

Global citizenship in Pakistan

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Abstract

This paper attempts to understand the value of the ideology of global citizenship in Pakistan by looking at students' values and attitudes. In particular, it explores students' understanding of the term 'global citizen' and their attitude towards the concept. Using a case study approach, interviews were conducted with six students in a privately run school under the national education system, in addition to five teachers who have undergone a global citizenship training. This research highlights students' strong national identity, which engenders a sense of urgency with regard to displaying a positive side of the country, with global citizenship being seen as one avenue for creating a positive image. In addition, the absence of a clear understanding of 'citizenship' itself means a very loose understanding of what global citizenship could or should entail. These findings communicate the need to rethink global citizenship in the Pakistani context through a redefinition of the concepts from a local perspective.

Key words: global, citizen, democracy, global citizenship in Pakistan, postcolonial

Introduction

The educational arena has seen a great increase in discourses around the concepts of global learning, global identity, and global citizenship. These terms grow out of the shift from a local focus to a more connected world. Although strong critiques exist, maintaining that the ideology of global citizenship dangerously promotes a western agenda and glosses over historical injustices, yet its value cannot be undermined as a theoretical framework for a more just world. The changing nature of the world stipulates a new dimension to education that recognizes our interconnectedness and encourages responsibility and agency, that is acting or influencing action. However, this only scratches the surface; global citizenship as an ideological framework can bring a lot more to students. It can be used to explain the complexity of global challenges and existing power structures, and it can empower through both knowledge and action. A shallow framework does the opposite: it simplifies the challenges we face at a global level and does not probe into the discourses available

to explicate existing power structures. Similarly, the danger inherent in adopting a one-size-fits-all approach is that of accepting generalizing discourses on global citizenship with no attention for local narratives and nuances.

In Pakistan, a postcolonial state where citizenship agency is low, national identity is strong, and foreign influence is high, what can the future hold for a framework of global citizenship? The main aim of the study is to understand whether the concept of global citizenship is valuable and appropriate for Pakistani students and whether it enables them to make sense of their role and place in the global world. This paper will address students' understanding of the term 'global citizen' and their attitude towards the concept. Additionally, it will look at what students' views on global citizenship can contribute to the debates on global citizenship in developing countries. A case study approach was used to collect the data presented in this paper. In-depth interviews were conducted with six students in a privately run school in Karachi, Pakistan under the national education system and with five teachers who have undergone a global citizenship training programme.

It is hoped that this paper and the findings it presents can help to highlight the challenges and areas that need to be addressed within the national curriculum. This in turn could eventually help with the design of more purposeful programmes in the area of global citizenship for the Pakistani context that are influential in the long run both locally and globally.

In this paper, a theoretical framework for global citizenship is considered that is relevant to developing countries and particularly Pakistan. The framework is presented through a review of current debates around global citizenship and their relevance to the Pakistani context. The rationale for the methodology used is explained. The paper then summarizes the evidence from the research undertaken with students and teachers and concludes with an analysis of the findings and recommendations.

Global citizenship in postcolonial settings

In order to fully appreciate the link between contemporary citizenship education and global citizenship, it is indispensable to look at the conceptual and historical dimension of citizenship. Throughout history, the nation state has been the framework within which education for citizenship has been conceived and delivered. Therefore, in discussions about the broader, more global implications of citizenship, it is imperative to go back to the roots of the concept in order to better evaluate and build on it. Globally, education has been seen as a means to strengthen democracy and prepare people for their role in society. Citizenship itself refers to membership, usually as part of a political community that can come with a legal status, duties, obligations, and functions (Brysk and Shafir, 2004; Block, 2011). However, with

globalization, national citizenship alone does not adequately respond to the global interdependence that is only intensifying with time. Today, people have more of an opportunity to engage and affect others in international contexts, making it essential to broaden the premise of citizenship to include the global. Leslie Roman (2003: 207) frames the question most aptly: 'Is citizenship fundamentally and inextricably linked to the fabric of colonial and neo-colonial nation building? Or can citizenship be recognized within anti-colonial global, transnational, local and grassroots forms of community and democracy?'

With cross-border interaction, collaboration, and interdependence, it is essential to give people the chance to understand the global and local links between their lives and those of others, as Osler and Starkey (2005) point out. The authors correctly point out the challenge for educationalists today, which is providing students with experiences that allow them to understand international politics and interdependence, and empower them to contribute positively to shaping the collective future of our world.

While global education or world studies, as it has also come to be known, has been taught in UK schools since the 1970s, global citizenship education is a more recent phenomenon (Davies, 2006: 6). In the 1970s, development education emerged due to the desire of non-governmental organizations 'to secure public legitimacy for aid and development' (McCollum, 1996 and Harrison, 2008, as cited in Bourn, 2008: 6) and as a response to the decolonization process. As a result of globalization, people have been interacting with and relating to others in new ways. Education needed to keep pace with these changes.

Looking at the literature around global citizenship, Oxley and Morris (2013) identified eight main categories of global citizenship, listed below, which they further divided into cosmopolitan and advocacy approaches. The term 'cosmopolitan' itself is considered a neo-imperial form of global citizenship; it is derived from Ancient Greek to mean a universality of community (Oxley and Morris, 2013: 5). The four categories listed under advocacy encourage action.

Table 1: Categories of global citizenship

Cosmopolitan	Advocacy
political	social
moral	critical
economic	environmental
cultural	spiritual

Oxley and Morris, 2013

In essence, most of the Western literature on global citizenship seems to have the following underlying essential themes:

1. a need to understand and know globalization, interdependence, and most importantly, the global context
2. an inclusion of a global identity amongst other identities: a sense of belonging that forgoes the local for a global society
3. a sense of shared responsibility with the larger community
4. shared values of compassion, peace, and mutual respect.

Needless to say, who is a global citizen and who isn't is still a matter of significant debate, though, broadly speaking, a global citizen can be defined as an individual who is part of a community that extends beyond nation states and political affiliations to something much larger.

The ideology of global citizenship, however, has received significant critique particularly with regard to developing countries. There have been important questions raised about the ethics and accessibility of being a 'global citizen' for the ordinary individual (Dower, 2008; Schattle, 2008; Andreotti, 2006). Many of these apprehensions are rooted in postcolonial theory, which looks at global citizenship as a new form of cultural imperialism based on the assumption of the supremacy of Western beliefs and systems, and therefore a reflection and reproduction of existing power imbalances (Andreotti, 2006). As Schattle (2008) points out, other ideological objections come from the political right, who see global citizenship education as a socialist conspiracy that promotes secular morality. The concern here is about the presumptuousness of assuming that values are shared by all and about a specific set of values being therefore imposed as universal.

For a framework of global citizenship in developing countries, there is a degree of caution that is deemed essential by writers like Vanessa Andreotti (2006), who rightly argue in favour of addressing the complexity of global issues and the economic and cultural roots of inequalities in power and wealth through global citizenship, so as to avoid what Andreotti calls the danger of a 'civilizing mission'. If framed incorrectly, the global citizenship framework could run the risk of reproducing inequalities and power structures, making it a new tool for imperialism that glosses over the history of colonization and/or the root cause of challenges like poverty.

Traditionally, in much of the postcolonial world citizenship was tied to the nation state, although the idea of a single community of morals has never been entirely absent. Already known from Kant and his philosophy of cosmopolitanism, its resurgence has been attributed to various factors such as capitalism, worldwide trade, expanding empires, travel, and anthropological discoveries, in addition to the

focus on human rights and reason (Kleingeld and Brown, 2014). The major concern with the ideology of global citizenship is that it stems from a western perspective. Pashby (2011: 10), for example, highlights ‘the fact that educational materials are overwhelmingly Western-American-Global North centric and emphasize neoliberal values of consumerism over critical democratic engagement while celebrating globalization from above’. The ideology is rooted in specific cultural and social traditions, for which reason it is essential to be critically self-aware and challenge traditional assumptions that spring from these worldviews.

Students living in these contemporary realities are an important source of information on how this ideology is viewed and what is needed in the educational realm. The data from this study was therefore analysed through a postcolonial lens, with emphasis on understanding the theoretical underpinnings of the concept given the postcolonial realities of the country. This paper can help to frame the future discourse on the course of action for the national education system as a whole and global citizenship programmes in particular for use by policymakers and practitioners in the field.

Understanding the Pakistani context

For Pakistan, globalization could be defined as the movement of capital, labour, people, goods, knowledge, and ideas (Green *et al.*, 2007). In terms of trade, it was a compulsion and not a choice (Yoganandan, 2010), and it has had big implications with regard to inequality and poverty within the country. Postcolonial states such as Pakistan come from a long history of colonialism and imperialism, and are struggling in a postcolonial stage to rid themselves of the legacy of exploitation and control. This has resulted in the need to build devoted citizens. Its repeated wars with India and the risks to its sovereignty have had similar impact. Since its foundation, Pakistan’s policymakers have for years seen the role of education to be nation-building, building of manpower and of character. This has been seen repeatedly over time in the five-year plans put forth by various governments (Bengali, 1999).

However, the most recent national education policy, published in 2009 by the Pakistani Ministry of Education, is of particular interest for its minor shift in perspective. Although it still upholds a strong national identity, it now includes values of tolerance and justice. There are twenty aims and objectives listed under this vision, most of which are intended to support nation building in the form of economic and social advancements that benefit the country. Of particular interest is the seventh objective, where the aim of education is described as follows: ‘to develop a self-reliant individual, capable of analytical and original thinking, a responsible member of society and a global citizen’ (Ministry of Education, Government of Pakistan, 2009: 18). A similar version of the objective appears later on, in the section ‘Overarching priorities.’

This is the only other time in the 71-page document that the term global citizen is used. In such a connected world there is international competition of knowledge-based goods and services; the report recognizes the necessity to expand capabilities to function in a global world and to assume broader responsibility.

The reference to 'global' in the latest policy document, however, does not dig deep. All the references to 'global' are economic in nature and speak of building competitiveness through global knowledge, thereby illustrating the creation of market-based citizens. The National Policy Review Team cites the creation of citizens who are capable of competing in a 'global knowledge based economy and information age' as the aim of education (as cited in Nasser, 2012: 7). The element of global learning that encourages critical awareness on how our past has shaped our present, as well as a critical reflection on the future of the global world, seems to be absent. Global knowledge is limited to economic advantage rather than embracing a broader understanding of the world, of the power structures and responsibilities in a global world.

Although the inclusion of a global element in the policy is valued, it is vague at best. There is no explanation of who could be a global citizen, of what their roles and responsibilities are; neither does it outline how the development of global citizens will be achieved.

Citizenship in Pakistan and the applicability of global citizenship

Given its history, policymakers in Pakistan have focused heavily on citizenship education. Talking about a 2002 Ministry of Education publication, Dean (2008: 11) points out that 'of the nine objectives five are directed towards the development of true practicing Muslims, three to the acquisition of knowledge about Pakistan and the world and one to promoting the values of co-existence and interdependence'. It is clear that building a strong nationalistic foundation is the reason for such a strong focus on a singular identity formation; however, if there is little focus on interdependence and the values of co-existence and on the acquisition of knowledge about the world, is it possible for students to develop a global identity?

Further, it is crucial to realize that in addition to Pakistan's postcolonial narrative, the 'war on terror' and the rise of militancy in war-torn areas have also strained relationships between the West and the Muslim world. Other than its forced entry in trade-based globalization, after 9/11 and the war on terrorism, Pakistan found itself frequently in the news primarily because it was seen to be playing a crucial role in world affairs due to its proximity to Afghanistan. This sudden burst of media attention, which has somewhat continued over the last ten years, as well as the expansion of social media and fast-paced technological advancements have brought to the forefront discourses on globalization, interdependence, and multiple identity

formations. However, it is hard to ignore that Pakistan, India, and Bangladesh have all gained independence relatively recently. Pakistan's educational policies are reflective of its desire to create strong nationalistic identities in light of its recent past. These are the complexities confronting Pakistan's policymakers as they advocate for global citizenship, possibly in light of its premature entry into world politics and the country's self-image.

Global citizenship as an ideology operates against the backdrop of such contemporary realities. Citizenship in this postcolonial country cannot be expected to move away from being tied exclusively to the state and towards something broader. Furthermore, opportunities to interact with the outside world are limited and a turbulent past and present make commitment to a wider world difficult. However, these limitations do not signal a failure of the ideology in Pakistan, but rather they highlight the need for a local re-evaluation. Peters *et al.* (2008) accurately reason that 'global', 'citizenship', and 'education' all have contested meanings and are open to revision, which in turn would mean they should be understood and applied in context.

There has been very little research on global citizenship in Pakistan. Researchers or educationalists have not examined the applicability and appropriateness of this ideology, although there are programmes that seek to teach this concept and it has appeared as an objective in the National Policy. This was identified as a gap that needs to be understood and filled, as isolated programmes can have very little impact in such a complex setting. This paper aims to encourage discussions about the designing of programmes that respect this situation and its complexity while positively influencing the people living in this context.

Methodology

Research for this study was carried out with the purpose of describing the values and attitudes of students in Pakistan towards global citizenship so as to understand the appropriateness of the framework. For this reason, a case study approach was used that allowed participants to share their views on reality, from which the researcher was able to deduce participants' actions. In this qualitative study, six semi-structured, in-depth interviews (IDIs) were conducted with grade 9 students in a privately run school under the national education system, using purposive sampling to redundancy. Interviews were undertaken to gain detailed information on students' understanding and attitudes towards the ideological framework. It was assumed that responses to the questions would be lengthy and would require probing. In addition, there was also a lot of uncertainty about the kind of responses that would be received and it was assumed that these would be highly varied. For these reasons, semi-structured interviews were chosen as the best tool for collecting data. Six students from the class list that was provided were randomly selected, that

is, every fifth student. The students were all 15 years of age, born in Karachi, Pakistan. Two were male and four were female.

The school in which students were interviewed is a lower middle income school located in Saddar, the heart of Karachi, Pakistan's largest metropolitan city. Established only a couple of years after partition in 1947, it serves approximately 3000 students. In the Pakistani educational structure, students can specialize in science, humanities or technical stream subjects. English, Urdu, Islamiyat, Pakistan Studies, and Mathematics are compulsory subjects for all. The technical stream is for students who wish to join the labour market on graduation and is not a very highly valued choice. It is often not offered in many schools, as was the case in this one. All of the students interviewed were in the science stream, which meant that in addition to their core subjects they studied physics, chemistry, biology, and computer science.

According to the UNESCO (2007) report on education in Pakistan, 31 per cent of students enrol in the private sector. In urban areas, private educational institutions account for more students than the public sector, with 51 per cent enrolled in the private sector compared to the 49 per cent in the public sector. The educational system in Pakistan still shows remnants of colonialism especially evident in the educational structure. There exists an education system parallel to the national one. This system certifies students with the General Certificate of Education (GCE) and students take their Ordinary (O) and Advanced (A) Level qualifications. Often called Grammar Schools, these schools are a reminder of Pakistan's neocolonial era. The O and A Level examinations are highly valued and more expensive than the national system of examinations, in which students take board exams pertinent to their province, the guidelines of which are set by the central government. Matriculation refers to secondary school examinations that are taken during years 9 and 10. During the subsequent two years, in years 11 and 12, students take their intermediate examinations. The irony here is that the terms originated during the British Raj in the subcontinent. Although England has replaced these terms with the O and A Level terminology respectively, Pakistan still chooses to use the old British terminology to define their national education system.

For this study, schools under the national education system were selected. The schools' use of textbooks published under the authority of the Sindh Education Board was an important consideration, as their textbooks are designed for the purpose of educating for citizenship. Textbooks used in schools administering the General Certificate of Education (GCE) are not designed with a similar purpose and were therefore not considered.

The purpose of the questionnaire and the expected time frame was shared along with the guarantee of confidentiality and privacy. All participants were informed of their right to decline participation or withdraw, and interviews were only conducted after

written consent was obtained. After the completion of the qualitative interviews, all recorded conversations were transcribed, compiled and analysed by the investigator to minimize biases. Thematic analysis was conducted using open coding. Rather than using a predetermined set of codes based on initial assumptions, the data was analysed through open coding to facilitate new findings that were initially outside the scope of the original conceptualization of the study. Common and recurrent themes were identified and responses falling under these themes were noted. These included: being a citizen and a global citizen, knowledge and action, advantages and disadvantages of the concept of global citizenship.

It was felt that teachers who had undergone the training could help to further highlight the needs that arise in a Pakistani context. Therefore, five teachers who had participated in the British Council's Connecting Classrooms programme were also interviewed. The teachers were not the focus of this study, but they were deemed important sources of information whose responses could better help understand students' responses.

About the Connecting Classroom programme and teacher participants

There are few programmes in Pakistan that teach global citizenship; the Connecting Classrooms project, supplied by the British Council is one such programme. Additionally, this is one of the few programmes that has a component aimed at teachers. Since it has been designed in the United Kingdom, I felt it could shed light on whether programmes need to be created in context, with an understanding of the country and students' perceptions, in order for them to be valuable and impactful.

Connecting Classrooms (CC) is a global education programme that is operational in over 50 countries and funded in partnership with the UK government and the Department for International Development. The programme primarily offers school partnerships through which support is provided for schools 'to build a sustainable relationship with a link school'. It also offers '[p]rofessional development for teachers,' which promises to equip teachers 'to tackle global themes in the classroom' (British Council, 2014).

The website explains that the programme promotes global citizenship through connecting classrooms and 'is designed to help young people learn about international themes and become responsible global citizens' (British Council Pakistan, 2015). These are bold claims and it seemed useful to understand teachers' perception of global citizenship after having undergone such a formally structured programme. The main themes explored under the global citizenship heading in the Connecting Classroom programme are: identity and belonging, sustainable living, fairness and equality, rights and responsibilities, and conflict and peace.

Five teachers from another, privately run school were selected. All of these teachers were women of a varied age group (between the ages of 22 and 40) who had recently undergone a global citizenship programme under the British Council Pakistan and who were incorporating their learnings into their teaching. All of the participants were primary school teachers and were not randomly selected given the requirement of them having undertaken the programme. All of the teacher participants had completed their secondary and higher secondary schooling in Pakistan under the national education system.

Like the student participants, teachers were informed of the purpose of the study, were given no remuneration for participation, and were informed of their right to refuse or withdraw from the study at any given point. Pseudonyms have also been used for teacher participants to ensure anonymity. Participating teachers were also assured of confidentiality, and written consent was acquired for audiotaping and for the use of responses in this paper. It is important to mention here that this is not a comparative study of any sort. Teacher responses are meant to complement understanding of students' responses. There are certain advantages to this: firstly, it highlights the extent to which their understanding of the ideology is similar and/or different from students' understanding. Secondly, teacher responses shed light on whether their concepts of identity and their views on their role, responsibilities, and place in the world were altered by participation in a formal programme. How similar are teacher beliefs to those held by students? It is expected that the findings here will open up many more avenues for discussion, which cannot be explored at length in this paper.

Limitations

It is recognized that the views expressed by students in this study are not representative of the views of students across other socio-economic classes or geographic locations. Since Karachi is the largest metropolitan city in Pakistan, the dynamics of living here may influence students in ways that are dissimilar to students in smaller cities or rural areas, especially in terms of internalizing and understanding concepts related to global citizenship. Further limitations to these findings may include the miscommunication of information from respondent to interviewer and the possibility of information being withheld by respondents because of misunderstanding and uncertainty. This is of particular relevance given that the questionnaire was administered in English, which is not the native language for the majority of the students.

Furthermore, caution must be exercised when trying to generalize the findings of this research study, as students in Karachi have a unique situation, with generally more readily available Internet access, transport, and other facilities that are usually

available to residents of large metropolitan cities. A further consideration is that of socio-economic class. Generally, people in middle to lower-middle socio-economic classes choose to enrol their children in schools administrating the national education system.

Findings

What is students' understanding of the term 'global citizens' and their attitude towards the concept?

Initially, students were asked what they understood by the term. There was a broad range of responses. This was not surprising given that there is no formal global citizenship programme in these schools. It was hoped that asking such questions would also elucidate the extent to which the students were aware of the term and if they had any prior knowledge about it, particularly in relation to citizenship.

The following responses from students are illustrative of their understanding. Saleha felt the responsibilities of a citizen were to 'keep [their] area clean ... I should speak humbly, I can change my attitude towards others and spread love'. Saleem said any kind of commonality with people who lived in the same area made you a citizen, '[f]or example, having the same language, religion, social practices'. These answers reflect a strongly exclusivist and very restricted understanding of citizenship. Sana had a vague and very broad response that described being a citizen as 'being the pillar of a nation', '[m]y responsibility is to think about it and do good'. Khurram had a similarly broad and unclear definition: 'a citizen who understands his country and wants to be a part of it'. Ahsan and Asma felt anyone who was born in a country was a citizen of that country and their responsibility was to 'portray the best of that country', or, to rephrase, to represent it well. What is essential to realize here is that there is a superficial grasp of the concept of citizenship, of who is a citizen and what their responsibilities are. Even though they are familiar with the term, they cannot describe what it means or to whom it applies.

With regard to global citizens, responses included being a 'citizen of other countries,' '[w]hen a person's identity is more global,' 'a citizen who understands and wants to be part of the world,' while one said 'having a universal education' was being a global citizen. Another participant broke down the term by saying 'a citizen is someone who shares some social trait, or something in common with somebody else, a global citizen is possibly someone who shares something in common with someone not in the same area or country.' The range of responses clearly indicates a lack of familiarity with the concept. As expected, students have tried to break down the term and have attempted to provide some kind of an explanation; definitions are somewhat simple and reflect a lack of concrete understanding of the concept of

'citizen.' Additionally, shared history, a common society, or some other similarity is considered essential.

With regard to participation, the general opinion was that without action one could not be a global citizen. Other than one student, all five participants felt that knowledge without action was not enough. Saleem was the only participant who felt knowledge about the world and a sense of responsibility to it was enough. All of the other participants felt action had to come into play in order for one to be a global citizen. Ahsan, to paraphrase, felt that knowledge that is unexpressed is no good, while Sana was more zealous in her opinion and was quick to quote Hazrat Ali, a powerful and deeply respected figure in Islamic history: 'Unacted upon knowledge goes astray'. It was for this reason that she felt she was not a global citizen, 'I cannot go out of Pakistan and tell them about my country and religion and live there so I cannot say I am a global citizen.' Asma had similarly passionate views about action being necessary for one to be deemed a global citizen. Khurram felt knowledge was not enough but was not absolute in his opinion. He felt that with regard to some aspects, such as the environment, as individuals we could participate; however, on other aspects he felt knowledge was enough, as the opportunity to take part might never arrive. Saleha's views were similar to Khurram's, feeling that on some issues knowledge was enough.

Teachers interviewed had similar views. Three of them felt strongly that an individual who was not acting or taking part in the global world could not be a global citizen. Additionally, when further probed as to whether they felt they were global citizens, they responded by saying they were because they had taken part in the Connecting Classrooms programme and interacted with others outside of Pakistan whom they still kept in touch with. Rabia explained clearly with an example: 'see if a woman is a housewife and knows about the world, she is not a global citizen because she is doing nothing in terms of interacting with the world. Interaction, action is necessary to be a global citizen.' There was only one teacher who was on the fence about this and felt that one could possibly be a global citizen without action. She did, however, add: 'but then how would anyone know or say that I am a global citizen. Will he/she only be a global citizen in his or her own eyes only?'

There are a number of essential points emerging here. Firstly, because of the general lack of understanding of who is a 'citizen' and what their responsibilities are, students were generally unable to conceptualize a global citizen and, by extension, global citizenship. I would attribute their difficulty in grasping the concept to the weak base on which their ideology of citizenship is built. Dean (2008), in her analysis of the social studies curriculum under the Sindh Education Board, found that citizenship education was linked to Islamic education, and no clear distinction was made between the two. She writes that to 'become good Muslims and by extension, good

citizens, the textbooks focus on pietistic and ritualistic Islam' (Dean, 2008: 42). More concerningly, they tend to focus on the government rather than on the agency of citizens, thereby 'disempowering students from creating a more just and peaceful society. Three texts that do create a sense of social responsibility focus mainly on environmental responsibility such as keeping one's neighbourhood clean and reducing environmental pollution' (Dean, 2008: 41).

Secondly, students seem to identify 'global citizens' as those individuals who will at some point in the future travel or live outside of Pakistan. This identity of being a global citizen seems to exclude those who will not be having any kind of interaction outside of Pakistan in the future. Respondents did not seem to think that Pakistanis who will never engage with the wider community could still be global citizens.

Stemming from the above, there was little value given to knowledge without action. This in some ways excludes a lot of Pakistani students who may never get the opportunity to act, and limits the ideology to a very few, making the concern of global elites being global citizens a reality. It would probably be worthwhile to re-explore the definition of a global citizen from a local context, having understood the realities and limitations in terms of interaction and opportunities in addition to understanding how 'static' identities are in the Pakistani context. This would mean that, in addition to trying to create global citizens, we also try to broaden or redefine who is a global citizen in local contexts.

What can students' views on global citizenship contribute to the debates on global citizenship in developing countries?

The more interesting finding was students' view on the ideology behind the term. Participants were given a definition and understanding was checked with questioning. They were then asked about their opinions on the concept. A young girl, Saleha, responded by saying she felt that although this was a 'good idea', it was not suitable for Pakistan. 'Our first responsibility is our country,' she said, 'we can worry about the world after we have fixed our situation.' Another participant, Saleem, also had no hesitation about rejecting the notion. 'We separated from India based on the fact that we wanted a separate nation for Muslims only. When we have parted because of such strong nationalistic values, this idea [of being a global citizen] does not make sense.' When Saleem was further probed with the possible advantages of teaching universal values to students, he agreed to some extent, but was quick to add 'let's first save our country before we start helping the world.' Saleem was rather mature and disillusioned for someone his age: 'See, the idea of world peace is a false one. It can never happen,' he said. 'You can try and teach a lot of things but differences will always exist and this is because there are very few things common between people. For example, even in Pakistan there are four provinces, with people in each province

speaking a different language and having different customs. Look at how divided we are and how many issues we have as a result. Global citizenship just doesn't sound like something doable.' Another equally interesting and somewhat contradictory statement came from Khurram, who felt that teaching global citizenship was a good thing because it would prepare people for possible migration and so they would be 'prepared for the shift'. He added that, this way, people abroad would 'see that Pakistanis were good people. This is good for the sake of the country.' After some thought, he added that through global citizenship people would be better equipped to live and work abroad, and so they would leave the country: 'people will leave for their comfort and this will not be good [for Pakistan]'

There were two participants who were not as disillusioned with the concept, but their responses were similarly fascinating. Ahsan, in a somewhat analogous fashion to Khurram, responded by saying: 'I want to be part of the world and travel. If I or others are global citizens, we will be able to show them what Pakistanis are like.' Khurram and Ahsan seemed to be referring to global skills as the basis for global citizenship. Although Ahsan did add that the possible advantages of educating people to be global citizens was 'living freely' and 'being able to follow your religion freely'. What he refers to is the breakdown of societal pressures and the notions of 'the right way to live', which are heavily embedded in Pakistani society. Asma was the only other participant who felt that the ideology behind global citizenship was a strong one: 'for example if I invent something, even that should be for the whole world, we should learn to do everything for the whole world. Taking responsibility for everyone is necessary.' She was unable to articulate why she thought it was necessary and responded by saying she felt this way because 'that's what Islam asks us to do also'. With regard to the possible advantages, Asma spoke of better political relationships with other countries, which would lead to an increase in Pakistan's 'economic power'. Her response seems to implicitly reflect on the advantages to Pakistan, although she earlier spoke of this being advantageous to the world.

As expected, teachers having undergone the training had a clearer view of the ideology behind the term. Their perspectives on the advantages were generally broader and not clearly limited to benefiting Pakistan. Two of the five teachers spoke of the importance of global citizenship in terms of their students and how the knowledge and exposure would help the children to be critical thinkers and broaden their minds. Additionally, teachers touched on greater friendship between nations and positive collaboration and exchange of ideas. One teacher, Sarah, felt the importance of global citizenship was in acquiring knowledge, which would help them 'learn from others' experiences'. Two teachers, amongst other things, mentioned advantages to the educational system and spoke of how collaboration would help in learning 'new teaching styles' and 'help us gain more knowledge'. On further probing, both of these

teachers responded by saying students would 'know more' and this would prepare the children better for participation in the global world. Teachers seem to be alluding to the fact that they felt Pakistani students were not equipped or able to participate in the global world, and that it was important to teach them to be global citizens. What is interesting here is that advantages to Pakistani students are considered, even though the question did not limit responses to the same. Moreover, emphasis is on Pakistan or Pakistani students being on the receiving end; there is a view that such programmes will help them grow and this is attributed to the acquisition of knowledge. While a positive portrayal of the country was mentioned, no mention was made of a positive contribution by Pakistan to the global world. This openness to unidirectional influence is concerning, particularly from a neo-imperial point of view, as it seems to dangerously pave the way for external influence.

It is clear from these responses that, although they were explained what global citizenship entails, students comprehend the term and the ideology very differently. Because their opinions are not tainted with any kind of prior knowledge about the concept, their responses are raw, simple, and yet reflective of very deeply ingrained thought processes. These responses are intriguing for multiple reasons.

Firstly, their evaluations are limited to the local and immediately associated to the possible advantages to themselves and then their country. They illustrate how students have such strong ingrained national identities that the advantages of global citizenship seem to be linked to the advantages to this identity as Pakistani. They see the idea of possibly being a global citizen as aiding their present identity and not as one that will exist parallel to their national identity. Sana felt that teaching global citizenship could aid development in the country. Again, when thinking of global citizenship, students seem to link it directly to the possible benefits it can bring to the country. In terms of Oxley and Morris's (2013) typologies, responses tend to fall within the social category of cosmopolitanism, as there seems to be greater leaning towards ethics than advocacy.

Secondly, for some, global citizenship education is embedded in a training of skills that will equip them to partake in a globalizing world. It is not so much a sense of responsibility to the world that they see as the basis for global citizenship, but more the ability to operate in the world. This could be because of the economic interdependence concept that they are most familiar with.

Analysis and recommendations

Global citizens

There is a need to build the foundation on which global citizenship is laid by taking a step back to the basics of what it means to be a citizen and to the responsibilities that

come with being one, in addition to encouraging agency and active participation. Global citizenship has strong roots in the concept of citizenship. This means that, in areas where there is a weak grasp of the notion of citizenship, it may be difficult to move forward to grasping the philosophy of global citizenship and internalizing it in meaningful ways.

Alejandro Tiana (2002) draws on the debates that took place during the 46th International Conference on Education (ICE) for his framework of reference. To summarize, the most important reflection there was that learning to live together required the development of citizenship (40). This is an important point, as it argues for global participation to stem from local involvement. The first step in this direction was seen to be the development of appropriate attitudes and values in this regard. The International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA) carried out a grand study of civic education comprising over 90,000 students from 28 countries. The findings indicate that 'the civic knowledge these adolescents have acquired can be described in general as superficial and unconnected with daily life' (Tiana, 2002: 41). Although the research conducted for this paper cannot be compared to the one conducted by the IEA in scale, in methodology or in the types of questions used to gauge attitudes and values, yet the underlying similarity indicates that students fail to grasp the essence of 'citizenship' and therefore to apply the concept. With no clear conceptual understanding of globalization or citizenship, it might be unfair to expect students to link the two and understand the fundamentals of global citizenship.

Additionally, schools running the General Certificate of Education (GCE) in Pakistan use textbooks that have not specifically been designed to teach citizenship education. There is, therefore, added pressure on the national education system and a need not only to restructure the education system, but also to think about the global citizenship education curriculum. Given the high percentage of enrolments in the private education system, this is a pressing need for society.

Global citizenship in developing countries

It is important to keep in mind that developing countries are struggling politically, economically, and/or socially, which is why citizens of these countries place such emphasis on their own survival and progress. For a concept like global citizenship, where responsibility towards the world is emphasized, there can be a lack of wholehearted acceptance of such responsibility given the struggle within the country. People may fail to see their role and feel that they lack the ability or opportunity to contribute; they might view the ideological framework as a tool for helping them portray their country in a beneficial light or for gaining information and ideas that

help them progress. This challenges global assumptions and calls for a redefinition of the ideology within local contexts.

What do these findings contribute to the understanding of this ideology for developing countries? What is crucial here is that students do not feel they have adequate opportunities to interact with the world and therefore do not see themselves as global citizens. This automatically alienates them from the ideology. What is needed, then, is an approach to global citizenship that fashions independent, critical thinkers who are informed, responsible, and ethical in action. This would enable individuals to 'analyze their own position/context and participate in changing structures, assumptions, identities, attitudes and power relations in their contexts' (Andreotti, 2006: 47). Andreotti's vision is reflected by Parekh (2003), who calls for the creation of 'globally oriented citizens' who are taught to learn to appreciate our commonality but also our deep differences; for both, patriotism and rootedness in our communities are finely balanced with internationalism and openness to others, so as to give a space to seemingly conflicting yet complementary virtues.

Added to this are the strongly nationalistic values that are built into the national curriculum since the foundation of Pakistan and that are clearly visible in students' values and attitudes towards the country. There is a strong desire to work for the country and to put its needs and development before those of the world. There is also little understanding that the needs of the country and those of the world can be connected and are not mutually exclusive. An approach that highlights this connection between the two would be far better suited to Pakistan's educational goal, which has a strong citizenship focus, while also aiming to nurture global citizens.

Is the concept of global citizenship valuable and appropriate for Pakistani students? Does it enable them to make sense of their role and place in the global world?

Tying all of the above together to address the question of whether the concept of global citizenship can enable students to make sense of their role and place in the global world, I would argue that although the ideology is valuable to Pakistani students, there is a lot of foundational work that needs to go into programmes that teach for global citizenship.

Firstly, it is essential for policymakers to understand that national citizenship alone cannot respond to the global interdependence that is intensifying with time, yet they also need to appreciate that global identity and national identity do not have to be in contradiction. Therefore, a reassessment by policymakers of local education to suit contemporary realities and requirements is deemed essential.

Secondly, it is important for educationalists and policymakers to understand that there is little opportunity for the majority of Pakistanis to participate in the global world. This, combined with a feeble grasp of citizenship, may make the ideology of global citizenship a difficult one for Pakistani students. This does not signal a failure of the ideological framework of global citizenship, but rather reasons for a re-evaluation and redefinition of the framework for a local context. Moreover, teacher responses highlight the probable danger of programmes created externally, which may lead to global citizenship as a framework being seen as something that is received rather than something that is contributed to, something from which benefits are expected rather than a collective movement towards a greater good.

It is essential, therefore, that global citizenship programmes are designed and re-evaluated keeping in mind local contexts and narratives, rather than with a one-size-fits-all approach. Undeniably, the world is more interconnected; hence there is a need to move education in a direction that appreciates both commonalities and differences and allows critical reflection, and challenges assumptions, values, and institutional structures at both a local and global level. In itself, global citizenship framed in such a way can allow informed movement and impact at a local and broader level. The crucial starting point for this, however, is foundational work on the concepts that make up the ideology of global citizenship.

This paper and more work in the area of student perceptions and values can help to start conversations around global citizenship programmes in Pakistan, particularly with regard to their necessity, so as to develop a framework that is impactful and resonates with students in terms of both ethics and agency. In addition to this there is a need to evaluate what is expected of the ideology of global citizenship within a local context. I would argue that Pakistan is in need of critical global thinkers who are able to understand our past histories, critically appreciate our interconnected present, and analytically contemplate our connected future. Responsibility stems from knowledge and reflection, while action is a by-product of empowerment. Pakistani students are in need of both knowledge of and empowerment within the ideology of global citizenship for it to be fruitful both locally and globally.

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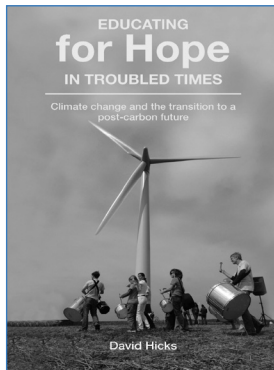
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