive either individually or collectively. Rather, it is recommended that global citizenship be treated as a provisional conceptual placeholder. By denominating it as such, this acknowledges that citizenship as an institution is undergoing change on a spatial level, from the national to the global and downwards to the local, but that it is still unclear in which direction and to what ends this change may bring us. Conceptualising it as such, rather than a materially realised institution, may enable greater discussion and debate on the concept. Such debate should, in particular, be around some key paradoxes identified by participants in this project, including the lack of a global state to guarantee rights; the nature, extent and impact of those rights; the perceived Eurocentricity of the concept; and depoliticised, technocratic and individualised biases in dominant conceptualisations of it. Greater conceptual exploration around such paradoxes in the sector could help tease out these positions further for professionals in the field, facilitating a deeper engagement with the concept among them

Global Citizenship in Theory

Global citizenship has become increasingly dominant term used in international development discourse and policy in Ireland (Government of Ireland, 2019) and internationally (via the UN SDGs), most commonly in the context of the UN Sustainable Development Goals and in particular in education (Irish Aid/ Government of Ireland, 2021; United Nations Global Citizenship Foundation, 2022).

Yet there is considerable discussion on the meaning (Carter, 2001), characterisation (Isin and Nyers, 2014a) and institutionalisation of global citizenship, particularly in the context of the persistent repercussions of colonialism (Lee, 2014; Tuck and Yang, 2012). As Isin and Nyers (2014b: 9), observe, while citizenship is changing as a result of globalisation no specific citizenship model can be pre-determined as a result of these changes. Citizenship in this changing context is "incipient" rather than fixed, they argue, as while the globalising context is creating new conditions for the institution of citizenship, the latter has not yet fully transcended its traditional national context (ibid.: p.10). Greater conceptual discussion around this issue is important, then, as it allows us to generate shared meanings and hence provide more informed grounding for effective collective actions based on our changing contexts (Gerring, 1999). Nevertheless, the lack of consensus and clarity as to the meaning of global citizenship is amplified through its largely unproblematised use in the context of international development – a sector in which organisations face challenges with regard to achieving international development objectives in a culturally and politically sensitive and relevant manner (Baillie Smith et al, 2013; Haas and Moinina, 2021; Loftsdottir, 2016).

The literature displays what can be loosely defined as three overlapping approaches to the concept - pragmatist, agnostic or sceptic - none of which, it should be noted, reflects full endorsement. These characterisations are put forward to illustrate the wide range of attitudes to the concept, and the relatively superficial attachment to it among professionals, and should not be taken as definitive or exhaustive. Pragmatists could be said to have no strong opinions on the concept, but can find it useful for some activities and recognise that its use is necessary to secure funding from agencies which endorse it. Agnostics, while perhaps having reservations on the concept, feel that more discussion is needed to flesh it out in theory and practice. Finally, sceptics strongly critique the concept and are suspicious of its ideological underpinnings. Parmenter (2018: 331), for example, underlines the relevance of the pragmatist and agnostic positions on global citizenship, showing how the concept has emerged from "the changing interwoven concepts of state, globalization, politics, and citizenship." Citizenship, she argues, is traditionally associated with the nation state, but globalisation processes have brought increased questioning of the role and reach of the state and hence of citizenship and politics itself. Theoretical discussion on citizenship therefore has shifted from one focussed on legal status (i.e.membership of a state) to "citizenship as activity" (ibid.: 332), that is "related to a political form of life, the flourishing of which one deliberately strives to foster." (ibid: 332, citing Seubert, 2014). Meanwhile, popular understandings of politics have also shifted from being expressed primarily within institutions to being increasingly associated with the communal and private lives of citizens themselves. These shifts in understanding of citizenship and politics have, according to Parmenter, (ibid.: 333) made "global citizenship theoretically possible". Additionally, Andreotti (2021: 500) recognises the funding reality of practitioners, conducive to a pragmatic position on global citizenship. She (ibid.) points out that "funding of [NGOs] is generally dependent on them reproducing, to a certain extent, problematic development discourses that have a public appeal…[and] on their stories of impact and success in mobilising public support for development initiatives and government expenditure in this area."

Andreotti (2021) and Dillon (2018) both display what could be labelled an agnostic position. Andreotti (ibid.: 496) recognises that defining 'placeholders' (that is, provisional labels indicating as yet undefined social and institutional change) such as global citizenship is important, but underlines that "our relationship with these placeholders …are problematic, especially in terms of what we want these placeholders to do." She (ibid: 501) recommends more discussion on the concept through a "layering" approach which allows participants to "hold paradoxical views in tension, to understand things contextually, and to work collaboratively in dissensus in generative ways…[which] is not tied to appeasing the expectations of funders or customers." Dillon (2018: 175) argues that shifts in discourse, such as that from development education to global citizenship, "may offer critical potential", but adopting new terminology does not automatically "challenge the assumptions associated with development about the world, poverty, us and them, or relationships constructed in its name." (ibid: 174). There is a need therefore, she concludes, to understand "the development past in the global Present…where it is coming from and the power relations that keep it in place." (ibid.: 175).

Parmenter (2018: 331) also suggests a sceptical position, drawing attention to two key critiques of global citizenship: "(a) the reality of a world politically structured in nation-state form and (b) the pervasiveness of Western discourses and ideologies on global citizenship" (ibid.: 331). With regard to the first factor, nation states still matter, despite the much-commented limitations on them wrought by globalisation. A good example is migration, which, as Parmenter (ibid.: 335) pithily notes, is at once "an indivisible aspect of globalization, [but] much easier if you have a passport from the right country and are choosing to migrate rather than being forced to do so." Similarly, despite recognition that global problems need global solutions, and hence greater and more equitable pooling of sovereignty to tackle them, more powerful nations are very reluctant to "engage in the restructuring of the world system that would be necessary to make global equity a reality" (ibid.: 335). As a result, Parmenter (ibid: 336) concludes, "individual states and groups of states still control the politics of global citizenship".

Similar inequitable constraints limit discourse on global citizenship. Parmenter (ibid.: 333) points out how Western conceptualisations of politics and citizenship dominate academic thinking on global citizenship, both conceptually and structurally. Most textbooks and academic production are produced by Western universities and publishing houses, and "'global politics' tends to be conceptualized in terms of how Western theories are extended to apply to the global level rather than in terms of how alternative theories from other parts of the world can be used to address political issues…" (ibid.). While there is some emerging scholarship on Chinese and Islamic conceptions of global citizenship, for example, "the academic field of politics, like most other fields, is constructed in such a way that Western views predominate and other perspectives often remain unheard." (Ibid.: 334).

Moreover, incentive structures within academia, including funding, publishing and promotion, as well as the dominance of the English language at the global level, all favour the predominance of orthodox, Western-orientated thinking on the issue rather than non-hegemonic experiences and conceptions (ibid.: 334). Additionally, Bryan and Mochizuki (2023: 50) argue that discursive attachment of global citizenship and the SDGs shifts "attention away from the substantive causes of global poverty and injustice and the need for widespread political engagement, collective action and a major overhaul of existing political- economic arrangements, norms, practices and ideologies."

Project Objectives, Content and Design

This project sought to explore some of these themes in more detail with sector participants. The project involved three partners in the sector, some of whom were involved with the previous iteration of this project. The first partner, and principal sponsor of the project is Comhlámh, the Irish Association of Development Workers and Volunteers, based in Dublin. Comhlámh is a member organisation that supports people and organisations to mobilise for global justice, including through values-based volunteering, humanitarian responses and active citizenship.

A second partner, Suas, again located in Ireland. At the Dublin workshop, there were Dublin, supports third-level students and also fifteen participants, most working in recent graduates currently in Ireland on the Republic of Ireland, but from varied their Global Citizenship journey by raising national backgrounds, and working in the awareness and understanding and facilitating wider development sector, in practice, policy, action on a range of global justice issues. management, communications and as GCE Programmes are informed by a diverse practitioners.
Student Advisory Panel and include the
annual STAND Festival travelling across The main aim of the workshops was that campuses; STAND News, a student-led participants could examine, deepen and journalism platform; their social incubator extend their work on global citizenship. It programme the Ideas Collective; Global had three objectives, used to structure the issues courses and tailored workshops; workshops: gather views from participants on and the STAND Changemakers Academy. the meaning and content of global citizenship; Suas works with student and staff structures provide theoretical inputs to inform these across campuses and many of these will discussions; and enable participants to integrate GCE perspectives into their work envisage more practice grounded means to and future careers. The Centre for Global construct global citizenship in their work.

Education (CGE) was established in 1986 In the first section of the workshop, after by eight development agencies to provide formal introductions, participants were education services that enhance awareness asked to identify four concepts that, from of international development issues. Well their perspective, were at the core of integrated into Global Citizenship and Global Citizenship. Participants worked first Development networks north and south, as individually and then in groups to achieve a well as in Britain, CGE provides training on consensus between all workshop participants global issues to learners in the formal and on the four words. The main objective of this informal education sectors, and with its Policy section was to identify what they thought was

and Practice journal, provides an important the priority content of global citizenship - that forum for debate on theory and practice in the is what global citizenship meant to them, sector. Collectively, these partners provided important theoretical and practical inputs into The second section of the workshop consisted project activities. and access to a wide range of the PI, Dr. Barry Cannon, providing of global citizenship educators, development presentations on what for him were the workers and volunteers and policy makers basic conceptual underpinnings of global as potential participants and audience for citizenship: defining and characterising project activities. democracy and citizenship, exploring the link between the two, and defining and

As indicated above, the main activity of characterising globalisation. After Dr. Cannon's the project was carrying out two regional presentations on each concept, participants workshops, through the partners, one in were invited to discuss presentation content, Belfast, taking place on May 20, 2023, in considering its relevance to their work and any

CGE offices, and one in Dublin on 27 May more conceptual issues it might raise for it. in the Comhlamh offices. Both workshops This section of the workshop ended with the PI lasted approximately three hours and were showing a short video for children used by Irish

facilitated by Charo Lanao, an experienced Aid to illustrate what it means to be a global facilitator in the sector, alongside project citizen, and asking participants to analyse it Principal Investigator (PI), Dr. Barry Cannon, from a citizenship perspective, that is from Maynooth University. Staff from participating the basis of status, rights, membership and organisations took notes on the proceedings participation, in order to flesh out more the and outcomes of the workshop on which these meaning of global citizenship being presented

findings are based. The Belfast workshop in it. In the final part participants were asked had eleven participants of whom three to reflect, using a "world cafe" methodology, worked in a development education centre, on the usefulness of the workshop content on one volunteered with an Africa solidarity how they construct global citizenship in their organisation, seven worked in international practice.
development organisations, two worked in

Workshop Outcomes

This section provides a brief synthetic summary of outcomes of the two workshops. The attempt here is not to explore differences between the two locations to any great degree, but rather to summarise collective thinking on the concept, although it should be noted that 'global citizenship' has not been adopted officially as a master operational concept in Northern Ireland by government or development agencies, as has been the case in the Republic.

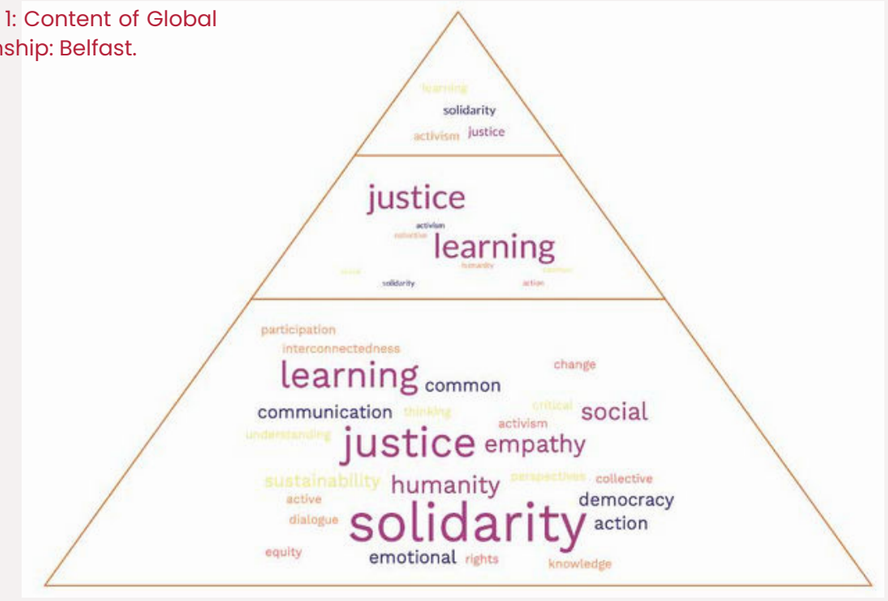
In the latter an extensive consultation process took place in 2021 between Irish Aid and sector organisations which resulted in the formal adoption of 'global citizenship education' (GCE) as the operational concept for sector activities, despite misgivings from some organisations on the abandonment of development education, which had been the sector's master concept for many decades and which was viewed by many as having much more critical depth than "global citizenship". Workshop outcomes in Dublin reflect a continuation of these debates, an issue which will be discussed further below. Participant comments discussed in this section were in response to the PI's theoretical interventions on each of the key areas of citizenship, democracy, globalisation and global citizenship.

Essential Elements of Global Citizenship

In the literature, citizenship is usually informed by four essential elements: status, rights (and duties) , identity or membership and participation. In the current context, status is usually conferred by the state - we are a citizen of a specific state and therefore the rights and duties associated with citizenship are conferred by that state on an equal basis to all members. Membership of that state therefore defines and regulates our rights as citizens, our identity as a citizen of that state, with specific cultural identifications associated with that state, and the level of political participation we have as citizens in the governing of that state. Rights associated with citizenship are usually those of essential freedoms, such as movement, speech, thought, religion; of social rights, such as access to welfare, health, and education; and cultural rights such as cultural recognition and legal protections for minorities. Duties can vary from simply paying taxes to military service.

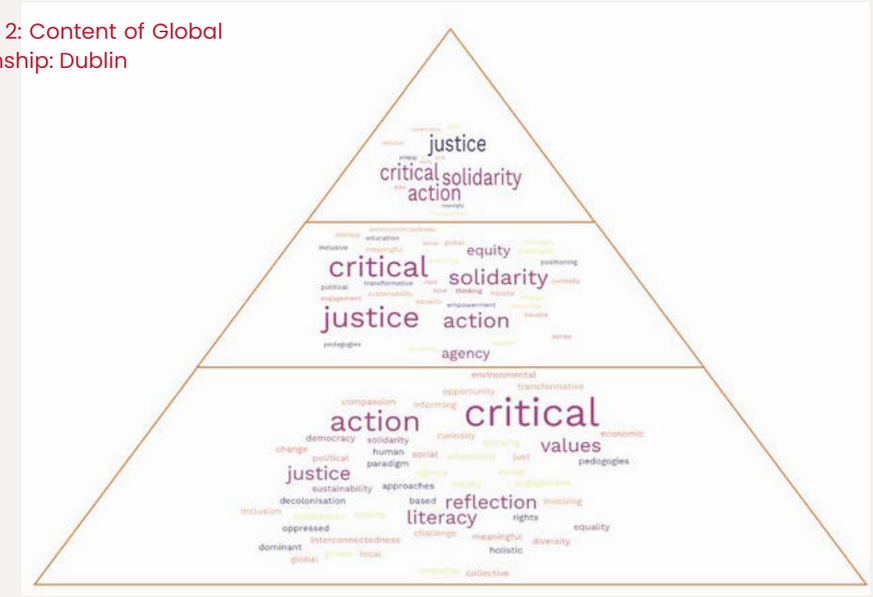
In this first section, participants were requested to identify four words which for them signalled the essential content of global citizenship. The aim here was to see to what extent participants viewed the main elements of global citizenship along the classic lines outlined above. In the initial stages of the activity a very wide range of concepts were identified, but subsequently Belfast participants identified "learning", "sustainability", "solidarity" and "justice", with Dublin participants also identifying these last two, but also the words "critical" and "action" as central elements for the concept. Figure 1 below gives a flavour of the words chosen by Belfast participants, with Figure 2 doing the same for Dublin:

Figure 1: Content of Global Citizenship: Belfast.



Belfast pyramid word cloud compiled and designed by Emma Soye at the Centre for Global Education.

Figure 2: Content of Global Citizenship: Dublin



Dublin pyramid word cloud designed by Emma Soye at the Centre for Global Education based on initial word clouds by Charlotte Bishop, Suas/Stand.

Analysing these responses, what is notable first is the wide range of concepts and ideas provided by participants, revealing a rich and varied conception of the meaning and content of global citizenship even among relatively small groups. Secondly, it is also notable how little participant conceptions of global citizenship have in common with the classic elements of citizenship as outlined in theory. In this context, it is instructive to return to Parmenter's (2019: 332) distinction of citizenship as legal status and as activity, wherein she argues that the latter is the more common popular conception of citizenship in the contemporary context. Participant responses seem to bear out the truth of Parmenter's observation, with participants placing an emphasis on citizenship as action (e.g. learning, activism, action, transformative, agency, communication etc.) informed by values (i.e justice, solidarity, equity, democracy). The concept of citizenship as status (i.e. tied to the state) is almost entirely absent from participant's conception of global citizenship in both workshops, a revealing finding which deserves future exploration.

Relationship between Democracy and Citizenship

In this section, Dr. Cannon first made a presentation on definitions and characteristics of democracy and citizenship before exploring the relationship between the two. These concepts were chosen due to their emphasis by the dominant literature, which argues that citizenship and democracy are like two sides of the same coin, meaning that the greater citizenship rights are guaranteed by the state for citizens, the more democratic that state will be. Cannon used theorists such as the German political scientist, Wolfgang Merkel (2014) , British sociologist, TH Marshall (1950) and French sociologist Etienne Balibar (2010) to help contextualise these debates. Cannon concluded that while the meaning and content of citizenship and democracy are contested, they are also mutually codependent and historically tied to the development of the nation-state.

In response to this presentation, participants felt that democracy and citizenship regimes had been regressing rather than advancing in their respective jurisdictions. In Belfast there was an emphasis on de-democratization processes, both generally and in the UK. One participant commented, for example, that "In the era of neoliberalism and globalisation over the past fifty years, the state has gotten smaller", leading to greater inequality and higher levels of apoliticism among citizens, with a resulting reduction in civil participation for those left behind. Some participants commented that "some rights exist above the level of the state", pointing to their universal character, while another pointed out that with a "shrinking [national] state" and "no global state" these cannot be guaranteed. In Dublin, participants also felt that the state was 'shrinking' with a negative impact on rights guarantees. One participant pointed out, however, that "when we get into rights it's about inherent rights…the state isn't the ultimate authority". Participants hence point to a paradox of global citizenship, similar to that alluded to in Belfast, whereby on the one hand rights transcend states, but on the other, the state is the fundamental route of access to these rights. Additionally, in Dublin, some participants pointed to the Eurocentric nature of the global citizenship conceptualisation. As one participant put it: "I'm so uncomfortable here. It's theoretical [given from] a man from the [Global] North. And we're here for global citizenship…to learn how to deal with people who are not included at all".

WORKSHOP OUTCOMES

Globalisation

Dr. Cannon began this section, presenting definitions, characterisations and impact of globalisation on democracy and citizenship. Cannon's conclusion was that in general globalisation has negatively impacted on the powers of the nation-state at the economic, political and cultural levels, which in turn has had negative impacts on the quality and reach of democracy and citizenship, particularly social citizenship. Participants in both workshops responded to this presentation with a wide variety of comments around power asymmetries between states and capital and between different categories of citizen. In Belfast, participants noted differentials of power among citizens both within states and also between national and global citizenship regimes. One participant noted that "in some states, some identities are not given the same status as others''. In Dublin, participants also noted differentiation of power between global capital and some states. One participant noted how the profits of companies like the US based tech giant, Apple, "exceed the GDP of Norway'', illustrating the difficulty for states to regulate such large and powerful companies. Processes of neoliberal "deregulation" were also pointed to as a source of such asymmetries of power. Other participants pointed once again to the Eurocentricity of the globalisation concept. This participant felt that the presentation "didn't go global" as the title of the workshop suggested, with most examples given from "Europe and the US ", but not from the Global South. Dr. Cannon acknowledged this critique, but pointed out that the objective was to provide useful frames to both help understand dominant theory on these concepts, and to critique those frames.

Global Citizenship

In this final section, Dr. Cannon illustrated that new concepts of global citizenship have emerged in response to the context of globalisation and the resultant changes in democracy and citizenship outlined in the previous section. These new conceptions of citizenship, however, are not as complete as previous state-based notions of citizenship, raising the question as to how educators and practitioners can work with the concept in a meaningful way. Other conceptual possibilities such as cosmopolitan, post-national, and incipient citizenship were introduced to help thinking on that question, but some of these (such as cosmopolitan citizenship) are seen to be unrealistic in the present context, while the others are more descriptive of that context rather than new figures of citizenship which can reconcile the paradoxes of citizenship brought about by new global realities. In response to this, Cannon argues, after Isin (2008), that global citizenship is in construction and attention must be paid to the "acts of citizenship" which help construct it, that is the actions of citizens working at an international level to help solve these paradoxes and so construct something approaching global citizenship.

To help illustrate these arguments and tease out their impact, participants were shown a short video uploaded onto the Our World Irish Aid Awards webpage. This video was chosen as it illustrates in a short, succinct and approachable manner what being a global citizen can mean for international development agencies. Participants were formed into groups with each group assigned one of the four key elements of citizenship discussed earlier: status, rights, membership and participation in order to evaluate its content. Belfast participants' overall evaluation was that the examples portrayed were individualised, undifferentiated culturally (despite cases from different parts of the world being presented), whose solutions to development problems were technocratic and depoliticised, with an absence of reference to the state and collective action. For example, regarding status, one group noted that the video "rapidly considers communities in: Turkey, Bali (Indonesia), Bangalore (India), Jordan, Nigeria, Philadelphia (US) – interchanging cities and states without any differential - providing a thumbnail sketch at best of these communities." Another group commented, regarding rights, that the "film is less concerned with rights than development deficits such as sanitation, plastic in oceans, child marriage, waste and pollution. The film is more reactive, looking at how to respond to these problems rather than consider them in the context of rights. The state is edited out of the film [with the latter] more interested in what you can do to make the world better." Regarding membership and identity, participants thought that the "film focuses on individuals in each community it describes as 'young inventors, innovators and campaigners' who can make a difference. It appears to be more concerned with technological fixes through innovation than political responses and root causes." FInally, with regard to participation, Belfast workshop participants commented that the film's "framing device… is the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) agenda with each case study relating to a specific Goal.

WORKSHOP OUTCOMES

The kids are portrayed as individuals rising to the challenges of the Goals which are uncritically presented and assumed to be a development asset".

In Dublin, commenting on the same video, the group considering status noted some differentiation between cases due to the social/legal situation of some of the children portrayed (one as a Syrian refugee, others as poor inner city kids in the United States). Regarding rights, one member of that group noted "there was nothing about rights" in the film, while another exclaimed that the group "hated the video", going on to comment that "children were bestowed with fixing the world. That child's right is.... to be a child. Bestowing that responsibility on children [i.e. fixing the world] is problematic." The individualisation of the cases was also noted, with little reference made to collective struggle. Another participant questioned the film's portrayal of "ordinary kids". While this participant admitted that the film "tried to show other countries", the group felt that the label "ordinary kids"" was "very subjective" and may be more "relevant in Europe." Another participant echoed comments in Belfast on the SDGs as the basis for the film's portrayal of global citizenship, believing that it could limit alternative interpretations of the concept. The group considering membership and identity, questioned the "global" nature of citizenship portrayed, feeling that "there was no relationship to being [a] global citizen because children were solving issues in their own area. There was no interconnectedness." FInally, the group discussing participation was impressed by the film encouraging children to "take action" on climate change and other pressing issues, but noted the absence in the film of "institutions, governments, countries help[ing] that project to be accomplished."

Constructing global citizenship in your work

In this section and, indeed, throughout both workshops, an analysis of participants' discussions reflects the three different ways of relating to the concept of global citizenship in their work as found in the literature above: a pragmatic relationship, an agnostic one, and a sceptical one. As noted with the literature no participant unreservedly endorsed the concept, but the categories nonetheless are useful for understanding how participants approach the concept in their work.

PRAGMATISTS

Some participants in both workshops do not endorse the term wholeheartedly, but have found it useful to help understand or frame activities which connect local with non-local experiences (i.e. fostering intercultural understanding in local settings); to act as an "umbrella" term to help encompass the breadth of activities carried out by their organisations; or to access funding.

- One Dublin participant, for example, saw the term as "aspirational. Clearly it's not materialistic. It's a useful term for the work that I do, connecting people who are living in a flat complex in inner city Dublin with refugees down the road when they've been antagonistic towards one another. Using global citizenship as an aspirational term among these two cohorts...is more useful than Development Education."
- Another participant commented that, "The broadness of the umbrella [terminologies] allows us to do different things. Change happens in lots of different ways. It happens within systems as well as around."
- Some participants in Dublin felt that the term hasn't really impacted on their organisation's activities and that the change of terminology from "development education" to "global citizenship" was a mere formality. One participant ventured, for example, that the choice of the term "was a lot more functional than critical" and that perhaps removing 'citizenship' from the term to make it Global Education might be more apt for the future.
- Dublin participants in particular felt that they had to work with the term in order to access funding for their activities. One participant voiced their curiosity about who in the workshop was "funded by Irish Aid and so has to write about global citizenship [in the application]." Another noted that in applying for funding, "We have to promote the SDGs... [but] aren't encouraged to have critical conversations about the SDGs." In effect, it was argued, "Global Citizenship Education has become the Sustainable Development Goals".
- Another Dublin participant commented: "what global citizenship is and how it's defined doesn't matter too much to me. As long as it's rooted in the core values so I can get funding to do the programmes with the people who need the programmes".

AGNOSTICS

Agnostics acknowledge that the term can have uses but it is important to debate and discuss its content more, particularly with other sectors such as academics.

- One participant in Dublin noted, for example, that the workshop was "one of the few sessions where we've actually had a definition of what [Global Citizenship] is. A kind of perceived definition. This is the only time I've ever been somewhere where we've actually interrogated the word in the first place. A definition is so badly needed."
- A Belfast participant commented th the "workshop has been important in facilitating discussion on what Global Citizenship means for the international development and development education sectors. It hasn't been widely debated in that context".
- A Dublin participant felt that "it's important to talk about what we should do as global citizens, those actions would need to be meaningful. I want to hear more about research and what we should do..."
- Another Dublin participant drew atte to the need to include excluded voices in discussions on the term: "we're always informed by dominant structures and

narratives. Where the wisdom comes from is the non-dominant....We need to be accessing and involving authors from the Global South. I'd like to see a version of this [workshop] with the alternatives. This is half of what we need to do. I look forward to the other half".

SCEPTICS

Sceptics find that "global citizenship" is a depoliticised concept which lacks the critical edge needed to achieve the kind of changes necessary in our current global context, and is rather supportive of existing dominant systems, such as neoliberalism and Eurocentricity.

- One participant in Belfast compared GCE unfavourably with development education: "Development education is a consciously political and radical form of learning with a literature steeped in [the Brazilian educationalist and radical theorist] Paulo Freire. By contrast, Global Citizenship Education appears to be a comparatively depoliticised and lightly discoursed concept without the same literature base".

- Conversely another Belfast participant reported a comment heard in another event "that GCE was used by the sector now because the term 'development' in 'development education' is problematic. Global Citizenship more accurately describes what we do".

- A Dublin participant commented on the neoliberal underpinnings of the concept of global citizenship: "I think about the packaging and models of development and some of us have come to talk about it as 'old wine in new bottles'.... I was then asking, what are the vineyards we're drinking from? This is the neoliberal vineyards - being raided and repacked and being sold to us."

Conclusions

Participant positions on the concept of global citizenship - pragmatist, agnostic or sceptic - emerge from concerns found in the literature on the subject of global citizenship. Andreotti (2021) demonstrates, however, such positioning is not of itself antagonistic, despite reflecting different professional and ideological approaches to the concept. Rather it points to the need to, "learn to dig deeper and relate wider, together" (ibid: 508) in our discussions, without necessarily arriving "anywhere specific" (ibid.).

A key finding of this report is the unfinished nature of discussion on the change from 'development education' (DE) to 'global citizenship education' (GCE) which took place in the Republic of Ireland in 2010. Many participants consistently brought up comparisons of the two, with GCE tending to be viewed with less enthusiasm than DE. Additionally, we found in discussions a tendency to confuse 'global citizenship' with 'global citizenship education'. Participants found it difficult to separate the two, and this may be due to the lack of clarity on the meaning and content of 'global citizenship' and the fact that in some quarters it was felt that the concept was imposed on the sector rather than being adopted freely after adequate deliberation.

This points to a contradiction at the heart of global citizenship education in that professionals in the sector are being asked to prepare their students for a role whose content is disputed, which does not exist materially, and indeed may never exist. More work is therefore needed to discuss and debate the concept to help clarify these issues. In Northern Ireland on the other hand, while the concept is not used operationally in the sector, participants showed a clear interest in learning more about it and debating these questions further.

This project has been part of this attempt to "dig deep and relate wider, together", as Andreotti (ibid.) recommends. It has done so by attempting, as Parmenter (2018) suggests, to bring political context to global citizenship discussions, drawing on political theory on key underlying concepts of global citizenship, specifically on citizenship, democracy and globalisation, as well as global citizenship itself, to help in this process. These efforts suffer from many of the critiques made in the literature and voiced in the workshop, such as Eurocentricity.

Yet, an appetite was also apparent among participants to continue the conversation. One key issue which emerged in the Dublin workshop, as mentioned above, is the need to continue discussion on the relationship between the current dominance of global citizenship education in the Republic and its long history of development education. Additionally, within this, there could be discussions on funding for the sector, particularly on the suitability of having the sector under Irish Aid and not under the Dept of Education.

Additionally, Parmenter (2018: 342), makes some further suggestions which can help to create "a valuable foundation for global citizenship education teaching and research". These include, more "research examining non-Western conceptualizations, perceptions, and experiences of the changing relationships between individuals and polities, and of citizenship at all levels." (ibid.); a greater research effort into those scattered elements of global citizenship that do exist, at least in embryonic form, "including the politics of global citizenship in global agendas, e.g., UN and OECD, and in diverse contexts;" and more collaborative applied research "conducted…by politics and education specialists to explore ways

of effectively using politics research and rights, but on aspirations and remain within concepts to inform education for global the remit of individual nations to achieve, citizenship." (ibid.). despite being promoted by the United Nations. While citizenship is predicated on equality, great inequalities remain in access to citizenship rights both within and between countries. One fundamental right associated with citizenship is freedom of movement. Movement of people is highly restricted at a global level, despite an increasing death toll resulting from such restrictions, and is at the centre of much political debate, especially in the Global North. Would global citizenship mean freedom of movement for all people of the globe, up to and including the eradication of borders and hence border controls (Jones 2019)? Within such a context, which social and cultural rights would those arriving have in their country of destination and who would guarantee them? And how should questions such as these relate to the concept of development?

Finally, there are a number of questions emerging from this project that can be considered by practitioners. First, practitioners could ask themselves where they would locate themselves in the typology of positions on global citizenship and why they would choose that location. That is, are they pragmatic, agnostic or sceptical of the concept of global citizenship, or a mix of some, all or none of these, asking themselves why they take this position. They could further ask what needs to be done with the concept in future based on their positioning on it, and how might having such a position impact on their practice. Second, they could interrogate their materials from a more political perspective, asking what is included and what not in the content and construction of citizenship found in these, and why this might be the case. Here practitioners could consider the political content of citizenship, both real and suggested, the presence or absence of democracy in these materials, and if the materials are Eurocentric and if so how might this be remedied. continued contributions to furthering discussions on the concept of global citizenship while deepening and widening extent and impact of rights and duties in any putative global citizenship. As noted above, traditionally citizenship is associated with fundamental freedoms such as movement, expression, religion etc; with social rights; and increasingly with cultural rights, all of these guaranteed (or not) by the state. Global citizenship as currently conceptualised is based on the SDGs, which as some participants pointed out is not based on

Finally, on analysing their material practitioners could ask how might the absences be made present and what research would be useful to achieve this. Collectively these suggestions could make A further key question is on the content, that this report provides some indications and guidance on how to approach these questions for practitioners.

that debate and enriching practice. We hope

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About the Author

Barry Cannon, (PhD, Dublin City University, 2005) lectures on politics in the Sociology Department of Maynooth University (Ireland). His research focuses on Latin American politics, democracy, citizenship and the far right. He has led two Irish Research Council New Foundations funded research projects on civil society responses to the Far Right in Ireland (2021-22) and on Global Citizenship (2022-23), the first in collaboration with the Crosscare Migrant Project, the second with Comhlamh, Suas and the Centre for Global Education and also collaborated with Comhlamh on a Global Citizenship project, with a report published in 2021. Dr. Cannon has published widely in key academic journals and has authored two single author and two edited volumes on Latin American politics. He has appeared in a wide variety of media outlets, including the Irish Times, RTE radio and television, BBC Radio Four and the BBC World Service.

About the Report

This report provides an overview of an Irish Research Council/Irish Aid funded project on the theme of global citizenship, based on outcomes of two workshops with personnel in the development and global citizenship education fields in Belfast and Dublin. Participants identified key paradoxes inherent in the concept: the absence of a global state to guarantee rights; the nature, extent and impact of those rights; the perceived Eurocentricity of the concept; and depoliticised, technocratic and individualised conceptualisations of it. The report concludes that greater conceptual exploration around such paradoxes could help tease out these paradoxes further, facilitating a deeper engagement with the concept among professionals in the field.

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