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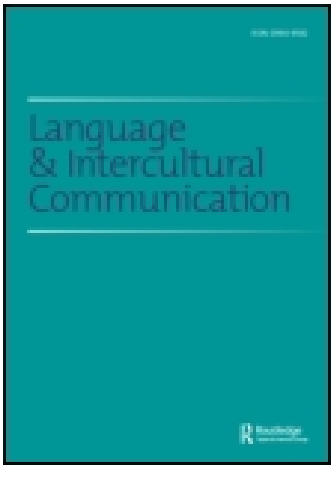

Language and Intercultural Communication

Publication details, including instructions for authors and subscription information:
http://www.tandfonline.com/loi/rmli20

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Published online: 18 May 2011.

To cite this article: David Block (2011) Citizenship, education and global spaces, Language and Intercultural Communication, 11:2, 161-169, DOI: 10.1080/14708477.2011.556743

To link to this article: http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/14708477.2011.556743

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Language and Intercultural Communication
Vol. 11, No. 2, May 2011, 161–169

Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group

DISCUSSION

Citizenship, education and global spaces

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Introduction

In a study focusing on the children of immigrants in the UK, Osler and Starkey (2003) suggest that the development of a sense of citizenship emerges to a great extent in outside-of-school contacts. In abstract terms, these contacts take place in what Bourdieu (1991) called fields; that is, spaces of social activity with evolving legitimate ways of thinking and acting, in which individuals occupy positions of inferiority, equality and superiority that are dependent on the individual's relevant symbolic capital in relation to that of other participants in the social activity. In more concrete terms, they take place in peer groups and as part of the children's memberships in socially delineated communities, organised along religious lines (e.g. Hindu, Muslim, Christian), ethno-national lines (Indian, Pakistani, English), ethnolinguistic lines (monolingual English speaker, bilingual English/Punjabi speaker), pop cultural practices (music listened to, cinematic interests, sporting affiliations, dress), space (this neighbourhood versus that neighbourhood) and so on. And, of course, what Osler and Starkey argue regarding the children of immigrants in the UK applies to the children of immigrants in different nation states around the world and indeed, to a good proportion of the populations of these nation states who are not officially positioned as having roots in, or ongoing contact with, a nation state other than the one in which they reside.

It is therefore important to examine citizenship not only in terms of citizenship education and intercultural education, where both are situated inside educational institutions and are part of mainstream formal schooling, but also as a 'communicative achievement'. As Fairclough, Pardoe, and Szerszynski argue, such a move would allow researchers 'to get away from preconceptions about what citizenship is, and look at how it is done – at the range of ways in which people position themselves and others as citizens in participatory events' (2006, p. 99).

In this discussant piece, I examine instances of citizenship as a communicative achievement – that is, how it is 'done' – in global spaces in the five papers making up this special issue. The term 'global spaces' here refers to how the characteristics of certain large cities labelled 'world cities' or 'global cities' (Block, 2006), such as being the home of ethnically and linguistically diverse populations and internationally networked businesses, are progressively coming to characterise far smaller localities as well as many electronically mediated sites. Global spaces may exist in large form,

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ISSN 1470-8477 print/ISSN 1747-759X online
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DOI: 10.1080/14708477.2011.556743
http://www.informaworld.com

at the level of middle sized and small municipalities and cyber communities devoted to a particular activity (e.g. fan fiction sites); however, they can also be smaller configurations of collective activity, such as a particular school that has a large proportion of its student body from outside the country where it is located. Importantly, they make for interesting backdrops for phenomena such as citizenship, to which I now turn.

Citizenship

Saskia Sassen (2006) engages with the concept of citizenship as someone interested in economics, culture, politics and geography, all understood within a globalisation framework. For Sassen, 'citizenship describes the legal relationship between the individual and polity' (2006, p. 281), where the individual is understood to be a sovereign, autonomous subject and polity is understood as the nation state. This claim that the nation state is the unit of polity must be understood both historically and in terms of the present evolving into the future. Thus, whereas in an earlier part of European history, it was the city that constituted polity, in today's globalised age it is the nation state, although there is an evolution towards post-national or supranational units such as international banking and electronically mediated social networks. In such cases we use the term 'membership' to describe one's affiliation.

Osler and Starkey (2005) argue that there are three key dimensions of citizenship, which I gloss according to my liberal interpretation of their discussion, as follows:

- *Citizenship as status*. This is akin to Sassen's notion of the legal relationship between the individual and polity. Citizens are citizens by virtue of this legal relationship which entails political and social rights and duties.
- *Citizenship as feeling*. This dimension recognises that different individuals will have varying degrees of identification and affiliation to the idealised or 'imagined' version of the nation state, as outlined in official public discourses, and the on-the-ground nation state, as lived in day-to-day activity. It also recognises that feelings of citizenship are not always reciprocated. Thus immigrants often do not find their strong feelings of identification with their new home mirrored in how other more established citizens position them.
- *Citizenship as practice*. It is not enough for one to have the status of citizen with the rights and duties that this entails: there is also the need to exercise citizenship, to participate in activities which serve to bring this status to life. An example of such participation is campaigning for a candidate for public office or simply voting in an election. And there is also the more banal day-to-day participation in activities that maintain social cohesions such as membership in sports clubs, trade unions, neighbourhood associations and so on.

Citizenship as practice, in particular the idea of exercising citizenship via participation in activities bringing citizenship status to life, dovetails with Fairclough et al.'s (2006) 'citizenship as communicative achievement'. However, as Sassen and Osler and Starkey note, there are other dimensions of citizenship to consider that extend beyond citizenship as status or feeling or practice. For example, in an increasingly digitised and interconnected world, there are new forms of belonging and over time these connections erode more traditional material and abstract connections of individuals to nation states. Thus, individuals may spend more time engaging with

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people who share the same religion or an interest in the environment than they do with fellow nationals. As a result of these contacts, they may come to feel a greater affinity to these people than they do to fellow nationals.

In addition to such grassroots emergent citizenship forms, there are of course more institutionalised and formalised ones. Historically, these have existed in the form of globalised means of association, such as organised religions or organised labour. However, the more recent electronically mediated shared affiliation to environmentalism or the long-existing concept of religious affiliation might be understood more in terms of membership in communities, broadly understood as collectives of individuals with common interests and goals, as opposed to actual citizenship. For if we take seriously the definitions of citizenship, ranging from Sassen's to Osler and Starkey's, there appears to be a need to maintain the centrality of the nation state as a common and shared polity. An example of supranational collective, which maintains the nation state as its key framing principle is the political, economic, social and cultural union of European nation states, the EU, which is producing new ways of understanding citizenship (Bauböck, 2002; Croucher, 2004). For many young citizens of nation states such as Italy, Spain, France and Germany, there is growing sense of a European citizenship, which in many cases might be seen as equally attractive, and in some cases more attractive, than what has historically been a national one. Or perhaps more relevant to this special issue, there are global organisations such as the United Nations, UNICEF and UNESCO that are founded on the ideals of bringing nation states together in a spirit of cosmopolitanism.

In addition, there are forces from within nation states that challenge the totalising integrity historically understood to be vital to the survival of nation states. Thus, there is an increasing tendency in ethnically diverse nation states towards the proliferation of what Touraine (1997/2000) might term 'communitarian' activities. These activities mark difference, positioning participants as members of groups associated with particular ethnolinguistic, national, religious and other identities that are recognised both locally and nationally as legitimate parts of the overall polity of the nation state in which they occur. This is the way that citizenship works today for many Americans, Canadians and Australians, living in self-defined multicultural societies, and it is a growing trend in Western European nation states that have experienced significant immigration for more than 50 years.

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Individuals positioning themselves and others as citizens in participatory events

How then do the individuals portrayed in the five contributions to this special issue engage with citizenship, understood within the parameters laid out above?

The backdrop to Jane Jackson's paper is reconceptualisation of citizenship in globalised spaces like Hong Kong, such that a 'good citizen' is understood to be (1) someone who has acquired 'intercultural communicative competence' and (2) someone who self-positions and is positioned by others as an 'international citizen'. While the former aspect of good citizenship is about the ability to interact with people from other cultures in what is their preferred language, the latter is about a supra-nation-state identity, which places the individual in the realm of what David Held calls 'cultural cosmopolitanism', defined as follows:

> Cultural cosmopolitanism should be understood as the capacity to mediate between national cultures, communities of fate and alternative styles of life. It encompasses the possibility of dialogue with traditions and discourses of others with the aim of expanding horizons of one's own framework of meaning and prejudice. (Held, 2002, pp. 57–58)

Jackson's central informant, an undergraduate student named Mira, would appear to have begun a journey toward achieving what Held has in mind here. And this initial success, we learn, led to further success and achievement in this direction, as Jackson explains at the end of her paper. Nevertheless, the journey to cosmopolitanism by Mira and others like her is not just a matter of engaging in behaviours that, in effect, mean that she is a good ethnographer. More than this, Mira has managed to 'sneak backstage' to use Ulf Hannerz's (1996) metaphor and perhaps managed to experience what Joseph Shaules (2007) terms 'deep intercultural experience', whereby she has managed not only to engage with, but also to immerse herself in what initially were the hidden features of cultural difference in her new environment.

And thinking about such hidden cultural features that are part and parcel of any experience involving cultures in contact, as well as Mira's initial feeling that she was like 'a rootless leaf floating on water' (Jackson, p. 86), I am reminded of Julia Kristeva and her oft-cited book *Strangers to Ourselves*. Kristeva (1991) examines the feelings of being a 'foreigner', a 'stranger' and an 'outsider' in France, although the applications of what she says extend well beyond the border of just one nation state. Importantly, Kristeva does not construct her discussion exclusively around the notion of X and the other; she also notes that migrants are, in effect, 'strangers to [themselves]'. This is the case because as sojourners like Mira gather experience in a new language and culture and become the intercultural communicators and global citizens they were intended to be, they often feel melancholy, ambivalence and loss within themselves. They have these feelings in part because they are constantly positioning and repositioning themselves on uncertain playing fields, that is, spaces which are not the ones they have grown up situated in. In addition, they engage in activities which are not the activities that they grew up engaging in and which are mediated by very different semiotic assemblages than those with which they have grown up. Thus to understand Mira's journey towards intercultural communicative competence and global cosmopolitanism is to understand that it involved a fair degree of inner turmoil. In this sense, we may celebrate Mira's success but we should not underestimate the amount of 'inner' work involved nor over-attribute the good results to the kind of course that she attended.

We might well wonder about the extent to which the younger informants in Zhu Hua, Jiang Yan and Jennifer Watson's paper, 11-year-old British children from a range of cultural and linguistic backgrounds, also experienced a similar kind of inner turmoil as they attended an international summer village programme in the UK. Perhaps less so. It seems that the children consulted cited the establishment of relationships as well as learning about language, eating different food and playing games as the most important outcomes of their experiences on the programme. And following Deardorff (2009), they would appear, to varying degrees, to have developed their Intercultural Communicative Competence, understood as 'the ability to communicate effectively and appropriately in intercultural encounters' (Zhu Hua et al., p. 143). Above all, the experience seems to have served as a confidence raiser and perhaps a taster for more profound intercultural experiences later in life. As regards citizenship, these children can be said to be at the initial stages of the

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development of a certain global, cosmopolitan citizenship, as described above and as described by Zhu Hua et al. However, there is something of a simulated feel to the proceedings, when the children's experiences are compared to Mira's experiences, as camps are organised by adults and 11-year-olds are certainly not as free to 'sneak backstage' or engage with deep intercultural experiences as university students on study abroad programmes. From this perspective, this paper documents nascent and as yet inchoate forms of global, cosmopolitan citizenship. It seems that more ground-shaking experiences, later in life, are what is required if individuals are to develop a cosmopolitanism along the lines of what Held envisages (see above).

Catherine Wallace's paper moves us to mainstream primary school education in London. Wallace examines how in the school setting newly arrived migrant children develop their English language skills, develop as students in general and develop a sense of belonging as practical citizens (in that they are living in London and engaging in activities in a London school) and as future citizens (as regards their legal status which for the moment is non-British). They do all of these things against a backdrop of a school culture that Wallace, drawing on Robin Alexander (2008), describes as 'a collectivist principle tinged with a strong community ethos' (Wallace, p. 100). Alexander compares and contrasts schooling in France, India, Russia, the USA and the UK. He argues that education in England is organised around an individualist ethos, one that puts the interests of the individual before those of the collective, is about responsibility to oneself over responsibility to others and supports individual rights over collective rights. This ethos leads to an educational culture in which intellectual and social differentiation are encouraged, there is an acceptance of diverging learning outcomes and knowledge seen to pertain to the individual as something unique to that individual and not as part of a larger body of knowledge related to the history and practices of a collective. This, in any case, is in theory what undergirds education in England, which is not to say that such a model either determines or can be used as a template to understand everything that goes on in English classrooms. It is, however, a model embedded both in the enlightenment, as it emerged in England, and the evolution of anglophone cultures around the world (one finds predominant a similar educational ethos in the USA, Australia and other anglophone countries). And importantly, the individualist ethos in schools, as it exists today, is fully consistent with the basic tenets of neoliberal economic ideology (Harvey, 2005) and the new individualism of globalised consumerism (Elliot & Lemert, 2006), according to which the UK has been governed in recent years.

Wallace provides evidence to show that in a West London school, where the vast majority of the students have strong links outside the UK, the teachers and children do not appear to be working according to this individualist ethos. Instead, Wallace finds evidence of community, whereby teachers and children work together, sharing and collaborating rather than competing, as well as a certain collectivist ethos, which fosters human interdependence rather than human independence. In all of this, there is working together towards common goals and the needs of the group rather than individual goals and needs. There is, therefore, a collectivism of 'common knowledge, common ideals, a single curriculum for all, national culture rather than pluralism and multiculture, and on learning together rather than in isolation or in small groups' (Alexander, 2005, p. 5).

There is the prospect here, as Wallace concludes, that the globalised space, constituted by the children of immigrants in a London school setting and emergent in their activities, may well be a 'different' space from that which is more mainstream

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in schools where the majority of students were born and raised in the UK. From this perspective, the school works in a quietly subversive way – it subverts Alexander's dominant individualist ethos, said to typify education in English. The issue is the extent to which these children are being socialised into ways of being and ways of belonging in school settings that will disadvantage them in a more generally individualised system. In a sense, they may develop as better people but as worse citizens in a society that has evolved into something more akin to every person for him/herself than 'we are all in this together', as the Conservative–Liberal Democrat coalition, currently in power in the UK, would have British citizens believe.

In Shakuntala Banaji's contribution, we see the clearest example of citizenship mediated by technology. Banaji examines three different websites aimed at getting young people involved in discussion and debate about issues that concern them. Banaji notes differences across the sites, in particular as regards different levels of participation and the diversity of participants. Regarding these dimensions, one site, the European Youth Portal, seemed far too driven by those who designed it to connect with its intended audience. Meanwhile, another site, the UK Youth Parliament, did manage to attract users, although, as Banaji notes, these seemed to be better educated and more articulate young people who seemed to find it easy to express their views on any number of issues openly and freely. There is no doubt a social class issue at work here, as only those with sufficient cultural social capital (Bourdieu, 1984), acquired through attending more privileged schools, are likely to feel comfortable on such a site. The third site, Muslim Youth.net, seemed, at first sight, to be the most overtly exclusive as it implied in its name and stated purpose that it was for British Muslims only. However, for Banaji this site was far more plural than the other two as regards the age of participants, supra-British affiliations and the mix of male and female participants.

This dynamism shows the power of a website to bring people with common interests and affiliations together. As such, it is a good example of Touraine's 'communitarianism' (Touraine, 1997/2000), in that it is based on recognition and affiliation according to religion, which only include the nation state as general frame. However, it is perhaps better to view the site as an example of grassroots citizenship in practice, as a communicative achievement of citizenship, which only makes sense when it is conceived as part of a broader British citizenship. In effect, the issues addressed – racism, voting in elections, dealing with imprisoned family members, how the English language is used and so on – are British issues as they have arisen inside British polity and as a result do not really make sense outside of British polity. The site, therefore, is a site of diversity within British citizenship building. Noting the success of the website in achieving not only more subscribers than the other sites but more profound discussions of issues affecting modern British society, Banaji concludes that '[t]he more specifically a website binds its civic mission to a particular group or subset of young people, to their political concerns and contexts, the more it appears to be able to appeal to diverse demographics within that group' (Banaji, p. 138). I would add to this statement that it also fosters among users a sense of belonging to a broader polity at the nation-state level.

Such a sense of belonging would appear to be at the heart of what is going on in the different cases discussed by Hoskins and Sallah, although the issue is how the potential for members of minority ethnic groups to feel a part of British society is reduced due to continued institutional insensitivity to difference. This insensitivity might manifest itself, as the authors note, in the gap existent between parents and

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their children's teachers, when domains of social activity such as discipline are discussed. Or it might involve far more people, as in the case of inattention to the dietary needs of Muslim children in school where they make up 80% of the school population.

For Hoskins and Sallah, the main problem in intercultural education for citizenship across Europe is that official discourses have become more about the interpersonal level of interactions, leaving, for the most part, the cultural and larger structural levels outside of discussions. This state of affairs finds a parallel in Alexander's notions of individualism versus community and collectivism, as discussed above with reference to Wallace's contribution. In effect, it is easier to treat cases of discrimination (racism, religious discrimination, sexism) as individual violations of social norms than it is to frame them and deal with them at the broader levels of culture and social structure. It is thus far easier to treat acts of racism as individual aberrations than to frame them as culturally endemic, as institutionalised and as systemic in the UK.

In contrast to this view, Judith Butler (1997/2004) takes on the notion that individual statements or acts classified as racist are just that, individual acts. She sees the problem as one of an allegiance to Austin's original speech act theory of individual intentions underlying individual acts of communication (see Austin, 1962). The issue is that in such a theory, a speech/communicative act is framed as an 'intended action', emergent in the ongoing flow of interaction, which is stripped of any synchronic embeddedness in any social structure or diachronic embeddedness in any historical structure. For Butler this way of framing communication, and indeed action of any kind, is wrong. She explains her position as follows:

> It is not simply that the speech act takes place *within* a practice, but that the act is itself a ritualized practice. What this means, then, is that a performative 'works' to the extent that it *draws on* and *covers over* the constitutive conventions by which it is mobilized. In this sense, no term or statement can function performatively without accumulating and dissimulating historicity of force. (Butler, 1997/2004, p. 221; italics in the original)

In short, we cannot understand acts of racism or cultural insensitivity as strictly individual actions, the product of individual intentions; rather, they are always socio-historically situated in cultural and social structures. Hoskins and Sallah are right to bring this matter to the fore in their discussion, as it is essential if we are to understand how citizenship and feelings of belonging are done and undone.

Conclusion

The papers that make up this special issue are heterogeneous in their focus on global and cosmopolitan citizenship. At the same time they are just a very small sampling of ways of looking at how global cosmopolitan citizenship is made on the ground. To close I would like to see how they may be situated according to new ways of looking at citizenship developed in recent years by Engin Isin (2008, 2009). Isin has written extensively about what he calls 'acts of citizenship', a concept not inconsistent with Fairclough et al.'s (2006) notion of citizenship as a 'communicative achievement'. In his view, an act of citizenship entails that subjects make themselves citizens through their actions. This social constructivist perspective is certainly consistent across the papers in this issue. In addition, the study of acts of citizenship means a 'shift [in] focus

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from what people say (opinion, perception, attitudinal surveys) to what people do (Isin, 2009, p. 371). For Isin, '[t]his is an important supplement, and under certain circumstances, corrective, to studies that concern themselves with what people say about their citizenship and identification' (2009, p. 371). The papers in this issue to varying degrees have shown us the actions of individuals as they construct their citizenship. A third entailment of acts of citizenship is space, both physical and institutional. In recent years, there has been an increase in the number of physical and institutional spaces and sites where citizenship may be achieved by subjects: not only in 'traditional sites of citizenship contestation such as voting, social security and military obligation, [but also] . . . [b]odies, courts, streets, media, networks and borders have . . . become sites of contestation for citizenship' (Isin, 2009, p. 371). This change is reflected in the different papers in this issue in which we see how traditional school settings may be complemented by summer schools and study abroad programmes and how the web is increasingly a site for making citizenship, to say nothing of the increasing number of spaces for citizenship within the EU. Finally, Isin notes how:

> [A]cts of citizenship stretch across boundaries, frontiers and territories to involve multiple and overlapping scales of contestation, belonging, identification and struggle. Such contestations stretch across nations and towards urban, regional, transnational and international scales. The focus on acts of citizenship that produce new actors, sites and scales of citizenship is therefore vital for understanding how citizenship has changed in an age of migration and movement. (Isin, 2009, p. 371)

What Isin describes here is the making of citizenship outside the confines of traditional and established institutional and nation-state sites. In a sense, what he identifies as sites of citizenship look a lot like global spaces, as described earlier in this paper. Both in Isin's work and the work of the contributors to this issue, we therefore see efforts to understand citizenship against a backdrop of globalisation, with global spaces at the centre. And this orientation, linked with a continued interest in how polity is made locally as well as at the nation-state level, seems a good way forward for studies of citizenship in the world today.

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