Human Rights Education and Global Citizenship Education in UNESCO Policies: Past, Present, and Prospects

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Abstract

Human rights education (HRE) has been at the core of UNESCO educational policies since the very creation of the Organization in 1945 and the establishment of its Constitution in 1946. However, in 2015 institutionally and conceptually HRE was integrated into the Global Citizenship Education (GCED) framework. The thesis discusses the reasons behind this approach, as well as the potential positive and negative implications for this move in terms of the theoretical, practical and monitoring issues. The work is based on the analysis of conceptual compatibility of human rights and global citizenship, the historical overview of the development of the two terms over time and their evolution within UNESCO educational policies. UNESCO official documentation related to the development of HRE and GCED and the results of the semi-structured interviews with the specialists, whose expertise is related to UNESCO policies on HRE and GCED, became the foundational data for the study.

Acknowledgements

List of Abbreviations

AD.   Anno Domini (period after the birth of Christ)

ADG   Assistant Director - General

AIDS   Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome

APCEIU   Asia Pacific Centre of Education for International Understanding

ASP   Associated Schools Project (UNESCO)

BC   Before Christ (period before the birth of Christ)

ESD   Education for Sustainable Development

FtF   Face – to - face

GCED   Global Citizenship Education

GEFI   Global Education First Initiative

HIV   Human Immunodeficiency Virus

HRE   Human Rights Education

IBE.   International Bureau of Education (UNESCO)

ICCPR   International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights

ICESCR   International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights

IIEP.   International Institute of Educational Planning (UNESCO)

ILO.   International Labor Organization

PVE-E   Prevention of Violent Extremism through Education

TLOs   Topics and Learning Objectives

UN   United Nations

UDHR   Universal Declaration of Human Rights

UIL   UNESCO Institute for Lifelong Learning

UNESCO   United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

UNICEF   United Nations Children's Fund

UNSG   United Nations Secretary - General

WPHRE   World Programme for Human Rights Education

"What's wrong with discourses about the obvious is that they corrupt consciousness with their easiness, with the speed with which they provide one with moral comfort, with the sensation of being right".

Joseph Brodsky, "A Place as Good as Any", 1986

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1 Introduction

*"When we consider the responsibility of intellectuals,
our basic concern must be their role in the creation and analysis of ideology".*

Noam Chomsky, "The Responsibility of Intellectuals", 1967

1.1   Background: the idea of the thesis and definitions

In August 2016 I started my studies in Comparative and International Education (CIE). I had an initial idea about which research I would want to contribute to, but I hoped for some final guidance from the course itself. A part of lectures was devoted to the history of UNESCO, its structure and main directions of its policies. Having a background in human rights and understanding the importance of human rights awareness for their practical protection, I became interested in human rights education (HRE) and UNESCO approach to it. I was hoping to participate in UNESCO work, therefore I applied for an internship in autumn 2017. To my great joy, my candidacy was approved. However, what surprised me at first was that I was accepted to Global Citizenship Education (GCED) team, while all the documentation I provided expressed my interest in HRE. It was only when discussing the details of my internship with the team that I understood - HRE did not exist independently anymore from GCED, GCED agenda included HRE as one of the related areas. I instinctively questioned this approach – GCED and HRE seemed to have different conceptual basis and potentially different aims. I realized that the contradiction I felt and the questions that appeared before me could constitute a research project. What I needed was to reveal if my initial reaction on the merge of HRE and GCED had a justification in history, policies or in the opinions of other scholars and professionals, more experienced in the sphere of HRE, GCED and UNESCO policies.

In order to formulate my research questions and aims, I started with finding basic historic facts and definitions. The famous UNESCO mandate of "building peace in the minds of men and women", close participation of UNESCO in the creation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) and UNESCO Constitution make HRE one of the core components

of UNESCO policies since 1948 (Bodet, 1950). I believed that a holistic definition of HRE was provided in the recent Declaration on HRE and Training, adopted by the UN General Assembly in December 2011. It appears to me that the definition comprises the understanding of HRE both as an educational component and as a right:

Article 1

1. Everyone has the right to know, seek and receive information about all human rights and fundamental freedoms and should have access to human rights education and training…

Article 2

1. Human rights education and training comprises all educational, training, information, awareness-raising and learning activities aimed at promoting universal respect for and observance of all human rights and fundamental freedoms and thus contributing, inter alia, to the prevention of human rights violations and abuses by providing persons with knowledge, skills and understanding and developing their attitudes and behaviors, to empower them to contribute to the building and promotion of a universal culture of human rights.

2. Human rights education and training encompasses: (a) Education about human rights, which includes providing knowledge and understanding of human rights norms and principles, the values that underpin them and the mechanisms for their protection; (b) Education through human rights, which includes learning and teaching in a way that respects the rights of both educators and learners; (c) Education for human rights, which includes empowering persons to enjoy and exercise their rights and to respect and uphold the rights of others (UN, 2012).

As for the GCED, at the first sight it seems to have appeared in 2012 with Secretary-General's Global Education First Initiative (GEFI) (UN Secretariat, 2012). At the same time, GCED gained its momentum in 1990s (Held, 1995; Kymlicka & Norman, 1994; Nussbaum, 1994), thus it would be relevant to look into UN documentation to find out if the notion existed there before and how it evolved. Definitions of GCED can vary depending on the aims and approach of the programme. Lynette Schultz (2007) distinguished three main approaches to GCED. The emphasis in neoliberal GCED is put on human capital and

economic competitiveness. Neoliberal global citizen is «a successful participant in a liberal economy driven by capitalism and technology» (Schultz, 2007, p. 249). Radical global citizen "understands how this system creates poverty and oppresses most of the world's population and therefore has a responsibility to challenge state and corporate structures that increase the marginalization of countries in the global south" (ibid). Transformative perspective of global citizenship implies the understanding of connection with local and global communities of "the just, democratic, and sustainable citizens" (ibid), who "must understand their connection to all other people through a common humanity, a shared environment, and shared interests and activities" (ibid). UNESCO defines its approach to GCED as transformative (UNESCO, 2013, 2015b). However, the Organization also puts an emphasis on critical thinking, which then implies radical GCED (UNESCO, 2015a), and stresses the importance of skills, often associated with human capital approach (ibid). Therefore, it seemed essential to ask UNESCO professionals about the meaning given to GCED in terms of the activities of the Organization and their view on the place of HRE within these activities.

The term "policy" can have different meanings depending on the context, the level and the stage of its analysis (Haddad, 1995, p. 17). As a whole, it could be understood as "an explicit or implicit single decision or group of decisions which may set out directives for guiding future decisions, initiate or retard action, or guide implementation of previous decisions" (ibid, p. 18). There are also various dimensions of policies, such as involved actors, the process of decision-making and monitoring mechanisms (Bell & Stevenson, 2006).

In terms of my thesis, I aim to focus mainly on the conceptual development of UNESCO policies on HRE and GCED, as well as the areas of their implementation. I am interested specifically in the level of policy formulation, negotiation, actors behind the decision-making and factors that defined the choice made at a certain moment. Chronological frames of the study are quite broad, since I wanted to concentrate on the tendencies in conceptual and political evolution and not detailed descriptions of a certain event. Therefore, the thesis is As Bell and Stevenson emphasize (2006), on the stage of contextualized implementation, policies often get reformulated, transformed and adapted to local conditions, which makes it a separate domain of research. The evolution of monitoring mechanisms will also be studied in terms of the Organization's work.

1.2 **Justification of the chosen topic**

All the issues related to human rights work within the United Nations (UN) system are highly complex, at the same time they are the ones which justify the existence of the UN as such (Tomasevski, 2005). Right to education, one of the so-called "second-generation" economic, social and cultural rights, is recognized as one of the most essential for the implementation of all human rights (Trebilcock & Thouvenin, 2013). At the same time, it is seen as one of the most problematic ones - in about half of the world the right to education remains unenforced (UNESCO, 2017). Currently, it is the UN Human Rights Council which is supposed to be the "premier global forum for debate on human rights issues", but, just like its predecessor, it seems to be failing "the principal UN organ for the development of a human rights policy for education" (Tomasevski, 2005, p. 207). The right to the quality content of education, even though claimed by the UN as guaranteed by various international instruments (OHCHR, 2014), is even more complicated for the implementation. In March 2018, at the Comparative and International Education Society (CIES) Conference I discussed this issue with the practitioners[1] who specialized in the right to education, they doubted the existence of the right to human rights education.

It was UNESCO who played the most important role in the promotion of HRE within the UN system (Beiter, 2006). The Organization is the leader in the realization of the Sustainable Development Goal 4, which constitutes the foundation of the UN educational policies in the post-2015 agenda, including the goal 4.7:

By 2030 ensure all learners acquire knowledge and skills needed to promote sustainable development, including among others through education for sustainable development and sustainable lifestyles, human rights, gender equality, promotion of a culture of peace and non-violence, global citizenship, and appreciation of cultural diversity and of culture's contribution to sustainable development (UN, 2015).

It remains unclear from the formulation of the goal which term is supposed to be dominant in UNESCO policies for the next fifteen years. However, from UNESCO documentation it

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[1] For example, with the representatives of the Right to Education Initiative and of the Global Initiative for Economic, Social and Cultural Rights.

appears that GCED is meant to serve as a certain "umbrella term", embracing old and new UNESCO concepts on the content of education (UNESCO, 2013). As one of my interviewees said, *"if human rights become a part of global citizenship and not global citizenship becomes a part of human rights in my mind highlights the fact that one is more important than the other. One is raised above the other"* (FU2).

It was interesting to discover that the interrelationship of citizenship and human rights has been a vivid topic since 1990s and it was encouraging that some scholars included global citizenship or cosmopolitanism[2] in their reflections (Hung, 2012; Kiwan, 2005; Mouffe, 1992; Nash, 2009; Tambakaki, 2010)[3]. The very same doubts appeared in UNESCO itself (Koyama, 2015). Therefore, I knew there were people who shared my concerns, whose works I used for the justification of my research. GCED team supported me when I asked for the permission to conduct the interviews on their understanding of HRE and GCED. All these initial considerations made me believe that I could accomplish the research around the questions I was interested in and that the results of my study would be relevant for the current educational discourse.

1.3 **Research questions and aims of research**

As I mentioned above, research questions are based on my initial ideas about the compatibility of human rights and global citizenship, as well as on the preliminary analysis of literature and literature gaps regarding this issue.

- What was the rationale behind the inclusion of HRE into GCED framework in UNESCO policies?
- What could be positive and negative implications of this approach?

The aims of research allow me to focus on each research questions in more details. Having my background in history, I believe one of the best ways of understanding the reason behind a certain change is to analyze the evolution of the phenomenon under consideration and the factors at the basis of this evolution. Thus, the aims of my study to a large degree are based

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[2] It is relevant to mention that in this thesis I consider cosmopolitan education and education for global citizenship to have the same meaning, thus I use them interchangeably. In fact, for the last two decades the term "global citizenship" is preferred in order to avoid associations with "martinis and women's magazines" (Cameron, 2014, p.22).

[3] The studies will be discussed in the theoretical framework.

on the history of HRE and GCED. Chronological frames comprise the period from the establishment of the Organization until the first years of SDG 4.7 pursuit, 2015 – 2017. The second research question and corresponding aims are also related to the opinion of scholars and professionals on the HRE and GCED merge.

- Analyze the evolution of UNESCO HRE and GCED policies focusing on HRE and GCED conceptual development and the main areas of implementation
- Find out the decisive factors behind this evolution and behind the inclusion of HRE into GCED agenda
- Evaluate the potential advantages and disadvantages of HRE and GCED merge through the documentation analysis and the study of educational professionals' opinions on this issue.

Following the instructions of the CIE program, my study will include both international and comparative dimensions, since I plan to focus mainly on the activities of the international organization and conduct a comparative research. The comparison includes temporal dimension in terms of the juxtaposition of several periods of UNESCO HRE and GCED agenda[4]. Also, I intend to compare the theoretical foundations of global citizenship and human rights[5] in order to assess their association and understand the arguments behind the "pro" and "contra" of their mergence.

1.4 **Thesis structure**

This thesis falls into five chapters. The first one contains the analysis of the primary and secondary literature used in the thesis, along with the existing research gaps that I aim to address in my work. The theoretical framework presents two points of view on the compatibility of human rights and cosmopolitanism within the same agenda. Historical background discusses the main stages of the development of the ideas of human rights and cosmopolitanism and compares their understanding over time. Further, methodological issues are examined, including the foundational paradigm and the methods used for reaching the defined aims of research. The methodology chapter is followed by the analysis of HRE and

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[4] The comparison in presented in the Annexes 5 and 6.
[5] Conceptual comparison takes part primarily in the theoretical framework and historical background chapters of the thesis.

GCED evolution in UNESCO policies. Also, the "pro et contra" of their integration are discussed. Finally, some concluding remarks are given.

1.5 Personal motivation

The 1993 Constitution of the Russian Federation enounces human rights to be the major value of the newly formed democratic state. I found out what human rights were, when I was twenty years old and I started my studies in Law in a French College. The more I was looking back at my home country from afar, the more I was realizing the majority in Russia is still not aware of the fact that there are certain regulations, concerning their well-being, which are supposed to be respected by the state actors, independently from the political priorities. It inspired me to concentrate on HRE and UNESCO policies in my work. I knew I would not be able to concentrate on both the policy formation and the implementation on the level of master thesis, but I also had a possibility to follow my concerns and find out if they have any foundation at least regarding the theory and policy development. I felt that promoting HRE within another framework, where HRE might not constitute the dominant or even an integral part, can lead to the shadowing of HRE. For example, it was clear that many governments, like my own, would be able to implement any part of GCED and claim the implementation of the goal 4.7, missing HRE necessary for the desire of citizens to change the situation for better. At the same time, the inclusion of HRE into GCED had some practical reasons and most probably in the opinion of many professionals led to the advancement of UNESCO agenda.

The results of my study will probably not lead to further open discussions on the positive and negative sides of the HRE and GCED merge within the Organization itself, I realize clearly that there are many more factors behind any political decision than lay on the surface. However, I have a desire to contribute to the work of scholars who claim that the inclusion of HRE into GCED is not unproblematic and require further review, consultations and debates before being claimed as self-evident. Alexander Cockburn, a political journalist, in the introduction to the publication of David Barsamian's interviews with Noam Chomsky described how one of the most known linguists and political discourse analysts of our times could not resist grinding his teeth every morning, reading "New York Times", until he had to go to the dentist (Cockburn, 1992). After years of studying and revealing the complexity of

processes behind media hypocrisy and facts falsification, he remained sensitive to all the textual injustices he encountered. I read this book when working on my research proposal. I thought, if Noam Chomsky still cares, a master student could afford asking questions she feels personally concerned about, even if some of these questions appear as consequences of maximalist idealistic views of a young scholar. "Hence the grinding of the teeth" (ibid, p. xi).

2 Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

The last thirty years have become a time of a growing interest for the issues, related to citizenship in the post-Cold War era of globalization (Kiwan, 2008). This phenomenon can be the result of various contemporary concerns: the inadequacy of the content of national citizenship education for life in a globalizing world (Osler & Starkey, 2005), the lack of participation of citizens in political life of the countries (Nussbaum, 2010) or the questioning of the universality of Human Rights by nation-states (Otto, 1997). There are many works, devoted to the problem of Global Citizenship and its educational component (for example: Dower, 2010; Held, 2013; Nussbaum, 2010; Schultz, 2007; Starkey, 2012). However, I was not able to find any study accomplished on the history of Global Citizenship Education (GCED) agenda in United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) policies. The same could be said about the history of Human Rights Education (HRE) in UNESCO policies. While many studies discuss the conceptualization of HRE as a policy (Bajaj, 2011; Tibbits, 2017) or as a right (Kirchlaeger, 2017; UNESCO, 2011), I have not identified a research devoted explicitly to the evolution of HRE in UNESCO frameworks. Taking into account the aforementioned factors, I selected the literature, which would correspond to the aims of my research.

Considering the lack of the secondary literature on the history of HRE and GCED, original sources play a highly important role in my work. With the exception of history, the distinction between primary and secondary sources seems to be uncommon in qualitative research. "History is done with documents. The documents are the traces left by the thoughts and actions of men of the past" (Langlois & Seignobos, 2005). One of the main goals of my study is to discover the traces of thoughts, which led to the evolution of UNESCO agenda on peace and human rights education, from the formation of its Constitution to Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) 4.7, but also the conditions in which the decisions took place. Thus, I would like to recourse to the division on primary and secondary literature and emphasize the essentiality of the latter for my study, since my analysis follows, to a large extent, a historical principle.

2.2 **Primary literature**

Primary literature presents different types of documentation, mainly produced by UNESCO and related organizations. In the result of my research, more than a hundred documents were analyzed. Therefore, I will not discuss every document used in the work, but to distinguish various categories of original sources, as well as describe some documents of particular importance. The documents could be categorized in different ways. Some of them are related specifically to internal UNESCO procedures and discussions, while others are aimed at addressing external actors and informing interested groups about the Organization's work.

Internal documentation includes all materials related to the activities of the Executive Board and of the General Conference, two main UNESCO Governing Bodies. The Bodies define the Organization's priorities in the educational policy (UNESCO, 2015). They also adopt normative instruments for the Organization's activities and their monitoring (UNESCO, 1985c). Among the monitoring instruments, established by the General Conference I would like to particularly emphasize the importance of the 1974 Recommendation concerning Education for International Understanding, Cooperation and Peace and Education relating to Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms – in terms of my thesis, I considered results of all six consultations on the Recommendation implementation (UNESCO, 1989, 1994a, 2001, 2009, 2013b, 2017b). Also, the guidelines addressing UNESCO staff could be seen as internal documentation. Another group of primary sources that I qualify as internal documentation in terms of this thesis are final reports of the meetings organized by UNESCO or that the Organization took part in, including congresses (UNESCO, 1978b, 1988b, 1993, 1994b), conferences (Institute for Human Rights of Abo Akademi University, 1997; UN Secretariat, 1993; UNESCO, 1994a), expert meetings (UNESCO, 1979, 1983, 2013c), forums (UNESCO, 2014a, 2015d, 2015f), workshops (UNESCO, 1987a, 2015g), seminars (Obanya, 1995; UNESCO, 1995c) and other events.

Among external UNESCO publications one could name their periodical literature - Courier and Prospects[6]. While Prospects include the material on theory and practice of education in

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[6] Courier was founded in 1948 and stopped being published in 2012 due to the lack of funding. The journal was re-launched in 2017 (UNESCO, n.d.-f). The first Prospects issue appeared in 1970 and since then the journal was published quarterly (IBE, n.d.-b).

general, Courier mainly deals specifically with UNESCO work. It is the journal where one could find information of the Organization's vision of current educational trends and of solutions to emerging problems. Textbooks and guides play an important role for understanding the development of relevant educational content on different levels of education as seen by UNESCO (Kenworthy, 1963a; Vasak, 1979). Fundamental UNESCO Reports in education, Faure's (UNESCO, 1972c), Delors's (UNESCO, 1996) "Rethinking Education" (UNESCO, 2015c) could also be considered external, since they are aimed at explaining the ideas at the basis of UNESCO frameworks during the "turning points" of UNESCO educational policies.

As it is discussed in the methodology, the search did not solely embrace UNESCO documentation. It is valuable for the research to find out how the visibility of HRE varied in the UN policies over time. The analysis of the UN documentation on HRE and GCED also demonstrates not only when, but why GCED appeared in UNESCO discourse. The UNICEF document from 1993, the first to conceptualize GCED within the UN documentation, is of a particular importance in that regard (Godwin, 1993). The UN HRE Decade (OHCHR, n.d.-b), World Programme for Human Rights Education (OHCHR, 2012), Education for All (Wilson, 2004, 2005; World Conference on Education for All, 1992; World Education Forum, 2000) and Global Education First Initiative (UNESCO, n.d.-d) could be seen as examples of the whole-UN activities. Undoubtedly, the division on external and internal sources is not absolute - some materials related to internal decisions and meetings can be published and made accessible for all interested stakeholders. At the same time, this division offers a typology, which allows to embrace all the documentation used in the thesis.

2.3 Secondary literature

Secondary sources touch upon multiple topics, related to the research aims of my work. I will present them in order of their pertinence for the thesis.

2.3.1 HRE and GCED in UNESCO policies

As I emphasized in the introduction to this chapter, the historical analysis of HRE and GCED is mostly built on primary literature. However, there is one exceptional study on the transition

from HRE to GCE agenda within international frameworks (Monaghan & Spreen, 2017), which partly discusses the same questions as I do in my thesis. The authors discuss the reasons of the inclusion of HRE within GCE agenda and possible problematic consequences of such an approach. Nevertheless, our approaches to the discussion of this issue and the methods used seem to differ considerably. The chapter deals mostly with the history of HRE policies and touches upon the introduction of GCE only in the first decade of the XXIst century, while the search of primary sources allows tracing the origins of the concept of GCE in international agenda already in mid 1990s. It is exactly the analysis of original documentation that I consider to be essential for understanding the reasons of the transition from HRE to GCE predominance in UN educational policies. The fail of HRE implementation and globalization are presented in the aforementioned study as major causes for this evolution (Monaghan & Spreen, 2017, p. 42). In my opinion, these causes, though empirically justified, could not constitute the only premise for building the consensus on GCE to supersede HRE, the policy that has been there since 1970s, in less than twenty years. The theoretical relations between the concepts of citizenship and Human Rights are also left behind. In my work, I aim to reflect on all the described gaps by using historical and comparative approaches.

Among other studies, concerning the history of GCE agenda, I would mention the book of Derek Heater on history of citizenship education, where he touches upon world citizenship education and UNESCO position on that matter (Heater, 2004). The history of civic education is briefly discussed in the article by Rauner (1999), which, however, does not analyze the GCED agenda and the current role of GCED in UNESCO policies.

As for the history of Human Rights and peace education, it has much deeper roots in UNESCO policies, taking its beginning in the Constitution of 1945 and finding its explicit normative foundation in 1974 Recommendation concerning Education for International Understanding, Co-operation and Peace and Education relating to Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms. Therefore, this topic has been discussed in numerous works for the last forty years. I would like to pick out the ones, which offer various approaches to the understanding of the evolution of Human Rights and peace education agenda. MacNaughton & Koutsioumpas (2017) analyze the most recent developments of HRE in the UN educational policies and offer their vision of HRE within the post - 2015 agenda. One of the chapters in SAGE publication on citizenship education discusses the origins of the emerging interest to

HRE and peace education in 1970s and 1980s (Hicks, 1988). Another work deals with different issues, related to HRE theory and practice, including its history as a global institution (Russell & Suarez, 2017), as an educational approach (Tibbits, 2017) and as a right (Kirchlaeger, 2017). Dr. James Page in his study on the ethical foundations of peace education, written with the support of UNESCO, discusses the commitments of the UN bodies to peace education, emphasizing the role of UNESCO among them (Page, 2008). There are also works, discussing the significance of Human Rights approach, including HRE, in UNESCO policies over time (Hüfner, 2011; Struthers, 2015).

I will as well address the studies, devoted to the history of UNESCO's policies generally (Akkari & Lauwerier, 2015; Burnett, 2010; Hofstetter & Schneuwly, 2013; P.W. Jones & Coleman, 2005) in order to understand how the change of the Organization's agenda is related to the main stages of its structural and functional evolution, and more specifically, the Organization's policy on HRE and Citizenship education. There are different works available on the history of international education from various perspectives – evolution of global frameworks on education and development (Carbonnier, Carton, & King, 2014; Chabbott, 2003; Williams, 2015), the development of legal frameworks on the right to education (Hüfner, 2011) or the institutional evolution (Droux & Hofstetter, 2015). When it comes to the history of UNESCO, often the Organization itself publishes related works (UNESCO, 2005a; Valderrama, 1995). There are also studies that cover some particular chronological period (Maurel & Ory, 2010) or a particular aspect of UNESCO policies in the historical context (Elfert, 2015). I also analyzed certain articles, which refer particularly to the influence of globalization on UNESCO educational policies (Hüfner, 2011; Jones, 1998), one of major prerequisites for the creation of GCED approach.

2.3.2 Contextualizing and conceptualizing global citizenship and human rights

Since the main part of the thesis is devoted to the contemporary history of HRE and GCED, I start with an overview of works that discuss the specificity of HRE and GCED in the end of the XXth – in the beginning of the XXIst century. Firstly, I present the literature that conceptualizes GCED. Its specificity is related to the factor of globalization, the assumingly changing role of the nation-state (Bottery, 2008; Reid, Gill, & Sears, 2010) and the

promotion of cosmopolitan approach in citizenship education as a response to these phenomena (Kiwan, 2008; Osler & Starkey, 2005) and as a tool for the support of democracy (Enslin, 2012). Furthermore, I could distinguish works that conceptualize GCED, by trying to deconstruct the discourses that this notion comprises. Kiwan discusses GCED as a moral, legal, identity-based or participatory concept (Kiwan, 2005), while Yemini is aiming to define GCED through the lenses of moral cosmopolitanism, liberal multiculturalism, neoliberalism and environmentalism (Yemini, 2017). While UNESCO claims Global Citizenship as a universal aim to achieve, these. In the opinion of Schultz (2007), GCED can be defined through three main approaches – neoliberalist, radical and transformationalist. The works help to reveal that GCED can be interpreted in contradicting ways, depending on the ideology behind its implementation.

As for human rights and HRE, the crisis of the notion of the universality of human rights (Otto, 1997) and, at the same time, the initiation of negotiations on HRE at the international level (Van Ness, 1999) at the end of the Cold War, led to the emergence of studies on history and the content of the concept of human rights. In terms of contextualization of human rights, I would especially like to name the fundamental work of Micheline R. Ishay on history of human rights (2008). The author pays special attention to the development of the perceptions and the role of human rights in the context of globalization and the complexity of negotiations on moral and legal foundations of human rights after the Cold War. Regarding the conceptualization of HRE, I addressed the studies of ones of the leading researchers on the topic. Felisa Tibbitts distinguishes three models of HRE, serving different aims and addressing different audiences, students, human rights professionals or vulnerable populations - the Values and Awareness Model, the Accountability Model and the Transformational Model respectively (2002). Monisha Bajaj, in her turn, distinguishes such approaches as Global Citizenship, coexistence or transformative action (2011), which serve for the raise of international awareness on human rights issues, social cohesion or social change. Despite the fact, that it is impossible to put the complexity of the existing realities of HRE implementation into general models, just like in case of GCED conceptualization, the differentiation between various views on HRE allows to understand to which extent the actual content and the results of HRE depend on the underlying aims and ideologies.

Finally, despite the fact that the issues of local implementation of HRE and GCED are not the core of my research, it is important to mention the studies that deal with these questions and

that influenced my understanding of the various issues, related to HRE practice. I will refer to the article that discuss the global tendencies of the introduction of HRE in school textbooks (Meyer, Bromley, & Ramirez, 2010). Other scholars discuss the realities of the implementation of HRE in national contexts (Al-Nakib, 2011; Çaymaz, 2011; Firer, 1998; Sevincer & Biseth, 2013). In fact, all these papers reveal the contradiction of HRE content with the values, promoted by the government to its citizens. As for the theoretical works, devoted to the relation between the ideas of human rights and citizenship, they will be discussed in the part, devoted to the theoretical framework of my thesis.

In order to realize the comparison and discover the evolution of GCED and HRE, it is essential to understand where the origins of the two notions lay. History of global citizenship evolves from the history of cosmopolitanism and, in the opinion of the majority of authors, mainly comprises three stages – Stoic Antiquity, Renaissance and the construction of multilateralism after the Second World War (Faulks, 2000; Heater, 2004; Hooft & Vandekerckhove, 2010a; Lettevall & Petrov, 2014; Papastephanou, 2016). However, I also managed to find a work, which discusses the development of cosmopolitanism in the Middle Ages (Ganim & Legassie, 2013). Regarding the history of human rights, I refer to several contemporary works that give an overview of the development of human rights as a complex of legal and ethical norms (Beitz, 2009; Hunt, 2008; Ishay, 2004, 2008; Lidén & Syse, 2015; Mahoney, 2007; Slotte & Halme-Tuomisaari, 2015). The authors see the origins of human rights differently, as well as drivers behind their development, and therefore make emphasis on different events in the history of human rights. Thus, I decided to address all these works for constructing the historical background of the thesis. I refer as well to some historical sources, mentioned in the literature, such as the first legal codes or treatises of the Antiquity (Aristotle & Lord, 2013; Cicero, Rudd, & Powell, 1998; Marcus Aurelius Antonius & Farquharson, 1992; Plato & Jowett, 2016), medieval philosophers (Augustine, Hill, Rotelle, & Augustinian Heritage Institute., 1994; Averroes & Arnzen, 2010; Maimonides & Yellin, 2015; Saint Thomas Aquinas, 2014) and Kant (Kant, 2017; Kant & Humphrey, 2003). I got acquainted with other original works in the compilation of Hayden (2001) on the philosophy of human rights.

To conclude, in the research, concerning GCED and HRE, there is a gap in the analysis of their combination in international frameworks, including UNESCO agenda, which provides for Global Citizenship as a universal aim and as an adequate framework for promoting

Human Rights through education (UNESCO, 1995f). As Paulina Tambakaki (2010) suggests in her work on the relationships between the concepts of citizenship and human rights, there might be various reasons for the existence of such a gap. It can evolve from the fact that these concepts are "overflown with meaning", since their interpretations depend on the context. Another reason could consist in the disciplinary split between the two notions: while citizenship is central to democratic and political discourse, human rights are often seen as mainly the focus of legal studies. Moreover, one could consider these topics not only manifold and originating from different disciplines, but also theoretically, practically and ideologically contradicting. While the aim of human rights is to limit states' judicial authority, citizenship still plays a role of a "bastion of sovereign politics". Despite the complexity of the topic, already existing literature on UNESCO policies, Human Rights and Citizenship education implementation, Global Citizenship in its legal, moral, philosophical and educational dimensions and the access to primary sources allows me to complete the planned study.

2.3.3 Methodological literature

I mainly built the methodological basis of my work on the literature I got acquainted with during my master studies in Comparative and International Education at the University of Oslo. Two methodological guides helped me to obtain an overview of the issues I should take into account when doing an educational research in general (Bryman, 2012; Cohen, Manion, & Morrison, 2007). While Bryman's textbook (2012) contained highly relevant instructions on validity and reliability in the qualitative research, the book of Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2007) was particularly interesting regarding their explanations on sampling and ethics of research. The specificity of comparative research in education was discussed in other two publications (Bray, Adamson, & Mason, 2007; Kubow & Fossum, 2007). If the book of Kubow and Fossum (2007) clarified for me the role of comparison in education and the necessity of a framework for comparison in general, it was the publication by Bray, Mason and Adamson (2014), which actually offered me the framework. I would like to point out two important chapters in the book. One was written by Mark Bray (Bray, 2014), who presented different aims that various actors follow in educational study, which defined the understanding of myself as a scholar in the participatory research. The chapter by Maria Manzon (2014) was devoted to "Comparing Places", but in her analysis, she succeeded, as it

seems to me, to establish universal criteria for any comparison. The classical book of George Z.F. Bereday (1964)   on comparative method found a new actual reading in her interpretation, which allowed me to use Bereday for framing my own comparative study.

At the same time, works that influenced my understanding of *social psychology of knowledge* were important for the creation of the overall methodological paradigm. It was especially the construction of knowledge and its dissemination within a particular social group that allowed me to get prepared and conduct the interviews in UNESCO headquarters. Social psychology of knowledge is quite a young discipline, it appeared in 1980s, and founders are still active in this field. Thus, the selection of works on social psychology of knowledge followed the principle of the most known authors of the discipline. In the methodology chapter, I referred to one of the first works on the topic, published in 1988 (Bar-Tal & Kruglanski, 1988) and the most fundamental handbook from 2007 (Kruglanski & Higgins, 2007). The particular significance of these works is discussed in the methodology chapter of the thesis.

2.4 Conclusions

As the literature review demonstrated, there is a lack of works devoted explicitly to the history of HRE and GCED in UNESCO. However, through the medium of UNESCO online archives and IIEP resources, this gap could be filled by the historical analysis of original UNESCO sources. At the same time, there is a rich complex of bibliography available on the history of UNESCO and the Organization's educational policy specifically. Also, since 1990s the issues of citizenship and human rights, including their interconnectedness has been at the centre of academic research. Cosmopolitanism offered as a response to the crisis of national citizenship, found its theoretical rise at the same time. Therefore, the existing literature leaves space for further and deeper research on UNESCO HRE and GCED policies, but also creates a good informative fundament for the stated research.

3 Theoretical Framework: "Voluntarist" and "Skeptical" Approach to the Compatibility of Human Rights and Cosmopolitanism

"Of the principles that define modern democratic politics, citizenship and human rights transpire certainly as the most salient, indispensable and talked-about principles".

Paulina Tambakaki, "Human Rights or Citizenship?", 2010

3.1 Introduction

As Will Kymlicka and Wayne Norman notice, the interest of theorists in the concept of citizenship found its rise in 1990s (Kymlicka & Norman, 1994) This time became a turning point for human rights debates as well (Ishay, 2004). Various factors are seen by researchers as possible reasons of such a preoccupation with these topics, but on the international level, both globalization and the end of Cold War could be seen as catalyzers of the debates (Otto, 1997). Within this discourse, a particular place was devoted to the relationship between citizenship and rights. Paulina Tambakaki, one of the first scholars to write the whole monography on the relations between human rights and citizenship, claims that after the end of Cold War rivalry, human rights became marginalized. The victory of West, first of all, of the United States, over hostile Soviet powers "brought with it reinvigorated assertions of modern European' knowledges as universal" (Otto, 1997), while another side of the debate emerged an intention of States-violators to avoid international condemnation (Van Ness, 1999). It was a way of opposing Western hegemony in the process of deciding on the fundamental values of humanity.

The World Conference on Human Rights that took place in Vienna in 1993 marked the turning point. It became clear that some essential discordance took place in the way that the Global South and the Global North see Human Rights. It is important to notice, that the same

conference gave birth to international policies on HRE (Bajaj, 2017). From now on it has been not only UNESCO promoting HRE as an integral part of its mandate, but a recognition of HRE as a necessary condition for the implementation of human rights took place, however the content of these rights was seen by different parties of negotiations. Thus, HRE as a sphere of international activities was born in the context of the emerging controversy of the universalist/relativist approach to human rights.

At the same time, citizenship conceptually supported states' claims to the political and judicial independency from external interventions. Since then many scholars, prioritizing international human rights regime over national, have been affirming the inadequacy of citizenship education in the context of globalization citizenship (Brysk & Shafir, 2004; Dower, 2003; Held, 2013; Osler & Starkey, 2005). They suggested a solution to the contradiction that they saw between human rights and citizenship and elaborated a new educational agenda – GCED. In their opinion, GCED is an appropriate approach for being practiced "in a variety of contexts to promote human rights and equality" (Osler, 2005), especially in multicultural communities. In 2015 GCED became a part of the UN Sustainable Development goals, reflecting the current existence of a certain international consensus on the potential efficiency of the integration of HRE within GCED framework.

However, this approach did not remain without a critique. Many scholars paid attention to the potential dissonance of human rights and global citizenship, which might affect the efficiency of a suggested course (Tambakaki, 2010). Among the possible dissonances are the universality of human rights and the inevitable exclusiveness of any dimension of citizenship (Kiwan, 2005), the possible production of new forms of inequality through the promotion of global citizenship and, as a result, elusiveness of global citizenship as a premise for the universal justice (K. Nash, 2009), fundamentally different functions of citizenship and human rights (Tambakaki, 2010) and other contradictions. For the construction of my theoretical framework, I aim to analyze the main arguments of these debates on the compatibility of human rights and global citizenship education. It seems appropriate to use a terminology, applied in Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, in order to define the main opposing views on the theory of citizenship beyond state boundaries (Leydet, n.d.). Following the author of the article, I distinguish two opposing sides on global citizenship debates - voluntarists and sceptics.

In terms of my thesis, I define voluntarists as scholars or professionals who see global citizenship or world human rights regime, taking over national citizenship, as a solution to existing citizenship and human rights issues, while sceptics are the ones who criticize this judgment. The literature analysis shows that within these groups one could find certain dominant views on contemporary political, legal and social realities. Considering the aforementioned constantly growing amount of works on global citizenship, the following enumeration of voluntarists' and sceptics' common assumptions is not meant to be exhaustive or generalizable, but it evolves from the analysis of studies I concentrated on in my thesis. The framework falls in four parts. First two describe the views of voluntarists and sceptics, as well as the main points of their debates. Further, I analyze on which philosophical and historical traditions these views are based. The framework is visualized in the Appendix 1.

3.2 Voluntarists

"…all nonlegal deprivations and suffering could be categorized as a lack of citizenship".

Ali A. Abdi and Lynette Schultz, "Educating for human rights and global citizenship", 2008

One of the most known global citizenship theoreticians, Nigel Dower, distinguishes two components of global citizenship – ethical and institutional (Dower, 2010). Both of these perspectives are closely related to the voluntarist view on the integrity of global citizenship and human rights. I will start my analysis of voluntarist discourse with institutional part, discussing common institutional and legal foundations of combination of human rights and global citizenship, addressing ethical interrelationship of the two concepts in the second part of my analysis.

3.2.1 Institutional dimension of the global citizenship and human rights integrity

Voluntarist see contemporary system of international relations as neo-Westphalian, or even post-Westphalian, insisting on the increasing role of non-state actors in international affairs and the emergence of global governance (Dower, 2010), while "states are no longer the primary avenue for understanding the exercise of power and the dynamics of change at global levels" (Jones & Coleman, 2005). Furthermore, the new system of international relations gave place to the voluntarist assumption that contemporary globalizing world is characterized by postnational realities (Brysk & Shafir, 2004). Postnational citizenship regime comprises new forms of political participation through NGOs, networks and other transnational or supranational institutions, which serve as a new field for the activity of the world civil society (Brysk & Shafir, 2004; Dower, 2003; Van Hooft, 2010). In this sense, for voluntarists global citizenship exists as an institutionalized activity, even if it is not present as a legal status (Kymlicka, 1994).

Another important sign of the institutionalization of global citizenship for voluntarists - judicialization of international relations (Brysk & Shafir, 2004), a political reality when "judicial actors are increasingly involved in defining what international agreements mean" (Alter, 2015), including human rights agreements. Law-making could exist only within nation-states, since executive power was seen as a necessary condition for its enforcement and, thus, realization. As Edmund Burke wrote in his "Reflections on the Revolution in France" about the new-born idea of human rights, rights are not only to be declared, but most importantly bound with practice (Burke & Mitchell, 1999). Therefore, the state was the only legitimate lawmaker, since it was the only actor to put law into force. Judicialization became possible with the growing autonomy of courts, for example, international and regional human rights courts. Judges refer to and interpret human rights treaties, depending on the context of a particular case. Case-law became a source of law-making and policies are to take place only within the legal conditions defined by the courts. For voluntarists, "the spread of liberal legal norms, greater autonomy given to courts, constitutional expansion" are resulting in the idea that "globalizing rights are superseding territorial citizenship" (Brysk & Shafir, 2004). This is the point where the institutional dimension of GC and legal dimension of HR are integral from the voluntarist point of view, giving birth to the so-called "human rights regime" (Dower, 2003; Ishay, 2004; Held 2013). This regime within the concept of global citizenship could be qualified as a world order, legally based on human rights treaties and case law, as a reality, "in which all persons have equivalent rights and duties in the cross cutting spheres which affect their vital needs and interests" (Held, 2010).

3.2.2 Ethical dimension of the human rights and global citizenship interrelations

Responding to the critique of global citizenship as institutionally non-existent, Alan Tomhave affirms that the concept of citizenship within global citizenship should be addressed, first of all, as a moral notion, thus, not demanding any institutional foundation (Tomhave, 2013). From the voluntarist point of view, GC is founded on a global ethic, which affirms that citizenship is a "product of diversity, rather than an institutional tool, serving particular groups" (Abdi & Schultz, 2008). Consequently, GC as a political membership on various national, transnational and international levels, is supposed to expand the inclusion and power and secure cosmopolitan democracy. Advocating for cosmopolitan education, Martha Nussbaum (2010). defines global citizen as a person, who is aware of global issues such as peace-building, human rights, the effects of globalization, environmental degradation and so on, and who is taking responsibility to address these problems through international cooperation. Furthermore, it is someone who recognizes moral responsibility of one human being towards another.

Ethical foundations of human rights are based on two principles – the protection of human dignity, founded on the respect of human needs and equality of that protection. Some scholars see even more amplified ethical potential of human rights, which includes the protection of all universal human interests. Human rights as an ethical concept is "the idea of each and every individual human being as an ultimate focus of moral concern" (Tasioulas, 2012). Human rights are inalienable, since they present the necessary minimum for the respect of personal dignity. They are indivisible, because, just like all spheres of human well-being are interconnected, the protection of one right is inevitably related to the respect of another. Most importantly, human rights are universal (Ishay, 2004). Voluntarists occupy the universalist position in the debates on the universalism and relativism of human rights. Following the theory of Jürgen Habermas on the duality of human rights, they claim that human rights are universal as "the commonly agreed moral norms" (Dower, 2003).

Thus, when Nigel Dower says, "whatever else a global citizen is, a global citizen is a bearer of human rights", the phrase has two meanings (Dower, 2003). First of all, human rights

instruments and legal obligations of the states guarantee the respect of rights to every global citizen. At the same time, by accepting human rights, global citizen is a member of a global moral community. Dower does not affirm that being a global citizen requires the acceptance of moral dimension of human rights, but definitely of human rights law. Many other authors claim that it is exactly through the use of human rights as a major legal framework in the construction of global citizenship that one can overcome a danger of exclusiveness, integral to the notion of citizenship (Tambakaki, 2010). As David Held puts it, "legal cosmopolitanism is universalizing and potentially inclusive" (Held, 2002). It is the framework of cosmopolitan law, which allows the universal inclusiveness of political participation of global citizens on multiple levels (Held, 2013). However, there are also researchers who see teaching both ethical and legal dimensions of human rights as integral to global citizenship education. For example, Starkey emphasizes the importance of "normative" (legal) and "utopian" (ethical) for cosmopolitan approach in citizenship education (Starkey, 2012). He equalizes cosmopolitan and universal humanity, seeing human rights as a tool for teaching utopian cosmopolitan worldview.

3.3 Sceptics

"First of all, a global community which includes everyone and everything is a collectivist and totalitarian utopia within which the multifarious differences among people could be underestimated and reduced. Secondly, the inclusion and tolerance of the other that can be allowed only exists within the boundary of this group, which seem to indicate minimal tolerance and inclusion of the other that does not belong to "our group".

Ruyu Hung, "Being human or being a citizen? Rethinking human rights and citizenship education in the light of Agamben and Merleau-Ponty", 2012

No contemporary researcher would deny that globalization is altering the position of a nation-state in the world (Caramani, 2011). At the same time, it is important to notice that many scholars emphasize that the state is far from being dead or losing power. One of the core documents of international law, Montevideo Convention, defines the state as an entity with a sovereign power, permanent population, functioning government and "capacity to enter into relations with other states". In the current discussion, I would like to concentrate on two

components that are in the center of voluntarist/sceptic debate – population and sovereignty as power.

3.3.1 State power and institutional dimension of global citizenship

While voluntarists highlight the phenomena of migration and the limitation of state authority, which some of them even call the limitation of sovereignty (Abdi & Schultz, 2008; Dower, 2003), sceptics see the remaining central role of a state as a political actor (Caramani, 2011). In international public law, including human rights, state is the main violator and the main defender of rights (Tomaševski, 2006). State authorities can be judged and measures be taken only in the case if this particular state is an adherent of a human rights instrument. The sovereign power of state is expressed with the right of state to exit any international treaty. Thus, the authority of the state can be limited by a voluntary action of a state itself, but the main principles of sovereignty are still there - absoluteness, indivisibility and exclusiveness (Bartelson, 2011).

Steven Slaughter, criticizing David Held's concept of cosmopolitan democracy, accentuates the role of the state as a "focal point of existing forms of governance and political identity" (Slaughter, 2010). He refers to other scholars, who see neo-liberal globalization as a product of state activities through transnational cooperation. In Slaughter's opinion, the project of institutional cosmopolitanism could be achieved only on the condition of acting with the states, whose power is essential for the fulfilment of any political project on national or international level. In that sense, global citizenship as a political project, based on the legal system of cosmopolitan justice, could be qualified as elusive.

If Slaughter criticizes the idea of achievement of global citizenship through the application of cosmopolitan law theoretically, Kate Nash demonstrates by practical examples that, despite the development of cosmopolitan law and human rights, it is still the way that the states apply human rights which defines the status of a person regarding this law (2009). As Nash claims, instead of eliminating the inequalities existing within the system of national citizenship, the human rights law practice within the states actually emphasizes and procreates this system. This argument emphasizes another very important difference between the status of citizen and a bearer of human rights. Citizenship is a "desirable action" (Kymlicka, 1994), while

within a human rights system a person plays a passive role – individual rights are violated/protected by states and can be claimed in a national, regional or international court, in a treaty system, once again, created by the agreement among nation-states.

3.3.2 State population and ethical dimension of global citizenship

The voluntarist idea of universality of global citizenship, achieved by ethical/normative application of human rights, could be opposed to the sceptics' point of "elusive inclusiveness" of global citizenship. Most scholars now define citizenship is not only as a status or an action, as defined by Kymlicka (1994), but also as an identity, a feeling and expression of personal belonging to a particular group (Dower, 2003; Hung, 2012; Osler & Starkey, 2005). As Dower puts it, it is enough for a person to be a global citizen by defining him/herself as such. On a national scale, "permanent population" or citizens of the state (Caramani, 2011) constitute the necessary "demos", which is to execute its political participation and take part in decision-making (Tambakaki, 2010). One of the core qualifications of demos is in defining "us", as a certain political community and "them", the ones external to the community. For Chantal Mouffe (2013) it is the essential principle of democracy, which leads to the inevitable exclusiveness of any kind of citizenship (Mouffe & Martin, 2013). The political principle of equality, directly related to the democratic concept of citizenship, is radically different from the universal liberal equality before the law. As Mouffe (2013) indicates, the references to universal "humanity" and "human rights" can help to negotiate the forms of exclusiveness within the citizenship practice, but these two concepts cannot be integrated. It is important to notice that the argument of Mouffe was illustrated in the aforementioned article of Kate Nash (2009), who showed the complex role of human rights law in respect to the issue of citizenship: it serves to "frame and contest inequalities", but does not eliminate them.

Following the same logic, Ruyu Hung argues against the teaching of human rights education as one of the components of citizenship education emphasizing the fundamental difference between being a "human" and being a "citizen" (2012). Even citizenship in the context of "global community" is related to certain boundaries, which might shift to a different scale, but not disappear. Hung (ibid) discusses the "distinctions, exclusion and hierarchism" within the UN sand EU systems, which are often given as examples of the potential globalized

political community. Moreover, as Hung (ibid) claims, being a global citizen means expressing a global, homogenised will, which entails the marginalization and exclusion from the community of those, whose will does not fit the dominating views within the community. For Hung (ibid) the core problem of promoting human rights mainly through citizenship education and seeing "all nonlegal deprivations and suffering…as a lack of citizenship" (Abdi & Schultz, 2008) lies in the outcome that "the idea 'a human being is entitled to human rights including citizenship' is reversely modified as 'a citizen is entitled to citizenship including human rights".

Dina Kiwan (2005) is expressing the same concern about the merge of human rights and citizenship educational agenda (2005). Kiwan (ibid) emphasizes that citizenship, even in cosmopolitan dimension, is defined as a political membership, while human rights refer to common humanity. Just like Mouffe, she points out the importance of identity for the actual realization of political participation. Will Kymlicka (1999), in his turn, makes another point about the potential exclusiveness of global citizenship. Kymlicka (ibid) talks about the significance of language proficiency for the political participation. Even in a situation where an average citizen is fluent in one or more foreign language, it is still only the small minority who is able to participate in political debates in a non-native language (Babaci-Wilhite, 2014; Babaci-Wilhite, Geo-JaJa, & Lou, 2012). Following his argument, multilingual political debates have an elitist character. The related questions are being addressed in the works, devoted to the potential neocolonial, neoimperialistic issues of teaching GCED (Pashby, 2012). The authors demonstrate through conceptual reflections and practical examples how, without the respect of necessary safeguards, GCED serves not to the promotion of equity of participation in international discourse on the future of humanity, but to the reproduction of existing power relations in the world (Andreotti & De Souza, 2012) and "epistemic marginalization" (Abdi, Shultz, & Pillay, 2015) of Global South.

The only work, as far as I know, existing at the moment on the inclusion of HRE agenda within GCED in UNESCO policies touches upon the same problems (Monaghan & Spreen, 2017). Monaghan and Spreen highlight that GCED simply declares that there are certain global challenges, which demand a global action, but does not discuss the origins of these challenges – "that is, structural inequality brought on by global economic capitalism and by systemic violations by state and non-state actors of political, social, cultural, and economic rights" (2017, p. 48). Considering that critical thinking is seen by UNESCO as one of the

essential components of GCED pedagogies (UNESCO, 2015b), this "silencing" seems quite contradicting. In these conditions, the authors ask, will GCED serve as an effective framework for the promotion of human rights or as a step back that is to inspire the prevalent neoliberal values of the world capitalism (2017, p. 49)?

3.4 **Philosophical discrepancies**

The core differences between voluntarist and skeptical approaches could be seen in the comparison of different philosophical theories, which served as a foundation for many ideas of these debating groups. As Tambakaki reveals, global citizenship theoreticians are influenced by the works of Jürgen Habermas (2010). The main idea, adapted by voluntarists from the works of Habermas, is the integrity of global citizenship and human rights, resulting from their universality. Habermas takes the discourse as a way of democratization and establishing of civil society (Habermas, 1996). Habermasian discourse is based on the principle of "reason" - a shared capacity of all humans and the foundation for the creation of moral, political, legal norms by the international community. Thus, civil society established as a result of discourse is not limited by state borders and open to the inclusive participation of all humans as "reason" bearers. Habermas has a paper, devoted explicitly to his justification of the claim of universality of human rights (1998).

In "The Divided West" he assesses the applicability of Kantian ideas to the understanding of today's " global society" (Habermas, 2006) and international law, including human rights. He claims that all forms of social action are the measures of reaching the final aim - universal understanding (Habermas, 1979). Basic human rights in the form of citizens' rights, fixed in Constitutions of liberal democracies, starting from French and American declarations, create necessary conditions for rational discourse as a communicative action (Habermas, 2006). However, he opposes the relativist claim of Eurocentric bias of universal Human Rights by advancing the view on human rights standards not as "the particular cultural background of Western civilization", but as a form of "attempt to answer specific challenges posed by a social modernity…that has covered the globe" (Habermas, 1998). Habermas insists that the notion of human rights "bears the imprint of the modern concept of individual liberty, hence of a specifically juridical concept" (1996, p. 190), but is universal because of its moral foundations (Habermas, 2006). Furthermore, the idea that in the contemporary realities the

protection of individual rights became prioritized over national homogeneity also emerges from the theory of Habermas, who called the period of transition from State's absolute authority to partial transfer of States' sovereignty to supranational organizations "post-national constellation" (ibid).

As for the sceptics, a lot of their views seem to be closely related to the works of Michel Foucault (1997, 2002) and Giorgio Agamben (1998, 2008). Unlike Habermasian discourse, Foucault's discourse is a way of expressing the existing power relations, thus, never having universal and final content, but always dependent (Foucault, 2002). The ideas of Foucault could be seen in the claims of sceptics, denying the equal applicability of human rights in the context of supranational citizenship, who consistently criticized the idea of all humans automatically being subjects to rights, when proclaimed to be ones (Buonamano, 2010). For him an individual as a subject is constantly transforming contextually and historically. Therefore, the subjects – beneficiaries to Human Rights in non-metaphysical conditions are continually produced by the core actors in Human Rights discourse formation (Foucault, Rabinow, & Faubion, 1997), first of all, the states as possessors of sovereign power. In many ways following Foucault's' ideas, sceptics affirm, that Human Rights discourse reinforces the sovereignty it was supposed to limit (Golder, 2011). The exclusiveness of citizenship for Foucault is rooted deeply into the divergent political systems through categorization of people (Hung, 2012).

Another philosopher, strongly influenced by Michel Foucault, who emphasized in his theory the crucial difference between "citizen" and "human" was Giorgio Agamben (1998). In his most famous work, he discussed the evolution of the concept of "rights" in one of the foundational documents - French "Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen, 1789 (Agamben, 1998). He claims that, in terms of the image of a human being in political discourse, the transition from "zoe" (mere life) to "bios" (meaningful life) took place in politics at this moment. By analyzing first three articles of the Declaration, he shows that the bearer of rights, defined as a citizen, "bios", is defined not just by birth, as in the case of "zoe", but by the ones, who possess the sovereign power. The result of this transition is the inevitable exclusion of the ones, who are not considered as "bios". When a human being enters the field of politics, which now can be qualified as "biopolitics", the individual is categorized by sovereign as qualifies or an unqualified member of the community. It is the sovereign who defines the limits of its legal and political responsibility and, if needed,

announces a "state of exception", within which the individuals do not have the status of "bios", therefore, they are not bearers of human rights. In order to demonstrate that exclusion is real not only on national, but international level, ruled, as well, by the sovereign powers, Agamben gives an example of refugees (Agamben, 1998). Defined by sovereign powers in multilateral agreements as "bare life", not having the same rights as the qualified citizens ("bios") they were placed in a constant "state of exception", at least until the moment when they stop being refugees and become citizens.

3.5 Historical analysis

Voluntarists and sceptics interpret differently the authors who contributed to the development of the term "cosmopolitanism". The origins of contemporary cosmopolitan education could be seen in the works of Martha Nussbaum, who offered an approach different from patriotic education that laid at the foundation of the US curriculum at the time (Nussbaum, 1994). In her analysis of the historical foundations of cosmopolitanism, she starts with Diogenes, who was the founder of the notion. Diogenes, in her opinion, created the foundation for the understanding of cosmopolitanism of world citizenship, based on the respect of universal moral values. She interpreted the decision of Diogenes to become a cosmopolitan as an "exile from the comfort of patriotism". Furthermore, she referred to Stoics, who as she thinks promoted the idea of all people as fellow citizens of the Earth and putting "right before country". Works of Immanuel Kant are another historical sources voluntarists refer to when emphasizing the integrity of cosmopolitanism and human rights (Dower, 2003; Held, 1995). They believe that Kant was one of the founders of the idea of international cosmopolitan right, analogy to contemporary human rights system (Archibugi, 1995; Martha C. Nussbaum, 1996).

Sceptics' idea of interrelationship of cosmopolitanism and human rights has a different historical foundation and is based on the critique of Nussbaum's claims. From the sceptical point of view, it could be said that even though Diogenes was the first one to use the word "cosmopolitan" regarding himself, the term did not reflect his concern about the universality of rights for all human beings. Diogenes was exiled for the repeated violation of social order, which caused material or moral harm to other citizens (Kleingeld & Brown, 1997). Therefore, by claiming himself cosmopolitan he did not protest the injustice, but denied any

social responsibility of philosophers towards their compatriots. As for Stoics, sceptical vision could be supported by the fact that many of them did not see cosmopolitanism as a universal framework, embracing every human being. In Stoic idea, the lack of moral education might lead to the exclusion of a person from the cosmopolitan community (Pagden, 2000). Furthermore, Stoicism was founded at the time of Greek colonization and developed during the expansion of Roman Empire (Berges, 2005). Thus, in the Antique political context cosmopolitanism could be interpreted as a theoretical foundation for the territorial conquest. The ideas of Kant are also seen by critics of Nussbaum as ambiguous (Lettevall & Petrov, 2014). For them, the philosopher's so-called "world citizenship law" means one single rule – the right of a citizen to be hospitably accepted in a foreign country and the right of the state to deny the entry to any foreigner prevails over the right of an individual (Simmons, 2000). I will present my vision of the development of cosmopolitanism and human rights in the historical background chapter of the thesis.

3.6 Conclusions

In other words, the debates between the two opposing discursive camps, called voluntarists and sceptics in terms of my work, have profound philosophical and historical origins. The debate comprises such spheres as ethics and politics, international relations and law. By presenting the preceding arguments I wanted to present the main points of collision of the two groups and categorize their views for the reasons of practicality. I do not claim this framework to be generalizable and applicable to all the research done on the relations between human rights and global citizenship, however, the created framework is pertinent enough to analyze all the issues, experiences and opinions, related to the aims of my study.

4 Historical Background. Human Rights and Cosmopolitanism: Conceptual Origins and Evolution

"Lack of historical sense is the family failing of all philosophers... the whole of teleology is constructed by speaking of the man of the last four millennia as of an eternal man towards whom all things in the world have had a natural relationship from the time he began. But everything has become: there are no eternal facts, just as there are no absolute truths".

Friedrich Nietzsche, "Human, All Too Human", 1878

4.1 Introduction

Despite the fact that my thesis is devoted mainly to the development of United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization policies on human rights education (HRE) and global citizenship education (GCED), I believe that in order to assess the compatibility of the two agendas it is essential to discuss the interrelationship between the concepts of HRE and GCED as such. It is also an important step to follow the logic of my theoretical framework, which builds on the debates on the rapport between human rights and global citizenship. In the following chapter I analyze the interrelationship between the notions of "rights" and "cosmopolitanism" from the historical perspective. Also, I refer to the notion of "citizenship", where it appears relevant for contextualization of the two notions.

As Friedrich Nietzsche noticed and, which I tend to agree with and consider applicable for various spheres of scholarship, the historical context is often not accentuated, when discussing the development of certain theoretical concepts. The notions of cosmopolitanism and human rights have their origins in the works written thousands of years ago. However, what is important to understand, is that the perception and use of these terms changed radically over time, being adapted to the contextual realities of the authors who referred to them. It is important to understand how are international human rights and contemporary

interpretations of cosmopolitanism different from the preceding approaches and where do we find their foundation. I believe that the material in this chapter leads to valuable conclusions on the connectedness of human rights and cosmopolitanism. At the same time, in order to avoid making it the main part of my argumentation, I only focus on the foundations of the concepts and main stages of their development. Therefore, I do not give a detailed overview of all the authors, who contributed to the theoretical interpretations of rights and citizenship in its national or cosmopolitan version, or the enumeration of the whole list of rights that ever existed, but instead a specific overview of all the aspects that I subjectively consider important for understanding the relevance of posing the questions that I do in my research.

4.2 First civilizations: ideas of fundamental rights and universalism

"Human rights…are both justifiable moral claims and contested political realities" (Hayden, 2001, p. XV). The definition of every aspect of human rights is, thus, politically charged. The majority of human rights theoreticians find the origins of human rights in "Western" philosophical tradition (Hayden, 2001). They refer to philosophers of Greek and Roman Antiquity (Mahoney, 2007), "Christian ideal of peace" (Lidén & Syse, 2015) and European and North-American Enlightenment (Hunt, 2008) as the theoretical foundation of modern human rights. The minority of authors trace the beginning of the idea of human rights up to the very first civilizations (Ishay, 2008).

One of the most important regulations of human rights is the right to fair trial, closely related to the fundamental right to liberty (Sayers, 2014). The first historical document that regulates the work of judges is Babylonian Hammurabi's Code, created more than three thousand years ago (Issar, 2014). The very first five articles of the Code rule on the importance of beyond-doubt proofs for the convicting verdict and warn judges about the importance of fair trial, the accordance of the punishment to the crime committed and potential dismissal of corrupted judges. Another important source of our contemporary understanding of human rights lays within the Hebrew Bible (Ishay, 2008). It does not only insist on the importance of fair witnessing, the absence of personal interest of judges in the considered cases, but also enounces the principle of non-discrimination – an alien shall be judged under the same regulations as a native (Mahoney, 2007, p. 4).

Micheline Ishay gives another example of the ancient idea of rights – Indian "Arthashastra" is aimed to serve as an instruction for the ruling kings (2008). The core principles were impartiality of judges and the special treatment of "minors, the aged, the sick, the deliberated, the insane, the starving, and pregnant women" (Ishay, 2008, p. 29). Such an approach could be defined as one more precursor of today's principle of non-discrimination[7]. Chinese political elites were one of the first in international community to openly claim the incompatibility of human rights with their cultural tradition (Otto, 1997). At the same time, Confucian view of society also contributed to the development of the idea of human rights. According to him, established moral relations define rights and duties of the community members and allow the community to prosper in peace (Sim, 2004).

Having given all these examples, it is important to notice that none of the scholars claims that modern human rights were born thousands of years ago. Babylonian laws provided for famous formulas "an eye for an eye" and "a tooth for tooth", the laws of Hebrew Bible were created and interpreted by the servants of God not in the name of peaceful coexistence of all humans, but for "the fear of God" (Ishay, 2008, p. 29). "Arthashastra" did not exclude torture from the ways of truth-seeking and Confucian tradition does not recognize the primordiality of individual autonomy (Sim, 2004). However, claiming that the idea of human rights began in Ancient Greece, Rome or was born with Christianity would not be less problematic and would contradict the existing historical sources.

4.3 Greek and Roman Antiquity: where all the origins lay

4.3.1 Idea of natural rights

All of the scholars, whose works I use for this historical and conceptual overview of human rights and human rights education, recognize the primordial importance of natural law/natural

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[7] The principle of non-discrimination does not only mean the absence of differential treatment of people who appear to be in the same situation, but also in the absence of differential treatment, if the situations of individuals are radically different (OHCHR & International Bar Association, 2003).

rights theory for the formation of contemporary understanding of human rights (Hayden, 2001; Ishay, 2008; Mahoney, 2007). Natural rights are the ones, which are interpreted as inherent to all humans, regarding their human nature. However, the idea of pre-modern natural law is the one, which "would be required or permitted by the ideally best law for one's situation - that is, the law one would discover through the use of natural reason if one were perfectly reasonable and had possession of all the relevant facts…" (Beitz, 2009, p.51)[8]. This is the case of Greek and Roman tradition of rights.

Traces of the idea of certain laws legitimized by Nature could be found already in the first philosophy school ever known - Ionian School (VI century BC), mainly discussing the nature of matter. At the same time, such theoretical discourse could result from "a new colonial horizon": it was exactly the time of the expansion of Greek colonies in the Mediterranean and Black sea (Lettevall & Petrov, 2014). Plato (ca. 428 – 347 BC) in his "Republic" in the form of dialogues with Socrates (ca. 470-399 BC) discussed the definition of justice and, what is important to consider in terms of his role in the formation of the idea of human rights, how justice as a virtue of the state corresponds to the justice of a human being. Justice for Plato is a good "for its own sake and for the sake of its results" (Hayden, 2001, p. 14), since it contributes to the goodness of the whole society and of the individual. "Just" is defined according to the functions of a person in the society. The true knowledge of one's own functions is that which allows a citizen[9] to be just and follow its true nature of goodness - the voice of reason. The same is true for the state – the state is just, when it treats its citizens according to their functions. Thus, it appears that in Socrates's and Plato's logic the aim of rights and justice was to contribute to the functioning of the society.

Aristotle's (384 – 322 BC) idea of justice has a lot in common with Plato's vision[10]. In his "Politics" he claims that justice serves the common good of the citizens, which equals the advantage of the state (Aristotle & Lord, 2013). "Justice is the bond of men in states" and the very existence of the state is the necessary condition for human existence as "political animals" by nature (ibid.). This idea is further developed in his most well-known work on

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[8] The concept of modern natural rights, as the rights one possesses by the fact of being born a human, independently of one's situation, will be discussed further.

[9] A free man of Plato's perfect state – "polis".

[10] Aristotle himself was a student of Plato's school (Hayden, 2001, p. 24)

ethics - "Nicomachean Ethics", which offers Aristotle's response to the ontological question of how one should live. Following the logic of "Politics", he argues that the just treatment of the state is one of the main human virtues and, for the sake of the whole community, it must prevail over the civil rights of a citizen (Aristotle & Williams, 1869).

As for Roman philosophy of justice and rights, the example of Cicero[11] (106 – 43 BC) is being referred to in the literature (Beitz, 2009; Hayden, 2001; Ishay, 2008; Mahoney, 2007), probably because, as a lawyer, he has the whole work, devoted to the idea of natural law – "De Legibus" ("On the Laws"). Just like his Greek predecessors, Cicero sees the nature of justice as corresponding to the nature of a human (Cicero et al., 1998). However, he goes further than them – in his works he recognizes that justice was established by Nature, common for all humans and all nations, united by the ability of reasoning. He was one of the first to identify that, despite the differences of vocabulary, the same ideas of justice, peace and common good were part of every culture.

4.3.2 The invention of citizenship and cosmopolitanism

In order to find out the origins of cosmopolitanism, one should define what cosmopolitanism is as such. However, this task seems to be impracticable:

The broad spectrum of meanings owing to cosmopolitanism has widened much further during the past decade, and its linguistic form as an –ism might tempt readers to see it as a coherent theory, which it absolutely is not. It is even difficult to see any hard core in it at all: versions of cosmopolitanism cannot be reduced to one central meaning or thesis, even if several scholars have tried to do so (Lettevall & Petrov, 2014, p. 11).

Therefore, in my enquiry I choose to go two directions. Firstly, if contemporary works define cosmopolitanism as a membership in the community, not limited by state boundaries (Dower, 2003; Hooft & Vandekerckhove, 2010b; Starkey, 2012), I aim to discuss the origins of the term "citizenship", which means exactly the opposite – a political status of belonging to the state (Faulks, 2000). Secondly, I will refer to the authors, who were the first to explicitly use

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[11] Roman lawyer, statesman, translator and philosopher. The adherent of Stoicism, the philosophical movement, which contribution to the ideas of natural law and cosmopolitanism will be discussed further.

the word "cosmopolitan". The idea of citizenship, just like the theory of natural rights, was born in Ancient Greece (ibid). Even though citizenship was conceptualized differently in various Greek states, fundamental principles were the same. Above, in relation to the works of Aristotle and Plato, I already discussed that the emphasis on duties of an individual over one's own rights prevailed. However, Greek citizenship, "politeia", was also a desirable right. "Politeia" was an essential word for describing the city-state of the Antiquity - polis. Citizen was seen as a member of polis community, who is able to participate in the governance of the state (Radulovic, 2006, p. 26)

It appears that the term cosmopolitanism was created as an antonym to the notion of citizenship. Apparently, Diogenes was the first philosopher to use the word "cosmopolitanism". He defined cosmopolitanism from the individualistic perspective, claiming that philosophers like him should live outside of boundaries of a socio-political connection to the polis and belong to the cosmos, a universal order. He invented this term when condemned to exile and deprived of citizenship of his own polis for systematic violation of civic order. Therefore, he did not suggest prioritizing common good over the good of a state, but freedom of a philosopher from any social obligations (Kleingeld & Brown, 1997). The notion of cosmopolitanism was further developed by Stoics (ca. IV century BC – II century AD), who focused mainly on ethics, believing that "right behaviour must be grounded on a general understanding of the universe, and their theories extended to cover the nature of the physical world, logic, rhetoric, epistemology, and politics" (Birch & Hooper, 2012). These are Stoics, along with Kant, whose contribution to the idea of world citizenship will be discussed later, who are most often cited as the founders of the concept (Berges, 2005). Influenced by Socrates, the founders of Stoicism, in opposition to Plato and Aristotle, claimed that the human virtue is not defined by birth, political status or nobility (Richter, 2017). The concept of cosmopolitanism, based on the idea that all human beings share the "divine breath" of reason and, therefore, a capacity for virtue, was mainly developed by late Stoics (Berges, 2005). For example, already mentioned Roman Cicero, Marcus Aurelius (121 – 180 AD)[12] and Greek Epictetus[13] (50 – 135 AD) claimed that "we owe moral allegiance to humanity in general" in terms of cooperation and friendship (ibid).

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[12] Roman Emperor, educated by Stoic philosophers.

[13] Slave by birth, Epictetus was freed for his talent in philosophy and became one of the most famous teachers of Stoicism in history.

However, it should be mentioned that this friendship was seen as conditional. Marcus Aurelius wrote in his "Meditations" that the ones, who due to the lack of moral education the way that Stoics saw it, non-virtuous were not able to maintain friendship and were supposed to be educated (Marcus Aurelius II, 1; III, 4; V, 30). Cicero, even though emphasizing the importance of the cooperation, insisted on the difference of rules of conduct of citizens and foreigners in a state, who do not possess citizenship rights and, therefore, should not intervene in state affairs (Cicero, 1913, p.31). Therefore, the Stoic idea of cosmopolitanism can hardly be claimed as universalist in its essence: all humans must be cosmopolitans, but not all are due to the lack of certain virtues that they potentially possess, but did not develop because of lack of proper moral education.

The development of philosophical ideas is inevitably related to their historical context and the Antique theory of cosmopolitanism is no exception. Many authors make an emphasis on the political context, when the idea of Stoic cosmopolitanism was born[14] (Kleingeld & Brown, 2014). First of all, it is the foundation of Hellenistic culture in the result of the conquest of Alexander the Great in the IV century BC, who united vast territories of the Mediterranean and Asia under his rule and which formed new Hellenistic States after his death. The dynasties of Greek origins were established and Greek culture, influenced by local cultural traditions, was spread all over these lands and dominated for centuries (Green, 1993). Furthermore, the late Stoic cosmopolitanism was developed in the Roman Empire, which at the beginning of a new era embraced half of the whole oecumene[15]. Marcus Aurelius supposes that purely local duties of a human can be "swept away by fate and Roman Imperialism" (Berges, 2005, p.7). Thus, the Antique idea of cosmopolitanism lacks not only the universalist aspect, but also can be seen as justifying further imperial expansions[16] and education of non-virtuous to Stoic "Western" principles[17] (Pagden, 2000).

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[14] The writings of the first Stoics preceded Alexander's campaign, but these early works were mostly devoted to the development of a more inclusive way of polis governing, while Stoics of a Hellenistic period were already discussing the common virtues, inherent for humans all over the world (Richter, 2017).

[15] Antique notion for the inhabited world, i.e. the habitable world as known by Ancient Greeks and Romans.

[16] During his reign, Marcus Aurelius attempted to take control over some territories of Central Europe (Birley, 2000).

[17] Teaching was treated by Stoics as one of the main contributions a cosmopolitan could do to the humanity beyond the state borders (Kleingeld & Brown, 2014).

Regarding the facts cited on the development of the ideas of natural law and cosmopolitanism in the Antiquity, I would like to conclude with a remark on the interrelationship of these terms. I allow myself to come back to Cicero's description of natural law. For him, natural law was not the subject to change by any intervention, even cosmopolitan one. From the Stoic perspective, the definition of fundamental morals the humanity should follow evolves from the natural law, embedded in human reason rather than in any particular interpretations. Thus, Cicero's natural law could be seen as a dominant concept, dependent only on the shared reason of humanity, unlike cosmopolitanism, which is a desirable moral orientation to be reached through a proper education to virtues.

4.4 Middle Ages: rights, cosmopolitanism and religion

4.4.1 Rights in Medieval legal cultures

Through the late Antiquity the idea of natural law comes to the early Middle Ages. In 313 Christian cult was decriminalized in Roman Empire and made an official state religion in 380 (Green, 2010). One of the first famous Christian theologians, Augustine of Hippo, was born in a Berber family in Northern Africa[18] (Mendelson, 2016). He received his education in Latin and converted to Christianity in 386 (ibid.) He became a bishop of the city of Hippo, today Annaba in Algeria. In his works, Augustine often refers to the notion of the "divine" or "eternal" law, which dominates the sovereign rights and, thus, limits them (Dyson, 2005). Everything on Earth is created by God and, therefore, must obey to universal moral divine norms, independently from the economic or social status of an individual, one's own mind or convictions (St. Augustine & Curtin, 2018). Augustine does not claim that people possess rights by birth, but, most importantly, he emphasizes the existence of the laws, inherent to all human beings and these laws are the ones, which limit the power of state authorities in their treatment of individuals: "When even emperors enact bad laws on the side of falsehood and against the truth the faithful are tested…Whosoever, therefore, refuses to obey the laws of the emperors which are enacted against the will of God, wins for himself a great reward…" (St. Augustine & Cunningham, 2015, p. 391)

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[18] In his works, he often emphasizes the importance of African legacy for theology (Hollingworth, 2013).

The year of 476 is known as the date of the official fall of the Western Roman Empire, when the last Roman emperor was deposed by a barbarian ruler. Not only political, but also cultural connections between the Roman territories were dramatically weakened and classical Latin was lost (Wright, 2006). Famous Italian scholar Petrarch, who was the first to discover the radical difference between the Antique and Medieval Latin, created the term "Dark Age", which was aimed to emphasize the consequences of the loss of classical culture (Mommsen, 1942). However, the idea of natural law found its continuation through the works of St. Augustine in the legal thought of the XIIth – XIIIth century (Mahoney, 2007). In the mid-XIIth century the first collection of Canon law was created by Gratian, a monk from Bologna. He did not only compile all the existing canon laws from various sources, including the works of Augustine of Hippo, but discusses the existing discrepancies in the texts and offers different interpretations to the norms. Such an approach to law can be considered revolutionary: while respecting the fundamental rule that all rights evolve from God, the openness to the interpretations signifies the birth of the "subjective understanding of "ius" … a faculty or power in accordance with right reason, associated with free choice and synderesis…" (Tierney, 1997, p. 64, cited in Mahoney, 2007, p. 7). Magna Carta, the Charter, which guaranteed the protection of landlords against the unlawful detention by the king[19], is one of the first known legal documents to use the notion of "rights" in the subjective sense, even though these were not the universal natural rights at the foundation of the Charter, but the national custom (Mahoney, 2007, p. 7).

Thomas Aquinas (c. 1225 – 1274), Doctor of the Church, theologian and theoretician of canonist law, in his reflections on various kinds of law often refers to the works of St. Augustine, as well as to Aristotle (Hayden, 2001). Just like his predecessors, he claimed that just law evolves from natural reason as a capacity of all human beings (Saint Thomas Aquinas, 2014). Only laws that are just. i.e. justified by natural reason and corresponding to the eternal law, are obligatory for respect. The role of the law is to lead "the subjects of law to their proper virtue" (Saint Thomas Aquinas, 2014, p. 394). However, just like Aristotle,

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[19] The right of the detainee to appeal to the Court in order to establish the lawfulness or unlawfulness of the imprisonment, enounced in Magna Carta, is called the principle of "habeas corpus" and is now an integral part of all human rights regulations on the right to liberty. It is guaranteed by international (International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights), art. 9(4)) and regional instruments (American Convention on Human Rights, art. 7(6); Arab Charter on Human Rights, art. 14(6); and European Convention on Human Rights, art. 5(4) (The Law Library of Congress, 2009).

Thomas Aquinas sees the most important aim of law in the acquisition of common good through the "proper virtue" of each individual.

The aforementioned theories played the core role in the Catholic philosophy of Middle Ages. Works of St. Augustine, Gratian and St. Thomas were obligatory for theological studies (Piltz, 1981) and, therefore, constituted the essential knowledge of the European clergy. University, or Studium Generale, was defined as an educational institution, that "must not be restricted to natives of a particular town or country, it must have a number of masters, and it must teach not only the Seven Liberal Arts[20], but also one or more of the higher studies of Theology, Law, and Medicine" (Rait, 1912, p. 8). New professional stratum of intellectuals was created and scholasticism serves as the main methodical and theoretical foundation in higher education. Unlike theological studies before, scholasticism was aimed at solving philosophical and theological contradictions through disputations and through giving more place to secular philosophy (Kretzmann, Kenny, & Pinborg, 1982). Thus, medieval Universities became arenas for open international discussions on the issues of philosophy, natural law and human rights.

It is important to emphasize that cooperation on education was concerning not only Christians, but also Muslim and Jewish in Europe. Islamic Spain, where three cultures coexisted for almost eight centuries, can serve as an exemplary case of intercultural education. The city of Cordoba, the capital of Al-Andalus, became the centre of education for Muslim, as well as Jewish and Christian students from Europe. It was also well-known for its libraries with Greek texts, translated in Arabic, Latin and Hebrew (Vaughan, 2003). One of the most outstanding Muslim philosophers, ibn Rushd, became famous for his commentaries on Aristotle's philosophy[21]. Following Aristotle, Ibn Rushd, or Averroes, continues to discuss human abilities to perceive the highest moral laws. He claims that all people possess the inherent knowledge on the divine law, which aim is to protect the health of their souls (Butterworth, 2007). However, in his opinion, only philosophers are capable to interpret the divine laws (ibid).

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[20] Arithmetic, astronomy, geometry, grammar, logic, music theory and rhetoric.

[21] The role of ibn Rushd in medieval Aristotelian philosophy is so important that in the writings of Thomas Aquinas, Aristotle is called "The Philosopher", while Ibn Rushd is "The Commentator".

If Averroes was mainly discussing the aims and interpretation of Islamic laws, Moses ben Maimon, known in Europe as Maimonides, was a Jewish Rabin, whose reflections were mostly concentrated on Jewish laws. Maimonides codified Jewish laws and offered his interpretation of the foundations of law (Novak, 2008). He distinguished two types of law – divine and human law, emphasizing, just like Aristotle, that the first one is aimed at the perfection of the person as a whole, both physically and intellectually, while human law concerns mainly physical well-being of a person (Galston, 1978). He considered that it is through education that the "divine law undertakes to create the internal mechanism of restraint, as well as to provide its adherents with an introduction to the contemplative life" (ibid, p. 9). Thus, education of the members of the community is a necessary condition for the actual manifestation of the divine law.

4.4.2 Medieval cosmopolitanism

When discussing the development of the notion of cosmopolitanism, most of the authors pass the Middle Ages, claiming that the Late Stoic ideas of cosmopolitanism did not get their development in the Medieval world (Heater, 2004; Lettevall & Petrov, 2014; Martha C. Nussbaum, 1996). Martha Nussbaum, whose works are often mentioned as a sign of the revival of the term "cosmopolitanism" in our times, sees the direct linkage between Stoicism, Kantianism and contemporary system of international relations (Martha C. Nussbaum, 1997). This approach could be quite justified: "Christian universalism, at best, ignores and, at worst, demonizes cultural difference" (Ganim & Legassie, 2013, p. 7). Even in the case of Erasmus of Rotterdam (1466 – 1536), famous for his advancement of the idea of world peace and cooperation between states, it could be said that "an honest and open-minded interest or appreciation of foreign cultures and religions was not known to him" (Papy, 2008).

However, Middle Ages present an important stage that follows the European cultural domination of Hellenistic world and Roman Empire and precedes the European hegemony of colonialism (Abu-Lughod, 1991). People of various confessions coexisted side by side all over the world. Everyday lives of medieval people could not be reduced to purely religious experiences. Commercial affairs, politics, travels and even wars were often leading a medieval person into cross-cultural realities that made one reconsider the perception of differences among people in the world (Edwards, 2013). Crusades, often illustrated as an

exemplary case of radical religious intolerance, resulting in armed conflicts, left various memoirs of crusaders, who were amazed by education of many of their rivalries, who shared many axiological convictions with the enemies and spoke foreign languages, which allowed them to communicate (Ganim & Legassie, 2013). The interreligious marriages among "people of the book", Christians, Jews and Muslims, are often encountered in the sources, witnessing close socio-political connections among representors of different cultures (ibid). William of Rubruck (ca. 1220 – 1293), Franciscan missionary and explorer of the times of the Seventh Crusade, who made a journey to Asia to convert Mongols to Christianity, described in his "Journey to the Eastern Parts of the World", how difficult it was for him to communicate to the person of the same faith, an Eastern Christian. Even though they spoke the same language and shared the same religion, the actual differences in their everyday life and different interpretation of the same concepts did not allow them to come to a common decision on the way of proving the advantage of Christianity before Mongols. For the missionary, it could mean that it was not the religion per se, but many other factors, which defined people's different identities (Von Rubruck, 1900). Medieval version of cosmopolitanism offers a different perspective on the matters of the peaceful coexistence of humans in the world, which is born not from "concord, curiosity and good will", but from the "debate and confrontation both within and between confessional and linguistic communities" (Ganim & Legassie, 2013).

Thus, Middle Ages became the time of further development of philosophy and theology of natural law. Despite the fact that authors mostly refer to the names of Christian thinkers, when discussing the origins of human rights, it is possible to reveal a common tendency in Christian, Islamic and Jewish thought on the divine, eternal, natural and human law. The interconnectedness of late medieval world allowed the spread of ideas across cultural and state borders. Jewish Rabin and Muslim philosopher influenced the works of one of the most famous Christian theoreticians of natural law and, thus, largely contributed to the evolution of the idea of human rights and the transition of this idea beyond its religious contexts. The development of higher education and intercultural cooperation allowed to create the organized system of education, still limited to only several percent of population, but offering more space for open intellectual discussion on the aims of law in relation to an individual and the whole society (Rait, 1912). Unlike natural law, which was integral to Christian, Jewish and Muslim thought as such, medieval cosmopolitanism as a way of alternative perception of

another and of oneself, distanced from a mere religious identity, developed "most visibly in zones of contact and conflict".

4.5 Philosophy of the Enlightenment: secularization of rights and rebirth of cosmopolitanism

In case of Enlightenment, it would probably be challenging to mention all the philosophers, who played an important role for the foundation of human rights, since the XVIIth – XVIIIth centuries were the times, which defined the theoretical basis of contemporary human rights. Even though for thousands of years many cultures all over the world had taken part in the development of the notion of human rights, for various reasons, including economic, societal and political change, this essential step forward in theorizing human rights was made in Europe (Ishay, 2008).

Scholastic methods served for offering the solutions for theological contradictions, but only in order to prove the infallibility of Catholic dogma (Marenbon, 2006). Renaissance and the revival of Classical philosophy and science led to the shift of attention from the afterlife salvation to the quality of earthly life, to the world that could be measured and changed in favour of human existence (Kreis, 2016). It was the humanism of Renaissance, which made the educated Europeans ask: What if God is not what we were told God was (ibid)? From thereon, the dominance of Catholic Church in all spheres of life – political, economic, social and cultural, – was questioned. Even though the ideas of the necessity of the Catholic Church reformation appeared in European sources already in the XIIth century and open massive religious - political movements against the power of Pope take place in the beginning of the XVth century, it was the XVIth century, which provided the necessary conditions for the ideas of Reformation to be heard and supported by the political elite, as well as by ordinary people (Becker, Pfaff, & Rubin, 2016). Kings and princes wanted to rule their states independently from Papal authority, clergy demanded more freedom in the interpretation of holy texts, the newly born middle class protested the economic privileges of the Church[22] and more and more free people wanted to be able to read the Bible in their own national

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[22] Such as vast owned lands and exempt from taxation.

language[23] (ibid). Moreover, the ideas of the Reformation of the XVIth century were spread with the unprecedented speed due to the invention of Johannes Gutenberg – the movable printing machine, which increased the speed of book printing, made books cheaper more accessible for wider masses of population (Harrison, 2007).

In the beginning of the XVIth century the works of Martin Luther, German priest and professor of theology, became known throughout Europe. He questioned the supreme authority of Pope, the selling of indulgencies as a way to buy God's forgiveness, the material possessions of Catholic Church and, most importantly, the monopoly of the Church on the interpretation of Scripture. Many followed his example, like Swiss Huldrych Zwingli and French John Calvin, and the movement for Reformation, which covered Europe (Becker et al., 2016). After a century of religious wars within and between the states, the Treaty of Westphalia (1648) affirmed the right of each sovereign to choose the religion for their territory. Despite the fact that the treaty does not concern the rights of individuals, it officially recognized the necessity to respect the ideologies, different from Catholic doctrines (Teschke, 2002). Reformation opened space for discussions on the alternatives to Catholic ontological and epistemological interpretations, which led to secularization of the philosophical thought. It is also highly important to remark that the Treaty of Westphalia institutionalized the end of *Papo-Caesarism*[24] in Europe, establishing, thus, the principle of international relations, that lays at its foundation today - the principle of sovereignty, non-intervention of external actors in the internal affairs of an independent state (ibid). Consequently, the theory of rights of the Enlightenment was developed in the conditions, where the independency of sovereigns in their internal decisions became the basis for interstate relations.

One of the consequences of Reformation for the discourse of rights was the gradual secularization of the notion of right and its subjectivization (Beitz, 2009). Hugo Grotius (1583 – 1645), protestant Dutch scholar, the witness of religious wars, claimed that the main reason for these conflicts was the dispute over rights (Mahoney, 2007, p. 9). According to

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[23] Catholic Church allowed copying the Bible only in three sacred languages – Hebrew, Greek and Latin. Before Counter-Reformation of the XVIth century, the movement within the Catholic Church, which was to reform and reinforce Catholicism in the Christian world, it was very rare that the translations on any other languages were tolerated. Even if such translations were allowed to exist, these texts were not considered as corresponding to the "words of God" (Bossy, 1970).

[24] The dominance of Papal authority over the secular one.

Grotius, Catholic morality failed to assure the common moral foundation of "just war" in Europe, often becoming the pretext for the conflicts (Grotius & Neff, 2012). Consequently, what he suggested was the establishment of the Law of Nations – certain international rules that sovereign powers can agree on[25]. He equals these rules with the law of nature, since they are born from human reason (ibid). Moreover, Grotius insists that his considerations would be true even in case if God did not exist and did not take part in human affairs, which can be seen as an essential step towards the secularization of the concept of natural law (Mahoney, 2007, p. 9).

Freeing socio-political sphere from the dominance of religious doctrine led to the philosophical discussions on the origins and role of sovereign power within the state. Contractarianism, the idea that all political authority derives from the will of the individuals, became one of the main philosophical traditions of the political philosophy of the XVIIth century (Hayden, 2001). Thomas Hobbes (1588 – 1679) was the first to argue that the institute of governance exists on the basis of "social contract" between humans, whose aim is to avoid harm and protect their property, and the political elite, who offers security and social order. Thus, in order to protect their own rights, people give the right to sanction to the authorities, who create the punitive system for the non-compliance to social order. Another English philosopher, John Locke (1632 – 1704), offered a different interpretation of the social contract. He recognized that the authority of the state power emerges from the will of people, but not for the promotion of purely egocentric self-interest, but for the protection of the rights of each individual – right to life, liberty and property[26]. Furthermore, another difference between Hobbes and Locke consists in their views on the power that the governor obtains by social contract: if for Hobbes this power is absolute, Locke recognizes the primordial rights of people over the right of the one, who rules[27].

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[25] Today the sum of international regulations on armed conflicts is called humanitarian law.

[26] The right to life was already emerging in scholastic literature, right to liberty was first institutionalized in the aforementioned Magna Carta (1215) in terms of the principle of "habeas corpus", but property became the new fundamental right at the age of Enlightenment with the development of capitalism and the protestant idea of the "relentless work" as a way of virtuous life (Ishay, 2008, p. 91).

[27] For this reason, Locke is considered to be the founder of liberalism. Locke himself was a witness of the overthrow of two English kings and the consequent establishment of a Protestant dynasty instead of a Catholic one in 1689, which, in the idea of English parliamentarians, was supposed to eradicate the ideology of the divine nature of power of a sovereign (Mahoney, 2007, p. 16).

In his turn, French philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778) in his famous oeuvre "The Social Contract" aimed to solve the contradiction between the freedom of people, belonging to them by natural law, and their obedience to the authority of the state. He suggested that the existence of government is justified by its role in implementation of the general will of the people, who constitute the sovereign. Therefore, people would obey to the laws they created themselves: "In this way Rousseau presents a theory of the state that places more emphasis on the collective dimension of human existence than the individualism found in the theories of Hobbes and Locke" (Hayden, 2001, p. 81).

The philosophical system of Immanuel Kant (1724 – 1804) can be seen as the culmination of the discussion on rights at the Age of Enlightenment, which, in fact, he aimed at (Rauscher, 2017). He adheres to the tradition of contractarianism, claiming, however, that the consent to social contract is not a voluntary choice, but results from human reason and rational duty of a person to protect one's own freedom (Dodson, 1991). The protection of freedom, equality and independence of every citizen[28] are the rationale of the existence of the state Kant also develops the idea of eternal peace in the world, initiated by Charles-Irénée Castel, l'Abbé de Saint-Pierre in the beginning of the XVIIIth century[29] (Kant, Ashton, & Miller, 1974). In his "Idea for a Universal History with a Cosmopolitan Purpose" and "Perpetual Peace: A Philosophical sketch" he offers his view on the factors, which would allow the sustainable peace. As he affirms, lasting peaceful relationship among states are possible in the situation of individual republican states coexisting in the form of the international federation of these states or cooperating in terms of a league of states. He offers the system of international relations, which would be based on the mutual trust and independency of states - non-intervention of one state into the internal affairs of another. Further, he mentions "the law of world citizenship", which reminds of a contemporary visa regime (Simmons, 2000).

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[28] Kant uses two notions – citizens and members of the state as human beings. Citizenship does not comprise women and children, who only possess passive rights and no right to participate in the formation of particular laws. Obviously, foreigners and stateless people in Kant's view are excluded completely.

[29] L'Abbé was the author *of "Project for Perpetual Peace in Europe"* (1713, 1717), criticized by Rousseau as utopian in the second half of the XVIIIth century.

I believe, it is important to emphasize that Kant did not claim the necessity of the existence of international legal system that would protect human rights. In fact, Kant was convinced that the maxims of human rights could be defended by national civil law (Kant & Humphrey, 2003). The only "world citizenship law" he mentions is hospitality: the right of a foreigner to arrive on the ground of another state, which should treat him in a hospitable manner. At the same time, the state has the right to refuse the entry to the foreigner (ibid). However, the discourse of Kant was highly important for the formation of the language of the international human rights system that we use today (Kant, Denis, & Gregor, 2017). In particular, Kant was the first among the philosophers to make a strong emphasis on the aspect of human dignity as "an absolute inner worth", which lays at the foundation of rights of a person (ibid).

To summarize, the secularization of the idea of human rights, initiated by Hugo Grotius, led to a gradual understanding that a human being is entitled to the rights by one's own human nature. If Thomas Hobbes in the beginning of the XVIIth century was still claiming that the source of human rights was the organized political society, which assured the respect of rights in the established order, further the philosophers of the Enlightenment emphasized that it was not any external factor, such as a political entity or a divine power, that was providing humans with rights. John Locke and Jean-Jacques Rousseau affirmed that the power of the state evolves from the will of people. Even though Locke wrote in favour of a constitutional monarchy and Rousseau supported the idea of the Republic, they both recognized the right of people to overthrow the authorities, which fail to protect or deliberately limit the rights of people. Therefore, the essential idea of people as an actual possessor of sovereign power was born. Furthermore, the theory of "social contract", which justifies the transition of the authority to the state leads to the understanding that the state is the main guarantor and the main violator of human rights. From thereon, there were no more abstract categories, which were supposed to assure the respect of natural rights, but the concrete structures and regulations were to be treated for the protection of rights.

It could be said that the Age of Enlightenment was the starting point for the idea of international human rights law (Ishay, 2008). However, I would like to emphasize that these were the concepts of the humanitarian law, which in the ideas of Hugo Grotius and Immanuel Kant which were to serve as a foundation of international relations. Kant, who discussed the possibility of eternal peace in the world, mentioned only one right of a "world citizen" – the right of a citizen of one country to be hospitably accepted in another. Thus, as Kant

concluded, for the philosophers of Enlightenment the system that would protect the basic rights could exist only in terms of a concrete state. Another unique trait of the Enlightenment is that for the first time in human history the ideas of natural rights were actually institutionalized. New printing techniques, secularization of knowledge and the translation of texts in European languages served the spread of the ideas people got acquainted with the ideas of philosophers and could realize them in a short time. The examples of French and American Revolution [30] demonstrated that the main theories of political philosophy of Enlightenment were put into life less than half a century after these theories were introduced. In 1789, the American Constitution came into force, establishing, thus, the creation of a new independent state – the United States of America. The Constitution itself described the principles of functioning of executive, legislative and judicial institutions, but the first ten amendments, known as the Bill of Rights, introduced the main rights of American citizens. The same year, the French Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen was signed. Both of the documents were based on the idea of popular sovereignty, established the main rules of taxation[31], and enlisted the number of rights, to liberty, fair trial and property - the only right affirmed twice in the French Declaration. French Constitution, which included the rules of the Declaration, was approved in 1791. The similarities in French and American constitutional revolutionary traditions are not a coincidence - it is clear that American and European philosophers and political figures were influenced and supported by one another (Hunt, 2007; Ishay, 2008; Mahoney, 2007).

4.6   The Long XIXth century32: age of Nationalism and fight for civic equality

The prevalence of national priorities over the international affairs in political thought of the end of the XVIIIth century led to the dominance of nationalist ideology within political

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[30] Polish Constitution, just like the French one, was also established in 1791. However, even though it followed some principles of the political philosophy of the Enlightenment, such as popular sovereignty, it was far more moderate. For example, Catholicism was affirmed to be a dominant religion and, most importantly, serfdom of peasantry in the country was not abolished. Therefore, I will not discuss this text in the chapter.

[31] Many historians claim that it was the dissatisfaction with the unequal taxation system, which served as the strongest impetus of both revolutions.

[32] That was the name Erich Hobsbawm gave to his trilogy on the history of the XIXth century.

sphere in Europe for the next hundred years. Nevertheless, what was uniting people all over Europe at the times of nationalist division XIXth century, was the opposition to the inequalities, claimed as natural by the Enlightenment (Ishay, 2008). In this part of the chapter I aim to discuss both of these tendencies and their influence on the development of the theory of human rights and cosmopolitanism.

4.6.1 Nationalism: from the first fight for cultural rights to the denial of rights to others

The term "nation" serves equating people and the state and was institutionalized by the American and French Revolutions (Hobsbawm, 1990, p. 18). Following the theoretical foundations of political philosophy of the Enlightenment, nation was closely intertwined with the notion of citizenship: nation was "the body of citizens whose collective sovereignty constituted them a state which was their political expression" (ibid, p. 19). From the constitutions of France and the US, the notion of nation further spread to the discourse of other states in Europe and all over the world by the beginning of the XXth century.

Imperial campaign of Napoleon was an important factor for the development of another type of nationalism, which did not simply comprise the connection between citizens and the state, but has put an emphasis on the aspect of culture and language. Thus, the direct connection between the cultural-linguistic heritage, citizenship and the state was established: Polish nationalist movement activated, Italian and German tendencies for state reunification intensified and the deposition of the king of Spain by Napoleon allowed Latin American territories to gain independence (Hunt, 2007, p. 182). "National issue" was one of the dominant premises of the revolutionary movements, which embraced South and Central America and Europe from Ireland to Poland. For hundreds of years, national minorities of the Austrian, Ottoman and Russian empires were deprived of full citizenship rights and fought for their independence, thus, expecting to improve the legal situation for their nationals (Hayden, 2001). At the same time, they themselves denied full rights to other ethnicities that resided on their territories[33]. For those struggling for their self-determination, the gain of

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[33] For example. Hungarians, who succeeded in reaching equal rights along with Austrians in terms of Austro-Hungarian Constitutional union (1867 – 1918) denied the same rights to Southern Slavic ethnicities, who lived on their territory (Hunt, 2007, p. 184).

rights signified, first of all, the formation of their own state. Rights that they claimed were not only political, but also cultural, such as education in their native language (on the specificity of cultural rights see Babaci-Wilhite, 2015; Bostad, 2013).

In his classical work on the history of nationalism of the XIXth century, Eric Hobsbawm claims that another type of nationalism took the lead from the 1870s – ethnic nationalism (Hobsbawm, 1990). The discourse of nationalism moved from left to right, from the educated upper classes to lower educated middle classes, such as teachers, tradesman or small - scale retailers. At that stage, "the links between racism and nationalism are obvious" (ibid, p. 108). The main word, which characterized nationalism from thereon, was not "self-determination", but "menace" (ibid). The menace to the superiority of middle class was seen by them as originating from "workers, foreign states and individuals, from immigrants, from the capitalists and financiers so readily identifiable with Jews, who were also seen as revolutionary agitators" (ibid, p. 120). Anti-Semitism was not a new phenomenon for Europe, but the politicization of anti-Jewish public sentiment was unprecedented. In France, Germany, Austria and the US political parties and individual politicians were founding their programmes on anti-Semitism and were succeeding in elections, newspapers, which specialized on anti-Semitic propaganda, were created, and "race" became a synonym of "nation" (Hunt, 2007). The favorable situation gave birth to the whole pseudo-scientific movement of Social Darwinism and Racial studies, which justified racism, anti-Semitism, discrimination against women and sexual minorities as based on natural biological traits of these groups.

4.6.2 Fighting inequality: liberal and socialist movements

It is hard to imagine that the development of the idea of rights took place during the domination of such ideological tendencies. All the more so it is highly problematic to claim that cosmopolitanism could coexist along with the superiority of nationalist sentiments. However, the movements opposing the socio-political tendencies of inequalities, inherited from the Enlightenment, served as a response to nationalist ideologies. It is in these spheres that I would say the idea of cosmopolitanism, as often characterized as a world civil society movement (Ganim & Legassie, 2013; Lettevall & Petrov, 2014) could find its expression.

The abolition of slavery became one of the global[34] rights – movement trends. Slavery and serfdom were abolished by the majority of countries by the end of the XIXth century, even though many abolitionists held racist convictions (Ishay, 2008). International movement for the abolition of slave trade, including civil organizations, journalists and famous artists, urged the states to end slavery as a legalized practice. However, I would not claim this movement to be anyhow independent from the nation-states: it was the Congress of Vienna of 1815, where the European states announced themselves their intention to abolish slavery and which they did, in the politically, socially and economically favorable time for these concrete states (ibid).

Another heritage of exclusive civic practices, justified by the theoretical basis of the Enlightenment, was the ignoring of rights of women and children in legal frameworks of the XIXth century. Women of middle class were fighting for their equal right to education and access to jobs, while women of working class were exploited along with men, were paid less and remained responsible for the household (Ishay, 2008). These two groups cooperated within the same struggle for equal political rights – suffragette movement, which became the central issue of gender equality endeavor of the century. By the beginning of the XXth century all European countries regulated child labor – the age, from which the child was allowed to work, the number of working hours per day and the types of work children were allowed to do. Nevertheless, by the First World War, even after liberal reforms, these conditions remained still highly difficult: the majority of working class children did not get education, since both their own families and capitalists saw child labor as more advantageous, children often worked night shifts and were employed in the spheres that no adult wanted to work in – monotonous dangerous work in mines, textile, glass or paper industry (Rahikainen, 2004).

It was the socialist and communist movements which emphasized the fail of liberal agenda to address the systematic problems of capitalist inequalities. Early socialist movements found their rise in the beginning of the XIXth century with such leaders as Charles Fourier and

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[34] In fact, slavery was not only a problem of European colonies or of American domestic households, but also of Latin America, Central, Southern and Eastern Asia. The persistence of the institution of serfdom in favour of landocracy, the fundament of the absolute monarchy in Russia, had been a reason of many uprisings of peasants and even of liberal aristocracy since the XVIIIth century.

Henri de Saint-Simon and they appear to be a direct response to the inequalities of liberal system, born by the Enlightenment (Ishay, 2008). They questioned the very foundations of liberal society and the institution, which, in fact, became the beginning of the liberal system of civic rights – property. Without getting into the details on various types of socialist theories, it should be stated that the contribution of socialism to the understanding of the issues of inequality and the system of rights is highly significant: making an emphasis on the most unprivileged social stratum, the workers, they put forward the necessity of the rights, which should embrace both individual political rights for all and economic rights, aimed at equating the opportunities for all within the society (ibid). For that matter, they generally supported the universal suffrage without the distinction of sex or ethnicity, right to free and universal education, right to associations, especially workers' unions, right to work and to leisure (Hunt, 2007).

However, I would exclude communists from this tendency. As Marx claimed, "political rights were all about means, not ends…Man could only recover his authenticity by recognizing that human emancipation could not be achieved through politics; it required a revolution that focused on social relations and the abolition of private property" (Hunt, 2007, p. 199). Moreover, since the final aim of communism was actually the elimination of state as an institution, it could hardly be argued that Marx would be a supporter of the international system of human rights, where state is the main guarantor of these rights.

Regarding the relations between cosmopolitanism and socialism, it could be said that certain cosmopolitan tendencies were present in the movement. For example, the idea that the cooperation of workers around the world in their struggle for common ideals would not be limited by any boundaries, including the national ones, was present in both socialist and communist thoughts (Borkenau, 2009). Another cosmopolitan trait of socialism of the XIXth century could be seen in the idea of "perpetual peace", which would be established after the last revolution and interclass conflict between bourgeoisie and proletariat (ibid). The organization of world socialist and communist parties was called International and was formed for the first time in 1864 and for the second time in 1889 without anarchists. Both of the organizations included left-winged parties all over the world and should have represented the ideals of cooperation that were enounced in socialist ideology (ibid). However, the ideological conflicts and high intolerance of the parties to one another made the first organization fall apart. The second one collapsed during the First World War, because every

party took the side of their national government in the discussion of the relation of the organization to the conflict (ibid). Furthermore, Marx and Engels related the term "cosmopolitanism" to the worldwide domination of bourgeoisie, gained by exploitation of the economically, culturally and politically underprivileged working class in their Manifesto of 1848.

Thus, even in superficially universalistic socialist ideologies the notion of rights remains exclusive. Either the idea of any individual rights was not supported as belonging to the old bourgeois liberal world or it was realized in terms of the existing system of citizenship, thus, excluding non-citizens from the regulations. It coincided with the liberal movement for rights in the sense that it was based on the idea of more inclusive national citizenship, which would embrace previously ignored categories of state population, but which would not offer any alternative system of human rights protection[35]. At the same time, the role of socialist theory in including the economic and cultural category of rights in the list of fundamental human rights to be protected by the state is undeniable. As for the cosmopolitan agenda, the XIXth century could serve as an example of highly unfavorable epoch for its development. Even the possible cosmopolitan tendencies in socialist theory failed in forms of practical endeavor, outweighed by the internal ideological confrontation and notorious nationalistic sentiments.

4.7 Human rights and cosmopolitanism in the first half of the XXth century

4.7.1 Human rights on the international Agenda

In summer 1914 recruiting posters all over Europe claimed that the war would be over by Christmas (Hallifax, 2010). It took four years and millions of deaths for the enemies to come to the point of negotiations. These negotiations were marked by the participation of the United States in European affairs. American president Woodrow Wilson dreamt of the

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[35] Contemporary international human rights system is based on the notion of state jurisdiction, but not on the status of subjects of law. If the authorities control certain territory, it is their responsibility to assure human rights protection there, independently from citizenship of individuals under this jurisdiction (European Court of Human Rights, 2016).

international organization, which would be founded on the American vision of world order, based on free market and liberal democracy states (Ishay, 2008). The organization was created in 1919 with the peace treaty of Versailles. The League of Nations included 42 founding members, but the United States Senate opposed the ratification of the League's Covenant, refusing to adhere to the document which delimits the state's authority to declare war (ibid). The League of Nations is seen as a direct predecessor of the UN, since the fundamental aims and certain principles of organization of these institutions coincide (Goodrich, 1947). However, in terms of human rights, the League presents a very limited system of human rights protection. The Permanent Court of International Justice, established by the article (art.) 14 of the Covenant of the League was authorized to deal only with the disputes between the member states. The art. 16 demonstrates that nationalism as an underlying European political ideology did not vanish with the end of the war, but found its expression even in the system of international relations. The article forbade any personal contacts with the nationals of the country, which would be considered as violating the Covenant, thus equating the intentions of the nationals with the actions of their governments, as the nationalist doctrine proclaims (Hobsbawm, 1990). The art. 22 justified the colonization and "the tutelage" of peoples not prepared for independency in the modern world by the advanced states. Finally, the art. 23 enounced the list of right issues, which was under the supervision of the League: slavery, human trade, freedom of commerce, drug traffic and labor conditions[36]. It also enounces the intention of member states to "undertake to secure just treatment of the native inhabitants of territories under their control", but regarding the absence of any mechanism which would allow the individual or group complaint against the state and the absence of any treaty that would detail this formula, the intention was hardly enforceable (UN, n.d., art. 23). Thus, the League of Nations did not put any concrete limitations to state authority in rights issues.

The contemporaries of the League did not lose sight of this lacuna. For example, in France the International Federation of Human Rights[37] was established in 1922 and promoted the idea of creation of a binding international instrument for the protection of human rights (Beitz, 2009, p. 15). In 1929, the Declaration of the International Rights of Man was

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[36] The economies of the states after the devastating war were in ruins, the cooperation with workers was necessary in order to rehabilitate the production and to oppose the communist threat of the East (Ishay, 2008).

[37] La Fédération Internationale des Droits de l'Homme.

published by the Institute of International Law, New York, which influenced the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. (ibid, p. 16). Two other organizations were supported in terms of constitution of the League that appear to be more successful than the League itself. The first one was the International Labor Organization (ILO), which elaborated frameworks for the regulation of working condition and specific workers' rights guarantees, such as insurances, compensations and state services. The emergence of these regulations corresponded to the "welfare state" systems established all over Europe in order to assure the survival of millions disabled by the war, to support the revival of production and to prevent the intensification of revolutionary sentiments (Nijhuis, 2013). Another organization, which, unlike the ILO was not the integral part of the League, was the Red Cross, mentioned in the Covenant and explicitly supported by the League's framework (art. 25 of the Covenant). In the works on history of human rights I could not find any reference to the significance of Red Cross in the development of the international law. It might be related to the fact that the activities of Red Cross today fall under the umbrella of humanitarian law, separated from human rights law as the law of war (Meron, 2000). It has the same theoretical roots and derives directly from the principles of natural law, but it was institutionalized on the international level much earlier, proving the consensus on the concerned matters. The first humanitarian law Convention was ratified in the XIXth century and by the end of the century Red Cross national societies existed all over the world. During the First World War Red Cross was already dealing not only with the wounded soldiers, but also with the prisoners of war and civilians[38] (Moorehead, 1999). Thus, the enforcement of the international law as of a universal legal framework started not with human rights law, but with the humanitarian law instruments. Among them were the regulations on the access of neutral medical workers to the wounded, on the treatment of prisoners of war and on minimizing the harm to the civilian population (Kalshoven & Zegveld, 2011).

On the national scale, dominant nationalist ideology was not eradicated, but reinforced by the results of the war and this time concerned not only middle class, even though they remained the pillar of right-winged nationalists, but all the ex-soldiers and the ones, who hoped for the

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[38] Because of its neutrality, it is the Red Cross, which is often presented as an example of a cosmopolitan organization. However, as many authors insist the difference between the principle of "neutrality", which might be characterized as cosmopolitan, should not be confused with the human rights and humanitarian law principle of impartiality, which does not exclude active actions towards justice (Kaldor, 2010).

change in the beginning of 1920s (Hobsbawm, 1990, p. 143). A great economic crisis of the end of the 1920s – beginning of 1930s became the time for the rise of radical right in many European countries, "even among workers, insofar as it put the blame for failure and weakness on enemies outside and traitors within" (Hobsbawm, 1990, p. 144). The conditions of Versailles were perceived as highly humiliating among Germans. The Empire has fallen, German colonies were now administered by the winning Allies and vast reparations, demanded from Germany, in the context of the harsh economic crisis and inflation were perceived as a robbery (Hunt, 2007, p. 201). The politicized racism, justified by the framework of social Darwinism, became the true apogee of the nationalism worldwide in the XXth century. The desire to avoid war on any conditions of the Western European states and the imperialistic ambitions of Soviet Union, who sacrificed Czechoslovakia to the Nazi regime, the prevalence of nationalist ideologies in Europe, the exclusivity and the extreme narrowness of human rights system of the League of Nations led to the fatal connivance to the Nazi and fascist policies, leading to an unprecedented catastrophe of "incomprehensible almost 60 million deaths", the majority among whom constituted the civilians (Hunt, 2007, p. 201). The appalling atrocities committed by the German and Japanese governments affected millions of people and targeted many more all over the world and they could not be left unpunished[39]. Nuremberg and Tokyo trials became first international legal proceedings, based on the accusations of violation of international regulations (Ratner, Abrams, & Bischoff, 2009). Thus, the first enforcement of the international law did not concern the human rights, but humanitarian law.

The international campaign for the inclusion of international human rights treaty in the after-war agenda "from the bottom" coincided with the planning of post-war world order "at the top". Several legal research institutions in the UK, US and Latin America suggested their own projects of such a treaty, which aimed at overcoming the exclusive approach of previous frameworks (Beitz, 2009, p. 17). At the same time, "at the top" the issue of human rights was not univocal. At the Dumbarton Oaks conference of allies (1944), where the idea of the United Nations Organization was negotiated, among four states three opposed the inclusion

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[39] After the WWI, for the first time in history the international war crimes commission was established to deal with the cases of "crimes against humanity" during the conflict. However, the US insisted on the inapplicability of such an abstract term for the judgement and the trials did not take place (Cryer, Friman, Robinson, & Wilmshurst, 2014, p. 188)

of human rights in the charter of the future United Nations (Hunt, 2007, p. 202). Great Britain was concerned by the independency movements in its colonies that such a provision might evoke, Soviet Union ideology never implied the protection of individual human rights as a priority, especially considering its newly planned expansionist plans in Eastern Europe, and the US refused to include the statement on the prohibition of racial discrimination (ibid). It was only China who insisted on the explicit human rights mechanisms within the new organization and the elimination of all the exclusive categorization of the subjects to rights (Beitz, 2009, p. 17).

Moreover, in 1945 Roosevelt, Stalin and Churchill unilaterally decided on the main organs of the new organization and the paramount role of the three states in the organization (Ishay, 2008, p. 214). The plan was first opposed by several Latin American countries, who suggested corrections to the allies' plan. A couple of months later at the San-Francisco Conference, they were joined by Australia, New Zealand, India, Vietnam and the Philippines (ibid), who demanded the introduction of concrete human rights mechanisms in the future organization and the consideration of the issue of colonialism (ibid). It appears that the international pressure from various states and the civil organizations became the decisive factor for the introduction of human rights as one of the foundations of the UN Charter (Halme-Tuomisaari, 2015). The document also established the Council, which was supposed to elaborate the strategy for self-determination of colonized peoples. However, the sovereignty and the non-intervention in the internal affairs of the state was once again declared a fundamental principle of international relations: "The Westphalian system was not altered, as the new order recognized the sovereignty of all states while conceding the reality that the great powers had disproportionate influence" (Ishay, 2008, p. 215). The international pressure also led to the decision on the formation of a special commission for the first universal human rights instrument. In 1946, the newly formed UN Economic and Social Council created a human rights commission to draft the "international bill of rights" (Beitz, 2009, p. 18).

Basing on the experience of the League of Nations, the member states were realizing that in order to assure the efficiency of the new organization the cooperation within it should not only relate to the sphere of security, but include many other fields, such as, for example,

economy[40], social policies[41] or culture. United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization was created in 1946 with the official aim of "building peace in the minds of men and women" (UNESCO, n.d.-g).

The history of UNESCO will be discussed in the next chapter of the thesis, but considering the topic of my study it would be relevant to discuss the role that UNESCO's activity played on the early stage of conceptualization of contemporary understanding of human rights. In order to assist the human rights commission in the draft of the new human rights document, UNESCO established a committee of philosophers, political scientists and intellectuals, who created a questionnaire that was sent to scholars and politicians around the world (UNESCO, 2017d). Seventy responses were received, including the ones from the Indian leader Mahatma Mohandas Gandhi, Italian historian Benedetto Croce, English writer Aldous Huxley, Indian Muslim poet Hamayun Kabir, Chinese philosophy professor Chung-Shu Lo and Russian professor of law Boris A. Tchechko (Ishay, 2008, p. 220). The results indicated that, despite cultural differences, the population all over the world shared the ideals of "the right to live a life free from the haunting fear of poverty and insecurity…without discrimination of any kind" (ibid). Taking into consideration this data, Russian, American, Chinese, Canadian, Australian and Lebanese lawyers, members of the human rights commission, drafted the first non-binding instrument, devoted to the protection of human rights in the world (Voinea, n.d.).

Of course, the influence of American and French traditions on the Declaration was hard to deny. Initially, the American term "bill" was chosen for the document and the work started in New York with the great influence from American human rights organizations. However, the situation changed when René Cassin[42] became the key influential figure in the commission and the main office of the commission moved to Geneva. Almost immediately the name of

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[40] The establishment of Bretton Woods system in 1944 resulted in creation of general rules of monetary, commercial and financial management and the foundation of World Bank Group, which is currently the largest international bank in the world (UNDG, n.d.).

[41] The UN Charter enounced the creation of the Economic and Social Council (art. 61 of the Charter)

[42] Famous French jurist, academic, politician and a judge, one of the main authors of the UDHR and a contributor to both the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights. The Nobel Peace Prize laureate in 1968 for his contribution to the development of the international law.

the draft document changed to the French term "declaration" (Halme-Tuomisaari, 2015). At the same time, the influence of these two approaches does not seem contradictory, since, as I indicated in the previous part, the American tradition originated from the French one and these were the first countries to institutionalize the rights principles, back then in the form of citizenship rights. After long negotiations, the final version of the Declaration was approved by the General Assembly in 1948. It was a revolutionary document, which proclaimed the full enjoyment of civic, economic and cultural rights for all humans and introduced the fundamental principle of non-discrimination in international law. The revolution did not end with the universal applicability of the Declaration[43]. Since it was decided that the effective protection of human rights law in every member state should be of an international concern, a special group within the human rights commission started working on the elaboration of the enforcement mechanisms of international human rights law, which was supposed to decide on how the international concern would be expressed and what would be the consequences of a violation (Beitz, 2009, p. 23).

The group agreed on the necessity to create a binding instrument and introduce the reporting and monitoring procedures, related to the instrument. In 1954 two separate texts were presented at the General Assembly – one was concerning Civil and Political Rights[44], another – Economic and Social Rights[45]. It is often claimed that the decision of separating these two groups of rights resulted from the American pressure (Beitz, 2009). However, there was a clear understanding, supported by legal theorists today, that while civil and political rights could be and must have been implemented immediately, economic and social rights could be effectuated only gradually (Joseph, Mitchell, Gyorki, & Benninger-Budel, 2006). It took ten more years to reach a solution on the enforcement of the instruments and ten more years for the documents to come into force. However, it was not only the monitoring and reporting that was established as a mechanism of surveillance, but, following the additional Protocol of the ICCPR, also an individual complaint procedure was founded (ibid).

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[43] Several countries like the USSR and the territories under its effective control, Saudi Arabia and South Africa did not sign the Declaration, but the Declaration came into force by the mere approval of the General Assembly.

[44] International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR)

[45] International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR)

Thus, it was the period from 1948 to 1976, which became the time of the establishment of the foundations of contemporary human rights system. First of all, the system of protection comprises both the national and international levels, successively related to each other within one procedure. Secondly, the system is based on the universal protection of all humans in the world, independently from their nationality[46], origin, ethnicity, gender, age or any other factor, which might affect the equal treatment of an individual by law. Finally, the mechanisms of enforcement and the instrument of sanctions limited the authority[47] of member states in human rights sphere. These three main traits make contemporary concept and legal order of human rights unprecedented and unique in human history (Boylan, 2014).

4.7.2 Cosmopolitanism in the first half of the XXth century: response to nationalism

The first half of the XXth century, "the apogee of nationalism" (Hobsbawm, 1990), was not a favorable time for the promotion of cosmopolitanism. However, cosmopolitan ideas did exist among the European intellectual elite in their specific forms, depending on the political and personal situation of thinkers and activists. The epoch before the WWI could be mainly called the time of cultural cosmopolitanism (Gooley, Minor, Preston, & Pasler, 2013). Active artistic and intellectual cooperation in the world in the sphere of music, theatre, cinema and science before the very Great War and often the unawareness of the sentiments of the majority of the population were the reason why the length and cruelty of the war were such an unexpected outcome of the international politics for the social and cultural elite (Hobsbawm, 1990). Some authors consider American civic movement for the "colour-blind" immigration policies as cosmopolitan, even if they were not necessarily related to the sphere of international cooperation, but more to economic national interests (Kaufmann, 2003).

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[46] Despite the absence of any limitations of the application of law regarding the political status, for the founders of the international human rights system it was clear what role nationality plays in everyday lives of people and how it influences their enjoyment of rights in national realities. Therefore, the right to nationality is protected by the international law, which means that it is illegal to deprive a person of citizenship, leaving one stateless (OHCHR, n.d.-a).

[47] It is highly important to differ the notion of "authority" from "sovereignty". As Ishay (2008) affirms, the principle of sovereignty remains the foundation of international relations after the WWII and sovereign states remain the main actors within this system today.

The era of "Europeanism" (1920s – 1930s) in the literature is often related to cosmopolitanism (Ahmajarvi, 2016). Pan-European movement was a response to aggressive nationalist policies, which led to the First World War and which did not cease with the end of the war, but became even more popular (Kauffman, 2003). In the end of 1920s the idea got spread among many liberal intellectuals, as well as socialists and anarchists. If liberals insisted on the primary importance of economic cooperation and the coordination of social policies of the European states, which would later be joined by "all civilized nations" (Ahmajarvi, 2016), some socialists and anarchists were promoting the idea of the abolishment of sovereign states for the creation of the European Federation (Visone, 2016). With their projects, they were addressing both fascism and colonialism, which they saw as closely intertwined: the moment when European states individually would stop perceiving themselves as the center of Europe, the threat of nationalist military aggression would vanish; the moment, when Europe as a whole would stop seeing itself as the political center of the world, colonialism would be defeated (ibid). However, none of these movements could suggest any other ideological foundation of the future political union of nations but the European one, leaving the cosmopolitan ideal in its exclusive form (ibid). In 1930, the Pan-European ideas found their expression in the official European policies: the French Foreign minister proposed a plan of establishing a European Union, based on the cooperation in the economic and social spheres (Briand, 1930). Even though this plan did not find its realization before the WWII, in 1950s the first economic European organization was created.

The main tendency in further development of the notion of cosmopolitanism lays in its elitist definition (Huish & Tiessen, 2014). For decades, the term was associated with the privilege of a few to travel around the world, have access to the best international education and define the rules of international cooperation (Burton, 2007). Many elite labels, using the term for the promotion of their products, served the association of cosmopolitanism with the exclusivity and unavailability for the majority (Huish & Tiessen, 2014). The bipolar ideology of the Cold War with rare exceptions did not leave space for the tolerance towards the "other" (Ganim & Legassie, 2013). The situation changed radically by the end of 1980s – the beginning of 1990s, when the Soviet regime fell and the multipolar world of sovereigns became a new framework for international relations (Kymlicka & Norman, 1994). The relevance of the notion for the new international political realities and its further development will be discussed in the next chapter in relation to UNESCO's conceptualization of global citizenship.

4.7.3 Human rights and cosmopolitan education of the XXth century

The first half of the XXth century became a turning point for the history of education. The aftermath of the WWI and the development of educational psychology made education a matter of international concern. In 1925, the private International Bureau of Education (IBE) was created with the support of the League of Nations and in 1929 the Bureau became intergovernmental (IBE, n.d.-a). In 1947, the IBE was joined with UNESCO as a new center of international cooperation in education. The IBE served as an arena for discussing the core educational issues worldwide and was aimed at creating frameworks for educational reforms (Hofstetter & Schneuwly, 2013). Until 1968, when the IBE became an integral part of UNESCO, the Bureau had been organizing International Conferences on Public Education (ibid). The topics discussed at these conferences indicate the most emerging issues in education at this time. The work of IBE mainly concerned the elaboration of administrative frameworks, which would allow to accept more people to educational institutions and provide them with quality education, development of the curriculum, based on the data of psychological development of a child and defining the aims of education, relevant for the context a student would live in (ibid). In 1948 the right to education, as well as the right to human rights education, were fixed in the UDHR and in 1966 in the ICESCR. Consequently, in its recommendations, the IBE made a great emphasis on the universal right to education, inclusiveness of educational systems and the promotion of peace and international understanding (ibid). The activities of the "Bureau" also signified that Education became a new independent academic field of studies.

Many IBE member states followed the recommendations of the organization. Education became more inclusive – legal frameworks raised the age of the permitted child labour, thus, leaving more time for all children to study. Lifelong and special needs education became a part of educational studies and concrete domestic policies (Schugurensky, 2012). Women were gradually achieving equal access not only to schools, but also to higher educational institutions (Taylor Allen, 2008). By 1950s in the U.S. the segregation in education is outlawed. Various international and regional research organizations were founded, such as

World Conference of Adult Education, International Association of Social Educators, Latin American Fundamental Education Centre, Cairo Conference on Free and Compulsory Education in the Arab Countries, International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement and Comparative and International Education Society (Schugurensky, 2012). Of course, the implementation of the right to education in many locations was highly problematic. The pace of the evolution of colonial education was incomparable to metropolises – affordable state education institutions made up less than half of schools and universities in colonies (Madeira, 2005). In South Africa, the regime of apartheid drastically affected the access to education of black population of the country (Schugurensky, 2012). In Soviet Union, the notion of individual rights was absent from citizenship education within the curriculum (Zepper & Brickman, 1992).

In the situation of the Cold War, school curricula generally promoted the idea of the "Empire of evil" of the ideological opponent, justifying the bipolar order of the world and the armed conflicts emerging from this confrontation. The emphasis was mainly done on civic duties and patriotic values, especially in terms of history studies (Meyer et al., 2010). As I mentioned before, in the first half of the XXth century the term "cosmopolitan education" was mainly associated with the exclusive access to education abroad of national elites (Halme-Tuomisaari, 2013). It can be claimed that the inclusive educational policies could be characterized as cosmopolitan, however, they were based on the same nationalist idea of the unique civilized nation, which, unlike non-civilized nations, followed the path of progress and aimed to include the excluded natives of the nation in the ranks of its citizens (Popkewitz, 2008).

4.8 Conclusions

In this chapter I intended to explain the reader why I pose the question about the compatibility of human rights and global citizenship, as cosmopolitanism is being called today within UNESCO frameworks. The terms have different theoretical origins and served different purposes in different contexts of the history of human thought. The idea of human rights has been present in different cultures since the foundation of the first human civilizations. Historically both cosmopolitanism and human rights can be seen as exclusive, but, while the considerable consensus about human rights was established already in the first

half of the XXth century, cosmopolitanism as a term remained an exclusive elitist notion. Moreover, its evolution in the context of European conquests and the creation of European empires might evoke an imperialist pretext. It appears that in the end of the XXth century the interpretation of cosmopolitanism drastically changed: many works, devoted to the historical development of the notion of cosmopolitanism refer to the theory of natural rights as its analogy (Heater, 2004; Lettevall & Petrov, 2014) cosmopolitanism, cosmopolitanism middle ages, imperfect cosmopolis heater etc. Probably, the contradictions between the theory of natural rights and cosmopolitanism were blurred within the contemporary discourse (Tambakaki, 2010). For that reason, in the beginning of the chapter I emphasized the importance of "historical philosophizing…with the virtue of modesty" (Nietzche, 2016, p. 26). When analyzing the evolution of the concepts in the context of their elaboration, I aimed at remaining independent from the contemporary interpretations to the possible degree. I believe that the reflections I presented on the foundations of human rights and cosmopolitanism are important for understanding the historical problems that are inherent to these terms, for further analyzing how these issues might emerge in the course of their further conceptualization and which solutions can be offered by UNESCO.

5 Methodology

5.1 Introduction

Taking into consideration the multitude of factors, internal and external, that could have influenced the creation of the Global Citizenship Education (GCED) agenda and the inclusion of Human Rights Education (HRE) within GCED might seem impossible to find the answers to the questions that I posed in this study. However, I do not aim to suggest the final and the only trustworthy view on this phenomenon, but only to present the picture, as it appears before me in the result of my methodological, theoretical choices and the data gathered. The following chapter discusses the choice of the paradigm and methods, related to the specificity of my research questions and the data that I aimed to obtain – formal interviews with the members of United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization's (UNESCO) GCED team and several other interviewees, related to the development of HRE and GCED agenda in UNESCO policies, participant observation and document analysis. Furthermore, it will discuss the process of my work in more details, including the sampling, the elaboration of interview guide and the techniques used. I will also touch upon the ethical principles I needed to consider in terms of my research. I conclude with the reflections on validity, reliability of the gathered data and its limitations that were due to various circumstances I faced during the research.

5.2 Paradigm and methods

In his famous essay, David Foster Wallace defined the main purpose of a higher education as "learning how to think", which means "learning how to exercise some control over how and what you think…being conscious and aware enough to choose what you pay attention to and

to choose how you construct meaning from experience" (2009, p.3). It seems to me that in terms of a practical research task, the choice of the paradigm, crucial for defining the epistemological and methodical foundations of the study (Toma, 1997), defines for the scholar "how to think", constructing one's ideas and putting them into a coherent narration.

Having in mind my research questions, I chose the interpretivist methodology, which looks for 'culturally derived and historically situated interpretations of the social life-world' (Crotty, 1998, p. 67) as the foundation of my research strategy. The most common ways of gathering the data within the interpretative theory is participant observation, qualitative interviewing and analyzing documents (Lather, 2006). These are the three methods that I addressed in terms of my study. However, the methods used are not the only reason for the choice of the interpretive approach, it is also due to the epistemological considerations that the individual experiences and subjective interpretations are to be prioritized in terms of my research. This theory is widely used not only in sociology or education, but in many other disciplines, which deal with the interpretations of the views and behavior of individuals (Taylor & Medina, 2013). Even though the study I conducted falls into the educational sphere, I would like to justify my methodological choice by addressing the works of founders of a quite young scientific field-the social psychology of knowledge[48], since the "knowledge" of the persons, who are or used to be a part of the agenda I am interested in, is the core of my research.

Social psychologists affirm that all knowledge is socially constructed. They see knowledge "in a subjective or intersubjective sense as the total sum of beliefs to which an individual or a group may subscribe" (Bar-Tal & Kruglanski, 1988). This understanding of a subjective perspective allowed me to adapt my research strategy to the specificity of interviewing the members of UNESCO GCED team. As I already indicated in the previous chapters, UNESCO plays the major legal, political and historical role in the promotion of GCED and HRE agenda. GCED team in UNESCO headquarters is the most important actor in advocating, capacity building and monitoring of GCED in the UN system, which justifies my choice of the field and the importance that I gave to the interviews with the team's members.

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[48] One of the first sociologists, who constructed his methodological framework on the basis of both sociology and social psychology, was Morris S. Schwartz (see, for example, Schwartz, 1955). Since then, many authors have followed his example (Kruglanski & Higgins, 2007).

Just like in every organization, they were sharing official understandings of concepts they were working with, and that type of knowledge refers to the shared realities of this concrete "UNESCO community". At the same time, each one of them, having one's own experience and function possessed very particular "intrapersonal knowledge", which means their own "judgments, inferences, attributions, perceptions, attitudes, preferences", regarding GCED policies (Kruglanski & Higgins, 2007, p. 3).

The phenomenological approach of interpretivists is often criticized for making it impossible to claim the existence of any scientifically proven truth (Cohen et al., 2007). According to Schwandt, (1994, p. 122) "They celebrate the permanence and the priority of the real world of first-person, subjective experience. Yet, in true Cartesian fashion, they seek to disengage from that experience and objectify it". Social psychologists, Daniel Bar-Tal and Yoram Bar-Tal (1988) offered their own solution to this issue. Without making a step away from the crucial importance of subjective experience in the formation of knowledge, they suggested approaching generalizations from two different perspectives – universal and particularistic. While universal generalization might not be applicable for the analysis of the phenomenon of knowledge as a social psychological construct, particularistic approach "is limited to individuals who are known to maintain a similar repertoire of beliefs" (ibid, p. 95). From this point of view, UNESCO professionals led their activities in the same framework and, therefore, in their professional activities shared the official UNESCO values. The precedent consideration could also be applied to other interviewees, since all of them either worked in or with UNESCO.

Another method, which allowed me to come to some empirically proven conclusions, was the historical analysis of the official UN documentation on GCED and HRE. I established an approximate chronological order of major events, related to UNESCO GCED policies and suggested the existence of a continuity and connectedness of various phenomena. Historical methods have also been criticized for being based on the "unscientific" data – the subjective written or oral evidence of individuals, influenced by the time and the role they played in a historical event (Goodheart, 2005). However, the events I refer to in this thesis are recent and are often confirmed by the testimonies of multiple witnesses. The matching of the documented data and of the oral historical sources is the most common method for the assuring of trustworthiness of the findings in Contemporary History (Ritchie, 2011).

Finally, I had a chance to engage in a participant observation as a UNESCO intern in GCED team. There are various ways of defining the actual role of a participant observer. The definition that I would give to my role as a UNESCO intern would be "intensive research involvement in the social setting being studied, as observer…and as a participant" (cited in Alexander, 1982). My role was overt from the very beginning – first of all, I aimed to conduct in-depth interviews with all the members of the team and, secondly, following the ethical principles, established by UNESCO, I informed my internship supervisor, head of the team, about the topic and the aim of my research.

Unlike covert role, which presupposes the hiding of the purpose of participation, the overt participation means that

…there is full disclosure that the participant observer has an ulterior motive, however benign. In time the other members of the organization probably forget about this particular role of one of their number, rather as the inclusion of the cuckoo in the nest achieves acceptance. They return to their normal behavior, and the participant observer is then able to obtain a reliable picture (Vinten, 1994, p. 33).

During my internship, I was completely involved in the activities of the team, so I played the explicit researcher role only when organizing or conducting the interviews. However, implicitly it was a habit for me to assess the importance of any information I received for my study. Informal conversations with the UNESCO employees were an important source of knowledge for me on the specificity of the Organization's functioning and the spheres that employees worked in.

In general, the internship had a positive impact on the efficiency of my work – as an internal actor I could receive the information that an outsider would not have access to, like the actual functions of the team members, documentation on the most recent activities and communicate with the head of the team and the section director[49], if I needed their permission for my research actions. At the same time, the internship resulted in certain limitations that will be analyzed in the next part of the chapter.

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[49] UNESCO's organigram can be found in the Appendix 2.

Finally, having discussed the methods to be used for the collection and analysis of the data, I would like to particularly accentuate the comparative nature of my enquiry. Considering the instructions of my programme, the comparative methodology is an integral part of this thesis, starting with the theoretical framework, which is built on the comparison of two concepts – global citizenship and human rights and the views on their compatibility, to the conclusions of my work, which sum up my findings on the conceptual and political interrelations of HRE and GCED. As Mark Bray emphasized, discussing the roles of various actors in comparative educational research domain, "the main part of academic work is concerned with conceptualization" (2014, p.21). The comparison comprises not only a theoretical dimension, but also a temporal one (Sweeting, 2014), in terms of the juxtaposition of the two periods of UNESCO agenda on the education to Human Rights, peace and international understanding, before and after the introduction of the notion of Global Citizenship.

Kubow and Fossum (2007) encourage the use of specific frameworks for comparative analysis in education, "because people naturally pursue comparisons and because these comparisons are often speculative" (p. 25). The comparative method I used corresponds to the criteria established in the classical work by Bereday (1964). In general, the method was oriented at cross-national comparison. However, Bereday's model can be adapted to all types of comparative educational research (Manzon, 2014, p.99). The comparison can be justified by the close historical, political and conceptual interrelationship of the two notions. At the same time, Human Rights and Global Citizenship are juxtaposed in academic enquiries on their differences and similarities, their contradicting and their integrity (Tambakaki, 2010). I also take into consideration the stages of comparative research that Bereday considered essential. I describe the origins and the evolution of both terms, including the diversity of their interpretations, and compare them.

5.3 Interviewing: sampling, interview guide and techniques

5.3.1 Sampling

The research questions I intended to answer in terms of my work defined the type of interview sampling I used purposive sampling and snowball sampling. While Bryman identifies a snowball sampling as a particular type of selection, which can be combined with the purposive sampling (Bryman, 2012, p. 424). Cohen, Manion and Morrison see snowball selection as an integral to the purposive one: "Researchers identify a small number of individuals who have the characteristics in which they are interested. These people are then used as informants to identify, or put the researchers in touch with, others who qualify for inclusion…" (Cohen, Manion, & Morrison, 2007, p. 116). Initially, I did not aim to get more contacts from my very first interviewees – the majority of them, who have been working in the GCED team for less than two years, lacked the number of connections, related to HRE or GCED, other than UNESCO. Within my purposive sampling, I also had a number of researchers in the field, who I identified by literature review or by the advice of my internship supervisor. However, the head of GCED team named two important persons, who later connected me to other people directly involved in the development of GCED within the UN.

"In many cases, purposive sampling is used in order to access "knowledgeable people", i.e. those who have in-depth knowledge about particular issues…" (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2007, p. 115). I was interested in the opinions and knowledge of persons, directly related to the development and promotion of GCED agenda in UNESCO. Therefore, first of all, I conducted nine interviews with the members of GCED and ESD team in UNESCO, who were involved in the most recent activities - an intern, several consultants, project officers, programme specialists, the head of the GCED team and the Chief of the Section of Education for Sustainable Development and Global Citizenship Education.

Afterwards, the snowball sampling took place. Among the interviewees selected by snowball principle, composed by a member of GEFI Secretariat, two persons, who had leading positions in UNESCO quality and content of education agenda, and scholars, well-known in the field of HRE and GCED. All of them had their particular view on the introduction of GCED, depending on the role they played at the moment in UNESCO policies. In their integrity, the interviews allowed to embrace the last years of history of HRE and GCED within UNESCO policies, the rationale behind the introduction of GCED agenda in UNESCO and the opinions of specialists on the merge of GCED and HRE. The table in the Appendix 3 contains the coding I used for categorizing and anonymizing the interviewees. The first letter signifies the group the interviewee belongs to in terms of the thesis, the

numbers are randomly selected and do not reflect any personal information about the participants[50]. I provided some extra information, related to the interviewees' relation to the work of the Organization. However, in order to minimize the possibility of identifying the interviewees from the inside of UNESCO, I grouped the members of the GCED team in two categories, reflecting their functions.

5.3.2 Interview guide and techniques

Prior to my fieldwork, I prepared a list of topics I would like to touch upon in my interviews and the corresponding questions that were to be answered in terms of these topics. This interview guide was approved by one of the professors in my programme, as well as by my supervisor and fell into three major parts:

1. GCED – its content, definitions, its history within UNESCO policies
2. HRE as a concept and its history within UNESCO policies
3. Merge of HRE and GCED

However, in course of my internship I found out that all members of ESD/GCED team specialized in various topics, such as the Prevention of Violent Extremism, HRE, ESD or GCED and ESD in general. They had different professional responsibilities – monitoring, communications, the implementation of concrete programmes, and coordination of the work of the whole team or of the whole section. They also had different experience, regarding the length of their employment in UNESCO – some have been working for the Organization for more than ten years, others for less than a year. I also discovered that the majority of the current employees have been working in UNESCO for less than two years. Therefore, the emphasis done on the questions varied, regarding the actual role of the interviewees in the team and their background. The semi-structured nature of the interview guide allowed me to remain flexible in terms of the topics to concentrate on (Bryman, 2012). For example, it was more pertinent to accentuate the questions, related to the "perception" in the case if the person worked in UNESCO for less than a year and highlight the "knowledge" questions about concrete events and actors if an interviewee has been at the very center of UNESCO

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[50] See the Appendix 3 for detailed information.

educational policies for many years. In average, the interviews lasted for about an hour. Thus, in the result of my fieldwork in UNESCO headquarters, I conducted nine face-to-face in-depth semi-structured interviews.

The interviews that followed the "snowball" principle varied more in length and topics discussed, because the relation of the interviewees to HRE and GCED UNESCO policies differed more drastically than in case of GCED team. Usually, when preparing for these interviews, I was writing down the exact information that I expected to obtain from the concrete interviewee and the corresponding questions, which often partly coincided with some questions from the initial interview guide. I could expect the internal view on the situation in UNESCO in Paris or New York from the direct participants of the discussions on GCED, but I needed an opinion of a scholar for problematizing the merge of HRE and GCED. The length of the interviews depended on the availability of the interviewees – unlike in the case of GCED team members, most of them were not able to devote more than half an hour to my questions.

As for the interview techniques, I personally prefer face-to-face (FtF) interviewing. "Due to this synchronous communication, as no other interview method FtF interviews can take its advantage of social cues. Social cues, such as voice, intonation, body language etc. of the interviewee can give the interviewer a lot of extra information that can be added to the verbal answer of the interviewee on a question" (Opdenakker, 2006). It allows me to see how the interviewee reacts to questions, what appears uninteresting or time-consuming and what actually evokes the most attention. I also noticed that the interviewees demonstrated the most interest in the topics when discussed face-to-face. Some of the interviews were taken by Skype, which is often seen as a viable and affordable alternative to face-to-face interviews (Iacono, Symonds, & Brown, 2016). Of course, the main advantage of Skype is the possibility to reach a person in almost any part of the world without extra financial expenses, which might present an issue for a self-funded master-student, who conducts research in the sphere of international policies. It could be argued that this possibility existed there since the expansion of telephone connections, but, unlike in case of phone calls, in Skype there is a possibility to record at the same time (Hanna, 2012). The policies of Apple, for example, make the recording highly problematic – in order to protect the company from lawsuits, IPhones do not include the function of call recordings and the use of applications is chargeable and often inefficient (Apple, 2016).

5.4 Document search and analysis

As I explained in the literature review, original UN documents constitute the primary literature in the thesis. I would like to present certain details on the search process, since it might appear relevant for the characterization of the accessibility of documentation and, thus, the completeness of my data. First of all, the official UNESCO documentation is available on the site called "UNESDOC" (UNESCO, n.d.-h). The search system of the site allows finding concepts, such as Human Rights or Citizenship in a certain period of time, which helps to re-establish the chronological order on the use of the concept of GCED and of the terms that GCED superseded. The UNESCO website also provides information on the Organization's activity in the sphere of the Education for Sustainable Development (UNESCO, n.d.-a) and the Education for the Twenty-First century (UNESCO, n.d.-b), two programmes, in terms of which the GCED agenda was formulated.

Since the creation of the UDHR, not only UNESCO has been responsible for the promotion of peace and human rights education. For example, Human Rights Council, which replaced the UN Commission on Human Rights, is the core forum for the debates on all human rights issues on the international level (Tomasevski, 2005). In order to find out the role of other organizations in the promotion of GCED agenda and to justify the emphasis on the role of UNESCO in this activity, it was necessary to carry out a search that would embrace all UN documents on human rights education (HRE) and GCED in the international frameworks. In the case of HRE the inquiry gives immediate and pertinent results on the sites of such UN bodies as Office of the High Commissioner on Human Rights (OHCHR) or the United Nations Refugee Agency UNHCR), since the right to HRE takes its foundation already in the article 26, par. 2 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) (Batelaan & Coomans, 1999). Therefore, a general search was realized with the assistance of the head of International Institute for Education Planning (IIEP) library. The IIEP collection contains not only UNESCO documentation, but a large number of various resources, related to UNESCO activities. The digital archive "Wayback machine" ("Internet Archive: Wayback Machine," n.d.) allows reviewing "dead" Internet sites and information, which are no longer available on the functioning pages. The use of digital archive and IIEP resources showed that among

the UN bodies UNESCO always played the major role in the promotion of GCED agenda. However, in terms of my study it appears pertinent to refer also to the materials, not produced directly by UNESCO, but related to the cooperation of UNESCO with other organizations in the sphere of GCED and HRE, as well as to the legal instruments, generally applicable in the international law.

After having finalized the search, I analyzed the documentation in its chronological order. It was important to follow the chronology, since it allowed to discover the causal relationship between the decisions taken. Not all the documents I found containing information on UNESCO HRE or GCED policies were included in the thesis – I selected the ones which reflected an important stage of HRE and GCED conceptual development or the evolution of areas of their implementation. I also aimed at presenting the sources that would describe the understanding of HRE and GCED policies in every decade – from 1940s to 2010s, since it was important to realize when HRE and GCED started coexisting in the UN documentation, including UNESCO sources, and when GCED became the dominant notion. In the result of the chronological qualitative document analysis, I was able to obtain the data that allowed me to study the evolution of HRE and GCED policies in UNESCO, to compare the process of their development, as well as to find out the factors behind the current dominance of GCED in UNESCO policies.

5.5 Ethical considerations

5.5.1 Procedural ethics

"That there may be no general consensus on either ethical principles or ethical practice in organizational research, however, does not mean that organizational researchers are free to decide their own ethical position" (Jones, 2014, p. 62). From the very beginning of my research, I had an obligation to inform the Norwegian Centre for Research Data (NSD) about the type of data to be collected, confirm my awareness about the necessity of assuring the anonymity of my respondents and data obtained. It appears to me that these safeguards are highly important especially in the research, devoted to human rights - the informed consent arises from the right to freedom and self-determination (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2007, p. 52). Before starting my fieldwork, I contacted the head of GCED team to ask for the

permission to take interviews during my internship in the team. I also discussed my concerns, considering the anonymity of the interviewees – I was not sure if the job title of the member of the team would allow to identify the person directly, thus, posing a problem for the protection of individual's privacy. The head of the team assured me that there was no information available on-line, regarding the concrete names and the related job titles. I was introduced to the members of the team both as an intern and as a researcher. Thus, when discussing any issues directly with me or in my presence they were aware of my status. They were free to choose to be interviewed or not and before the interview they received information about the data I aimed to gather and how it will be used.

It was also important to respect the legal and professional codes, which are established in UNESCO. The principles of research conduct in UNESCO coincide with the general ethical principles, indicated by NSD. However, since I also was directly involved as an intern, I was subject to the "Standards of conduct for the International Civil Service" (UNESCO, 2014d). Following the post-employment restrictions (art. 26) for UNESCO employees, I was not allowed to "take improper advantage of the former official functions and positions, including through unauthorized use or distribution of privileged or confidential information". Therefore, I could not use the documentation or personal information I had access to as an intern in my research without authorization. For example, I did not obtain a permission to refer to the draft documents, which are bound to evolve. These ethical norms also increase the importance of data anonymity.

The article 37 of the same document contains the regulation highly important to consider during the interviews with UNESCO professionals and in terms of the use of the received data:

International civil servants should endeavor at all times to promote a positive image of the international civil service, in conformity with their oath of loyalty. Staff members must refrain from criticizing the action of the United Nations system or UNESCO because it might undermine the image of the Organization… *(UNESCO, 2014).*

When finalizing my interview guide for every interviewee, I was having the cited norms in mind in order to assure the neutrality of my questions and keep to the professional ethical limitations of my interviewees. In that sense, it was an advantage to speak later to the ones

who used to work for UNESCO, but who are not employed by the Organization at the moment and, thus, not limited by the aforementioned regulations.

5.5.2 Beyond the procedures

I agree with Cohen, Manion and Morrison, when they claim that "the procedural ethics are not enough" (2007, p. 51). It seems especially important in the case of participant observation, conducted in the field of the researcher's specialization. The activities that both my interviewees and myself are involved reflect the fact that we share the same axiological convictions, though we follow our aims in different domains. Thus, one of the solutions to ethical implications might consist in the establishment of collaborative research relations, based on the exchange of materials and feedback with the interviewed professionals (Burgess, 1989).

At the same time, this approach might raise other concerns, such as the confidentiality of all the participants, data dissemination, "the extent to which data can be reported back", the effect of power relations on research etc. (Burgess, 1989, p. 5). "All researchers face similar dilemmas over giving subjects access to their own data" (Kelly, 1989, p. 102) but in my case the dilemma became more accentuated, because at the moment of my research the interviewees were my colleagues, who trusted me their opinion and devoted their working time to my questions. Thus, one of the main ethical concerns of the thesis consisted in finding the balance between justifying the trust of my colleagues/collaborators and freely expressing my own opinion on the matter as an independent researcher.

5.6 Validity, reliability of the research and limitations of the obtained data

I will base my arguments on the criteria, suggested by Bryman for qualitative research (2012). To assure the internal validity of the work, I used the technique of "respondent validation" (ibid). The ideas and research questions were shared with the GCED team. Several other interviewees, including two scholars working on HRE and GCED, as well as one of UNESCO ex-employees expressed the desire to get acquainted with the text and with

my citations. Thus, I was able to know their opinion on the correctness of the interpretation of the information, as well as on the pertinence of my overall conclusions. As for the external validity, my research questions concern mainly UNESCO frameworks and the experience of professionals, related to GCED agenda. I do not aim to generalize my findings for all the contexts of GCED elaboration or implementation, but I intend to present the pertinent particularities and details of GCED concept and its role in UNESCO activities, thereby producing a "thick description" of the context. The reliability, or in the case of qualitative study – "dependability" of the research, is assured by the direct participation of the peers, especially of my supervisor. They witnessed all phases of the research process, from the problem formulation to the presentation of my findings and who judged on the relevance of the carried-out procedures. I also had a possibility to present my preliminary findings and receive feedback in terms of the Comparative and International Education Society Conference in March 2018, which enabled me to take into consideration the comments from many experienced scholars of the field and make corrections before the thesis defense.

Regarding the methodological limitations of my work, the majority of the members of GCED have been working in UNESCO for less than two years, which restricted my possibilities for obtaining the information on the history of UNESCO policies. It affected the number of interviewees, who had knowledge on HRE policies before the introduction of GCED. At the same time, through the connections of my internship supervisor or in terms of snowball sampling I had the possibility to reach some researchers and educational practitioners, who are currently involved in or used to be related to UNESCO policies on HRE.

Furthermore, my internship took place during two particular sessions of the Organization's Governing Bodies, namely the 202nd session of the Executive Board and the 39th session of the General Conference – the main UNESCO meetings, which determine UNESCO's policy orientations for the next biennium (2018 – 2019). This affected the availability of the interviewees, first of all the ones who have been working for the Organization for many years, since they were responsible for the coordination of the team activities in terms of the Governing Bodies' sessions or directly involved in the activities of the Governing Bodies. Moreover, I needed to extend the length of my internship, since I myself was responsible for the development of a note-taking matrix for the recording and assessment of states' policy commitments, expressed during the Executive Board and the General Conference sessions. Having a possibility to see the results of months of my work was highly advantageous as an

intern, but the decision was not easy to take: it took away some days that I aimed to spend in UNESCO archives. The lack of time and the Governing Bodies' sessions also affected the possibility to interview members of the UNESCO Social and Human Sciences Sector, who as I found out during my interviews, also had a long history of working with HRE. Unfortunately, finding relevant contacts in the sector was a time-consuming endeavor that I could not afford since my time to work on this thesis is limited.

5.7 Conclusions

Methodological basis of my work is related to my research background, the content of the CIE programme and the specificity of my topic. I was well-acquainted with the method of historical analysis, while the semi-structured interviewing and the comparative perspective of my work were new to me. It was also the first time that I had to present the theoretical paradigm of the study. In the process, I learnt about the particularities of collecting data from people and not from texts, the ethical considerations and risks involved. In the end, despite all the unexpected turns and also due to them, the results of the study appeared to be even more interesting than I expected. I strongly believe that the described limitations resulted from the unavoidable circumstances or from the only possible choices available for me at a certain stage of my research. Paraphrasing the words of James Joyce, that "was only possible which came to pass" (Joyce, 2017).

6 Analysis and discussion: UNESCO HRE and GCED policies and "pro et contra" of their integration

"UNESCO has come to appear as an organization reflecting contemporary intellectual trends rather than influencing them"

Paul Duedahl, "A History of UNESCO: Global Actions and Impacts", 2016

6.1 Introduction

Human rights education (HRE) has been a part of UNESCO policies since 1948, when the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) was adopted by the UN General Assembly. HRE took different forms, depending on the political and academic tendencies of the time, but for decades it had always been a recognized sphere of exclusive competency of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). Global citizenship education (GCED) has recently taken a significant place in UNESCO's discourse, but along with Education for Sustainable Development (ESD), it is currently at the very heart of UNESCO policies on the educational content (UNESCO, 2017a). Despite different terms and historical origins, it is quite hard to draw a chronological line between the dominance of HRE and GCED in UNESCO policies, since GCED is intertwined with various concepts[51] that existed in UNESCO long before 2010s. I asked UNESCO professionals to give me their definitions of HRE and GCED.

In the opinion of the members of UNESCO team, HRE comprises education to ethical principles of human rights as well as to the content and modes of implementation of concrete human rights instruments (U6). HRE is closely related to education for international understanding and peace education (U8). As for GCED, they relate the term with "learning to live together" – a flexible framework, that embraces previous approaches to the content of

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[51] For example, peace education, education for international understanding and education for democracy.

education, but makes an emphasis on civic participation, democracy and global problems solving (U7, U9). GCED is a far less normative agenda than HRE, it leaves space for educating to skills and competencies, as well as to attitudes and behaviours (U6, U7). However, human rights lay at the ethical foundation of GCED (U2).

The perception of UNESCO professionals of what the two notions implied as well as the search for the related to HRE and GCED key-terms allowed me to make a chronological overview on their development. Having analysed historical documentation and interviews with UNESCO team, several former UNESCO employees and scholars, in this chapter I suggest responses to research questions that I posed in the beginning of my work. I give an overview of the development of the concept of HRE and main directions of HRE policies in relation to the historical context. Further, I study conceptual origins of GCED in UNESCO educational discourse and discuss the rationale behind the introduction of GCED and inclusion of HRE into GCED agenda. I finish the chapter by discussing potential advantages and disadvantages of such an approach, based on the opinion of the UNESCO team members, of former UNESCO employees and researchers, specialized in the topic.

6.2 The evolution of human rights education in UNESCO policies

UNESCO was not the first international organization of intellectual and educational collaboration: International Committee of Intellectual Co-operation (ICIC) of the League of Nations and International Bureau of Education, based in Geneva (UNESCO, n.d.-e). However, unlike their predecessors, UNESCO was attributed a more important role in the post-war United Nations and its programme was far more ambitious (UNESCO, 2005a). It was clear that the educational systems of axis countries needed radical reforms and that education to peace was supposed to embrace not only the academic sphere and higher education, like it was in the case of ICIC, but reach the whole humanity (ibid). With such objectives, UNESCO's mandate appeared to be vague. The discourse of UNESCO Constitution corresponds to the content of the UN Charter, making an emphasis on non-discrimination on racial, gender and ethnic grounds in the sphere of education, culture and science. However, the Organization's Constitution stands on the idealist notions of promotion of "peace and security" and "collaboration among the nations" through "popular education"

(art. 1) – "rhetoric that affirmed UNESCO's purposes and responsibilities neither clearly nor accurately, an inability to control the effects of political compromise", which resulted in further "multiplication rather than refinement of program interests…and a lack of financial backing from founding governments" (Jones & Coleman, 2005, p. 54). The purpose of any Constitution is to assure the effective functioning of all the structures of the organization concerned (Ran, 2014). If the idealist discourse becomes dominant, Constitution takes a symbolic form (ibid). "Over the years, UNESCO was to pay a heavy price for all these, its noble constitution having an increasingly hollow ring" (Jones & Coleman, 2005, p. 54).

The hollows were to be closed by UNESCO's leaders and their ideas on the main purpose of the Organization. Fighting illiteracy and fundamental education[52] became the core concepts of UNESCO's work for the next decade (UNESCO, 1947). It is important to mention that in 1947 the implementation of the fundamental education program was claimed to be integral to democracy and participation (ibid). In fact, neither the UN Charter, nor the UNESCO Constitution express the consensus on the issue of democracy among member states. This vague indefinite mentioning of democratic values indicates the influence of the US and the UK ideas on the purpose of education, which dominated the period of UNESCO establishment (P.W. Jones & Coleman, 2005). However, after the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) in 1948, the discourse on the ideological foundations of fundamental education shifted from the discourse of democracy to rights. The article 26 of the UDHR enounced not only the universal right to education, but also the integrity of human rights education and education for peace as core ethical foundations of education. UNESCO's Director General, Jaime Torres Bodet (1948 – 1952), prioritized human rights education along with fundamental education and scientific development (ibid). In was him who suggested to organize annual celebrations of Human Rights Day on the 10th of December, the day of the UDHR adoption, in order to spread the information on human rights around the world (UNESCO, 1948). Bodet considered education to be the key for "making human rights a reality" (Sathyamurthy, 1964, p. 113).

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[52] Fundamental education was defined as education outside of state educational institutions, allowing to reach an adequate standard of living.

"Once it /the Declaration/ has penetrated the minds and hearts of men, once men have voluntarily rallied to it, become fully aware of their own rights, they must necessarily claim them, and no force on earth will be able to refuse them" (Bodet, 1950, p. 40).

Therefore, UNESCO gave great importance to human rights education not only as integral part of the right to education, but as a key to the actual implementation of all human rights. These principles were supposed to be implemented in terms of the Associated Schools Project (ASP) in Education for International Cooperation and Peace, initiated in 1953 (Rauner, 1999, p. 93). In 1956 the chief of the Division for Fundamental Education insisted on the importance of teaching people about their rights and "a sense of their personal dignity" (UNESCO, 1956). He mentioned two types of rights – rights of citizens and rights of individuals, human rights, pointing out the UNESCO vision of universality of human rights. In 1966 HRE was established in the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (art. 13), a binding legal UN instrument. Bodet's successor, Rene Maheu (1962 – 1974), continued supporting human rights approach in education and emphasized their legal and ethical universality (Jones & Coleman, 2005).

HRE, as seen by UNESCO at that time, was reflected in various ways in the Organization's policy. It was one of the ways to assure the international cooperation and peace among nations by promoting tolerance and teaching about the UN work[53] (UNESCO, 1967, art. 1.34). Another direction concerned the elaboration of theoretical frameworks on the universality of human rights and the origins of human rights in cultures around the world (UNESCO, 1967, art. 6). This latter approach found its expression during the 1968 International Conference on Human Rights in Teheran, which marked the 20th anniversary of the UDHR (UNESCO, 1969). In November 1968, the topics discussed on the conference were published in UNESCO's journal "Courier" (ibid). Already in 1968 it accentuates many problems that researchers usually consider recent: the critique of the applicability of human rights, their practical enforcement and critique of their universality. Rene Maheu openly throws a claim that could be applied to our times of judging the relevance of human rights: "Let us take heed; man is no longer much in fashion among the leaders of the nations, the technocrats and the know-it-alls of our planet" (Maheu, 1968). In a brave narrative,

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[53] First textbooks, published in terms of HRE policies, made an accent mainly on studying the UN activities in the sphere (Kenworthy, 1963b; UNESCO, 1959, 1968).

philosophers and UNESCO officials discuss the existing contradictions and present their proves on why the ones who deny the universality and the impertinence of human rights are wrong. As for the actual implementation of UNESCO approach to HRE, the Organization was assisting member states in developing the curricula and improving textbooks, as well as extending the ASP network and cooperating with higher education institutions (UNESCO, 1967, art. 1.34).

The time of the most intense development of UNESCO's normative instruments was 1960s – 1970s (Jones & Coleman, 2005, p. 76). Usually, normative standards are established in the form of Recommendations, which allow the states to voluntarily present reports on their policies in the concerned sphere (Jones & Coleman, 2005, p. 77). From the beginning of 1970s the UN was making an emphasis on the elimination of racial discrimination and member states requested the Director-General to develop a normative instrument, which would establish standards for education to peace, international cooperation and human rights (UNESCO, 1972b). International humanitarian law was also a part of the agenda on international law education (ibid). Thus, on the 18th General Conference the Recommendation concerning Education for International Understanding, Cooperation and Peace and Education relating to Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms was approved (UNESCO, 1975). In the Recommendation, UNESCO calls on member states to implement HRE in school curricula across various subjects and in out-of-school activities, as well as in the sphere of research and higher education. Civic education must also be based on human rights principles, established in international legal instruments, and be concentrated on the interrelationship between local, national and international level (art. 13). HRE must link the knowledge and problem-solving and be based on critical and creative thinking (art. 12-14). Thus, in the Recommendation HRE presents a dominant concept for the educational framework, promoted by UNESCO. It was a favourable moment for the creation of such a holistic normative document, since a compromised definition of human rights was already approved at the UN level in terms of the two International Covenants and UNESCO could refer to this definition to assure the universal applicability of the Recommendation. Furthermore, by 1974, unlike in 1950s, the notion of education embraced the whole process of learning and the development of personal capacities and aptitudes, not limited to particular activities.

Torres Bodet claimed: "UNESCO will not fulfil its purposes without the active assistance of public opinion. Conversely, it will have fulfilled them all when public opinion comes unreservedly to support it…" (Bodet, 1950, p. 38). The expansion of human rights education activities was based on the favourable relation of the public to the notion of human rights, first of all, to the right to self-determination, which justified the process of decolonization, led by the UN (Ishay, 2008). The inevitability of decolonization was clear to many metropolises and, thus, it was integrated into the international post-war agenda. Nationalist anticolonial movements in Asia and Africa led to the creation of dozens new states, which became members of the UN. Various problems emerged, such as economic and social underdevelopment as consequences of the long period of dependency, and the pressure from the opposing liberal and communist powers (ibid). It explains radical anticolonial and development discourse of UNESCO, evident in the materials on human rights education in 1960s – 1970s. The open opposition to neo-colonialism and economic-political exploitation of one state over another, expressed already at the Conference in Tehran in 1968, found its expression in the 1974 Recommendation as well. Article 15 of the Recommendation reads as follows: "Education should emphasize the true interests of peoples and their incompatibility with the interests of monopolistic groups holding economic and political power, which practise exploitation and foment war". Insisting on the indivisibility of human rights was also a very important aspect to oppose the rivalry of the Cold War. The spread of economic and social rights was at the foundation of Soviet propaganda, while the US were continuing to base their expansive ideology on civil and political rights (ibid). In the scholarly world, the raise of interest to peace education also played a significant role to the establishment of HRE agenda on the international level (Hicks, 1988). If in 1950s peace was defined from the negative point of view, i.e. peace as an absence of an open armed conflict, in 1960s – 1970s the notion of "structural violence", manifested in the form of discrimination, poverty and hunger, emerged in academic discourse (Hicks, 1988, p. 275). Therefore, the protection of all human rights became integral to the international notion of peace education.

The attention to the issue of HRE in UNESCO did not decline at times of the world economic crisis, which emerged in 1974 due to the raise of oil prices (Jones & Coleman, 2005, p. 62). In fact, the new Director-General, Amadou-Mahtar M'Bow (1974 – 1987), emphasized the importance of human rights teaching to promote social justice in developing societies and internationally (M'Bow, 1982). Following the recommendation of the Commission on Human Rights, UNESCO Executive Board decided on the establishment of the annual prize

"for activity aimed at developing the teaching of human rights", as well as to organize the International Congress on Teaching on Human Rights (UNESCO, 1972a). In 1978, the Congress took place in Vienna (UNESCO, 1978b). The final document follows the principles, established in the 1974 Recommendation, but makes stronger emphasis on the interconnectedness of human rights and development. Methods, materials and conditions, necessary for teaching human rights, were discussed. The Congress concluded on the importance of teaching both human rights and humanitarian law principles, on teaching the concrete legal mechanisms and procedures of these systems in order to assure their applicability. In that sense, the views of Torres Bodet are taken into consideration. Freedom of expression of teachers on all levels of education is also emphasized as an essential condition for HRE (UNESCO, 1978, art. 10 and 17).

The Congress had important consequences for UNESCO policies on HRE. Many issues discussed during the event, like the elaboration of guidelines for HRE in higher education, the inclusion of humanitarian law in HRE programmes or teaching of HRE to legal practitioners, were included in the agenda of the Organization. In 1979 – 1980 the Seven Year Plan for the Development of the Teaching of Human Rights was elaborated (UNESCO, 1983), and it was approved at the 21st General Conference (1980). The Plan was aimed at the expansion of collaboration with various stakeholders, including state actors and NGOs, on the introduction of HRE into school curricula around the world, on the enforcement of HRE monitoring and the intensification of the international dialogue on HRE through regional and international meetings (ibid). The realization of the Plan was a success in many ways. Expert meetings were organized at the national and international levels. The Experts' Meeting on the Teaching of Human Rights in Strasbourg (1982) focused on general and specific regional developments on HRE, on the existing problems and the ways of solving them (UNESCO, 1983). The universality of human rights was once again emphasized by the representors of all regions, but specific obstacles to HRE implementation in every part of the world and global political realities of South-North and East-West conflicts were also pointed out (ibid). A new Congress on Human Rights Teaching was planned for 1987 (UNESCO, 1985b). The 1978 Congress in Vienna concluded on the necessity of organizing the activities of UNESCO ASP network in the sphere of education for human rights, peace and international understanding (UNESCO, 1978b). Therefore, the regional workshops and meetings of ASP schools were organized in 1986 in terms of the International Year of Peace (UNESCO, 1987a). In the

result of these meetings, the practical manual for teaching human rights, peace and international understanding in ASP schools was published in 1987 (UNESCO, 1987b).

Following the recommendation of the 1978 Congress, guidelines for the inclusion of humanitarian law principles were created in collaboration with Red Cross (ICRC, 1978; UNESCO, 1985b). However, it is the monitoring and the related implementation on the national level that traditionally posed the problem for UNESCO HRE policies. In 1985, the 23d General Conference established the system of reporting on the implementation of the 1974 Recommendation in the form of consultancies, which were to take place every six years (UNESCO, 1985c). The first informal effort to assess the influence of UNESCO activities on the HRE fulfilment on the national level failed mainly due to the lack of consensus on what HRE means, despite the detailed overview in the 1974 Recommendation and the Final Document of the 1978 Vienna Congress (UNESCO, 1985a, pp. 6-7). These conclusions showed that the assessment of UNESCO influence in the area of HRE was highly problematic and further history of regular consultations on the 1974 Recommendation will once again demonstrate that.

According to UNESCO professionals, it was the end of 1970s that became the time of the actual use of international human rights discourse not only in science, but also by legal practitioners around the world (Vasak, 1979). The Institute of Human Rights Training of the Bar of Paris was founded in 1978 with the participation of UNESCO (UNESCO, 1978a). It was the first Institute to teach human rights specifically to lawyers and magistrates (ibid). The event was highly meaningful for the enforcement of the human rights system as a whole and was celebrated 10 years later in 1988, when the Director-General claimed: UNESCO "can surely be thought of, first and foremost, as Human Rights House" (UNESCO, 1988a).

Universities were the first to integrate HRE in their programmes and, therefore, editing a guide reflecting the point of view of UNESCO was essential to demonstrate the view of Organization on human rights teaching in academia. In 1979, UNESCO published its first textbook for teaching human rights at the level of higher education (Vasak, 1979). The authors from all over the world discussed the problem, which we often see as recently initiated: how to make a proclaimed right and enforced one (ibid, p. 2)? The response given is the one that lays at the foundation of HRE justification: in the end, it is the public opinion, which makes human rights enforced at the national level (ibid, p. 8). The authors make a

distinction between the rights of man and citizen, thus, emphasizing the universality of international human rights system and explaining how this principle is to be understood on the regional and national level (ibid, p. 9).

One more programme, closely related to the Seven Year Plan for the Development of the Teaching of Human Rights was the Plan for the Development of International Understanding, Co-operation and Peace (UNESCO, 1987a). Intergovernmental Conference on Education for International Understanding, Co-operation and Peace and Education relating to Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, with a view to Developing a Climate of Opinion Favourable to the Strengthening of Security and Disarmament took place in 1983, when the international disarmament demand was brought to the fore (UN, 2014). Disarmament was no longer the game of two players, the US and USSR, who were ratifying the documents only when they were mutually convenient, but a concern of all UN members. During the Conference, it was emphasized that HRE is the most important component of education for peace and international cooperation and UNESCO mission, as well as the UN aims in general, could not be achieved without teaching human rights to all individuals in the world (UNESCO, 1986). Following the recommendation of the Conference, the Plan for the Development of International Understanding, Co-operation and Peace was established in 1985 (UNESCO, 1985a) and started in 1986, on the occasion of the International Year of Peace. The activities, officially related to one Plan, were often reported in terms of the another as well, like the events, concerning the development of the ASP network or UNESCO publications on peace and human rights (UNESCO, 1987a).

The next Congress on Human Rights Teaching (1987) comprised three commissions, which concentrated on a specific topic and provided akin recommendations (UNESCO, 1988b). The first commission focused on HRE in official and unofficial settings, discussing the necessity to assure a holistic approach to human rights teaching (ibid, p. 4). The second commission studied the main issues of HRE in research and the third one – the accessibility of human rights information and documentation (ibid, pp. 7 - 11). These three topics could be claimed as the main spheres of UNESCO HRE agenda by the end of 1980s. The recommendations of the Congress contain some interesting suggestions, that were not emphasized in the previous years. For example, the Congress recommended to ensure that human rights instruments were translated on national languages and the languages of minorities (ibid, p. 22). The participants also concluded on the necessity to provide HRE for citizens and for the whole

population, thus, making it clear that HRE must reach every individual, independently from one's political status (ibid, p. 13). Moreover, the Congress pointed out that this axiom evolves from direct obligations of the states, established in the ICESCR and the Convention on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination on the right to human rights education (ibid, p. 13). The final document of the Congress follows the discourse, common in HRE policies of UNESCO in the XXth century[54]: it recognizes the existence of both consensus and conflict on the issues of human rights, of universality and particularity of human rights in various contexts (ibid, p. 15). Another tradition[55] that Congress recommendations continued was addressing the Director-General with the request to study the "advisability of preparing a convention on human rights education and teaching" (ibid, p. 13).

The authors who write on the development of international human rights always emphasize that the UN was created for the maintenance of peace after the WWII (Hunt, 2008; Ishay, 2008; Mahoney, 2007). However, what is often left behind the lines, is that the maintenance of peace was necessary because of a threat of another approaching world conflict the humanity might not survive (Deighton, 1990). Winston Churchill's plan "Operation Unthinkable" from 1945 was created at the same time with after-war peace negotiations, including the creation of the UN, and was aimed at fast militarization and attack in case of a conflict with Soviet Union (Walker, 2013). The USSR and the US also worked on the elaboration of such plans (Deighton, 1990). For fifty years, the UN had served as an arena, where each superpower could marshal "voting alliances against each other" and these alliances were at the foundation of the decision-making in the UN (Gallarotti, 2000, p. 145). The logic of such an organization could be expressed in Churchill's words as "better to jaw, jaw than to war, war" (Knowles, 2007, p. 68). The end of the Cold War was perceived as a chance for finding a common language and finally achieving a consensus on the essential international issues, including human rights (Ishay, 2008). The real multilateralism and the involvement of the whole world civil society were supposed to replace the long rivalry between the superpowers (ibid). The radical change of the international situation with the fall of Berlin wall in 1989 and the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991 evoked the demands for the reform of the UN and the adaptation of its working mechanisms to new realities

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[54] See, for example, the issue of UNESCO's "Courier" from November 1968, 1974 Recommendation or the final document of the Experts' Meeting on the Teaching of Human Rights (Strasbourg, 1982), discussed above.

[55] The request was already present in the final document of the 1978 Congress.

(Archibugi, 2000, p. 55). It was decided on the necessity to organize world meetings on human rights in order to discuss the role of human rights in the new post-Cold War realities and a plan of action for the promotion of human rights (UNESCO, 1995e). The topic of HRE was given a high importance in these negotiations. In 1991, the states called on the Director-General to adapt the 1974 Recommendation to new realities (UNESCO, 1991b). A special emphasis in the 26th General Conference resolutions (ibid) was made on the need for human rights education in newly-formed Eastern European states, which should lay at the foundation of the new democratic and civic culture (ibid, art. 7.7). As for the replacement of the 1974 Recommendation, the Executive Board decided on the relevance of changing the monitoring system, but not creating a new binding document, since a consensus on the 1974 Recommendation already existed among member states (UNESCO, 1991a).

One of the most important events in the history of international human rights in the XXth century was the World Conference on Human Rights in Vienna in June 1993 (UN Secretariat, 1993). The Conference is usually distinguished by scholars as a meeting, where several states openly questioned the universality of human rights (Otto, 1997; Ozdek, 1994). Among them was Saudi Arabia, whose representor insisted on human rights obligations for Muslim states existing only in terms of Sharia law (Ozdek, 1994). Chinese delegates also emphasized two main reasons are usually indicated as laying at the origins of these announcements. First, it was the opposition to the interpretation of the collapse of the Soviet Union as victory of the West and as a prove of "assertions of modern European' knowledges as universal" (Otto, 1997, p. 1). The second reason was related to the "good old" intention of States-violators to avoid international condemnation (Van Ness, 1999). However, I would like to point out that, while it is doubtless that the political situation changed radically by 1993, the debates on the universality of human rights were nothing new for the UN policies. As I indicated before, addressing the critique of the universality of human rights had been a common topic in UNESCO documentation for decades. The analysis of historical origins of human rights in various world cultures, philosophical studies and the elaboration of political instruments, built on consensus among the member states, were the main ways to address the critique. It appears to me that Vienna Conference was unique for HRE in a different sense – it was the first time that HRE became one of the essential political concerns of the whole UN. One of the main aims of the Conference was to "enhance and strengthen the United Nations human rights programme, and to move human rights to the centre stage of all United Nations activities" (Fall, 1994, p. 10). As the core condition for the promotion of human rights, HRE

could not be left behind outside of the human-rights centred UN framework. The issues, which had been addressed before only within UNESCO, appeared to be on the international agenda, such as the enforcement of state obligations in the sphere of HRE (UN Secretariat, 1993, art. 33), the adaptability of HRE to the needs of focus groups and local contexts (ibid, art. 82) and efficient monitoring mechanisms (ibid, art. 89).

The Conference also demonstrated a considerable shift in the international HRE discourse. With rare exceptions, which will be discussed in the part on the history of GCED in UNESCO policies, human rights constituted a dominant notion in the sphere of education for peace and international cooperation, as it was fixed in UNESCO Constitution. In 1990s this approach changes and the term "democracy" took a leading position along with human rights. It was not absent from the Organization's HRE frameworks, but was related to the democratization of the educational process and institutions (Rauner, 1999). For example, in the 1974 Recommendation, the only existing monitoring mechanism for the assessment of UNESCO activities in the field of HRE, peace and international cooperation, "democracy" is not mentioned (UNESCO, 1975, p. 147). It could be related to the fact that one of the world superpowers, the Soviet Union, with only one legally present political party[56] could hardly be called democratic. Now, with ex-Soviet Republics, including the newly-formed Russian state, claiming to move towards democratic change, as well as with the negotiations on the end of apartheid in South Africa, the demand for education to democracy raised drastically among the member states (Rauner, 1999). Thus, the rising acceptability of democracy as a concept was directly related to the growing percentage of officially democratic states: from 25% in 1973 to 68% in 1992 (Davies, 1999).

The third International HRE Congress that took place in Montreal in 1993, was devoted to both HRE and education for democracy (UNESCO, 1993). The interconnectedness of human rights and democracy became the new framework for thinking on HRE relevant for the XXIst century. The critique of the universality of human rights led to the discussion on the balance between rights and duties, collective interaction and individual dignity. It was in the beginning of 1990s that the education to active national citizenship in the form of civic participation and responsibility became the integral part of the international educational rhetoric along with human rights (ibid, p. 28). One of the studies on the evolution of civic and

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[56] Other political parties were claimed illegal by 1936 and 1975 Soviet Constitutions.

history textbooks content at schools, marks the tendency of the emerging emphasis on HRE principles in 1990s (Meyer et al., 2010).

The shift from human rights, international cooperation and peace to human rights and democracy in international educational frameworks was also related to academic debates, which were provoked by various phenomena all over the world, such as the rising apathy of voters in the Global North, the resurgence of nationalist movements, first of all, in Eastern Europe, and "the failure of environmental policies that rely on voluntary citizen cooperation" (Kymlicka & Norman, 1994, p. 352). Jürgen Habermas, one of the most influential contemporary thinkers, played an important role in the promotion of the idea of integrity of the rule of law in the form of human rights and democracy (Bohman & Rehg, 2017). In his "Between Facts and Norms" (Habermas, 1992), the philosopher emphasized that the rule of law and individual rights are the foundation that the moral legitimacy of a democratic society stands on. At the same time, there were scholars who insisted on the importance of pluralistic and non-universalistic approach to democracy and citizenship (Kymlicka & Norman, 1994; Mouffe, 1992; Young, 1990). Furthermore, it is doubtless that in legal practice these concepts are often contradicting. For example, the "democratic necessity" can present an exception for the applicability of several provisions of the European Convention on Human Rights (Greer, 1997). One might ask how these contradictions could be bypassed in terms of combining democracy and human rights. In fact, the final document of Montreal Congress indicates that in 1993 concepts of democracy and citizenship was separated from the notion of human rights, which was related to all individuals (ibid, p. 26). Also, the participants of the Congress suggested to introduce education for democracy as a "complementary aspect" for HRE (ibid, p. 6). Thus, HRE remained the fundamental concept of UNESCO educational policies.

The Congress adopted the World Plan of Action on Education for Human Rights and Democracy or so-called Montreal Declaration (UNESCO, 1993). The Declaration confirmed the framework of HRE, based on the close connection between democracy and human rights in the sense that "the effective exercise of human rights is also contingent upon the degree of responsibility be individuals towards the community" (ibid). The Plan served as an orientation for various participants, including individual states, NGOs and multilateral organizations, but UNESCO's role is emphasized as particular. The Organization was supposed to create and distribute planning, implementation and assessment standards relative to the Plan. In the result of discussions in terms of Montreal HRE Congress and the Vienna

World Congress on Human Rights, in 1994 the HRE decade (1995 – 2005) was established by the UN General Assembly and once again the particular role of UNESCO was emphasized (UN, 1996).

In 1995, as the Plan of Action for HRE Decade indicated, the preliminary evaluation of the existing UNESCO HRE programmes in the form of a report made by the Director-General (ibid). The document enumerated the main activities of UNESCO on national and international level, regarding HRE. Among these activities were the introduction of new subjects in ASP schools (ibid, art. 18), the creation of regional UNESCO Chairs on human rights and peace (ibid, art.19) and the publication of new manuals on human rights and democracy (ibid, art. 23). However, I believe that the most important part of the document consisted in the revision of monitoring mechanisms for HRE implementation. The importance of the 1974 Recommendation was reaffirmed, but several more actual instruments were added: the Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action (1993), the Plan of Action of the United Nations Decade for Human Rights Education (1995-2005) and the Declaration and Integrated Framework of Action of the 44th International Conference on Education (ICE) (1994) (UNESCO, 1995, art. 3). The introduction of these three documents was highly important, considering that the 1974 Recommendation was lacking the terminology and concepts, which took an important place in HRE in the 1990s, such as democracy or active citizenship (UNESCO, 1995b). In 1997, the new report based on the tripartite framework was presented at the General Conference (UNESCO, 1997b). The document started with the general discussion on new tendencies, relevant to the areas of the 1974 Recommendation implementation. A big importance is given to the ideas, enounced in the report prepared by the International Commission on Education for the Twenty-First Century, or so-called Delors Commission (ibid, art. 1), the report of the Commission "Learning: the Treasure within" discussed relevant approaches to HRE, education for democracy and civic education (UNESCO, 1996). The main concept of the report – "learning to live together", stood at the forefront of the new report on the implementation of the 1974 Recommendation (UNESCO, 1997, art. 2). The report confirmed the growing interest in education for human rights, democracy and education for citizenship (ibid, art. 14-19).

In order to realize UNESCO responsibilities in terms of the UN Decade for HRE, the Advisory Committee on Education for Peace, Human Rights and Democracy was created in 1994 (UNESCO, 1997a). The Committee was supposed to give recommendations on

UNESCO legal obligations, conceptual basis of the programme, "the possible modalities and ways of action and resources, as well as eventual contribution of the Committee members to its implementation" (ibid). The list of members of the Committee was changing, but it usually included scholars, specialized in HRE, representors of developing countries, as well as experts from the countries that were going through radical political changes, such as Russia in 1995 (UNESCO, 1995a), Bulgaria in 1997 (UNESCO, 1997a) or Uzbekistan in 2000 (UNESCO, 2000). Their presence in the Committee emphasized the emergence of education for human rights and democracy in the context of radical reforms.

The unprecedented number of meetings on the topic of HRE was organized in various regions (Institute for Human Rights of Abo Akademi University, 1997; Obanya, 1995; UNESCO, 1995c) and many works that focused on local contexts were published (Schmelkes, 1998; Velloso, 1998). The issued general guides embraced primary and secondary levels of education (UNESCO, 1987b, 1998), as well as tertiary education and teacher training (UNESCO & APNIEVE, 1998).

Monitoring and evaluation of UNESCO HRE policies remained one of the core concerns for the Organization (UNESCO, 1999). Following the recommendations of the Executive Board, the instrumental foundation of monitoring was reinforced by using several recent HRE documents in the system of reporting on the implementation of the 1974 Recommendation, including the Plan of Action of the UN Decade for HRE (1995 – 2005) and The Declaration and Platform for Action of the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women (1995), which referred to the importance of HRE for women's empowerment (UNESCO, 2001). However, only 17% of member states presented their reports for the Consultation in 2001 (ibid). Another step towards the improvement of HRE evaluation was the analysis of the existing UNESCO resources on HRE in 2002 (Osler, Starkey, & Vincent, 2002). The authors concluded that while there is a vast range of resources available for the implementation, there was no normative standard for dissemination, co-publication or monitoring of usage of publications (ibid, p.V).

HRE found its expression not only in specific areas of cooperation within UNESCO or the UN in general, but also was integrated in Education for All, the main framework for international education in 1990s – 2000s (P.W. Jones & Coleman, 2005). While Jomtien Declaration and Framework for Action did not give much significance to HRE (World

Conference on Education for All, 1992), the Dakar framework for action emphasized the importance of promoting "mutual understanding, peace and tolerance" through education (World Education Forum, 2000, art. 9). When the issue of quality became the essential part of EFA conceptualization, HRE was emphasized as integral to UNESCO understanding of quality education (Wilson, 2004, 2005). Interestingly, it was the time when the importance of Education for Sustainable Development (ESD) was emphasized along with HRE (UNESCO, 2003).

In 2005, the UN Decade for HRE came to an end, so in 2006 the World Programme for HRE (WPHRE) was initiated by UNESCO and OHCHR (UN, UNESCO, & OHCHR, 2006). The first phase of the programme focused on HRE at schools, i.e. the integration of HRE into policies and curricula, learning environment, teaching materials, evaluation and teacher training (UN, 2005). It was recognized that all of these spheres are integral to UNESCO competencies and, therefore the Organization played a particular role in the promotion of WPHRE. At the same time, the programme allowed the Organization's HRE policies to gain visibility (UNESCO, 2008). In 2009, 35 states reported on the implementation of the 1974 Recommendation, twice more than in the result of the previous consultation. The monitoring framework included the WPHRE Plan of Action (UNESCO, 2009).

The first phase of the World Programme for HRE was finalized in 2010 (UN, 2010). As the report on the WPHRE first phase demonstrated, according to the political trends, citizenship and democratic education were included in the assessment, but HRE remained a fundamental concept and the framework that embraced all other approaches to the content of education. Conceptually, politically and institutionally in 2010 HRE was at the top of the UN agenda. The United Nations Inter-Agency Coordinating Committee on Human Rights Education in the School System received 76 reports from member states in 2009 – 2010. The report on the first phase of the WPHRE demonstrated that instrumental and political cooperation gave the best results both for policy implementation and monitoring. For this reason, UNESCO preferred to keep its instruments for policy-making and assessment aligned with general UN mechanisms (Jones & Coleman, 2005). In 2013, 57 countries participated in the 5th Consultation on the implementation of the Recommendation (UNESCO, 2013b). The assessment framework included the Plan of Action for the second phase of WPHRE, focused on higher education and on a specific target group – state agents, such as military service and state legal professionals. The report also referred to the UN Declaration for Human Rights

Education and Training (2011), which enounced HRE to be a fundamental human right and defined the content of HRE, its ways of implementation and particularly important target groups. It was the first UN legal instrument, devoted entirely to the right to HRE.

By the moment, the last UNESCO guide, which gives fundamental importance to HRE, came out in 2014 (UNESCO, 2014e). "Teaching Respect for All" was the initiative of the United States and Brazil that was later tested in five pilot projects in Africa, Latin America and the Pacific. HRE as education to and for human rights, as well as education for the development of skills, attitudes and "the will to take action for one's own rights and the rights of others" was seen as a basic framework for the content of education as it is established in terms of the right to education (ibid, p. 52).

The Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) framework, which had defined the priorities of international cooperation since 2000, was to be finalized by 2015. MDGs were criticized by many stakeholders for failing to comprise a holistic educational agenda (Zajda & Ozdowski, 2017). The main aim of UNESCO during the post-2015 negotiations was to promote a separate goal on education among SDGs and gain the leading position in the implementation of the educational target (FU3). The negotiations on the educational post-2015 agenda also touched upon the future place of HRE. In 2013, in the technical note on UNESCO position regarding HRE, the ADG in education claimed that "UNESCO aims to increase its visibility as a global actor and leader in the field of human rights education" (UNESCO, 2013a, p. 4). GCED was also mentioned as a prospective part of the post-2015 agenda, but it appeared that HRE remained the top priority (ibid). The introduction of "HRE for All" agenda into SDGs was supported by civil society and academia (MacNaughton, 2015; UN, 2016a). It was clear that unlike MDGs, the new agenda must include references to the relevant quality content of education, such as "problem solving and creative thinking; understanding and respect for human rights; inclusion and equity; cultural diversity…learning to live together…the realization of peace, responsible citizenship and sustainable development" (UNESCO, 2014a, art. 12). However, it remained indefinite, which framework will be dominant within post-2015 policies.

Two main meetings that formed the understanding of education in terms of the post-2015 agenda were Global Education for All meeting in Muscat (2014) and World Education Forum in Incheon (2015) (UNESCO, 2014f). HRE was not mentioned in the Muscat Joint Proposal

on Education after 2015, the attention in the document was paid mainly to GCED and ESD. In its article 8, Incheon Declaration (2015) puts ESD and GCED at the top of the agenda, while the importance of HRE is also mentioned. The final version of the SDG 4.7, adopted at the United Nations Summit on Sustainable Development 2015 in autumn 2015, comprised GCED, ESD and HRE and one did not prevail over other concepts[57] (UN, 2015b). However, in March 2015 GCED was announced to be the leading area of UNESCO agenda on the content of education (UNESCO, 2015e). It appears that the transition from the dominance of HRE in UNESCO policies and to HRE being regarded as an important, but not the fundamental orientation in UNESCO policies, took only several years. The process of this transition and its reasons are discussed in the following part of the chapter[58].

6.3 Global citizenship education in UNESCO policies

The discourse of cosmopolitanism did not vanish from the international educational agenda during the nationalist first half of the XXth century. Even though the term was not popular, since it was associated with the exclusive Western way of life, it appeared in the alternative concepts used by the Western civil society. For example, an influential British NGO, Council in Education for World Citizenship, in March 1943 provided a report entitled "Education and the United Nations" (Jones & Coleman, 2005), where the NGO insisted on the importance of creating a UN Organization for education for promoting peace across the world.

Some of the first UNESCO activities contained references to cosmopolitanism. In fact, in 1950s UNESCO used the term "education for world citizenship" as corresponding to "education for international understanding" (UNESCO, 1965). In 1951 UNESCO radio broadcasted the recorded opinion of one of the members of UNESCO's Executive Board on the meaning of the term "world citizen" and the chances of "millions of ordinary folk" to become world citizens (Bender, 1951). In the exclusive terms of the notion of cosmopolitanism, it was claimed that there only had been a few people in history who could

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[57] SDG 4.7: by 2030 ensure all learners acquire knowledge and skills needed to promote sustainable development, including among others through education for sustainable development and sustainable lifestyles, human rights, gender equality, promotion of a culture of peace and non-violence, global citizenship, and appreciation of cultural diversity and of culture's contribution to sustainable development.

[58] Results of the analysis of documentation related to UNESCO HRE policies are presented in the Appendix 5.

be qualified as world citizens, but through the training at UNESCO schools students could become world citizens. Within such a definition, the term conveyed an elitist message. Possibly, this was one of the reasons why the idea behind the ASP schools was formulated differently. Moreover, the notion "world citizenship" in time "acquired unsuitable political connotations" (UNESCO, 1965, p. 56). Therefore, the term was abandoned. "Education for Living in a World Community" became the basis for UNESCO's ASP Schools curriculum (UNESCO, 1953), as well as for UNESCO's programmes on the "teaching of modern languages" (UNESCO, 1955). The "world community" in this sense was a community of the whole mankind, united by the ethical principles of the UDHR, the interdependence of the peoples of the world and, therefore, their responsibility for peace. However, the term was also abandoned, "because many people—including many teachers - found it vague and imprecise" (UNESCO, 1965, p. 56).

The report, authored by the International Commission on the Development of Education in 1972, stands out of a general tendency of the time to emphasize the crucial importance of rights in and through education (UNESCO, 1972c). The title "Learning to be" and the whole content of the report "reflected the climate of euphoria and optimism of the times", the completed decolonization and "the ideology of steady progress" (Deleon, 1996, p. 1). The head of the Commission, Edgar Faure, claimed that the main justification of the Commission's work was "the existence of an international community…in its movement towards one and the same destiny" (UNESCO, 1972c, p. VI). This same destiny consisted in achieving democracy through educational systems and through educational content. "The keystone of democracy, so conceived, is education—not only education that is accessible to all, but education whose aims and methods have been thought out afresh" (ibid, p. VI). The word "rights" in the report was used only once (ibid, p. XXIII). However, the way that the concept of democracy in and through education is defined in the report repeats basic formulas, used for describing human rights in and through education. It includes access to educational institutions, as well as education to peace, rights and responsibilities.

Possibly the most important document in the history of HRE policies in UNESCO, the 1974 Recommendation, also contains formulas, similar to the ones that lay at the foundation of GCED today (UNESCO, 1974). The document emphasizes the "global interdependence" between nations and the importance of participation of an individual in problem-solving on the level of one's "community…country and the world at large" (art. 4(g)). Following the

Recommendation, education should allow every person to learn about the existing procedures that would enable them to apply the obtained knowledge for problem-solving "at the local, national and international levels" (art. 13). Critical approach to education was also seen as a necessary condition for overcoming the current problems, contradictions and tensions among various groups and whole nations (art. 14). The word "democracy" is not mentioned in the document, but the concept of democracy in education in the form of student participation "in the organization of studies and of the educational establishment they are attending" was claimed to be important in terms of the Recommendation implementation (art. 16).

As the online search demonstrated, the earliest UNESCO publication that explicitly mentions the term "global citizenship" appeared in 1979 in UNESCO quarterly review "Prospects" (Allahwerdi, 1979). The issue was devoted to "learning about interdependence", grosso modo "education for international understanding". The article, written by the Secretary for International Education of the Finnish United Nations Association, described the examples of education for international understanding through media in Finland and the latest books, used for formal educational contexts. The term "global citizenship" appeared only in the title of the article and had no further explanation in the paper itself. Considering the main part of the text, it could be claimed that global citizenship corresponded to UNESCO's 1974 Recommendation content and did not refer to the issues of globalization (ibid).

At the end of the Cold War the atmosphere of an expected positive change prevailed (Ishay). With the radical transformation of the international relations scene, the mode of the UN functioning was about to change (UNESCO, 2005a). "In order to formulate arguments concerning human rights, international relations and social responsibility", scholars and philosophers turned to the notion of "cosmopolitanism", or its more recent version – global citizenship (Ganim & Legassie, 2013, p. 1). Regarding the rationale behind the inclusion of GCED agenda in UNESCO policies, one of my interviewees, a former UNESCO employee, summed up the conclusion that I came to after having obtained an overview of all the data accessible to me: "Decisions like this are hardly having only one reason" (FU1).

The first reason, I suppose, laid in the emerging academic discourse on citizenship, democracy and arising global issues (Dower, 2003). The end of the XXth century was believed to be "the end of history", when liberal democracy had won. However, the world

was far from reaching the point of universal peace and unconditionally shared common values:

The collapse of Communism seems, in many places, to have opened the way to a resurgence of nationalism and the emergence of new antagonisms. Western democrats view with astonishment the explosion of manifold ethnic, religious and nationalist conflicts that they thought belonged to a bygone age. Instead of the heralded "New World Order", the victory of universal values, and the generalization of 'post-conventional' identities, we are witnessing an explosion of particularisms and an increasing challenge to Western universalism (Mouffe, 1993, p. 1).

Critique of the universality of human rights, now discussed not only in academia or among professionals, but openly expressed by powerful member states, was one of the examples of the global crisis of multilateral universalist agenda. International organizations, basing the justification of their existence on universalist ethics, had to offer new ethical foundations and orientations for the international policies. This issue is especially important for UNESCO, whose functions are mainly normative and value-oriented (FU2). In HRE studies the emphasis moved from teaching universally applicable regulations, generally the UN human rights instruments, and the principles of the UN work to the analysis of factors that influence the implementation of HRE in various contexts, depending on focus groups (Tibbitts, 2002) or final aims of teaching (Bajaj, 2011). Many authors wrote about the national interpretations of HRE, conditioned by political, cultural and legal environment in the country and contradicting the international norms on HRE (Al-Nakib, 2011; Çaymaz, 2011; Firer, 1998; Sevincer & Biseth, 2013). On the international level the relevance of HRE for the XXIst century was recognized, but monitoring issues (MacNaughton & Koutsioumpas, 2017, p. 24) and the complexity of implementation through differing models (ibid, p.38) made the policy-makers look for alternative labels.

This is when the notion of cosmopolitanism was reborn. Cosmopolitanism as an ethical framework in the end of the XXth century in the ideas of scholars presented something very different from the elitist undertone it had in the first half of the century. Philosophers were possibly the first to claim the relevance of cosmopolitanism for the construction of contemporary world. Martha Nussbaum, specialized in Greek and Roman philosophy, who emphasized the applicability of the Stoic idea of cosmopolitanism, to modern education was

one of the founders of contemporary cosmopolitanism theory in education (Martha C. Nussbaum, 1994). She claimed that the idea of cosmopolitanism, initiated by Diogenes and developed by Stoics, implied the equality and necessary cooperation between all people of the world. This idea should be the basis for contemporary education, in the opinion of Nussbaum. The article was written as a response to Northern American debate on the place of patriotism in education and soon became one of the most discussed topics in English-speaking world (Naseem & Hyslop-Margison, 2006). In his turn, Jürgen Habermas based his philosophical analysis of the applicability of cosmopolitanism for contemporary realities through Kantian idea of cosmopolitan law (Habermas, 2006). In his opinion, cosmopolitan regime is possible as a regime of the rule of international law, which would allow to transcend national limitations and create a transnational system of communication and cooperation (Bohman & Rehg, 2017).

Hundreds of works followed the way, initiated by the philosophers, and claimed that cosmopolitan system was ethically, institutionally, legally possible, desirable and even inevitable (Dower, 2010; Held, 1995; Tambakaki, 2010). There are currently different ways of interpreting education to global citizenship: it might serve the neoliberal model of globalization through the transnational exchange of knowledge, it might empower citizens to radically oppose the dominance of global financial institutions or GCED can promote solidary democratic participation of citizens in local, national or transnational transformative action (Schultz, 2007b).

After 1979, for the first time in the UN documentation the term global citizenship is mentioned in the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) paper "Preparing children to participate in their future" (Godwin, 1993). The paper describes the activities that took place during the seminar on Education for Development in Nairobi. The introduction and the keynote address, written by the Chief of Education for Development in UNICEF Headquarters, explain the conceptual foundations of UNICEF approach to Education for Development: education for sustainable development, peace and human rights. The term global citizenship is mentioned twice in the text and is not explained independently, but equalized with education for development: "Education for Development" is UNICEF's term for those educational experiences which promote global citizenship. "Global citizenship becomes possible only when young people have an understanding of issues such as justice; interdependence; peace and conflict; and sustainable development, at home and abroad.

Global citizenship requires skills of analysis and of problem-solving, as well as a willingness to use those skills to bring about constructive change" (UNICEF, 1993, p. 1). This formula repeated the same principles that laid at the foundation of UNESCO's work on education for human rights and democracy in the beginning of 1990s (UNESCO, 1993). Traditionally, since its creation in 1946, the Fund's mandate has concerned the issues of children's survival and health, and education in emergencies since the end of 1950s (Jones & Coleman, 2005). The development programmes on the national level were usually the main frameworks for the Fund's activities (ibid). The situation changed with the adoption of the Convention on the Rights of the Child in 1989 (Hüfner, 2011). The discourse of human rights entered UNICEF rhetoric and led to the considerable emphasis on education in UNICEF activities. The head of UNICEF, Jim Grant, was the initiator of the Education for All initiative and by the mid 1990s UNICEF became one of the most important multilateral actors in education (Jones & Coleman, 2005). "If delegates at Jomtien had expressed a little surprise at seeing the emergence of UNICEF as a major player, many would have been content to see this as a direct consequence of the UNESCO crisis of the mid- to late 1980s" (Jones & Coleman, 2005, p. 161). World Bank also joined the international educational discourse at the time (ibid).

The competition among the multilateral actors for the visibility at the educational arena made UNESCO also rethink the conceptual basis for its policies. In 1994, at the International Conference on Education, organized by the International Bureau of Education (IBE), the representors of member states adopted the Declaration and the Integrated Framework of Action on Education for Human Rights, Peace and Democracy (UNESCO, 1995b). The states invited the Director-General to present these documents at the General Conference and to consider how the considerations expressed in the texts could be integrated in UNESCO policies.

The term "global citizenship" appears in internal UNESCO documentation in 1995 in relation to the symposium devoted to the role of family in education of global citizens, but it is neither accentuated or explained (UNESCO, 1995d, p. 33). The new theoretical basis for the construction of UNESCO educational basis in response to the demands of the member states, expressed in the 1994 Declaration and the Framework for Action was provided by the International Commission on Education and Learning for the XXIst Century, also called Jacques Delors Commission (1992 - 1996). "Learning: the Treasure within" reflected the

view of UNESCO on education relevant for the XXIst century (UNESCO, 1996). The debates on the changing nature of citizenship in the beginning of 1990s concerned, first of all, the political and ethical identity of an individual (Kymlicka & Norman, 1994). The members of the Commission, possibly being witnesses of these tendencies, gave big place to the discussion of the identity of an individual in the time of globalization. The multilevel definition of identity included belonging to the family, to the nation, to the region and, finally, to the "global village" (UNESCO, 1996, p. 14). In the opinion of the Commission, the desirable outcome of education should be people gradually becoming world citizens, "without losing their roots and while continuing to play an active part in the life of their nation and their local community" (ibid, p. 15). "Learning to live together" through learning about the cultures and history of one another, about the growing interdependency and learning to find solutions to the emerging problems was supposed to become a new foundation for UNESCO's framing of education (ibid, p. 20). While following the 1972 Faure's Report, the authors recognized the importance of a traditional approach of democracy in education, the notion of human rights did not appear in the document. Thus, the Commission possibly aimed at reconsidering the use of traditional notions, used in UNESCO policies according to its Constitution, despite the explicit reference to HRE in the demand of the member states.

The Delors Commission report played a highly important role in establishing new aims in education (Husen, 1997). The notion of global citizenship found its development in 1996, in the document elaborated by the IBE (Noor Nkake, 1996). The introduction of this expression was understood as a relevant adaptation of the education to human rights, democracy and peace to the current situation (ibid). "A truly global citizenship" was pronounced to be a new direction of UNESCO educational policies and considered as a renewal of UNESCO's commitment to its Constitution (ibid, p. 11). Global citizenship was aimed at "cultivating the values on which the practical implementation of peace, human rights and democracy depend" (ibid). Thus, global citizenship was seen as, first of all, the way of teaching the practice of human rights and democracy and, therefore, it continued the practical approach to HRE, initiated by UNESCO already in 1948 (UNESCO, 1948). Interestingly, the principles of global citizenship learning corresponded to the ones established in UNICEF document in 1993 – knowledge (cognitive learning), skills (applicability of the obtained knowledge) and attitudes (affective learning) (UNICEF, 1993, p. 15). However, the IBE document included also the behavioural learning, which implied not simply the applicability of the knowledge on

global citizenship, but the actual realization of the attitudes obtained by an individual in everyday life (Noor Nkake, 1996, p. 11). Another important development reflected in the IBE paper was that for the first time since the 1950s the term "world citizenship" was mentioned in relation to the construction of ASP schools' curriculum (ibid, p. 42).

Another institute of UNESCO in Hamburg, specialized in "lifelong learning with a focus on adult and continuing education, literacy and non-formal basic education" (UIL, n.d.) was at the forefront of the discussion on the new approaches to adult education for the XXIst century. In 1997 the Fifth International Conference on Adult Education took place in Hamburg and in 1999 the booklet with an overview of major problems, raised during the conference, was published in 1999 (UIL, 1999). Regarding adult education for democracy and peace, the booklet reflects the transitionary and confusing phase between the emphasis on human rights aspect in education to the prevailing of democracy and citizenship (ibid). According to the authors, the aim of education consisted in including the excluded and "reach those who today are not being reached by regular channels of education, cannot participate and do not count as full citizens" (ibid, p. 6). However, in the next part of the booklet it was claimed that adult learning firstly "is needed to inform citizens on their rights and responsibilities" and prepare them for active participation in problem solving "at local, national and global levels" (ibid, p. 8). Further, the change of legislation in favour of education of discriminated, such as minorities and women, for the protection of their fundamental human rights is called the most important step to be made in the sphere of adult education (ibid, p. 11). Thus, the authors tied to combine democracy and citizenship education with human rights principles of including also the ones, who are marginalized. Nevertheless, HRE is not mentioned as an integral part of a new approach. It remained unclear, how education to citizenship was supposed to empower the ones, who were to fight for their fundamental rights without being aware of them. Furthermore, how would it be possible to focus on the responsibilities of active citizenship in education of the ones who did not possess the full rights of citizenship, inalienable from duties? These issues will be raised during the negotiations on conceptualization of GCED in UNESCO.

When talking about the origins of GCED in UNESCO policies, the Head of GCED team mentioned the influence of Maastricht Global Education Declaration, a European Strategy Framework for Improving and Increasing Global Education in Europe to the Year 2015 (U8). The Declaration confirms that cosmopolitanism was seen as a potential response to the crisis

of trust in international organizations: "There are fresh challenges and opportunities to engage Europeans in forms of education for active local, national and global citizenship and for sustainable lifestyles in order to counter-act loss of public confidence in national and international institutions" (Global Education Congress, 2002, art. 3). The document is mainly aimed at framing the priorities for educational policies in Europe, but it expresses the intention to work within the same framework on the international level. Considering that the contemporary notion of cosmopolitanism evolved from the Global North debates on education, it appears logical that European countries were determined to play their strategic role in the formation of a new global citizenship agenda.

The first article, which mentioned GCED explicitly in relation to UNESCO policies was published in the mid of 2000s[59]. The text is not only the first of its kind, but written by the person, who back then occupied one of the leading official positions in the Education Sector in UNESCO. Therefore, in a certain way the article reflects the official position of UNESCO on the concerned topics. The text repeated some formulas, elaborated in relation to GCED in 1990s, but adapted them to the political and conceptual realities of the time. The author referred to the Delors Commission report and the new important concept of "learning to live together" for the construction of quality education in terms of Education for All. Following the blueprint, created by UNICEF and developed later by UNESCO's IBE, the author pointed out that GCED comprised education to skills, attitudes, values and knowledge. The issue of identity loss, one of the main reason of the emergence of the topic of citizenship in academic research in 1990s (Kymlicka), was to be addressed by embracing the interrelationship of an individual with the family, community, society and the whole world[60]. Moving of the whole humanity towards the common destiny is another fundament of GCED, in the opinion of the author, the claim also present in the UNICEF document and the Delors Commission Report. It is important to mention that before UNESCO the author worked for UNICEF exactly at the time, when GCED was first mentioned as a framework for UNICEF educational policies for

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[59] I do not give a reference to the article, since I had a chance to have an interview with the author, whose name I would like to keep anonymous.

[60] This approach reflects in a simplified level the theoretical implications of the famous Bronfenbrenner's ecological framework for human development, where an American psychologist positioned human development in the context of one's multilevel environment (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). The crisis of identity in 1990s gave a new impetus to Bronfenbrenner's model in education, including education to citizenship (Chapter 2 Challenges and Opportunities: Resocialization as a Framework for Global Citizenship Education Anatoli Rapoport).

development. Big attention was paid to the interconnection of the topic UNESCO worked on in the sphere of educational quality and the UN Decade for Education for Sustainable Development.

As the author told me, in the mid 2000s she was a director of a new division, focused on quality education. One of the main aims of the division was defining the quality education, which allowed to bring a lot of units together that never worked together before, among them peace and HRE, HIV/AIDS education, ASP schools and, most importantly, Education for Sustainable Development (ESD), that was at the core of the UN policies at the time. UNESCO's work was aimed at getting the leadership on ESD. Activities on HRE were seen as indivisible from that aim and the division included a separate HRE team (FU1). She chose the term global citizenship for describing the work that UNESCO was leading in the sphere of quality education, because she "felt strongly intellectually" that the topic was highly relevant for the time, when the issue of "agency" was emerging. To her, citizenship appeared to be a good descriptive of agency, local and global (FU1).

Year by year, GCED was strengthening its positions in international educational discourse due to the favorable academic and political environment. At the same time, there were also many of those, who opposed the interpretation of cosmopolitanism as a new universalist orientation for international cooperation. Many acknowledged scholars questioned the relevance of teaching students to living in the mythical world without hegemonies (Mouffe & Martin, 2013; Tambakaki, 2010). Some authors emphasized the exclusiveness of this framework (Kiwan, 2005) and the potential danger of creation of new forms of inequality (Hung, 2012). The contemporary discourse of cosmopolitanism was reborn in English-speaking Western academic context and, therefore, even those, who believed in potential success of GCED, were warning against the danger of recreating the regime of global inequalities by imposing Western ideals in different cultural contexts (Abdi et al., 2015; Andreotti & De Souza, 2012). The rise of the critique of cosmopolitanism since the mid 1990s could be described as a change of the main questions posed regarding the theory of global citizenship:

The critical question hovering over the humanities and social sciences has thus shifted from "How can we live up to the egalitarian ideals of cosmopolitanism" to "Is cosmopolitanism as

it is currently defined an attainable – or even a desirable - ideal in a world like ours?" (Ganim & Legassie, 2013, p. 1).

Considering the contradictions surrounding the notion of global citizenship, what was the crucial factor that actually led to the decision to put GCED at the forefront of UNESCO agenda? This reason was named to me by every of my interviewees as the most important one – the Secretary General's Global Education First Initiative (GEFI), launched in 2012 (UN Secretariat, 2012). The role of Ban Ki-moon was so important for the promotion of GCED that the member of GEFI Secretariat called the introduction of GCED in the UN agenda, first of all, a result of an arbitrary decision of the Secretary General (FU3). She also mentioned that the person, who played the core role for the promotion of GCED in GEFI Secretariat used to work for UNICEF before the Secretariat. For all the aforementioned theoretical developments in academia and in UNESCO in particular, I would not agree that the reason for the promotion of GCED laid solely in the views Ban Ki-moon and the ones who consulted him on this issue. At the same time, one could not deny that the decision was related both to the ambitions of Ban Ki-moon as a Secretary-General and as a representor of South Korea in the UN. During his second mandate, the signature policy of Ban Ki-moon was a development agenda and he wanted to make a special emphasis on education (FU3). Furthermore, South Korea has a long history of cooperation with UNESCO in the sphere of education for international understanding. Asia-Pacific Centre of Education for International Understanding (APCEIU), one of UNESCO institutes, was founded in 2000 and is based in Seoul (UNESCO, 2012). The ideas behind global citizenship have long been on the agenda of the Institute. The opinions of professionals and scholars differ on if it was the Secretary General as a South Korean, who promoted GCED (FU3) or it was South Korea that supported the initiative of the South-Korean Secretary-General (Torres, 2017; U9). Whichever factor came first, the members of UNESCO team confirmed, the influence of South Korea and APCEIU in particular were one of the decisive factors in the promotion of GCED (U3, U5, U7, U9).

The change in political priorities led to the institutional change in UNESCO. The member of GCED team, who has been working on the topic of HRE since 2000 in UNESCO, could give me an approximate overview of how the institutional structure of HRE in Education Sector was changing with time. In fact, every time a new Assistant Director-General for Education takes the position, the structure of the Sector changes according to the views of the ADG

(U6, FU2). As several other interviewees (U9, FU1, FU2), she confirmed that before 2012 there has always been a separate team on peace and HRE. First, it was part of the Division of Education for International Understanding and Cooperation. Then in mid 2000s it was changed to the Division for Quality Education that was headed by the FU1 interviewee. Further, the HRE team moved to the Division for Basic Education. During that time, for various reasons the members of the HRE team left the Organization and the U6 interviewee appeared to be the only HRE specialist left in the Section. However, the decision was made to not to recreate the team, but to move the interviewee to another Section that dealt with health education. The Section of Education for Sustainable Development and Global Citizenship was created shortly after and the interviewee is currently the only HRE specialist in the Section, who is also responsible for multilingual education and supporting member states in development of textbooks free of prejudices and stereotypes. The transition from putting an emphasis on education to human rights and peace to global citizenship took place in 2011 – 2012. It was exactly the time, when HRE team in Education Sector in UNESCO stopped existing. In between 2012 and 2013, after the Secretary-General enounced global citizenship to be one of his priorities, the current Division with the GCED/ESD section within it was created. HRE could not constitute a separate track because the learning objectives of GCED and HRE were seen as coinciding (U9).

Not only external factors, but also the internal ones conditioned the inclusion of GCED in UNESCO policies. The Secretary-General's initiative in education and the development of the post-2015 agenda created the momentum for education in the UN agenda and made visibility one of the essential aims of UNESCO at the time:

It was a signal from the UN that UNSG in his second mandate is prioritizing education. Naturally, UNESCO fits the role of being an implementation arm of these programmes…And if everybody is interested in it, we should capitalize it before some other problem comes in (U7).

Therefore, the decision was made shortly and GCED was soon integrated in UNESCO discourse. Irina Bokova, the UNESCO Director-General at the time, formerly became an Executive Secretary of GEFI (U9). Thus, the Organization's leadership in new educational agenda was assured. Furthermore, following the demands of member states (U5), as well as the EFA and MDGs experiences (U9), policy-makers within the Organization were realizing

the need for new concepts to be used. EFA was largely criticized for making an emphasis on basic education and the notion of relevance, including ESD, GCED, education for human rights, peace and democracy became more acute in terms of post-2015 negotiations (U9). While HRE was becoming less "fashionable" and the "fatigue" from the traditional term was expressed by member states (U7), GCED appeared to be a "catchy label" (U6) and "easy to communicate" (U9) to bring attention to UNESCO role once again. In fact, the words "label" and "brand" appeared about twenty times during my nine interviews with UNESCO professionals and pointed out how important the issue of visibility was for the Organization. "Sometimes you need to freshen up things…in order to be more up-to-date and more attractive to donors" (U5).

Conceptualization of GCED was one of the most important task before UNESCO professionals in terms of the discussion of the post-2015 agenda. The first paper that was supposed to formulate the framework for further negotiations on GCED in UNESCO policies came out in August 2013 (Tawil, 2013). The paper discussed possible definitions of GCED, modes of implementation and potential misinterpretations and concerns that might appear regarding its theoretical unclarity. The author pointed out that global citizenship should be understood as a metaphor in order to avoid misunderstanding with the member states, since in legal terms citizenship remains a domain of the state competence (ibid, p. 2). It is an inclusive notion in the sense that all people are potential global citizens. Clearly, even with such a formulation, the term was missing the pretext of universal applicability. Another factor that could affect the conceptualization of GCED its Western origin (ibid, p. 4). "Civic megatrends" in national curricula proved that GCED would be of actuality for member states, but the data in question came only from the countries of Global North (ibid). UNESCO's work has always been based on certain universal values, applied with the consideration of local contexts, but widely-accepted on the international level (FU3). In order to solve this issue of universality, the author suggested to use rights and obligations originating from the vocabulary of human rights as a fundament for GCED conceptualization (Tawil, 2013, p. 2).

Another issue that complicated the definition of GCED in 2013 was the absence of clear distinction between GCED and ESD (ibid, p. 9). By the time, ESD had long been a part of the UN educational agenda, especially since the UN Decade of ESD (2005 – 2014) (UNESCO, 2005b), while GCED was less present in the UN policies. In fact, as the first UNESCO paper on GCED in the mid 2000s indicates, before 2012 UNESCO emphasized the commonalities

between the two areas, since ESD encompassed "environmental, social and economic 'pillars'" (Tawil, 2013). UNESCO team confirmed that the interrelationship between GCED and ESD presented a problem for both conceptualization and institutionalization of GCED (U7, U9). At the moment, the position of UNESCO is that ESD is focused on the interaction of a human and the environment, i.e. such topics as "climate change; environmental sustainability, caring for the planet; sustainable development, consumption and livelihoods", and GCED is concentrated on "learning to live together": citizenship and democracy education, prevention of violent extremism through education, education to peace and HRE (McEvoy, 2017). It could be said that, while offering various options of definition of GCED and models of its implementation, the author left GCED for being interpreted by states. Human rights served as an ethical foundation for the universality of GCED, necessary for being introduced into UNESCO discourse, but it was not claimed to be integral for the implementation of GCED on the ground (ibid, p. 5).

In the final document of the Technical Consultation on Global Citizenship Education (Seoul, 2013) the contributors discussed the reasons behind the emergence of global citizenship as a notion, a possible definition, suitable for UNESCO activities in the area and potential modes and issues of implementation (UNESCO, 2013c, art. 1.1.1 - 1.1.3). They confirmed that GCED would constitute a part of a post-2015 though the explicit emphasis was made on the transformative model of GCED (ibid, art. 3.1.2), certain references to principles of GCED as education to global competencies for competitiveness in the globalizing economy were also present (ibid, art. 1.2.1). Furthermore, the document mentioned existing conceptual and practical tensions that might affect the implementation of GCED. For example, one debated issue was related to the precedent concept of a desirable common future, where the whole humanity should be directed to. It is absent from the most recent conceptualizations of GCED, but the critique of such a position got reflected in the discussion on "whether global citizenship education should promote global community outcomes or outcomes for individual learners" (ibid, art. 2.2.10). The concern of balancing universality and particularity appeared to be related to the long debate on the prevalence of collective human rights in many non-Western cultures (ibid, art. 2.2.9). Other issues evolved from the term as such – the complexity of the definition of citizenship or the conflict of the state interests and the principles of global citizenship (ibid, art. 2.2.11). Thus, while seen as an approach that corresponds to the current views of the "educational community" on post-2015 agenda, the controversies of GCED that were partly inherited from the previous frameworks and partly

inherent to the notion of global citizenship were recognized by the Organization. "This foundational meeting was very important because…the UNESCO personnel were seeking orientations and clarity on a very large mandate – a mandate that was not only challenging but analytical, political and semiotically difficult, even elusive" (Torres, 2017, p. 8).

The aim of the First UNESCO Forum on GCED (2013) in Bangkok was to reach an agreement on the definition and assessment of a good quality GCED, GCED pedagogies and teacher education, as well as to share policy and research experiences (UNESCO, 2013d). In the result of the Technical Consultation and the Forum, the brochure that concluded on the main topics was published in 2014 (UNESCO, 2014b). Just like previous documents, the brochure indicates that UNESCO left the choice of GCED content and mode of implementation to member states. At the same time, the Organization offered its own view on the optimal approach to GCED, taught through transformative pedagogy and aimed at developing cognitive skills, as well as behaviours and attitudes relative to respectful, equal and solidary cooperation for problem-solving on local and global levels (ibid, p. 17). It meant learning about others rather than moving to other places for educational exchange, obtaining relevant global competencies along with global problem-solving skills (ibid, p. 18). Importantly, the examples of GCED-related activities were selected all over the world, which allowed to present justificatory data not only from the North, but from the universal perspective. The brochure also specified which spheres of UNESCO mandate in education GCED comprised (ibid, p. 27). Education for international understanding and peace, democracy education, intercultural education and HRE constituted the integral part of GCED. It was also the time, when issues of environmental sustainability were considered as not only GCED-related (ibid, p. 27), but the ones that could be implemented through GCED (ibid, p. 37). Thus, since then GCED has been seen as an "umbrella agenda" (U7, U8), embracing all the areas of UNESCO policies in educational content.

As the publication shows, the meetings of 2013 had significant consequences for UNESCO GCED policies. The emphasized need for the involvement of youth in GCED discourse led to the organization of the First Youth Leadership Workshop on GCED, which took place annually since then (UNESCO, 2015g). Furthermore, an online network on GCED resources was created to advance GCED agenda globally (UNESCO, 2014a, p. 40). This network is called GCED Clearinghouse and is hosted by APCEIU (APCEIU, n.d.). Finally, the problem

of GCED measuring was addressed in cooperation with Learning Metrics Task Force of Brookings Institution (Brookings, n.d.).

The Second UNESCO Forum on GCED (2015) in Paris was focused on operationalization of GCED for the post-2015 educational agenda, focused on building "peaceful and sustainable societies" (UNESCO, 2015a, p. 5). The final document of the Forum contains an interesting reflection on the problems and mistakes made in terms of the precedent educational agenda. It was claimed that EFA lacked an emphasis on the content of education and GCED along with ESD, even though difficult to measure, must present an integral part of the post-2015 educational agenda (ibid, p. 10). In order to demonstrate how these considerations were reflected in the Muscat Agreement (2014) and the UN working group proposal (2015) on the post-2015 agenda (ibid, p. 9). While Muscat agreement did not mention HRE, in a working proposal from 2015 HRE constitutes an equal component with GCED and ESD (ibid). If one concentrates only on the analysis of existing documentation without knowing about institutional changes and other influential factors that led to the shift from HRE to GCED, it would be difficult to say which policy area would be prioritized in UNESCO after 2015. However, the final report of the Second Forum clarifies the implications behind the official formulas.

GCED was supposed to become an approach that would address the critique directed at previous UNESCO policies on the content of education. GCED was intentionally left without a precise definition and the contextualization was supposed to become a concern of member states. "There was a lot of discussion on what is this. From the institutional perspective, there was a concern to try to not to give a definition per se, but rather to give the indications and not to sort of be reinventing the wheel…" (R3). The universality of human rights was supposed to serve as an ethical foundation and justification for the applicability of GCED (UNESCO, 2015a, p. 11). Thus, unlike HRE, GCED was supposed to become universal, but flexible (ibid, p. 11). Civic matters as political matters were supposed to become not a matter of debate, but of a dialogue (ibid, p. 6) and "challenge the status quo" at the same time (ibid, p. 6). This conceptualization was very different from human rights discourse in UNESCO and the whole UN, where the existence of the conflict on human rights issues was recognized. In order to justify the universality of human rights, they were distinguished from the particularistic debatable sphere of political (Tambakaki, 2010). GCED was supposed to integrate the political into universal framework, thus, avoiding the concept of conflict from

the agenda. Consequently, it could be said that GCED evolved from the voluntarist view of cosmopolitanism, which implied the prevalence of universal over political (Held, 2013).

The discussions of the two Forums found their reflection in Incheon Declaration and Framework for Action for the implementation of the post-2015 educational agenda (World Education Forum, 2015). Through the document the promotion of human rights along with global citizenship was recognized as equally important, but regarding the concrete commitments, ESD and GCED were indicated as leading frameworks for the quality content in education (ibid, art. 9). As it had been planned since the First Forum in 2013, GCED included the traditional areas of UNESCO policies directly related to its Constitution: peace and HRE, intercultural education and education for international understanding (ibid, art. 62). The final version of the Sustainable Goal 4.7, which framed the understanding of the relevant content for education in the post-2015 agenda, sounded as follows:

By 2030, ensure that all learners acquire knowledge and skills needed to promote sustainable development, including, among others, through education for sustainable development and sustainable lifestyles, human rights, gender equality, promotion of a culture of peace and non-violence, global citizenship and appreciation of cultural diversity and of culture's contribution to sustainable development (World Education Forum, 2015, p. 48).

Declaration and Framework for Action also included indicators regarding the SDG 4.7. The measurement issue has been mentioned in every document relative for the conceptualization of GCED. During the discussion of the new agenda the goals that did not have an assessment mechanism were eliminated (U9). Therefore, for the goal 4.7 UNESCO offered the 1974 Recommendation, which was supposed to allow to measure the "Extent to which (i) global citizenship education and (ii) education for sustainable development, including gender equality and human rights, are mainstreamed at all levels in: (a) national education policies, (b) curricula, (c) teacher education and (d) student assessment" (UN, 2016b, p. 7). Interestingly, one of the indicators in Incheon Declaration was devoted to the measurement of HRE implementation, i.e. "extent to which the framework on the World Programme on Human Rights Education is implemented nationally" (World Education Forum, 2015, p. 79). Even though 1974 Recommendation, especially in combination with recent UN instruments, such as the Declaration on Human Rights Education and Training (UN, 2012), would provide

a relevant mechanism for the measurement of the indicator, it did not appear in the final list of SDG indicators. Thus, as a consequence of institutional and conceptual integration, in terms of the evaluation HRE was also made a part of GCED.

Even though the final draft of the post-2015 agenda was adopted in September 2015 during the UN Summit for Sustainable Development in New York, as the text of the Declaration shows it was basically in Incheon that GCED and HRE conceptualization was finalized. Therefore, having obtained a consensus on the definition and aims of GCED, since July 2015 UNESCO has been organizing GCED workshops on the national level (UNESCO, n.d.-c).

It might seem that Delors Commission report was published recently. However, significant changes in international educational policies as well as the creation of a new international educational agenda made UNESCO specialists create a research group in 2013 that would work on the next report on education for the XXIst century. "Rethinking Education: towards a global common good?" was published in 2015 and discussed the development of educational policies in the world and steps to take to address the contemporary challenges (UNESCO, 2015c). Among the discussed issues was the intense process of privatization, the changing context of international aid in education, as well as the altered role of the state in the formation of national educational policies, including citizenship education. The authors claimed that education must adapt to new realities of culturally diverse societies resulting from increasing migration, the informational interconnectedness of the world through media spaces and "the emergence of transnational forms of citizenship" (ibid, p. 66). Just like some of the first UNESCO documents on GCED, the report included the reference to the common "shared destiny" of humanity that education is to promote (ibid, p. 66). The gap between human rights respect on the national level and the international human rights instruments ratified by the UN member states was recognized as one of the essential problems on the way to sustainable just societies (ibid, p. 25). However, the consequential integrity of HRE for the Sustainable Development agenda was not mentioned in the report.

In 2015, UNESCO published possibly the most important guide for the conceptualization and implementation of UNESCO vision of GCED at the moment – "Global Citizenship Education: topics and learning objectives" (TLOs) (UNESCO, 2015b). The document finalized the results of discussions on what GCED was and how it could contribute to the formation of relevant educational content. GCED is seen as a transformative approach, aimed at "building the knowledge, skills, values and attitudes that learners need to be able to

contribute to a more inclusive, just and peaceful world" (ibid, p. 15). GCED employs methodologies and concepts already used in other areas, such as HRE and peace education and education for international understanding (ibid, p. 15). Thus, GCED plays a role of an agenda embracing precedent traditional UNESCO policies on the content of education. Even though GCED is ethically founded on human rights, HRE does not necessarily constitute an integral part of GCED implementation. The earliest reference that the document gives is the Delors report, since GCED is claimed to be based on the principles established by the Delors Commission – learning to know, to do, to be and to live together (ibid, p. 22). However, the key learning outcomes of GCED to a significant extent resemble the ones presented in the 1993 UNICEF document, where GCED was mentioned for the first time, and the IBE document from 1995[61]. Therefore, TLOs concluded on the process of development of the GCED concept in the UN polices that had lasted since the beginning of the 1990s.

In 2015 one more topic that was not initially seen as integral to GCED became a part of the agenda. Prevention of Violent Extremism through Education (PVE – E) was considered to be a "soft power" approach for countering "recruitment and radicalization to violent extremism of youth" (UNESCO, 2015a, p. 1). PVE-E was an emerging agenda in UN in general and HRE was recognized as an essential component of PVE-E by the Secretary-General (UN, 2015a) and by UNESCO (UNESCO, 2015a). Both UNESCO guides on PVE-E insist on the importance of not only making human rights an ethical foundation of education, but teaching concrete principles and norms of international human rights law (UNESCO, 2016a). Formally, unlike GCED in general, PVE-E approach must necessarily include HRE. Currently, both institutionally and financially PVE-E constitutes the most accentuated area of GCED policies in UNESCO (U2).

The Sixth Consultation on the implementation of the 1974 Recommendation, "the main source of data to chart progress towards the achievement of Target 4.7", started in 2016, when the questionnaires were sent to the national authorities, responsible for education (UNESCO, 2016c). GCED and ESD, institutionally dominant in UNESCO policies, in terms of the questionnaire constituted equal educational components with such areas as HRE, peace education and education for international understanding (UNESCO, 2016b). In fact, it was claimed that these were the traditional areas of UNESCO policies that "have evolved to

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[61] See Appendix 6 of the thesis.

include other topics related to education on sustainable development, climate change, global citizenship, preventing violent extremism, or others, which are also closely related to the original principles of the 1974 Recommendation" (ibid, p. 1). Politically and institutionally the situation was reverse – all areas of UNESCO policies on the content of education, evolving from its Constitution, now were a part of GCED. The questionnaire was formulated in accordance with the target 4.7, but not the realities of UNESCO policies. However, this explanation can evolve from the fact that 1974 Recommendation does not refer to many principles, integral to GCED, such as democracy or civic participation. During previous consultations, the actuality of the 1974 Recommendation mechanism was assured by referring to other more recent UN instruments on the content of education, such as Montreal Declaration in 1997 or the World Programme for Human Rights Education in 2009. In 2017, the report on the 1974 Recommendation implementation referred only to internal UNESCO regulations (UNESCO, 2017b). The obtained quantitative data was presented at the 39th General Conference. While the majority of member states adopted the report without critique, there was an objection to the absence of explanation on the concrete content behind the presented numbers (U5).

6.4 "Pro et contra" of HRE integration into GCED agenda

Currently HRE is integrated in GCED agenda institutionally and conceptually. In certain national and regional contexts HRE is a dominant approach, but even though the field offices report it as HRE, in the final headquarters release it will be reported as GCED (U8). Because of the sensitivity of several member states to the topics of human rights and gender equality, these issues are no longer accentuated in terms of UNESCO vision of GCED (U8). Generally, human rights constitute an ethical foundation of GCED, but are not required to be integrated in the educational content for being as considered as corresponding to GCED criteria (U8). Furthermore, as it was mentioned before, since 2012 there has been no separate HRE team in UNESCO Education Sector (U6). Such an approach has been justified by the fact that since GEFI HRE has been seen as a GCED constituent (U9). This definition evolved from the voluntarist point of view on the integrity of cosmopolitanism and human rights: most of the cited GCED documents included references to the work of the authors advocating the voluntarist concept of global citizenship, i.e. universal ethical and even institutional

framework, aimed at addressing global problems and founded on the international human rights regime. Historical analysis of existing documentation on the development of HRE and GCED policies, as well as opinions expressed by educational professionals on HRE and GCED integration allow me to distinguish "pros", as well as "contras" of this choice.

Many UNESCO professionals thought that one of the most important advantages of GCED over HRE is its novelty. As they claimed, the interest to HRE has gradually declined over time for various reasons (U5, U7, U9). World Programme on HRE, the first general UN plan of action on HRE, signified the increasing attention for HRE in the beginning of 2000s (U6). It broadened the HRE audience through formal and non-formal educational domains and the variety of focus groups (U6). However, for the last several years HRE has been seen as a sensitive issue (U4). It could be related to the fact that HRE is more "sharp-edged" and is based on concrete legal obligations (U5, U9), while GCED as a concept is wider (U9) and "not prescriptive" (U7). One of the researchers called GCED a "wishy-washy concept about values and interconnectedness", while the notion of human rights is related to a legal framework (R3). Therefore, at the moment, for UNESCO it is politically correct to talk about GCED more than about HRE (U6, R3).

The absence of strict definitions of GCED and consequently of obligatory content for its implementation allows GCED to contain all the related UNESCO terms, such as education for international understanding, peace and human rights, in the same framework (FU1, R3). GCED as a conceptual "umbrella" is an institutionally and politically comfortable approach for the concentration of UNESCO activities in these areas from the stage of conceptualization to reporting on their implementation (U5, U7, U8). UNESCO professionals see this as an opportunity to facilitate negotiations with member states, giving them more freedom for the relevant interpretation of GCED regarding the local context (U1 – U9). One of the interviewed scholars emphasized that in certain contexts GCED appears to be more suitable for the implementation in schools (R1), while another researcher shared her experiences on the irrelevance of the term itself for the contexts she was acquainted with (R3). However, some of them also mentioned the potential problem of "hidden agendas" (U7) coming up in the promotion of GCED on the national level, which could contradict UNESCO GCED vision (U1, U3, U7). The scholar, specialized in GCED in higher education, claimed that he encountered references to UNESCO frameworks in the description of programmes, the

content and aims of which did not have much in common with UNESCO GCED principles (R2).

Another important aspect of GCED agenda is a wide support from different stakeholders. As I discussed above, GCED evolved from the academic discourse on cosmopolitanism that was claimed to be a solution for problematic political and ethical identity of an individual in the globalizing world (Dower, 2010; Starkey, 2012). Many scholars support the idea of integrity of cosmopolitanism/global citizenship and human rights (Dower, 2003; Held, 1995), including authoritative philosophers (Flynn, 2003; Martha C. Nussbaum, 1996). As one of my interviewees said, working in the UN makes one "exposed to different ways of thinking" and gives an opportunity to choose the most relevant academic "trail" for the activities of the Organization at the moment. The term GCED has a long history in the UN educational discourse and the work on its conceptualization has been led since 1990s (Godwin, 1993; Noor Nkake, 1996). In time, for various reasons, the "voluntarist" concept of GCED became the "trail" for thinking on the quality content in education. Furthermore, some influential member states, such as Canada and South Korea, politically and financially support GCED (U8). Even though they have a different understanding of ethical foundations of GCED and of the desirable outcomes, both countries integrate GCED in their curriculum (U3).

As one of my interviewees emphasized, not only political, but conceptual integrity of HRE and GCED matters. However, it is the questioning of the theoretical coherence which appears most often in the critique of the voluntarist approach to human rights and cosmopolitanism. Human rights are based on the principle of universality, while any kind of citizenship is exclusive (Mouffe, 1993). Human rights as universally applicable could serve for addressing the inequalities evolving from different political statuses of individuals, but these notions are incompatible within the same framework (Kiwan, 2005; Mouffe, 1992; K. Nash, 2009; Tambakaki, 2010). One more essential difference between HRE and GCED, which at the same time justifies the political relevance of GCED for UNESCO, is the absence of conflictual pretext in GCED (Monaghan & Spreen, 2017). Many HRE documents cited in this chapter discuss problems laying at the foundation of human rights violations, such as all types of inequalities, including interstate inequalities and existing power relations, conditioned by the position of states in the system of global capitalism, or the absence of political will of the governments to implement basic human rights norms they officially adhered to. This conflictual discourse behind human rights is inevitable, since the state is the

main defender and the main violator of human rights. Therefore, in order to address the injustice in their countries individuals must debate the existing legal and political structures. GCED is also officially aimed at challenging the status quo, but through dialogue and not debate (UNESCO, 2015d). However, it is the muting of actual reasons behind many global problems that might lead to reproducing inequalities and injustice through GCED (Abdi et al., 2015; Andreotti & De Souza, 2012). Educating individuals to the world of silenced hegemonies, conflicts and citizenship without debates is seen by some scholars as hardly relevant for their political participation and challenging the status quo (Mouffe, 1993). The sceptical view on "elusive and exclusive global citizen" was present within UNESCO structures as well (Koyama, 2015). When comparing GCED with precedent approaches, UNESCO professionals pointed out a certain discursive shift towards human capital (U8), and a more intense emphasis on competencies and skills (U9). Without necessary safeguards, including the emphasis on human rights as a crucial value foundation of UNESCO (FU1), this kind of framing does not offer any transformative tools (Monaghan & Spreen, 2017). A UNESCO intern told me that to her "global citizen sounds like someone, who can afford an Airbnb". One of my interviewees, citizen of one of the richest countries of the Global North, gave an example of a global citizen as someone who is ready to buy more expensive clothes if they are produced sustainably (U2).

These conceptual contradictions might have practical implications. If one considers the possibility that GCED does not correspond to the content or even some historical principles of HRE, many aspects of current HRE policies become problematic. For example, as it was mentioned, many UNESCO field offices, such as Costa-Rica, Brazil or Chile work with HRE without mentioning GCED. These activities will be finally reported as GCED (U8). Nevertheless, if GCED and HRE are incompatible, how could one be reported as another? "The problem I see is that I don't think that global citizenship and human rights is the same" (FU1).

The non-binding nature of GCED is seen by many UNESCO professionals (U5, U8, U9) as advantageous in negotiations with member states and, thus, HRE is "downplayed" within GCED (U8). The UNESCO HRE platform, a mirror of the structure established in the OHCHR in Geneva, criticizes current conceptualization and implementation of GCED as shadowing HRE (U8, U9). The scholars I interviewed also believe that HRE is not clearly expressed within final conceptualization of GCED (R1-R3). One of them referred specifically

to TLOs, affirming that within GCED HRE was "not reinforced explicitly or comprehensively", being reflected only as an ethical GCED foundation (R1). As one of the members of GCED team put it, "if you don't name things clearly, your message can be dissolved" (U3). At the same time, when talking about the institutional fundaments of GCED, all of them named mainly UDHR. The head of GCED team also mentioned the recent Declaration on HRE and Training (2011) (U8). Therefore, HRE does not serve as only ethical, but also as an institutional foundation of GCED. The absence of clear indication of integrity of HRE for any GCED policies might be seen as an institutional and legal issue.

Once again, the matter is not merely theoretical. 1974 Recommendation is the main measurement mechanism for the SDG 4.7. In terms of the previous reports, the actuality of Recommendation was assured by combining it with other UNESCO or general UN mechanisms. For example, for framing the interconnectedness of democracy and human rights in terms of the 1997 sexennial report (UNESCO, 1997b), the Recommendation was put together with the Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action (1993), the Plan of Action of the United Nations Decade for Human Rights Education (1994-2005) and the Declaration and Integrated Framework of Action of the 44th International Conference on Education (ICE) (1994). In 2009 the report on the 1974 Recommendation referred to the ongoing World Programme on HRE (UNESCO, 2009). There is no doubt that GCED was a significant turn for UNESCO policies as a new concept and as a part of the new post-2015 agenda. Nonetheless, the Sixth Consultation report on the 1974 Recommendation did not include reference to any other documents but the 1974 Recommendation and the target 4.7. Neither the text of the goal 4.7, which only enumerates the areas of UNESCO competency in relation to the content of education, nor the text of the 1974 Recommendation, which does not mention democracy or global citizenship among the monitored topics, are adapted to reflect or clearly define the current realities of UNESCO policies. References to Incheon Declaration and the Declaration on HRE and Training, for example, would be highly relevant for guaranteeing the legal actuality of GCED. This issue was recognized within UNESCO. It was claimed in the instructions sent to the member states regarding the latest reporting on the 1974 Recommendation, that the Recommendation evolved and included many contemporary topics, such as ESD, GCED and PVE-E (UNESCO, 2016b). However, in January 2018 it was mentioned that reporting on the 1974 Recommendation did not necessarily imply reporting on GCED or ESD (UNESCO, 2018, p. 13).

The emphasis on the interconnectedness of UNESCO policies with the UN frameworks was always one of the essential considerations in legal framing of UNESCO operational instruments (P.W. Jones & Coleman, 2005). For example, the idea of elaborating a convention on HRE and training has been for a long time discussed within the Organization (UNESCO, 1988b). However, the binding instrument on HRE was considered unnecessary, since the provision on HRE already exists in terms of the ICESCR. In 2012, when GCED was initiated in terms of GEFI, GCED was a part of the whole-UN agenda. After the adoption of the post-2015 goals, GCED became mainly an internal UNESCO area of work (U1 – U9). Therefore, it is important to highlight the integrity of GCED to the international policies and, thereupon, to the multilateral instruments, which might be especially relevant in case of PVE-E.

Finally, the essential concern that some scholars and professionals share, is that GCED did not solve the important problems pointed out in terms of the precedent programmes and that were supposed to be addressed in the SDGs (MacNaughton & Koutsioumpas, 2017). The issue of cultural relevance remained as acute for GCED as it was for HRE (U2 - U5). The Western origins of GCED found their reflection in the main guide for GCED monitoring, which is seen by many professionals as relevant mainly for Global North (Brookings, 2017). The broad conceptualization of GCED, branded "the way that you don't know what it is" (U3) resulted in a lack of understanding of the term on the national level (R1). The notion that evolved from the Anglophone discourse on relevant civic education is also difficult to translate (U2, U3, U6). In French and in Spanish, for example, GCED turned into "Education for World Citizenship"[62], which corresponds more to the notion used in UNESCO in 1950s than to contemporary framing of cosmopolitanism. Critique of the traditional top-down approach was also not addressed in terms of GCED (MacNaughton & Koutsioumpas, 2017) - beneficiaries were not involved in policy formulation (U7). In that sense, GCED repeats the well-known pattern: the knowledge concepts, implemented in international organizations rarely have anything to do with everyday experiences of people (Haas, 1991). Moreover, GCED did not lead to a solution of two problems, most often mentioned in the negotiations with member states - teacher capacities and monitoring (U8, U9). Thus, GCED inherited certain issues of precedent frameworks and did not correspond to expectations of many regarding the content of education within the post-2015 agenda – the improvement of

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[62] "L'*Éducation* à la *citoyenneté mondiale*" in French and "*Educación* para la *ciudadanía mundial*" in Spanish.

assessment mechanisms, the application of top-down approach for assuring the contextual relevance of the goal and the focus on universal HRE (MacNaughton & Koutsioumpas, 2017).

6.5 Conclusions

The historical development of the concept of HRE and UNESCO HRE policies was closely related to the chronological context. Processes in the sphere of international relations, academic trends, as well as factors internal to the Organization influenced the formulation of the HRE and GCED policies and the prioritized areas of their implementation. While HRE has both terminological and political roots in the history of the Organization, GCED as a programme for implementation was integrated in UNESCO policies only in 2012. However, the document analysis demonstrated that the development of the notion of GCED started long before, including the work of UNICEF and IBE. Following the process of GCED conceptualization, it becomes clear that HRE was supposed to become an integral part of GCED because of their perceived integrity, evolving from the voluntarist view on global citizenship.

The institutional integration occurred in 2012, while the final conceptualization and theoretical inclusion took place in 2015. In the opinion of educational specialists and scholars, this approach has positive and negative sides. Theoretically, politically and legally the combination of GCED and HRE within the same framework under the general term of GCED could be seen either as a logical step in UNESCO policies or a radical and ill-founded turn from historical HRE approach. What became clear in the result of the interviews, the integration of HRE into GCED framework cannot be claimed as unproblematic.

The main rationale behind the inclusion of HRE into GCED and the prioritizing of the latter is political and pragmatic, since GCED is a less sensitive topic and is not based on any concrete legal obligations (R3). GCED might not have solved actual problems encountered by educational specialists in the sphere of quality content in education, but at the moment it is the "marketing hype" that works (U7). When I asked the opinion of HRE professionals on the potential problems that for GCED to supersede HRE, they responded that this will never happen (U6, R1, R3). They had several reasons to make this claim. "HRE has close links

with the international system, including not only the UN but also global civil society. This is the future" (R1). Human rights have been broadly accepted in political terms and have become a "civic religion" around the world (R3). Many states invite UNESCO to return to the dominance of HRE in the educational agenda because of the existence of concrete definitions and well-elaborated normative instruments on HRE (U6).

7 Conclusion

The thesis was aimed at finding the rationale behind the inclusion of HRE into GCED framework in UNESCO policies through the historical analysis of UNESCO documentation, as well as through interviewing professionals and scholars, whose work is or used to be related to UNESCO GCED and HRE policies. Their opinion also allowed to discuss potential positive and negative implications of the merge of HRE and GCED. The comparative perspective of the study, which laid at the foundation of the theoretical framework, the historical overview, the analysis and discussion allowed to emphasize the issue of compatibility of the notions of global citizenship and human rights. Despite certain limitations, indicated in the methodology, I believe the aims of research, pointed out in the introduction were achieved and research questions found their answers. I believe, I was able to justify my position and vision of the decision-making processes by presenting the data, originating from the Organization itself and from the experts.

Two fundamental parts of the thesis are the historical background and the chapter on analysis and discussion, since they demonstrate the continuous evolution of human rights and global citizenship before the creation of UNESCO and after their integration into UNESCO discourse. In the conclusion, I would like to summarize the main findings from the two chapters. The carried out historical overview of the development of the concepts of cosmopolitanism and human rights, as well as of the human rights and cosmopolitan education allows to make conclusions from the comparative perspective. As I discussed in my thesis, cosmopolitanism and human rights have different theoretical origins. Initially cosmopolitanism evolved from the Cynic idea of life not limited by civic duties and norms. Further it was developed by Stoics, especially late Stoics of the Roman Empire, who considered cosmopolitan to be a conditional status of the virtuous, who, by obtaining the rights moral education, equated with the principles of Stoicism, could be called cosmopolitans. The concept of cosmopolitanism was developed in the context of Greek-Macedonian conquests and the establishment of Hellenistic states, based on Greek culture, in Northern Africa and Asia and later in the Roman Empire, which itself served as a symbol of cosmopolitan oecumene. As for the origins of human rights, the idea of the universality of certain legal regulations, which must exist for the protection of social order, was born with the first civilizations and was institutionalized in the first laws. It found its further theoretical

development in the concept of natural law, elaborated by Classical philosophers and later Antique philosophers. They claimed that the highest order of law existed independently from human intervention, but it could only be discovered by perfect reasoning available only to few. Thus, at the early stage of its development the natural law theory could also hardly be called inclusive.

Further, I analyzed the development of medieval cosmopolitanism and human rights. I the Middle Ages the idea of cosmopolitanism could be seen as the concept of tolerance towards different religious traditions and cooperation with the culture of "other". Most interestingly, these ideas were formulated mainly in the situations of confrontation, up to the armed conflicts. Medieval cosmopolitanism was based on the questioning of one's own identity, based on the religious affiliation and, thus, questioning the construction of the "other" in one's own culture. However, the term as such was forgotten and, therefore, could not be considered as a direct continuation of the Stoic tradition. Theory of natural law evolved within the monotheistic religious traditions and Christian, Jewish and Muslim interpretations were closely interrelated, since evolved from the philosophical tradition of the Antiquity. The highest law order was seen as the divine law, unique for the whole humanity which was reflected in human virtues, given to humanity by God. Thus, theologists claimed that the rights of a human did not belong to one by birth, but were given by the God's will.

As I indicated in the historical background, the Enlightenment became the defining turn in the evolution of human rights and cosmopolitanism. Secularization of the notion of rights led to the transfer of the interpretation and the defense of rights under the control of the state. It was the state, which was now supposed to protect the rights of the citizens and the citizens were to realize their civic duties. The power given to state was justified by the fact that these were the citizens, who in the end defined the laws, which would organize the life of the society. This order was institutionalized in French and American Constitutions. However, the exclusivity of civic rights was also fixed in these new systems: less than half of the population had full access to the guaranteed rights. The term of cosmopolitanism emerged in relation to the Cynic's idea of independency of a philosopher from the normative constraints of the state and in a more Stoic sense in the philosophy of Kant, whose role I emphasized. In contemporary literature Kant's idea of a "world citizenship right" is often associated with the contemporary system of human rights (Nussbaum, 1997). However, this analogy could only be justified without the consideration of the context in which Kant wrote about his idea of the

"world citizenship" and how he wrote about it. Kant's "world citizenship right" signified the establishment of a desirable standard, when a citizen of another country would be hospitably accepted in the country of his entry. At the same time, the state of entry had a prioritized right of denying the access to a foreigner.

Considering the conclusions I made on cosmopolitanism and human rights in the Enlightenment, it was important for me to point out that the next 150 years in history of human rights were related to the fight against inequality and nationalism, inherited from the Enlightenment. First success could be seen in the establishment of the norms of humanitarian law – "rights of war", which were widely accepted in the system of international relations. However, after the end of the WWI, they did not lead to any sanctions for the violation. It was important for me to understand that the situation changed only with the end of the WWII, when it became clear that, in order to create the effective security and peace system, human rights law as a code of generally applicable regulations, must constitute the international concern. Only then the idea of human rights, as we know it today, was born – the understanding of rights as inherent to all human beings with no distinction, protected by the state according to the international legal instruments. In 1948, the universality of human rights was accepted by the majority of the members of the UN not only in the sense of their internationality, but, most importantly, in the sense of their inclusiveness. In 1966, the regulations took a legally binding character. Moreover, the right to education and, its integral part, the right to human rights education also became integral to the human rights system. If before 1948 the theory of rights could be studied essentially in terms of higher education, from thereon they were supposed to be taken into consideration on every stage of education. Education and the principles of the right in and through education became a part of the international agenda and of international educational research. When comparing the vision of cosmopolitanism and human rights in the first half of the XXth century, I realized that cosmopolitanism, in its cultural, political and educational dimensions actually remained exclusive. Sovereignty of the state remained the main principle of international policies and the discourse of cooperation of "civilized" cultures, based on the acceptable moral views, as it was originally established by the Antique philosophers, remained dominant during the Cold War. Unlike human rights, cosmopolitanism was never institutionalized as an ethical, political or legal framework.

UNESCO was created in 1945, when contemporary human rights took their place in the international relations discourse. The Organization played a significant role in the preparatory works of the first international human rights instrument and with the adoption of the UDHR became the main actor in the promotion of human rights knowledge in the world. As the analysis of UNESCO HRE documentation demonstrated, UNESCO HRE policies developed along with the binding UN human rights instruments, which established the right to human rights education. For decades, UNESCO HRE policies included formal and non-formal education, teacher training and professional human rights education. HRE became a foundation of UNESCO ASP schools curriculum, one of the main projects in UNESCO history. Following the emerging areas of the UN work, HRE addressed such issues as decolonization and disarmament. In 1974 UNESCO adopted the Recommendation concerning Education for International Understanding, Cooperation and Peace and Education relating to Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, the core monitoring instrument of the implementation of HRE in the world. The end of the Cold War, the needs of newly formed post-Soviet states and wide official recognition of democratic values made democracy education an integral part of UNESCO HRE agenda. In 1993, after the World Conference on Human Rights in Vienna, HRE became a universal concern and one of the essential spheres of the UN policies. The UN HRE Decade (1995 – 2005) and later the World Programme for HRE (2006 – ongoing) assured the attention given to HRE at the UN level. HRE took an important place in terms of UNESCO EFA programme as highly important for the definition of quality education. Nevertheless, I discovered that conceptually and institutionally by 2015 HRE was integrated into new GCED agenda.

From the analysis of UNESCO sources, it became clear that GCED as a term also had deep roots in UNESCO documentation. In 1950s education for world citizenship was the first concept used for defining the content of the ASP schools curriculum. However, the notion was abandoned soon because of the elitist understanding of cosmopolitanism and political implications. In 1979 GCED appeared in one of UNESCO publications, but was not accentuated or defined. The terms cosmopolitanism and global citizenship reappeared in the educational discourse in 1990s as a response to identity crisis in changing globalizing world and discussions on the relevant educational content in the US and later in the UK. Unlike preceding approaches to cosmopolitanism, contemporary authors interpreted it as a potentially universal ethical framework, based on the principles of inclusiveness, equality and human rights. In the UN policies GCED appeared for the first time in the 1993 UNICEF

document, where the content of GCED was equalized with education for development in general. The influence of that very first conceptualization of GCED can be traced up to 2015. The first UNESCO institution to discuss GCED was the International Bureau of Education (IBE), which offered GCED as a new term adapted to new educational realities, but reconfirming UNESCO commitment to its Constitution. In 2006 GCED was offered as a framework that would embrace UNESCO activities in relation to sustainable development. Along with academic trends and presence of the term in internal UN discourse, the decisive factor for the promotion of GCED was the initiative of the Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon in Education, who made GCED one of his priorities in education. UNESCO took the leading position in the promotion of GCED and organized several meetings for conceptualizing GCED for the new post-2015 agenda. GCED was seen as an agenda, based on traditional UNESCO principles and frameworks in education, including HRE as an ethical foundation, but free for the contextual interpretations of states of "learning to live together" (UNESCO, 2015a). Following the process of conceptualization of GCED, it becomes clear that HRE was supposed to become an integral part of GCED because of their perceived integrity, evolving from the voluntarist view on global citizenship. The institutional integration occurred in 2012, while the final conceptualization and theoretical inclusion took place in 2015.

GCED is a non-prescriptive framework, which embraces all the areas of UNESCO policies on educational content. Its flexibility is politically advantageous and facilitates negotiations with member states by not putting an emphasis on such sensitive topics and human rights or gender equality. Furthermore, GCED has a profound support among authoritative scholars; influential member states and has a long story of use within the UN. As for the disadvantages, conceptual integrity of HRE and GCED remains a debated issue in the literature. The attempt to combine the notion of citizenship, which is always exclusive, and the universality of human rights, muting of many problems behind the injustices and silencing the actual conflict leads, in the opinion of some scholars, to education for living in the elusive world, where the status quo can be challenged without debates or open conflicts. This kind of education might serve for reproducing the inequalities GCED is supposed to address. "Downplaying" HRE within GCED can have both ethical and legal implications. Considering the historical importance for UNESCO to emphasize the integrity of its activities in all areas to the UN policies in general, explicit references to actual HRE instruments are necessary within GCED. As educational professionals and scholars pointed out, GCED as a part of the post-2015 agenda did not solve many important issues, such as monitoring, top-

down approach, relevant contextualization and teacher capacity-building. The Anglophone origins of the term led to the problem of translation.

All these conclusions evolved from a long reflection on the current UNESCO HRE and GCED policies, on my subjective vision and the objective facts, on the opinion of a master student and the expertise of professionals in the field. I strongly believe in the role that UNESCO played in the formation of international ethical agenda as such, in the definition of the problems the humanity was encountering and in offering educational solutions to these problems. From my own experience, I suppose the reputation of the Organization in this sphere, apart from all the other doubtless assets, is due to the vision of the Organization as an open arena for discussion of the issues that concern all the actors involved. I would like to see this work as one of the voices in the dialogue on the past, present and the future of human rights and global citizenship education in UNESCO.

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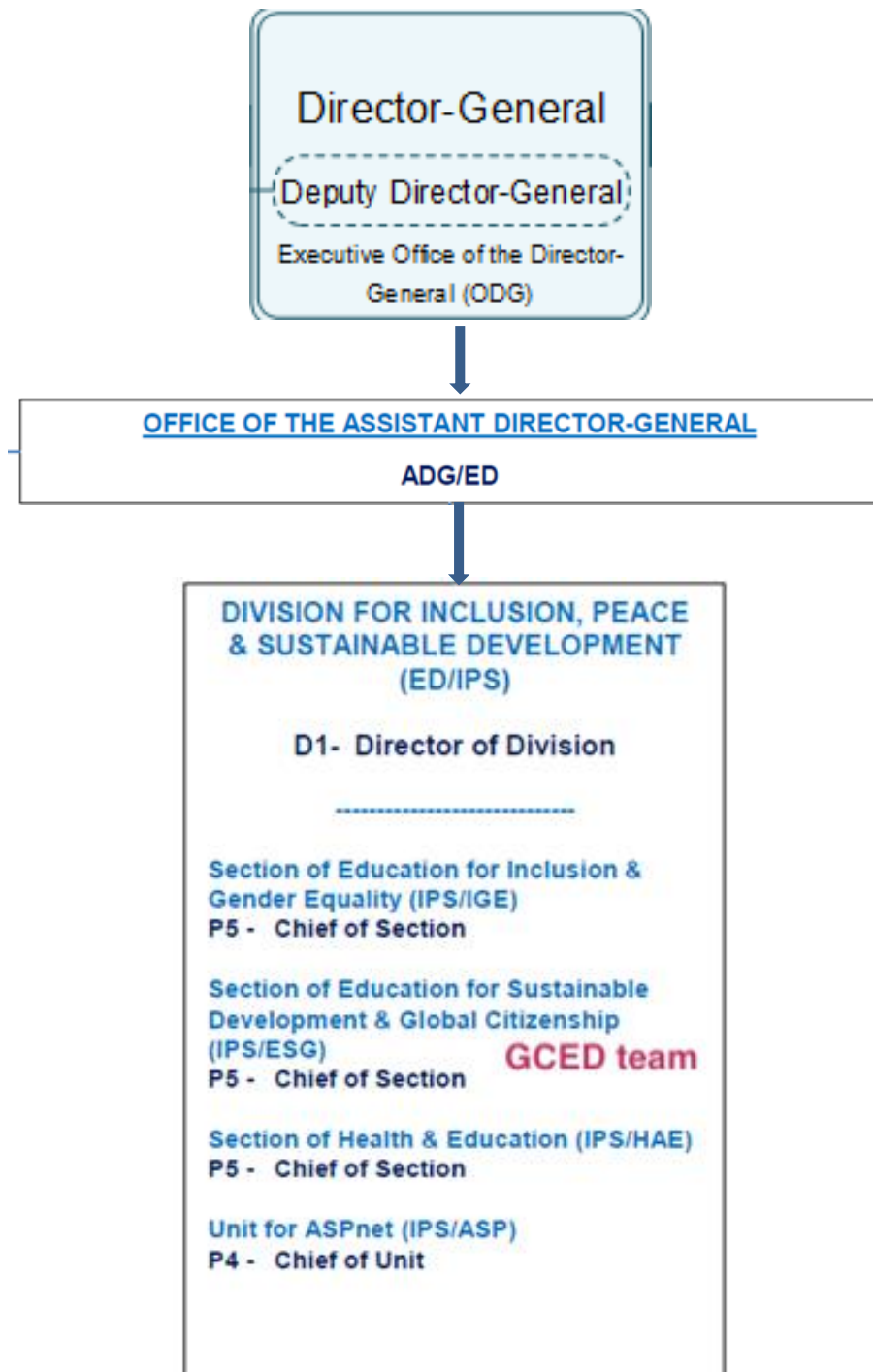
Appendix

Appendix 1. Theoretical framework: the interrelationship between human rights and cosmopolitanism

	Voluntarists	Sceptics
Ideas: Global citizenship as…	**Institutional** (Brysk & Shafir, 2004; Held, 2010) **Ethical** (Abdi & Schultz, 2008; Dower, 2003; Starkey, 2012; Tomhave, 2013)	**Elusive** (Kymlicka, 1994; Nash, 2009; Slaughter, 2010) **Exclusive** (Hung, 2012; Kiwan, 2005; Mouffe, 2013; Nash, 2012)
Historical analysis of the origins of cosmopolitanism	**Diogenes** as a founder **Stoicism** as universalism **Kant's** cosmopolitan right as a project of universal right	**Diogenes** in exile **Stoic** model as Greek colonial system or Roman Empire **Kant's** idea of right as conditional and exclusive
Philosophy of cosmopolitanism	Jürgen Habermas Martha Nussbaum	Michel Foucault Giorgio Agamben

<u>Sources</u>: see the corresponding literature in the theoretical framework chapter and the list of references

Appendix 2. UNESCO Organigram. The position of GCED team in UNESCO structure

Appendix 3. List of interviewees

Interviewees category	Code in the thesis	Relation to the Organization
Current UNESCO employees at the Section of Education for Sustainable Development and Global Citizenship Education	U1 – U5	Interns, Consultants and Project Officers of the team
	U6 – U9	Senior positions in GCED team
Former UNESCO employees, acquainted with the HRE and GCED activities	FU1	Mid 2000s. Director of the Division for the Promotion of Quality Education. Author of the first article on GCED in UNESCO policies.
	FU2	End of 1990s – end of 2000s. Senior positions in various departments of UNESCO
	FU3	2010s. Member of UNESCO liaison office in New York and Member of the Global Education First Initiative Secretariat (GEFI).
Researchers specialized on issues related to HRE and GCED	R1	Researcher on Human Rights Education and Education for Democratic Citizenship. Cooperating with UNESCO for the past 15 years as an HRE specialist.

	R2	Researcher on Global Citizenship Education in Higher Education. Connected to UNESCO activities through membership in the International Association of Universities.
	R3	Researcher on Citizenship and Human Rights Education. One of the adherents of a "sceptic" point of view on the compatibility of HRE and GCED.

Appendix 4. Interview guide

Interview questions fall into three major topics:

1.GCED – its content, definitions, its history within UNESCO policies

2.HRE as a concept and its history within UNESCO policies

3.Questions related to the combination of HRE and GCE

Personal information:

What is your current role in relation to UNESCO activities?

What is your previous job experience?

Global Citizenship and Global Citizenship Education:

What is GCED?

Aims

Content

Ideology

Underlying principles

What are the ethical foundations of GCED?

What are the institutional foundations (if any) of GCED?

What does Global Citizenship mean?

Could you give me synonyms of Global Citizenship?

Who is a Global Citizen? Who qualifies as Global Citizens?

Are we all Global Citizens?

Global Citizenship and the UN:

History of GCED within UNESCO

What were the activities of UNESCO, related to citizenship education, before the introduction of GCED? What kind of role did UNESCO play in citizenship education frameworks? Why?

What was the first UN body to promote GCED?

How did GCED agenda appear in UNESCO policy?

Why did it appear?

What were the most influential factors for the introduction of GCED?

Why, in your opinion, the term "Global Citizenship" was chosen?

What were the most important turning points for GCED within UNESCO policies?

Who played the most important role in the promotion of GCED agenda? What was the role of different actors in the creation of GCED agenda?

How is GCED different from the preceding approaches?

Post 2015 agenda:

Why was the "Global Citizenship" agenda chosen for SDGs?

What was the process of discussion of Global Citizenship and HRE post-2015 educational agenda?

What is the role of GCED agenda in UNESCO policies now?

What are the priority topics within GCED agenda?

Potential issues:

What issues/potential issues do you see in GCED implementation?

What issues can one meet in negotiations with member states on GCED?

What are the legal obligations of the States concerning the implementation of GCED?

How does GCED agenda correspond to UNESCO mandate?

How does it correspond to UNESCO Constitution?

Human rights and HRE:

What do you understand by Human Rights Education?

Aims

Content

Ideology

Underlying principles

What are the ethical foundations of HRE?

What are the institutional foundations of HRE?

Do we all have the same human rights?

HRE within the UN:

Which UN body played a major role in the promotion of HRE?

What were other important actors, national and international, playing an important role in the establishment of HRE?

What were the most important turning points for HRE within UN policies? Within UNESCO policies?

Why were they important? Tell me about them.

Potential issues:

What issues/potential issues do you see in HRE implementation in general?

What were the issues met during the negotiations…

/implementation of HRE?

How does HRE agenda correspond to UNESCO mandate?

How does it correspond to UNESCO Constitution?

HRE and GCED:

How do you think HRE and GCED are related to each other?

Integral

Contradicting

Potentially problematic

What was the rationale behind the inclusion of HRE within the GCED agenda?

Does HRE exist independently as a policy within UNESCO activities now?

-no

-if yes, in which form and what are the activities

When did the inclusion take place? Why did it happen at that time? What were the circumstances?

What is the opinion of various stakeholders on this inclusion?

NGOs (civil society)

Human Rights NGOs

Member states

UNESCO professionals

Researchers

How do other UN bodies, responsible for HRE, relate to this inclusion?

What is the relationship between citizenship and HR?

Some researchers consider the combination of GC and HRE quite problematic, what do you think about it?

What could be the potential problems for GCED to supersede HRE?

Appendix 5. The development of HRE in UNESCO policies

	1950s	1960s – 1970s	1980s	1990s – 2000s
Topics	Human rights enforcement Human rights awareness International cooperation Negative peace	Decolonization Racial discrimination Universalism Development Positive peace, Humanitarian law and human rights	Security and Disarmament HRE in formal and unformal education HRE in research Human rights information	Democracy Citizenship Participation Globalization
Areas of policy	Associated Schools Project Human Rights Day	Normative instruments development Annual HRE prize introduction First HRE Congress (1978) Professional HRE	Second HRE Congress (1987) 1974 Recommendation enforcement Publications development	Cooperation on the UN level 1974 Recommendation enforcement HRE as quality indicator in EFA Mentioned in SDG 4.7

Sources: see UNESCO documentation in the final list of references

Appendix 6. GCED conceptualization in the UN policies since 1993

	1993 (Godwin, 1993)	**1996** (Noor Nkake, 1996)	**2015** (McEvoy, 2017; UNESCO, 2015b)
Concepts (topics)	Interdependence Images and perceptions Social Justice Conflict Change and the future	Peace Human rights and democracy Citizenship	Peace and non-violence Human rights and fundamental freedoms Cultural diversity and tolerance
Learning outcomes	Knowledge (understanding) Skills Attitudes	Cognitive learning Affective learning Behavioral learning Knowledge to be applied in practice (skills)	Cognitive Socio-emotional Behavioral

Sources:

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