Citizenship, Global Migration, and Education

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Migration within and across nation-states is a worldwide phenomenon. The movement of peoples across national boundaries is as old as the nation-state itself. However, never before in the history of the world has the movement of diverse racial, cultural, ethnic, linguistic, and religious groups within and across nation-states been as numerous and rapid or raised such complex and difficult questions about citizenship, human rights, democracy, and education. Many worldwide trends and developments are challenging the notion of educating students to function in one nation-state. These trends include the ways in which people are moving back and forth across national borders (Castles, 2004; Sassen,1999), the rights of movement permitted by the European Union, and the rights codified in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (Osler & Starkey, 2010).

Assimilation, Diversity, and Global Migration

Prior to the ethnic revitalization movements of the 1960s and 1970s, the aim of schools in most nation-states was to develop citizens who internalized national values, venerated national heroes, and accepted glorified versions of national histories. These goals of citizenship education are obsolete today because many people have multiple national commitments and live in more than one nation. However, the development of citizens who have global and cosmopolitan identities and commitments is contested in nation-states around the world because nationalism remains strong. Nationalism and globalization co-exist in tension worldwide. The

number of recognized nation-states increased from 43 in 1900 to 195 in 2014 (U. S. Department of State, 2014). The number of international migrants—or migrants living outside the nation in which they were born—grew from 154 million in 1990 to 232 million in 2013, which was 3.2 percent of the world's population of seven billion (Zong & Batalova, 2015).

Citizenship and citizenship education theorists such as Castles (2004), Ong (1999), Rosaldo (1997), and Kymlicka (1995) contend that because of global migration nations must rethink and reconceptualize citizenship education. Students need an education that will help them to function effectively not only within their communities, nations, and regions but also within the global community.

Nations around the world must deal with complex educational issues when trying to respond to the problems wrought by international migration in ways consistent with their ideologies and declarations. Researchers have amply documented the wide gap between democratic or Marxist ideals and the school experiences of minority groups in nations around the world (Banks, 2009). The articles in the *Encyclopedia of Diversity in Education* (Banks, 2012) describe how students such as the Maori in New Zealand, Muslims in France, Mexican Americans in the United States, and the Tibetans in China experience discrimination in school because of their cultural, ethnic, racial, religious, and linguistic differences. These articles describe the challenging educational experiences of marginalized groups worldwide.

When they are marginalized within the larger society and the schools and treated as the "Other," ethnic minority students—such as Turkish students in Germany, Muslim students in England, and Tibetan students in China—tend to emphasize their ethnic identity and to have weak attachments to their nation-state. These students are victims of what I describe as "failed citizenship" (Banks, 2015). Successful or effective citizenship socialization occurs when individuals who live within a nation-state internalize its basic values and symbols, acquire an allegiance to these values, and are willing to take action to actualize these values and to protect and defend the nation-state if it is endangered. Citizenship socialization fails and is unsuccessful when individuals who are born within the nation or migrate to it and live within it for an extended period of time do not internalize the values and ethos of the nation-state, feel structurally excluded within it, and who have highly ambivalent towards it. Groups that are victims of failed citizenship have mixed and ambivalent identities with the nation-state. Their first or primary identity is with their racial,

ethnic, linguistic, or religious group rather than with the nation-state (Ladson-Billings, 2004).

The Vietnamese immigrant high school students in a study by Nguyen (2011) defined themselves as "Vietnamese" and not as "American," although they recognized and valued their U. S. citizenship. Some of the youth in Nguyen's study said, "I am Vietnamese and a citizen of the United States." Although these youth viewed themselves as citizens of the United States, they did not view themselves as Americans. They felt that they were not Americans because to be American required an individual to be White and mainstream. Their construction of the criterion for becoming American was a consequence of the discrimination, exclusion, and failed citizenship they exerpienced within their school and community.

Because they are to some extent victims of failed citizenship, the primary identity of most African Americans in the United States is Black (Ladson-Billings 2004); "American" is an important but secondary identify for the most African Americans. However, *identity is complex, contextual, fluid, and changing*. My first identity when I am in the United States is Black. However, my first identity when I am in Istanbul, London, or Seoul is American. The fluid and contextual nature of identity also influences the behavior of individuals. I am much more critical of racism and other problems in the United States when I am in Seattle than when I am visiting or lecturing in another country.

Nation-states and their schools must grapple with a number of salient issues, paradigms, and ideologies as their populations become more culturally, racially, ethnically, and linguistically diverse. The extent to which nation-states make multicultural citizenship possible, the achievement gap between minority and majority groups, and the language rights of immigrant and minority groups are among the unresolved and contentious issues with which diverse nations and schools must deal.

Nations throughout the world are trying to determine whether they will perceive themselves as multicultural and allow immigrants to experience "multicultural citizenship" (Kymlicka, 1995), or continue to embrace an "assimilationist ideology." In nation-states that embrace Kymlicka's idea of multicultural citizenship, immigrant and minority groups can retain important aspects of their languages and cultures as well as have full citizenship rights.

Nations in various parts of the world have responded to the citizenship and cultural rights of immigrant and minority groups in different ways. Since the ethnic revitalization movements of the 1960s and 1970s, many of

the national leaders and citizens in the immigration nations of the United States, Canada, and Australia have viewed their nations as multicultural democracies (Banks & Lynch, 1986; Banks, 2009). An ideal exists within these nations that minority groups can retain important elements of their community cultures and participate fully in the national civic community. However, there is a wide gap between the ideals within these nations and the experiences of ethnic groups. Ethnic minority groups in the United States (Nieto, 2009), Canada (Joshee, 2009), Australia (Inglis, 2009), and China (Leibold & Yangbin, 3013) experience discrimination in both the schools and the wider society. I call the wide gap between the ideals within a nation and the experiences of marginalized groups in the nation and in the schools the "citizenship education dilemma" (Banks, 2004a).

Other nations, such as Japan (Hirasawa, 2009), Korea (Moon, 2012), and Germany (Luchtenberg, 2009) are reluctant to view themselves as multicultural. Historically, citizenship has been closely linked to biological heritage and characteristics in these nations. The biological conception of citizenship in Japan, Korea, and Germany has eroded within the last decade. However, it left a tenacious legacy in these nations. At a meeting in October, 2010 German Chancellor Angela Merkel epitomized her nation's historic attitudes toward non-Germany immigrants when she said, "[T]he approach [to build] a multicultural [society] and to live side by side and to enjoy each other…has failed, utterly failed." (BBC News, 2010). In 2011, British Prime Minister David Cameron harshly criticized the United Kingdom's decades-old policy of "multiculturalism," and said that it had encouraged "segregated communities" where Islamic extremism can survive (Burns, 2011).

Since the 1960s and 1970s, the French have dealt with immigrant groups in ways distinct from the United States, Canada, and Australia. *La laïcité* is a tenacious concept in France, the aim of which is to keep church and state separate (Lemaire, 2009). *La laïcité* emerged in response to the hegemony the Catholic Church exercised in France over the schools and other institutions for centuries. A major goal of state schools in France is to assure that youth obtain a secular education that is not influenced by religion. Muslim students in French state schools, for example, are prevented from wearing the hijab (veil) and other religious symbols (Bowen, 2007; Scott, 2007). In France the explicit goal is assimilation (called integration) and inclusion (Castles, 2004). Individuals who are descendants of immigrants can become full citizens in France but are required to surrender their home languages and cultures.

DIVERSITY CHALLENGES TO CITIZENSHIP: EVENTS AND DEVELOPMENTS IN EUROPE

Many nations in Western Europe, such as France, The Netherlands, Switzerland, Ireland, and England, are facing challenges dealing with immigrant groups, citizenship, and structural inclusion. Many of the descendants of immigrants in Europe have ancestors who came from nations such as India, Pakistan, Jamaica, and Algeria that had been colonized by European nations. *The Empire Strikes Back: Race and Racism in 70s Britain*—published by the Centre for Contemporary Culture Studies, University of Birmingham, United Kingdom, in 1982—describes the problems and the dilemmas experienced by European nations when racial, ethnic, linguistic, and religious groups from their former colonies immigrate to the nations that colonized them.

The Muslim population is increasing throughout Europe, especially in France, the Netherlands, Belgium, Germany, and Austria. Islam is the fastest growing religion in both Europe and the United States (Cesari, 2004). The growth in the Muslim population has stimulated the rise of xenophobia and Islamophobia throughout Europe (Richardson, 2004). In 2006, the Netherlands took steps to restrict the number of Muslim immigrants, such as with the use of a test for immigrants that offended many Muslims. It included watching a racy film that showed two gay men kissing in a park and a topless woman who emerges from the sea (Fox News, 2006).

Fear and dislike of Islam and Muslims has increased significantly in European nations and in the United States since the attacks of September 11, 2001, in the United States and the subsequent attacks in other nations around the world, such as the London subway bombings that killed 56 people and injured more than 700 on July 7, 2005 (Cesari, 2013). The significant increase in the Muslim population in Europe is an important reason for the increase of Islamophobia in Europe. France, The Netherlands, Belgium, Germany, and Austria have significant Muslim populations (See Table 1).

MULTICULTURAL CITIZENSHIP AND CULTURAL DEMOCRACY

Multicultural societies are faced with the problem of constructing nation-states that reflect and incorporate the diversity of its citizens and yet have an overarching set of shared values, ideals, and goals to which all of its citizens are committed (Banks, 2007). Only when a nation-state is unified around a set of democratic values such as justice and equality can it

protect the rights of diverse groups and enable them to experience cultural democracy and freedom. Kymlicka (1995), the Canadian political theorist, and Rosaldo (1997), the U. S. anthropologist, have constructed theories about diversity and citizenship. Both Kymlicka and Rosaldo contend that in a democratic society, racial, ethnic, cultural, and linguistic groups should have the right to maintain their ethnic cultures and languages as well as participate fully in the national civic culture. Kymlicka calls this concept "multicultural citizenship;" Rosaldo refers to it as "cultural citizenship."

In the United States in the 1920s Drachsler (1920) used "cultural democracy" to describe what we call multicultural citizenship today. Drachsler (1920) and Kallen (1924)—who were Jewish immigrants and advocates for the cultural freedom and rights of the Southern, Central, and East European immigrants to the United States—agued that cultural

Table 1
Muslim Populations in European Nations (ranked by percentage)

Nation	Size of Muslim Population	Percentage of Muslim Population
Cyprus	280,000	25.3%
Bulgaria	1,020,000	13.7%
France	4,710,000	7.5%
Netherlands	1,000,000	6.0%
Belgium	630,000	5.9%
Germany	4,760,000	5.8%
Austria	450,000	5.4%
Greece	610,000	5.3%
United Kingdom	2,960,000	4.8%
Sweden	430,000	4.6%
Denmark	230,000	4.1%
Italy	2,220,000	3.7%
Slovenia	70,000	3.6%
Luxembourg	10,000	2.3%
Spain	980,000	2.1%
Croatia	60,000	1.4%
Ireland	50,000	1.1%
Finland	40,000	0.8%
Romania	70,000	0.3%
Portugal	30,000	0.3%

Source: Data Source: Pew Research Center. Hackett, C. (2015), *Five facts about the Muslim population in Europe*. Retrieved from http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2015/01/15/5-facts-about-the-muslim-population-in-europe/

democracy is an important characteristic of a democratic society. They maintained that cultural democracy should co-exist with political and economic democracy, and that citizens from diverse groups in a democratic society should participate freely in the civic life of the nation and experience economic equality. They should also have the right to maintain important aspects of their community cultures and languages, as long as they do not conflict with the shared democratic ideals of the nation-state. Cultural democracy, argued Drachsler, is an essential component of a political democracy.

BALANCING UNITY AND DIVERSITY

Cultural, ethnic, racial, linguistic, and religious diversity exists in most nations (Banks, 2009). One of the challenges to diverse democratic nation-states is to provide opportunities for different groups to maintain aspects of their community cultures while constructing a nation in which these groups are structurally included and to which they feel allegiance. *A delicate balance of diversity and unity should be an essential goal of democratic nations and of teaching and learning in democratic societies* (Banks, et al, 2001). Unity must be an important aim when nation-states are responding to diversity within their populations. They can protect the rights of minorities and enable diverse groups to participate only when they are unified around a set of democratic values such as justice and equality (Gutmann, 2004).

In the past nations have tried to create unity by forcing racial, cultural, ethnic, linguistic, and religious minorities to give up their community languages and cultures in order to participate in the national civic culture. Spring (2010) refers to this process as "deculturalization;" Angela Valenzuela (1999) calls it "substractive schooling." In the United States, Mexican American students were punished for speaking Spanish in school and Native American youth were forced to attend boarding schools where their cultures and languages were eradicated (Lomawaima & McCarty, 2006). In Australia, Aboriginal children were taken from their families and forced to live on state missions and reserves (Broome, 1982), a practice that lasted from 1869 to 1969. These children are called "The stolen generation." Kevin Rudd, when he was the Australian Prime Minister, issued a formal apology to the stolen generation on February 13, 2008. In order to embrace the national civic culture, students from diverse groups must feel that it reflects their experiences, hopes, and dreams. *Schools and nations cannot marginalize the cultures of groups and*

expect them to feel structurally included within the nation and to develop a strong allegiance to it.

Citizenship education must be transformed in the 21st century because of the deepening diversity in nations around the world. Citizens in a diverse democratic society should be able to maintain attachments to their cultural communities as well as participate effectively in the shared national culture. *Unity without diversity results in cultural repression and hegemony*, as was the case in the Soviet Union and during the Cultural Revolution that occurred in China from 1966 to 1976. *Diversity without unity leads to Balkanization and the fracturing of the nation-state*, as occurred during the Iraq war when sectarian conflict and violence threatened that fragile nation in the late 2000s. *Diversity and unity should co-exist in a delicate balance in democratic multicultural nations.*

Nations such as France, the United Kingdom, and Germany are struggling to balance unity and diversity. A French law, which became effective on March 15, 2004 prevents Muslim girls from wearing the veil (hijab) to state schools (Bowen, 2007; Lemaire, 2009; Scott, 2007). This law is a manifestation of *la laïcité* as well as a refusal of the French government to deal explicitly with the complex racial, ethnic, and religious problems it faces in suburban communities where many Muslim families live. The riots in France in 2005 indicated that many Muslin youths have a difficult time attaining a French identity and believe that most White French citizens do not view them as French. On November 7, 2005, a group of young French young males of North African descent were interviewed on PBS, the public television station in the United States. One of the young men said, "I have French papers but when I go to the police station they treat me like I am not French." The French prefer the term *integration* to race relations or diversity. Integration has been officially adopted by the state and is predicated on the assumption that cultural differences should be eradicated when integration occurs (Hargreaves, 1995).

CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION IN DEMOCRATIC NATIONS

Citizens within democratic multicultural nation-states endorse the overarching ideals of the nation-state such as justice and equality, are committed to the maintenance and perpetuation of these ideals, and are willing and able to take action to help close the gap between their nation's democratic ideals and practices that violate those ideals, such as social, racial, cultural, and economic inequality (Banks, 2004a).

An important goal of citizenship education in a democratic multicultural society should be to help students acquire the *knowledge*, *attitudes*, and *skills* needed to make reflective decisions and to take actions to make their nation-states more democratic and just (Banks, 2007). To become thoughtful decision-makers and citizen actors, students need to master social science knowledge, to clarify their moral commitments, to identify alternative courses of action, and to act in ways consistent with democratic values (Banks & Banks, with Clegg, 1999). Citizenship education should help students to acquire the knowledge, values, and skills needed *to know, to care, and to act* as effective citizens in their communities, the nation, and the world (Banks, 2007) (See Figure 1).

Gutmann (2004) states that democratic multicultural societies are characterized by *civic equality, toleration*, and *recognition*. Consequently, an important goal of citizenship education in multicultural societies is to foster civic equality and recognition of cultural differences. Gutmann views *deliberation* as an essential component of democratic education in multicultural societies. Gonçalves e Silva (2004), a Brazilian scholar, states that citizens in a democratic society work for the betterment of the whole society, and not just for the rights of their particular racial, social, or cultural group. She writes:

Figure 1
The Intersection of Knowing, Caring, and Acting

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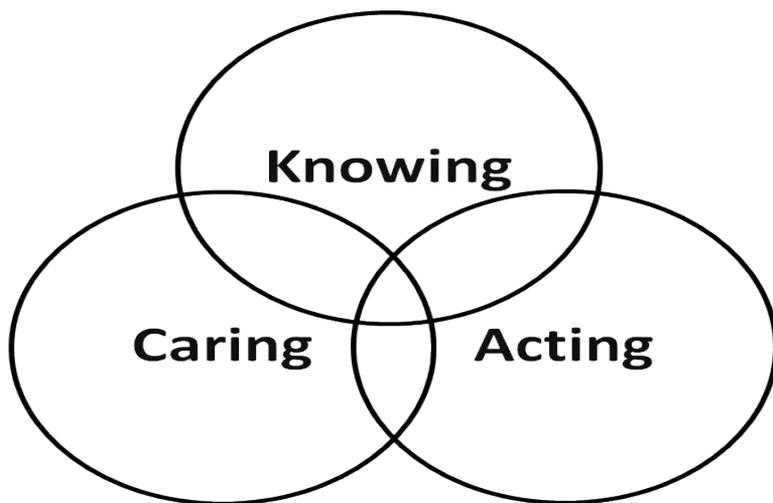
> A citizen is a person who works against injustice not for individual recognition or personal advantage, but for the benefit of all people. In realizing this task—shattering privileges, ensuring information and competence, acting in favor of all–each person becomes a citizen. (p. 197)

Gonçalves e Silva (2004) also makes the important point that becoming a citizen is a *process* and that education must facilitate the development of *civic consciousness* and *agency* within students. She provides powerful examples of how civic consciousness and agency are developed in community schools for the children of Indigenous peoples and Blacks in Brazil. Osler (2005) maintains that students should experience citizenship directly within schools and should not be "citizens-in-waiting."

In the discussion of his citizenship identity in Japan, Murphy-Shigematsu (2004) describes how complex and contextual citizenship identification is within a multicultural nation such as Japan. Becoming a legal citizen of a nation does not necessarily mean that an individual will attain structural inclusion into the mainstream society and its institutions or will be perceived as a citizen by most members of the mainstream group within the nation. *A citizen's racial, cultural, linguistic, and religious characteristics often significantly influence whether she is viewed as a citizen within her nation.* It is not unusual for their fellow American citizens to assume that Asian Americans born in the United States emigrated from another nation. They are sometime asked, "What country are you from?"

COSMOPOLITANISM AND LOCAL IDENTITY

Nussbaum (2002) worries that a focus on nationalism will prevent students from developing a commitment to cosmopolitan values such as human rights and social justice, values that transcend national boundaries, cultures, and times. She argues that educators should help students develop *cosmopolitanism*. Cosmopolitans view themselves as citizens of the world. Nussbaum states that their "allegiance is to the worldwide community of human beings" (p. 4). Nussbaum (2002) contrasts cosmopolitan universalism and internationalism with parochial ethnocentrism and inward-looking patriotism. She points, however, that "to be a citizen of the world one does not need to give up local identifications, which can be a source of great richness in life" (p. 9).

Appiah (2006), another proponent of cosmopolitanism, also views local identities as important. He writes:

> In the final message my father left for me and my sisters, he wrote,

"Remember you are citizens of the world." But as a leader of the independence movement in what was then the Gold Coast, he never saw a conflict between local partialities and universal morality—between being a part of the place you were and a part of a broader human community. Raised with this father and an English mother, who was both deeply connected to our family in England and fully rooted in Ghana, where she has now lived for half a century, I always had a sense of family and tribe that was multiple and overlapping; nothing could have seemed more commonplace. (p. xviii)

Nationalists and assimilationists in nations throughout the world worry that if they help students develop identifications and attachments to their cultural communities they will not acquire sufficiently strong attachments and allegiance to the nation. Kymlicka (2004) states that nationalists "assume that identities are essentially zero-sum" (p. xiii). However, identity *is multiple, changing, overlapping, and contextual, rather than fixed and static.* The multicultural conception of identity is that citizens who have clarified and thoughtful attachments to their community cultures, languages, and values are more likely than citizens who are stripped of their cultural attachments to develop reflective identifications with their nation-state (Banks, 2004b; Kymlicka, 2004). They will also be better able to function as effective citizens in the global community. Writes Deaux (2006),

> Research recently done in South Africa suggests that not only can ethnic and national identity be compatible, but they can be mutually supportive. . . James Gipson found that the correlations between ethnic and group identification and the importance and pride associated with being a South African were universally positive, arguing against the hypothesis that strong group identification is incompatible with strong national identification. (p. 94)

Phinney et al (2001) reviewed the literature on ethnic identity, immigration, and well-being and concluded that a strong ethnic identity and a strong national identity resulted in positive psychological outcomes for immigrant groups. They wrote, "Most studies concluded that the combination of a strong ethnic identity and a strong national identity promotes the best adaptation" (p. 493). Nation-states, however, must make structural changes that reduce structural inequality and that legitimize and give voice to the hopes, dreams, and visions of their marginalized citizens in order for them to develop strong and clarified commitments to the nation and its goals.

THE NEED FOR A NEW CONCEPTION OF CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION

Global migration and the quests by marginalized racial, ethnic, cultural, linguistic, and religious groups around the world require educators to reexamine institutionalized conceptions of citizenship and citizenship education and to construct novel ones that will respond to global migration and promote cultural democracy and human freedom. Despite the global migration that is taking place around the world, the assimilationist conception of citizenship education that has been dominant in most nations in the past is re-emerging as "social cohesion" in nations such as Canada (Joshee, 2009) and the United Kingdom (Tomlinson, 2008). However, the assimilationist conception of citizenship, on which mainstream citizenship education is based, is ineffective in this age of global migration.

Mainstream citizenship education, which is practiced in most social studies classrooms in the United States, as well as other nations, perpetuates and reflects the assimilationist ideology. It will not help students to acquire the knowledge, values, and skills needed to function effectively in an interconnected global and diverse world. It is grounded in mainstream academic knowledge and assumptions and reinforces the status quo and the dominant power relationships in society. It does not challenge or disrupt the class, racial, and gender discrimination within the schools and society. It also fails to help students understand their multiple and complex identities and the ways in which their lives are influenced by globalization. Mainstream citizenship education emphasizes memorizing facts about constitutions and other legal documents, learning about various branches of government, and developing patriotism to the nation-state. Critical thinking skills, decision-making, and action are not important components of mainstream citizenship education.

Studies by researchers such as El-Haj (2007), Nguyen (2011), and Maira (2004) indicate that immigrant students have nuanced, complex, and evolving identities. The intricate ethnic and citizenship identities of immigrant students and their quest for cultural rights and recognition make assimilationist conceptions of citizenship and mainstream citizenship education obsolete. Schools need to work to implement multicultural citizenship (Kymlicka, 1995), which recognizes the right and need for students to maintain commitments to their cultural communities, to the nation state in which they are citizens, and to the global community. Citizenship education should also help students to develop a global consciousness as well as cosmopolitan values and perspectives.

To help students attain the knowledge, values, and skills needed to function effectively in this age of global migration, citizenship education must be reimagined and *transformative citizenship education* must be implemented. Transformative citizenship education is rooted in transformative academic knowledge. Transformative academic knowledge consists of paradigms and explanations that challenge some of the key epistemological assumptions of mainstream knowledge. An important purpose of transformative knowledge is to improve the human condition. Feminist scholars and scholars of color have been among the leading constructors of transformative academic knowledge (Banks, 2006).

Transformative citizenship education recognizes and validates the cultural identities of students. It enables students to acquire the information, skills, and values needed to challenge inequality within their communities, their nations, and the world, to develop cosmopolitan values and perspectives, and to take actions to create just and democratic multicultural communities and societies. Transformative citizenship education helps students to develop decision-making and social action skills that are needed to identify problems within society, acquire knowledge related to their home and community cultures and languages, identify and clarify their values, and to take thoughtful individual or collective civic action. It also fosters critical thinking skills and helps students to develop the ability to act to enhance democracy and social justice within their communities, nation, and the world.

Transformative citizenship education also helps students from marginalized groups to attain a sense of structural integration and inclusion within their nation-states and clarified national identities. Research indicates that the content and methods of school-based civic and multicultural education can promote structural inclusion. Research by Callahan and Muller (2013) indicates that the civic knowledge that students attain and that high levels of social connection within schools increase the civic efficacy and political participation of immigrant students. Consequently, courses that teach civic knowledge within classrooms and schools that promote high levels of social connection among students can help them to develop a sense of structural inclusion.

Culturally responsive teaching is an integral part of transformative citizenship education. The research on culturally response teaching by scholars such as Ladson-Billings (1994), (Lee, 2007) and Au (2011) indicates that students of color become more actively engaged in learning, acquire more knowledge, and more likely to experience structural

inclusion when the content and pedagogy of instruction reflects their histories, cultures, and concerns. Culturally responsive teaching promotes structural inclusion because it gives students recognition and civic equality (Gutmann, 2004). Research indicates that the recognition and civic equality that students experience in culturally responsive classrooms help them to feel structurally included (Lee, 2007).

The Development of Cultural, National, Regional, and Global Identifications

Assimilationist notions of citizenship are ineffective today because of the deepening diversity throughout the world and the quests by marginalized groups for cultural recognition and rights. "Multicultural citizenship" and "cultural democracy" are essential in today's global age (Kymlicka, 1995). These concepts recognize and legitimize the right and need of citizens to maintain commitments both to their cultural communities and to the national civic culture. Citizens must be structurally included within their nation in order to develop a strong allegiance and commitment to it.

Students should develop a delicate balance of cultural, national, regional, and global identifications and allegiances (See Figure 2). These four identifications are highly *interrelated*, *complex*, and *contextual*. Citizenship education should help students to develop thoughtful and clarified identifications with their cultural communities, nation-states, and region (Banks, 2004b). It should also help them to develop clarified global identifications and deep understandings of their roles in the world community. Students need to understand how life in their cultural communities and nations influences other nations and the cogent influence that international events have on their daily lives. Global education should have as major goals helping students to develop understandings of the interdependence among nations in the world today, clarified attitudes toward other nations, and reflective identifications with the world community. I conceptualize global identification and global consciousness similar to the ways in which Nussbaum (2002) conceputlaizes *cosmopolitanism*.

Non-reflective and unexamined cultural attachments may prevent the development of a cohesive nation with clearly defined national goals and policies (Banks, 2004b). Although we need to help students develop reflective and clarified cultural identifications, they must also be helped to clarify their identifications with their nation-states. However,

blind nationalism may prevent students from developing reflective and positive global identifications. Nationalism and national attachments in most nations are strong and tenacious. An important aim of citizenship education should be to help students develop reflective national and global identifications. They also need to develop a deep understanding of the need to take action as citizens of the global community to help solve the world's difficult global problems

A nation-state that alienates and does not structurally include all cultural groups into the national cultures make marginalized groups victims of failed citizenship (Banks, 2015) and runs the risk of creating alienation and causing groups to focus on specific concerns and issues rather than on the overarching goals and policies of the nation. To develop reflective cultural, national, regional, and global identifications, students must acquire the knowledge, attitudes, and skills needed to function within and across diverse cultures and groups. They also need to be keenly aware of

Figure 2
Cultural, National, Regional, and Global Identifications
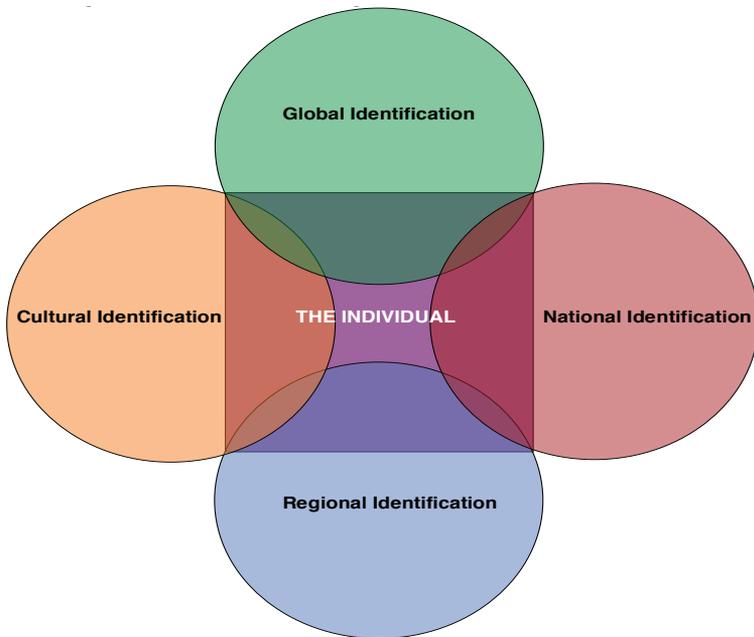
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social justice and be willing to act to ameliorate it. In an extemporaneous speech to a group of teachers in New York City in 1963, James Baldwin (1985) described the kind of thoughtful and committed citizens we need to educate and the dire consequences of not doing so. He said:

> The purpose of education...is to create in a person the ability to look at the world for himself, to make his own decisions, to say to himself this is black or this is white, to decide for himself whether there is a God in heaven or not. To ask questions of the universe, and then to live with those questions, is the way he achieves his [own] identity. But no society is really anxious to have that kind of person around. What society really, ideally, wants is a citizenry that will simply obey the rules of society. If a society succeeds in this, that society is about to perish. (p. 326)

Note

Parts of this article are adapted with the permission of the Korean Association for Multicultural Education from: Banks, J. A. (2009). Diversity and citizenship education in multicultural nations. *Multicultural Education Review, 1*(1), 1-28.

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