Global Citizens in Transition:

Global citizenship identity formation in Australasian higher education

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Abstract

This study explores the lived student experience of undertaking global citizenship education (GCE) programmes in higher education settings, and the role these types of programmes play in the development of students' citizenship identities. The study invited undergraduate students (*n*=21) attending two Australasian institutions to reflect on their experience of developing an interest in, entering, and progressing through a GCE-focused programme (offered on the home campus of each university selected for the study) in the context of their life transitions from late adolescence to early adulthood. Of particular interest are: young people's motivations for undertaking higher education programmes with a strong GCE dimension; any significant changes (or continuities) in their conceptualisation of global citizenship, in their notions of civic engagement, and the subsequent development of their (global) citizenship identities during this period of transition; as well as how they describe the influence of entering their post-secondary educational contexts, and specifically their GCE-related programmes, alongside other life experiences and informal interactions. A comparative case study analysis has been conducted based on data gathered from interviews with undergraduate students undertaking either a non-formal co-curricular 'International Leadership' programme (Case 'A' - n=11) or a formal 'Global Studies' bachelor's degree programme ('Case B' - n=10), offered by two universities located in Aotearoa New Zealand and Australia respectively. Both programmes explicitly invoke the creation of 'global citizens' as a core objective. Supplementary data was sourced from interviews with key programme staff involved in the design and delivery of these programmes, as well as university and programme documentation.

The analysis of the student accounts along with the supplementary data from programme staff interviews, are foregrounded against the prevailing societal anxiety regarding youth civic engagement and the role of citizenship education. The integration of GCE into higher education itself represents an interesting response to this anxiety. The analysis undertaken is framed theoretically through the related fields of GCE and identity, notions of 'everyday citizenship', and holistic approaches to the development of youth citizenship identity in transition (especially Harris, 2015 and Wood, 2017).

A key finding at the programme level was way in which staff were able to reinterpret institutional global citizenship discourse to create the space to implement their GCE

programmes in more critical ways. The students' recounted new, globalised, and entangled forms of civic engagement they had already participated in pre-university, which illustrated the de-standardised patterns of transition they were encountering (Harris, 2015; Wood, 2016; Wyn, 2013). Many of the themes discernible in these transitions were evident across both groups of students despite slightly differing programme structures and geographic contexts. It was notable that the specific combinations and timing of the relevant experiences were highly individualised - even amongst the small samples taken from each programme. Both points represent significant findings in themselves. It is suggestive of the variety of experiences likely to be found across bigger and more diverse samples of young university students, and young people more generally, and the need for educators to recognise these to improve programme design (Ratnam, 2013; Wyn, 2013). The ways the students were each required to navigate their own pathways of globally-inflected civic engagement as they moved into their GCE programmes underscores the agency they were already displaying in responding to similar forces and educational structures.

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List of Abbreviations

ACFID	Australian Council for International Development
BAIS	Bachelor of Arts in International Studies (RMIT)
DET	Department of Education and Training (Australia)
DFAT	Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (Australia)
DofE	The Duke of Edinburgh Award
ESA	Education Services Australia
GC	Global Citizenship
GCE	Global Citizenship Education
HE	Higher Education
HEI	Higher Education Institution
IaH	Internationalisation at Home
IAU	International Association of Universities
IEAA	International Education Association of Australia
INGO	International Non-Governmental Organisation
MoE	Ministry of Education (New Zealand)
MCEETYA	Ministerial Council on Education, Employment, Training and Youth Affairs (Victoria, Australia)
MYD	Ministry of Youth Development (New Zealand)
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NPM	New Public Management
NZ	New Zealand
NSD	Norwegian Centre for Research Data
NZA	New Zealand and Australia
NZGS	New Zealand Centre for Global Studies
NZNC UNESCO	New Zealand National Commission for UNESCO
RMIT	Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology
TEC	Tertiary Education Commission (New Zealand)
UNESCO	United Nations Education, Scientific, and Cultural Organization
VILP	Victoria International Leadership Programme
VUW	Victoria University of Wellington

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1 Introduction

Global citizenship education (GCE) is an exercise in imagining futures. Put another way "what it means today and what it might mean in the future to be a 'global citizen' has implications for what is taught and how it is taught" (Leask and Bridge, 2013, p. 80). Traditionally, citizenship education has served to prepare young people[1] to join the ranks of adult 'full' citizens with an understanding, based primarily on Marshall (1950), of why and how they can contribute to the civil, social, and political life of the nation. Twenty-first century policy-makers, educators, NGOs, parents, and students of all ages are now required to imagine much more diverse and rapidly changing futures, in which the notions of 'citizenship' are being challenged, reconfigured, and expanded beyond the nation-state due to the impact of globalization (Osler, 2010; Osler & Starkey, 2003, 2005). As a result, the abovementioned stakeholders are increasingly engaging with the notion of global citizenship education.

Universities, with their longstanding civic mission and critical role as nodes connecting vast and complex international flows of people, ideas, knowledge and capital (Marginson, 2010), are uniquely placed to explore and foster these newer visions of citizenship. However, there is still a scarcity of research into the lived experience of students undertaking university programmes with the explicit objective of educating for global citizenship, especially those programmes considered examples of 'internationalisation at home' (i.e. offered on domestic campuses) (Schartner & Cho, 2017). There is still less research considering these experiences as part of the changing life-courses of young people and the development of the ways they understand and enact citizenship more broadly.

1.1 Background

Over the decades since the 1990s there has been a resurgence of interest in youth citizenship and civic engagement, prompting accompanying questions about how best to educate for citizenship in a globalising world (Hahn 2010, 2015; Kerr, 2012; Shaw, Brady, McGrath, Brennan, & Dolan, 2014). Some more specific factors contributing to this renewed interest

[1] Following Shaw, Brady, McGrath, Brennan, & Dolan (2014) the terms 'youth' and 'young people' will be used interchangeably and inclusively in this study. The New Zealand Ministry of Youth Development defines 'youth' as people aged 12-24 years of age (MYD, 2017). The Australian Government (2010) defines youth as 12-24 years of age. All student participants in this study were aged between 19 and 24 at the time of the interview, except one who had recently turned 25.

include: a general (if contestable) anxiety that young people are less civically engaged than previous generations and the societal ramifications of this (Broom, 2017; Hart, 2009; Smith, Lister, Middleton, & Cox, 2005); increasingly complex understandings of the relationship between identity, citizenship and globalization, and the new forms and processes of citizenship to which this gives rise (Isin & Wood, 1999; Pashby, 2018); the changing nature of communities and challenges to social cohesion in the face of globalised flows of people and information (Appadurai, 1996; Giddens, 1990; Held, McGrew, Goldblatt, & Perraton, 1999; Malik, 2012); and the need to prepare young people who are equipped with the skills to work in, and further, 21st century economies, as well as being able to engage with broader global challenges such as climate change, violent nationalism and fundamentalism, sustainable development, inequality, and migration, to name a few (Asia Society/OECD, 2018; Kerr, 2012; Nelson & Kerr, 2006; Petersen & Warwick, 2014; UNESCO, 2014, 2015).

In its most basic sense GCE can be defined as education that seeks to "prepare students to navigate and thrive in modern global society… [and develop] a global orientation" (Goren & Yemini, 2017, p. 170). The changed and changing spatial, technological, socio-cultural, political, environmental, and economic realities of modern globalization and advanced capitalism are clearly impacting conceptions of citizenship and how to educate for it. Reworked notions of citizenship that extend beyond the traditional, and primarily legal, frame of the nation-state have become prominent (Cohen, 1999; Enslin, 2000; Held, 2010; Isin & Wood, 1999). This represents a sociological turn in citizenship studies towards investigations of "norms, practices, meanings and identities" (Isin & Turner, 2002, p. 4) and "habits of the everyday through which subjects become citizens" (Isin, 2008, p. 17). Subsequently, calls have also been issued for education to engage with notions of cosmopolitan and/or global citizenship at a fundamental philosophical level (Appiah, 2008; Nussbaum, 1997; Rizvi, 2009; UNESCO, 2014). GCE is a response to these multi-scalar understandings of citizenship. It has the potential to address the interconnection between the global, regional, national, and local - and even between the global and domestic/personal (Lister, 2007) - spheres of citizenship.

Governments and schools around the world have sought, in various ways, to integrate global citizenship education into their primary and secondary school curricula (Petersen & Warwick, 2014). It has been championed by UNESCO as a key contributing factor to sustainable development through lifelong learning (UNESCO, n.d., 2014, 2015) - as evidenced by its

inclusion in target 4.7 of the United Nations' Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) for Education (United Nations, 2015). GCE is also well established as a facet of the internationalisation of higher education (Haigh, 2014; Knight, 2013). It is frequently referenced in the international education and higher education policy of transnational organisations, governments, and in the educational missions and desired graduate outcomes of universities (de Wit & Hunter, 2015). The academic literature on GCE in relation to higher education settings is also vast and complex.

Yet, despite the pervasiveness of GCE, its definition, purposes, and main beneficiaries remain contentious as do its modes of implementation in terms of programme design and pedagogical approaches - especially in the context of higher education (Goren & Yemini, 2017; Murray/IEAA, 2014; Shultz & Jorgenson, 2009). Particularly salient features of the debate include tensions between visions of GCE focused on creating human capital and globally competent knowledge workers, and those more concerned with providing transformative, critical, and inclusive opportunities focused on social justice, sustainability and post- and de-colonial approaches (Andreotti, 2006; Goren & Yemini, 2017; Hyslop-Marginson & Sears, 2008; Pashby, 2018; Shultz, 2007, 2011).

1.2 Research Purpose

The 'moment' GCE is currently enjoying as part of the internationalisation of Australasian[2] higher education, and the concept's subsequent prominence in the associated discourse, is confirmed by a review of key government policy, the themes of regional international education fora, and university strategies emerging from the two countries. The training and preparation of young people to be(come) 'global citizens' is now an established aspiration across the higher education sector in the region (Murray/IEAA, 2014).

As such this study is situated within the wider context of research seeking to understand the purposes and impacts of the ongoing internationalisation of higher education – in terms of students, staff, research and curriculum - and specifically the role of GCE in this process in the Australasian context. This is a field often more concerned with university management and

[2] Australasia is defined here simply as Australia and New Zealand following a commonly invoked geopolitical understanding, found in both historical and contemporary discourses on, and originating from, the region (Smith, 2009).

strategic vision, the elaboration of graduate attributes, curriculum development, and/or student mobility, as opposed to students' lived experience of the phenomenon of 'internationalisation at home' (Schartner & Cho, 2017). The focus here is instead on students' accounts of their lived experiences in relation to a GCE programme offered by their 'home' university (located in the country where they are completing the majority of their current programme at the time the research was conducted). An aim of the study was therefore to provide some critical engagement with student voices that are often marginalised in the predominant discourse (Harris, 2014; Murray/IEAA, 2014; Oleksiyenko, 2018; Schartner & Cho, 2017).

The flourishing of GCE in Australasian universities is a response to the extended dimensions of 21st century citizenship. It has precipitated a rethinking of the civic mission of universities, and their role in fostering citizenship. Equally, it represents a new layer of citizenship discourse for young people to (re)encounter (depending on their adolescent experience), negotiate, reformulate, and relate to their own transitional experience. It acts as another space in which young people can express and create their citizenship identities. Yet, despite this growing interest in GCE, there is little empirical research connecting it with youth citizenship identities *in formation* during the transition from adolescence to young adulthood. There is especially a lack of research considering this as a dynamic and transitional process in relation to the new wave of GCE offerings in higher education, and less still examining the combination of these phenomena in an Australasian context (particularly in Aotearoa New Zealand[3]).

This study examines the formation of youth citizenship identities in transition from late adolescence to early adulthood, in relation to GCE in higher education. It seeks to deepen our understandings of: the relevant motivations, knowledge, dispositions and competencies young people bring into Australasian GCE higher education programmes; the ways these young people relate their experience of the programmes in light of the prevailing discourse of GCE at their institutions; and ultimately, how these programmes connect with the global dimension of their citizenship identities - their lives beyond the university and how they perceive their place in relationship to, and ability to participate and effect change in, their societies and the wider world. It writes into certain gaps identified in the literature existing at the nexus of youth identity formation, youth transitions, civic engagement, higher education and its

[3] Aotearoa is the name for New Zealand in Te Reo Māori, the language of the country's indigenous people and one of three official languages. For the sake of brevity though, the country will be henceforth referred to as New Zealand (or NZ) only.

internationalisation and globalisation. It also addresses a call for more empirical research on GCE programmes in general (Yemini & Furstenburg, 2018), with university-aged students specifically (Chui & Leung, 2014; Hammond & Keating, 2018; Schartner & Cho, 2017), and that centres the voices of those students who are experiencing a much more mobile and globally oriented youth than previous generations (Christensen, 2013; Oleksiyenko, 2018).

1.3 Research Objective and Questions

The overarching objective of this research is to explore how participants in two Australasian university programmes relate their experience of the programmes to their broader conceptions of global citizenship and the formation of their citizenship identities as they transition from late adolescence to young adulthood.

In order to do so, three specific research questions guide the investigation:

1) What are the natures of the two higher education GCE programmes considered?

2) What prior knowledge, life experiences, and motivations are significant in Australasian young people's involvement in two selected higher education GCE programmes?

3) How do the students relate their current understandings of global citizenship to their GCE programme and life experience?

The research employs a qualitative comparative multiple-case study design (Bryman, 2012), conducted with students undertaking higher education programmes with a strong GCE dimension. Two key staff from each programme, responsible for the design (original or ongoing) and implementation of the programme, have also been interviewed. One case is the Victoria International Leadership Programme (VILP) which is a non-formal co-curricula programme offered by Victoria University of Wellington (VUW), New Zealand. The second programme is a formal 'Global Studies' type[4] bachelor degree programme offered by the Royal

[4] I refer to this programme as a 'Global Studies type' programme for three reasons. Firstly, the disciplinary label 'Global Studies', as opposed to international studies, is arguably more readily associated with global citizenship (Juergensmeyer, 2014; Smallman & Black, 2011). Secondly, the BAIS is offered by RMIT's School of Global, Urban and Social Studies. Third, judging from an interview with a senior academic overseeing the programme it appears that there was orginally much debate whether to label the programme as a Bachelor of Global Studies but global was too new a term at the time (early 1990s). This

Melbourne Institute of Technology (RMIT) University (Melbourne, Australia). Known as the Bachelor of Arts in International Studies (BAIS).

The principal comparative dimension of this study is constituted by a comparison between two cases – an informal co-curricular and a formal curricular programme which provide suitably analogous contexts to form the basis for comparison. The difference between the informal co-curricular and formal curricular programmes provides difference enough to yield more varied and meaningful data. The value lies in uncovering both the potential differences and similarities, *but particularly the latter given the differing contexts*, in the patterns traceable amongst each cohort. The two modes represent two of the main approaches to integrating GCE in higher education settings (Schattle, 2008b; Shultz & Jorgenson, 2009) and engage a range of organisations external to the universities in interesting ways. The comparison of the respective approaches, and the flexibility they give students to curate their own experience, addresses the claim that both "formal and non-formal education channels play an important role in exposing young people to global issues', and that the interplay between them warrants further exploration" (ACFID, 2012, p. 5). However, this study does not aim to be a formal programme evaluation.

1.4 Significance of the Research

Given the in-depth qualitative nature, and limited number, of the interviews the primary value lies in comparing the individual accounts. This adds to the mapping of the landscape of both lived experience and new modes of civic engagement young people bring into higher education GCE programmes, and the variation and creativity involved in that navigation of individual pathways in the formation of (global) citizenship identities. Building on Tallon, Milligan, and Wood's (2016) pilot study of first and second year New Zealand university students, special attention is paid to the way in which young people navigate and craft their different "pathways of citizenship identity" (p. 98), with specific reference to the transition from secondary school to university. Their lead in using thematic and biographical analyses "to identify key life-course events that led to a reworking of… [participants'] citizenship pathways and identities" (p. 98) is also followed.

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might change, however. whether to label the programme as a Bachelor of Global Studies but global was too new a term at the time (early 1990s). This might change, however.

Ultimately, by adding to our understanding of why and how young people are engaging with the educational spaces on offer for GCE in universities, and the influence of these programmes on participants' citizenship identities, the study aims to contribute to their improvement and relevancy. This kind of understanding informs wider academic discussions and is also potentially of interest to policy-makers, NGOs and others in the development education and higher education sectors that seek to engage young people in relation to particular globally-inflected issues, values and/or civic and democratic participation at this formative and possibly less structured stage of their lives (Tallon et al., 2016).

1.5 Key Concepts

For the sake of clarity and ease of reading, brief explications of key concepts are provided below.

1.5.1 Citizenship and Citizenship Education

Citizenship can be understood as the demarcation between those included or excluded from participation in a polity - with inclusion implying certain shared rights, privileges, responsibilities, and duties (Cohen, 1999; Ellis, Hálfdanarson, & Issacs, 2006). Historically, it has been expounded in terms of: 1) membership or the legal and political status of individuals and groups in regards to a polity or a nation-state (although considerations of transnational and sub-national polities and the recasting of membership as *belonging* have increased in importance in recent decades); 2) levels and modes of civic and/or political engagement and participation; and 3) identity, conference of identity, and its recognition (Arthur, Davies, & Hahn, 2008). Abowitz and Harnish (2006), drawing on Enslin (2000), add that: citizenship "constitutes a set of values usually interpreted as a commitment to the common good of a particular political unit"; and "implies a body of common political knowledge" (p. 653).

One of the most well-known expressions of modern Western citizenship, and a common point of departure for discussions of modern citizenship theory, is T.H. Marshall's vision of a liberal-democratic welfare state upholding, and legally enshrining, the civil, political, and social rights of all its individual citizens. Kymlicka and Norman (1994) document the significant critical responses to Marshall's (1950) seminal rights-centered approach in citizenship theory

developed over the second half of the twentieth century. They separate the various strands of critique into two broad sets: 1) “the need to supplement (or replace) the passive acceptance of citizenship rights with the active exercise of citizenship responsibilities and virtues, including economic self-reliance, political participation, and even civility”; and 2) “the need to revise the current definition of citizenship to accommodate the increasing social and cultural pluralism of modern societies” (p. 355).

These two developments in citizenship theory correspond with the two impulses that underlie this research. The first is the current concern to foster active civic engagement amongst young people through the provision of citizenship education (and global citizenship education). The second being the trend for education that adequately prepares young people to engage with the pluralised nature of their societies, the globally interconnected challenges faced by those societies in the 21st century, and the ramifications for their own personal and political identities.

In light of the above, citizenship education is here understood as: the ways in which governments, educators and other actors, by way of educational institutions, programmes, and initiatives, seek to “engender the dispositions, skills and understandings perceived as constituting responsible, ‘good’ [and potenitally ‘active’] citizens” (Wood & Milligan, 2016). It is important to recognise the potential for substantial variance in what is deemed to meet these criteria depending on the context of any given citizenship education offering (Heater, 2002), and that traditionally ‘contexts’ have been bounded within nation-states. The advent of contemporary globalisation has rendered these boundaries increasingly porous and led to the resurgence of global citizenship.

1.5.2 Global Citizenship

Global citizenship is an evocative and deeply contested concept. It is predicated on the loosening of ties between the citizen and the state (Linklater, 2002), and an identification instead, or concurrently, with some kind of supra- or transnational grouping. This shifting locus of citizenship has been attributed, largely, to the impact of globalisation - understood as greatly increased flows of people, information and capital - and the resulting heightened awareness of global issues, and identity and cultural politics (Isin & Wood, 1999; Isin & Turner, 2002). Although it is not a new concept, the contemporary resurgence of global citizenship stems from the: “need to explore alternative understandings of loyalties, membership, identities, rights, and obligations arising in the context of globalisation” (Mathews & Sidhu, 2005, p. 54). Most

versions of the concept involve a fundamental recognition and privileging of a shared humanity, and therefore, theoretically, universal membership of a global citizenry (Dower & Williams, 2002). However, there is uncertainty and scepticism as to what this means in practical terms. Does it equate a cosmopolitan sense of moral duty to all humanity, and/or potentially help with the establishment of basic and universal human rights (Appiah, 2006, 2008)? Alternatively, does it signal the possibility or emergence of a world polity that can extend, unify, and confer current forms of citizenship found within nation-states on a global scale (Held, 1999, 2003)? Critics dismiss the former on the grounds that it does not constitute a form of actual citizenship, and question the possibility of the latter by citing the dubious viability of a democratic supranational governance structure that can realistically frame and support them (Miller, 1999; Bowden, 2003).

Many others suggest however, that global citizenship has been “uncoupled” from the idea of world government (Dower, 2000, p. 555) and that “despite differences in interpretation, there is [now] a common understanding that global citizenship does not imply a legal status” (UNESCO, 2014, p. 14). For proponents of this view global citizenship is achieved, at first, on an individual level and represents a linked bundle of certain knowledge, values, dispositions, and behaviours that enable people to engage with the global realities and challenges of the 21st century (Nussbaum, 2002; Oxfam, 2015; UNESCO, 2015). Additionally, in practical and political terms questions remain as to who exactly is a global citizen, when and how does one become one, who gets to decide, and to what ends is (or should) the concept be promoted (Andreotti, 2006; Dower, 2008; Jooste & Heleta, 2017; Pashby, 2011, 2018)?

For the purposes of this study global citizenship is understood primarily as: a form of moral and political subjectivity disposing individuals to strive for meaningful civic engagement with the global nature and challenges of life in the 21st century, as well as the actions that flow from this disposition.

1.5.3 Global Citizenship Education

Most studies concerning GCE tend to highlight the variety of ‘adjectival educations’[5] feeding into it (Bourn, 2015; Mannion, Biesta, Priestly, & Ross, 2011), the lack of consensus around its

[5] For example: environmental education, multi- and inter-cultural education, peace education, global education, human rights education, education for sustainable development (Bourn, 2015; Mannion et al., 2011).

definition, and the wide variety of ways it is interpreted and invoked in differing educational contexts. Mannion et al. (2011) refer to it as a "floating signifier that different discourses attempt to cover with meaning" (p. 443). Most *would* agree that it signifies a push for education (either in dedicated programmes or woven into existing curricula and other offerings) to equip learners of all ages (but especially adolescents and young adults) with "the knowledge, skills and dispositions that will make them more aware of global issues and phenomena" (Mannion et al, 2011). To this we can add a desire to incite, and facilitate, behaviour and experiences that actively engage with globally connected issues, phenomena and associated challenges.

1.5.4 Global Citizenship Identity

Global citizenship identity is effectively a composite concept that appears in various strands of disciplinary literature but is not concretely or concisely defined. Instead, it is usually explored with reference to citizenship identity and how the latter can be translated to the global sphere (O'Byrne, 2003), or how the complex flows and challenges of globalisation are adding new dimensions to it (Isin, & Wood, 1999; Lister, 2003, 2007; Nyers & Rygiel, 2012; Ronkainen, 2016; Pashby, 2018). The working definition in this study is based on more established understandings of identity and citizenship identities specifically.

Writing from a social psychology viewpoint, Chryssochoou (2003) defines identity as a "particular form of social representation that mediates the relationship between the individual and the social world" (p. 237). Identity is relational in the sense it is projected into, and constructed in dialogue with, the social world. Barnes, Auburn and Lea (2004), describe citizenship as "one of the primary ways individuals 'realize' (in both senses of the word) their identities as civic and political agents" (p. 189). Ecclestone, Biesta and Hughes (2010) expand on this with a more sociological understanding of identity and its construction within the "psycho-social nexus" with reference to forms of capital. They see identity as being: "constructed through complex interactions between different forms of capital (cultural, social, economic and emotional), broader social and economic conditions, interactions and relationships in various contexts, and cognitive and psychological strategies" (p. 9).

In light of the above, citizenship identity entails a focus on the subjective understanding of oneself as a citizen, or one's political subjectivity (Nyers & Rygiel, 2012), in relation to "one's place in a system of social relations" (Ecclestone et al., p. 9), and therefore more than just its

conference as legal status. It is also a relational concept. In its most basic sense it is understood to be the individuals' affective (emotional and dispositional) understanding of their membership of various social groups and/or categories, and therefore their relationship to others and society more generally (Conover, 1995; Ronkainen, 2016). Traditionally this has meant membership of the nation-state (Yuval-Davis, 1997). But it has been increasingly decoupled from national identity and more readily associated with sub-, supra-, and trans-national groupings and spaces (Isin & Wood, 1999; Joppke, 2007, 2008; Lister 2003, 2007; Nyers & Rygiel, 2012; Ronkainen, 2016). Isin and Nyers (2014) illustrate this with reference to the "nested, if not overlapping and conflicting, series of polities ranging from the city, region, the state and the international", with their accompanying international covenants and agreements, and supranational bodies, in which the individual citizens find themselves enmeshed (p. 2). Adding to this are myriad ethnic, cultural, sexual, religious, environmental, and many other possible communities and spaces within which citizenship can be practiced and enacted. Isin and Nyers (2014) point out "All this places a citizen in a web of rights and duties through which he or she is called upon to performatively negotiate a particular combination that is always a complex relationship" (p. 2).

Further key components in the formation of citizenship identity are the individual's (or group's) understanding of their rights and responsibilities, and the forms of civic and formal political participation this inspires, enables, or delimits (Barnes et al., 2004; Conover, 1995; Lister, 2003). This could also be described as the way one feels empowered or disempowered to participate in civil society and potentially effect change (O'Byrne, 2003; Youniss & Yates 1999). Civic engagement and participation have been much discussed in terms of 'practices' (Barnes et al., 2004; Lawy & Biesta, 2006; Lister, 2003) and more recently, acts and enactments (Isin & Nielsen, 2008; Wood & Black, 2014). A focus on the substantive practices of citizenship (social, political, cultural and symbolic), both formal (like voting), or informal (like community volunteering), or radical (like activism), involves a close consideration of the 'doer' of citizenship and what it is they are doing (Isin & Neilsen, 2008). Citizenship as practice sees citizenship and citizenship identity as not limited to being a legal status or an educational 'achievement' (the learning outcome of a particular programme) – but as something that *everyone* (of all ages and legal statuses) is constantly doing, negotiating and constructing, on an ongoing and daily basis (Lawy & Biesta, 2006).

Schattle (2008b, 2009) explores how individuals conceive of themselves as global citizens and how they apply the notion to their lives. He refers to this process as *The Practices of Global*

Citizenship (2008b). Through this work he developed three primary concepts of 'awareness', 'responsibility', and 'participation' as useful frames for exploring global citizenship identity. These suggest, that like citizenship identity, global citizenship identity can be better understood *not* as a status, but rather a way of cultivating belonging, a way of defining oneself in relation to others, as well as a disposition facilitating civic participation acts themselves.

Likewise, it is more helpful to approach global citizenship identity as something fluid and multi-scalar, rather than something fixed. In terms of the literature it remains a relatively nebulous concept still in the process of being mapped. The definition worked towards here remains open enough to allow for further investigation, as this is in part the purpose of this study. The argument in the study is that the concept of global citizenship identity can be enriched by considering the ways university students perceive the influence of the global on the way they 'do' citizenship with regard to both the provision of GCE in formal education settings and outside of them in everyday acts and relationships. The insight generated is deepened when considered in relation to the notion of youth transitions.

1.5.5 Transitions

Transitions can be understood as the navigation and negotiation of varying and ongoing forms of change through the lifecourse - both in response to the structures of institutional pathways and societal expectations, and through shifts in identity and agency[6] (Ecclestone et al., 2010; Gale & Parker, 2014; Wood, 2017). Finlay, Wray-Lake, and Flannagan (2010), characterise the period of transition between adolescence and adulthood as one in which:

> …identity formation is a critical developmental task as young people explore moral and ideological commitments (Dannon, 2001; Erikson, 1968; Hart, 2005)…Civic exploration and engagement…can solidify civic identities and political positions thereafter, as political ideologies tend to crystallize by the end of the third decade of life (Jennings, 1989,p. 277).

[6] Agency is understood here as: "the capacity for autonomous, empowered action" (Ecclestone et al., 2010, p 2.).

Although new approaches are emerging, prior research into the concept has tended to focus on certain periods such as the passage from 'youth' to 'adulthood', through the different stages of formal schooling, and from school to work (Field, 2010). Traditionally the transitions of youth to adulthood were associated with that of 'citizens-in-waiting' to become full citizens (Weller, 2007). They were also considered to be relatively fixed, compressed, and unilinear (Field, 2010). Recent research guiding the theoretical framework adopted in this study considers the ways in which youth transitions have become increasingly extended, non-linear, unpredictable, and individualised, as well as the implications of this for youth citizenship.

In this study the term refers to the ways the young people interviewed have navigated and negotiated this new transitional landscape and the changes involved, across the specific period spanning secondary school and into their years of undergraduate study at university. An emphasis was placed on exploring their understandings of global citizenship and the related forms civic-agency they engaged in in response to the educational structures they encountered during this period.

1.6 Structure of the Thesis

The thesis is divided into eight chapters. Following this introduction, an overview of the Australasian context is provided. Specific attention is paid to the internationalisation of higher education in the region, and the accompanying rise of global citizenship as a concept in national and institutional policy. Chapter 3 reviews relevant literature on global citizenship, GCE, higher education, and the emerging trend for closer examination of the student experience of GCE. In Chapter 4 the theoretical framework which is to guide the analysis is elaborated, focusing on everyday nature of youth global citizenship identity formation and the role of transitions theory in understanding this process. The methodological choices are explained in Chapter 5. The subsequent two Chapters 6 and 7 present the major findings of the research, before Chapter 8 provides a discussion of the implications. Concluding remarks, discussion of limitations, and recommendations for future research are set out at end of chapter eight.

2 Australasian Context for Higher Education and GCE

This chapter briefly considers 'Australasia' as a geographical construct and its basis in certain shared socio-cultural and historical patterns, along with the modern relationship between its two countries, New Zealand and Australia. This serves as a background to presenting the respective higher education systems, relevant government and institutional policy reforms over the last four decades, subsequent changes to higher education governance, and the rise of internationalisation, common to both countries. This contextual information elucidates the discursive environment with which much of the general GCE scholarship engages, and in which the internationalisation of Australasian higher education, and the implementation of GCE at its universities, is occurring.

2.1 Australasia and the Trans-Tasman Relationship[7]

As a result of their shared history (beginning in the 18th century colonial era) and certain similarities in geopolitical circumstances past and present, the nations of New Zealand and Australia are often considered together and referred to by the collective term 'Australasia' (Smith, 2009; Seed, 2017). The modern nation-states are based on settlements established on two relatively distant landmasses located in the South Pacific and separated by the Tasman Sea. Both countries are home to distinct and vital indigenous cultures, whose cultural and political primacy is being increasingly recognised by the state (especially in New Zealand).

The notion of 'Australasia', or the 'Tasman World', was a European conceptualisation drawn from the mapping of the British imperial world south of Asia, and the intense strategic and commercial interlinking of the two territories during the colonial period (Smith, 2009). In the post-colonial era, both nations have become much more conscious of Australasia's geographic positioning as a subregion located within the wider Asia-Pacific region (see Figure 1) (Smith, 2009). This has meant an increasing focus on fostering ties with, and understanding themselves in relation to, the nations of that region, alongside historical ties to Britain and other 'Western' nations.

[7] Trans-Tasman, a reference to the Tasman Sea, is a commonly used adjective in the Australasian context.

Figure 2.1: Map of Australasia

Source: Cruickshanks (2014) & Júlio Reis/Tintazul (2006); Wikimedia Commons.[8]

Despite certain political, economic, and cultural divergences - often due to Australia's status as the bigger and more economically and geopolitically important 'brother' in the relationship[9] - the two countries remain closely linked in the 21st century. A recent report described New Zealand and Australia as two of the most economically 'connected' countries in the world, more connected even than Canada and the USA, Japan and China, and France and Germany amongst others (Pralong, Manyika, Ramaswamy, Fletcher, & Yang, 2015). This close relationship also entails a great deal of policy transfer and other intellectual and cultural exchange (Smith, Hempenstall, & Goldfinch, 2008).

The Australasian bond is naturally deepened by a similar historical pattern: a long period of indigenous civilisation; followed by the upheaval and violence of colonisation by the British beginning in the late 18th century; mass, mainly British, immigration in the 19th century; and more diverse waves of immigration through the 20th and 21st centuries. The relationship has been further strengthened through military and sporting ties, as well as the free movement of

[8] Reproduced here under a under a CC-BY 3.0 license (https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/legalcode).

[9] Compare Australia's population of almost 25 million to New Zealand's 4.8 million (World Bank, 2019a) and Australia's GDP of 1.323 trillion versus New Zealand's 206 billion (World Bank, 2019b).

citizens between the two countries and their respective rights to work and live in the neighbouring country (Seed, 2017). Petersen, Milligan, and Wood (2018) point to certain common areas of policy tension, with their attendant historical roots, framing the implementation of GCE (particularly in schools) in both countries. The processes they see as most salient are: "the impact of migration on cultural diversity; responses to, and treatment of, those seeking refuge and asylum; the recognition, reconciliation and representation of indigenous peoples; engagement within the Asia-Pacific region; and concerns about social cohesion" (p. 3).

With reference to higher education specifically, given the scale and resources of their tertiary sector, Australia is "widely considered as an innovator in the field" (Gribble and Blackmore, 2012).[10] As such, Australia tends to set the pace in terms of the development of higher education policy and practice in the trans-Tasman relationship. However, as New Zealand is smaller and arguably nimbler in its ability to develop, test, and implement policy, Australian higher education policy makers, academics, and professionals draw on the New Zealand experience as well. The historical parallels and connection, the similarity of higher education systems, policy making, and governance (see below), and various higher education academic and professional bodies, with their associated conferences and journals, ensure a "continual exchange" (Marginson & Considine, 2000, p. 53) of ideas and influence flows in both directions across the Tasman.

2.2 Higher Education in Australasia

As a culmination of the post-war investment and the reforms of the last thirty years New Zealand and Australia both have largely public, highly developed, and internationally esteemed higher education systems, with notably professionalised student services sectors. All eight of New Zealand's universities, and the majority of Australia's forty-two, are ranked in the top five hundred globally (Quacquarelli Symonds, 2018) [11], and attract significant numbers of domestic and international students (see footnote 10). Australia is one of the biggest providers of

[10] Gribble and Blackmore refer to international education specifically, but the same is true of higher education policy and practice more generally. To illustrate the size of the tertiary education sector in each country compare Australia's 1,066,073 (73%) domestic and 391,136 (27%) international university students with New Zealand's 146,190 (84%) and 27, 690 (16%) respectively (Universities Australia, 2018; Universities New Zealand 2018).

[11] The QS world university rankings for 2019 feature seven Australian universities in the top one hundred, and twenty-five in the top five hundred.

international education globally[12], and international education is now the third biggest export industry (Universities Australia, 2018). New Zealand is also a prominent provider of international education, and the industry ranks as its fifth largest export earner (Universities New Zealand, 2018). On the domestic front, a higher percentage of the respective populations than ever before have completed university study to the level of a bachelor's degree, and many more have had some form of engagement with higher education (Norton, Cherastidtham, & Mackey, 2018; Universities Australia, 2018; Universities New Zealand 2018). The two countries are nevertheless two separate contexts with their own distinctive features and with higher education sectors with their own complex dynamics.

2.2.1 Recent Reform and the Discursive Environment

All of New Zealand's and almost all of Australia's universities are public, at least partially reliant on government funding, and therefore subject to some government influence (see Marginson, 2013; Yong 2015). As a result, Australasian universities have been affected by the shifts in ideology of successive governments and have undergone processes of extensive change over the last thirty years (Marginson, 1998; Marginson & Considine, 2000; Shore, 2015).

In the 1980s and 1990s both New Zealand and Australia's higher education systems underwent significant reforms within the wider neoliberal turn and the accompanying introduction of the discourse of 'new public management' (NPM). The influence of these changes continues in various forms to the present day (Batterbury & Byrne, 2017; Connell 2013, 2015; Lewis, 2011; Shore, 2015; Strathdee, 2011), and have been channelled directly from the kind of global policy flows in higher education that have been influential around the world (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010). These include the implementation of: "NPM principles of competition between HEIs, executive leadership, goal-driven production, performance management, cost unbundling, customer focus, transparency, and continuous self-evaluation" (Marginson, 2016, p. 305). The post-war human capital ethic has remained central to the vision for higher education but is now expressed in terms of the neoliberal imaginary (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010). This entails a willingness from both governments to let market values – such as efficiency, competition, accountability, commercialisation, commodification, entrepreneurialism, amongst others – prevail in regards

[12] By 2016 Australia was the third biggest provider of international education in the world by number of private international students (DFAT, 2016)

to the governance of Australasian universities (Connell, 2013, 2015; Garrett-Jones & Turpin, 2012; Lewis, 2011; Marginson, 1998; Marginson & Considine, 2000; Robertson & Dale, 2002; Shore, 2015; Strathdee; 2011; Yong, 2015).

Key drivers of neoliberal reform in Australasian higher education have been an ethic of economic rationalism and an attempt to streamline human capital development and fuel innovation and national economic growth in the age of the knowledge economy (Keating, Preston, Burke, Van Heertum, and Arnove, 2013)[13]. These values have been normalised and engrained in the Australasian higher education policy and institutional strategy and governance (Fischer & Green, 2018; Jiang, 2010; Lewis, 2011; Yong, 2015). Essentially, the universities prior to reform had been deemed to be "unresponsive to the needs of a rapidly changing economy" (Crawford, 2016, p. v). The incorporation of the "policy fed" (Gribble & Blackmore, 2012) concept of the 'knowledge economy' into government strategy became increasingly prominent from the mid-1990s onwards (Shore, 2015). It was deemed vital to ensure that New Zealand and Australia established themselves as knowledge economies capable of competing with other advanced economies on the global stage, and that universities were producing graduates capable of contributing to this in the most efficient manner possible. It also saw the rise in Australasia (as elsewhere in this period) of the entrepreneurial university (Marginson & Considine, 2000), or what Slaughter and Rhoades (1997) refer to as 'academic capitalism' - whereby knowledge is seen less as a public good and more as a commercial opportunity, with the university acting as vendor. This discourse is still very much shaping higher education strategy and policy in both countries at present (see for example NZ Ministry of Education (NZ MoE), 2014, and Australian Department of Education and Training (DET), 2015).

As Rizvi and Lingard (2010) stress, the dominance of neoliberal ideology does not mean the total exclusion of other non-market values, such as democracy and equality, but rather it can result in them being rearticulated and reordered in such a way as to be subordinate to market values like privatisation, efficiency, and accountability. These values are seen as the most important in developing the human capital required for knowledge industries and in turn developing a knowledge society capable of successfully competing on the global stage.

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[13] Altbach and Knight (2007) provide a useful way of understanding what is meant by knowledge society in relation to higher education: "Global capital has, for the first time, heavily invested in knowledge industries worldwide, including higher education and advanced training. This investment reflects the emergence of the "knowledge society," the rise of the service sector, and the dependence of many societies on knowledge products and highly educated personnel for economic growth" (p. 290).

Despite Australasian governmental and university management discourse largely constellating around notions of the knowledge economy – and preparing the knowledge workers that sustain it – it also still features notions of nation-building, social integration and civic engagement, even if the latter three have been arguably subordinated to the former (Fischer & Green, 2018) or even 'decoupled (Lewis, 2011). Shore (2015, p. 50) points out that at the same time as:

> producing the skills base for students to compete more effectively in the global knowledge economy […] universities are expected to meet a plethora of other governmental goals, including 'nation-building', 'Treaty obligations'[14], 'international research excellence' and social integration of New Zealand's increasingly heterogeneous population. New Zealand universities are thus awkwardly positioned between two competing policy visions: as champions of wealth creation and innovation that will drive the economy forward into the 'knowledge society' and a new era of internationalisation as research becomes increasingly aligned with industry; and as repositories of 'culture' and bastions for forging national identity, citizenship, social cohesion and other TEC[15] and Government-defined 'strategic priorities – including the role of 'critic and conscience' of society' (Tertiary Education Coittee (TEC), 2006).

Marginson and Considine (2000) discuss very similar tensions with regards to the multiple functions of universities in the Australian context.

Universities in both countries are now subject to a market environment where competition for both domestic and international students has greatly increased. This in turn has meant an expectation that universities demonstrate a consumer focus and the 'value for money' they offer, especially in terms of future employability of its graduates with regard to knowledge economies and the 'future of work', and the potential for commercialisation of their research outputs (Yong, 2015). Government subsidies for private international students, along with enrolment caps for Higher Education Institutions (HEIs), have also been removed (Ziguras, 2011). As a result, Australasian universities, seeking to increase and diversify their revenue

[14] The Treaty of Waitangi (1840) – a foundational document establishing and (attempting) to define the relationship between the 'Crown' and indigenous Māori leaders. The Treaty is for all intents and purposes a 'constitutional' document (along with several others) in New Zealand and serves as a key reference point for policy making and the provision of public services.

[15] New Zealand Tertiary Education Commission.

streams, have invested heavily in attracting full fee-paying international students. This latter phenomenon has been a key factor in the internationalisation of Australasian higher education, which in turn provides the key frame for the implementation of GCE at the region's universities.

2.2.2 Internationalisation of Australasian Higher Education

Along with marketisation and entrepreneurial expansion, another important dimension and driver of Australasian higher education reform over the last few decades has been globalisation and the associated discourse of internationalisation (Garrett-Jones & Turpin, 2012; Marginson & Considine, 2000). Internationalisation can be viewed as "both a product and a contributing factor to the globalisation of higher education" (Garrett-Jones & Turpin, 2012, p. 235) and, in a broad sense, as the "academic programs, institutions, innovations, and practices created to cope with globalization and to reap its benefits" (Altbach & Knight, 2007, p. 291).

The term internationalisation itself, as applied to higher education, is an umbrella term encompassing many approaches that are often contested or complicated (Knight & de Wit, 2018). Knight (2004) provides perhaps the most popular working definition for the term: "Internationalization at the national, sector, and institutional levels is defined as the process of integrating an international, intercultural, or global dimension into the purpose, functions or delivery of postsecondary education" (p. 11). Amongst specific practices of 'internationalisation' at the institutional level are: the recruitment of international students to study at the home institution; outbound and inbound student exchange; transnational education (that is the provision of courses offshore at branch campuses or through partners and/or Massive Online Open Courses (MOOCs)); engagement with international ranking systems; harmonising, and establishing mutual recognition, of qualifications and entry requirements across different countries; research collaboration across borders; international networks of universities, partnerships and other linkages; diversification of staff through academic mobility; or the "inclusion of an international, intercultural, and/or global dimension into the curriculum and teaching and learning process". It is this last aspect that is of most interest in the context of this research.

Brandenburg and de Wit (2011) observe that "Over the last two decades, the concept of the internationalization of higher education has moved from the fringe of institutional interest to the very core" (p.15). Despite becoming an extremely widespread practice and "an axiomatic

concept of good quality" higher education (Yemini, & Sagie, 2016, p. 91), a review of the literature reveals persistent anxieties about the purposes and ethical dimensions of internationalization, encapsulated in this quote from Knight and de Wit (2018):

> Economic and political rationales are increasingly the key drivers for national policies related to the internationalization of higher education, while academic and social/cultural motivations are not increasing in importance at the same rate. Because of the more interdependent and connected world in which we live, this imbalance must be addressed and recalibrated. (p. 3).

It seems that these concerns are shared by universities around the world. Knight (2013) cites results of the 2005 International Association of Universities (IAU) Internationalisation Survey which revealed that 70% of responding institutions from around the world identified the "commodification and commercialisation of education programmes" (p. 88) as the number one risk associated with internationalisation. Many more authors lament an ongoing shift in emphasis towards the economic and reputational drivers for internationalisation. They perceive this as a dangerous sidelining of its potential for: robust academic and intercultural exchange and cooperation, along with exploring how to incorporate diverse ways of knowing and being into research, teaching, and learning (Jiang, 2010; Knight, 2013; Wihlborg & Robson, 2018); education for development (Knight & de Wit, 2018); and for critical engagement with global issues (and their causes) pertaining to the common good - such as climate change, inequality, migration, and combating rising nationalism and conflict (Brandenburg & de Wit, 2011; Coate & Rathnayake, 2013; IAU, 2012; Lewis, 2011; Teichler, 2004).

The Australasian context reflects the trends discussed above. Internationalisation has been embraced with great enthusiasm at both the governmental and institutional level, with its economic, reputational, and soft power benefits very overtly invoked as principal motivations (Adams, Banks, & Olsen, 2011; Australian Government/DFAT, 2005; NZ MoE, 2014; Fischer & Green, 2018; Jiang, 2010; Lewis, 2011; Murray & Leask, 2015). Under the aegis of the neoliberal reform discussed in the previous section, internationalisation over the last few decades has led to a shift from 'aid to trade' in Australasian approaches to international education (Jiang, 2010; Ziguras, 2011). This shift has meant a refocusing of government strategy and funding away from international education as a vehicle and tool for international

development and cooperation, and towards harnessing higher education's potential as an export industry (Jiang, 2010; Lewis 2011; Fisher & Green, 2018). The process greatly accelerated in Australasia from the 1990s onwards and has meant that international education, and its attendant influx of international students into the two countries' tertiary education institutions, has become a very important component of their respective economies, as well as their trade and diplomatic agendas.

However, as early as 2008 there were suggestions that internationalisation was progressing beyond the 'trade' phase and into a 'third phase' in Australia (Bradley, Noonan, Nugent, & Scales, 2008), characterised by "deeper forms of partnership and engagement" (Murray, 2013, p. 118). This evolution in the discourse towards 'comprehensive internationalisation', mirrored in New Zealand and elsewhere, appears to be born of the anxieties around predominant forms of the commercially centred internationalisation. In part, it has meant a greater focus on the 'sustainability of international education' through multi-directional student mobility, increased international research collaboration and greater diversity of research partners, more attention being paid to the student experience and employability outcomes; improved policy alignment across different areas of government (Bradley et al., 2008), and internationalisation of the curriculum and learning outcomes to *foster global citizenship* (de Wit, Hunter, & Coelen, 2015). Despite efforts in this direction an underlying discontent remains, both within and outside the academy, with universities drifting away from their former civic mission and socio-cultural responsibilities (Murray, 2013).

How best to balance the benefits, adverse effects, and potential of internationalisation (and GCE) is still fiercely debated (IAU, 2012; Joost & Heleta, 2017; Knight & de Wit, 2018; Wihlborg & Robson, 2018). Given the deeply contested nature of the term, some have suggested that we are entering a post-internationalisation era less concerned with dogmatic and idealistic characterisations of 'good' and 'bad' internationalisation. It is argued that universities should be less instrumental in approach and return to being more focused on their deeper purpose: to provide quality and equitable education and research in a globalised knowledge society "to help understand this world and to improve our dealing with it" (Brandenburg & de Wit, 2011, p. 17; IAU, 2012). To do this it has been suggested that universities themselves need to act as responsible global citizens (Murray, 2013), and seek to produce graduates who "understand and define their role within a global community, transcending the national borders,

and embracing the concepts of sustainability – equity of rights and access, advancement of education and research, and much more" (Brandenburg & de Wit, 2011, p. 17). Arguably Brandenburg and de Wit are describing a 'global citizen'; the education of whom has been a reoccurring feature in the discursive response from government and higher education institutions in Australasia to critiques of instrumental and market-focused internationalisation, as we will see below.

2.3 Global Citizenship in Australasian Governmental and Institutional Higher Education Policy

Schattle (2009) notes that, "the idea of global citizenship has emerged since the late 1990s as a key strategic principle in higher education" adopted, in particular, by institutions in developed Western countries. Both New Zealand and Australia fit this pattern. There is strong government policy leadership and support for HEIs to internationalise in Australasia - especially in pursuit of the economic gains it provides associated with trade, diplomacy, and creation of human capital (NZ MoE, 2007, 2011, NZ Government, 2018; NZ MoE, 2014; Australian Government, 2015, 2016; Chaney, 2013). Global citizenship has been variously invoked in service of these agendas. However, there is currently no government policy framework or guidance specifically for the *implementation* of GCE for the HE sector in either New Zealand or Australia. The term features in multiple policy documents and reports, usually as an objective of higher education or as a student outcome, without being elaborated in detail.

2.3.1 Global Citizenship in the New Zealand Policy Context

GCE is a central concept in education policy and discourse in New Zealand. At secondary school level it has been integrated across the national curriculum as a kind of "leitmotif" (Petersen et al., 2018, p. 9). It is variously defined and patchily implemented, often in a superficial manner, by both policy makers and teachers (Petersen et al., 2018). It is the subject of Ministry of Education research into how best to assess and evaluate the acquisition of international/global competencies amongst secondary school students (Bolstad, Hipkins, & Stevens, 2013). It is also the focus of selected activities of the New Zealand National Commission for UNESCO (NZNC UNESCO, n.d.) and the New Zealand Centre for Global Studies (NZCGS, n.d.), again largely at the secondary school level. This is a reflection of GCE's growing importance for educational planners and policy makers in NZ, and possibly an

indication that more formal positions will be taken by policy makers in regards to GCE in the tertiary education sector in the not too distant future.

At the higher education level, global citizenship has featured relatively prominently in the New Zealand Government's policy since the *International Education Agenda*: *A Strategy for 2007-2012* (NZ MoE, 2007). This strategy positions the fostering of global citizenship as key to achieving the first of four goals listed for international education, namely: "New Zealand students are equipped to thrive in an inter-connected world" (p. 13). The focus is on students developing "global knowledge, especially of Asia and the Pacific Rim", including skills to succeed in "multicultural and multilingual settings in New Zealand and overseas", and to "understand and respect other cultures, and contribute to the good of national and international communities" (p. 9).

Neither of the succeeding policy frameworks – the Ministry of Education's 2011 *Leadership Statement for International Education*[16] (MoE, 2011) and its *Tertiary Education Strategy 2014-2019* (MoE, 2014), explicitly mention global citizenship. Both documents expound strategies heavily and overtly weighted towards the commercial aspects of international tertiary education in NZ, especially the recruitment of international students. References to enhancing students' (domestic and international) cross-cultural knowledge and intercultural competence are retained but receive less attention and are articulated in vaguer terms. This rebalancing of emphasis can be seen as a culmination of a twenty-year process to build an international education *industry* in New Zealand. Lewis (2011) argues that this has framed New Zealand's international educational subjects and spaces for "political projects of globalisation, knowledge economy, and other after-neo-liberal political projects" (p. 225), leaving less room for: "fashioning alternatives to the production of industry subjects…[through] an alternative education imaginary of international curriculum, altered pedagogies, or commitments to projects of global emancipation, stimulating global cosmopolitan sensibilities, intercultural understandings or even global peace" (pp. 242-243).

The new International Education Strategy 2018-2030 (NZ Government, 2018) reinstalls global citizenship as a central discursive pillar. Alongside ensuring quality student experiences and

[16] This document acted as the guiding policy document for international secondary and higher education during the period 2011-2017.

sustainable growth of the sector, the creation of global citizens is listed as one of three key goals. What exactly is understood by global citizenship is not explored in any depth, and interestingly, compared with its 2007 incarnation, the definition of the desired global citizen is more obviously linked to New Zealand's trade and diplomatic agendas.

Most universities in the country make explicit reference to GCE in their own policy visions, graduate profiles or attributes, and/or teaching and learning strategies. Again, at most universities, GCE is also referenced as a core part of internationalisation efforts, as well as their more general educational missions. Some tertiary institutions offer co-curricular programmes focusing on the development of global competencies or engaging in other initiatives that foster global citizenship. Most are engaging in activities that could be considered global citizenship education. Together this has seen different forms of GCE practice springing up at various HEIs in recent years without any real coherence, with differing understandings and purposes, and little formal evaluation of, or academic research into, these practices, their programming or their outcomes.

Despite the growing body of research into GCE at the secondary school level in New Zealand, there is a lack of research in relation to the tertiary level. Grimwood's 2018 study is a notable exception. It examines the integration of global citizenship at three leading New Zealand universities through an analysis of their graduate profiles, exchange programmes, along with Auckland University's new (established in 2018) Bachelor of Global Studies, as represented on their respective websites. Grimwood concludes that the ways and kinds of global citizenship being promoted are largely 'inauthentic' and governed by neoliberal market imperatives. Shephard, Bourk, Mirosa, and Dulgar (2017), in an exploration of the 'global perspective' in graduate attributes at the University of Otago (New Zealand), echo Schattle's (2008a) point that this kind of vagueness may be intentional, or even necessary, at the institutional level to allow for interpretation by different implementers. The findings of these two initial studies reinforce the need for more research at the programme and learner level.

2.3.2 Global Citizenship in the Australian Policy Context

The influence of GCE in Australian educational discourse is evidenced by its promulgation in a series of documents setting out education policy framework or recommendations. The Victorian state government's *Melbourne Declaration on Educational Goals for Young*

Australians (MCEETYA 2008) for instance, recognises the need, in the face of increasing global integration, to "to nurture an appreciation of and respect for social, cultural and religious diversity, and a sense of global citizenship" (p. 4). The same declaration envisions young Australians becoming "successful learners, confident and creative individuals and active and informed citizens" (p.8), and "responsible local and global citizens" (p. 9). The *Framework for Global Education in Australian Schools* (ESA, 2011) promotes education that fosters: "open-mindedness leading to new thinking about the world and a predisposition to take action for change" and students learning "to take responsibility for their actions, respect and value diversity and see themselves as global citizens who can contribute to a more peaceful, just and sustainable world" (p. 2). The terms global citizenship and global citizen are also commonly employed across the Australian states' secondary school curricula (Peterson et al., 2018). Despite its valorization as an educational concept, GCE remains ill-defined, implementation scattered, and support and guidance for actual implementation lacking in the Australian secondary school context (Peterson et al, 2018).

The term global citizenship itself is relatively absent from Australian policy discourse at the federal (or national) level. This is partly due to the fact Australia did not have a singular national strategy for international education until the publication of the National Strategy for International Education 2025 (Australian Government, 2016) (Murray & Leask, 2015). This document itself has a narrower focus on the commercial and employability outcomes of international education (Eley, 2018), which in turn reflects the instrumental view of international education, focused on commercial drivers and logistics of implementation, prevalent across various relevant policy documents since 2000 (Fischer & Green, 2018). Unlike the corresponding document in New Zealand, it makes no reference to global citizenship. The closest it comes is passing references to "enhanced bilateral and multilateral relationships, which increase cultural awareness and social engagement" (Australian Government, 2016, p. 7). 'Global citizenship' is also conspicuously absent from the language used to articulate other national polices pertaining to international education seemingly designed to achieve outcomes related to the concept. The policy discourse surrounding the New Colombo Plan for example, a scheme funding Australian students to take up outbound mobility opportunities across the Indo-Pacific region, rearticulates and subordinates values associated with global citizenship to market values within a neoliberal discourse of trade and soft power diplomacy.

Global citizenship is, however, a very prominent and aspirational concept in Australian higher education discourse at the institutional level. Universities Australia (2013) called for one of the primary functions of Australia's universities should be to "foster informed, engaged global citizens" (p. 24). The highly internationalised nature of Australia's tertiary sector as well as sustained attempts to internationalise curricula, has led to an emphasis on "engaging students with cultural and linguistic diversity and purposefully developing their international and intercultural perspectives as global professionals and citizens" (de Wit et al. 2015, drawing on Leask, 2013). As early as 2011 global citizenship was listed as a graduate attribute by 27 of the then 39 Australian universities (Baik, 2013), and the term continues to proliferate across university websites, strategies and graduate profiles.

Australian scholars have pointed out that much work remains to be done in translating global citizenship rhetoric into effective GCE practice. In 2014, the International Education Association of Australia (IEAA) held a national symposium entitled 'Fostering Global Citizenship and Global Competence', considering GCE in the Australian higher education context. The outcomes report (Murray/IEAA, 2014) notes that GCE at the tertiary level is equally shaped by "responses of institutions to globalisation", "the expectations and aspirations of young people", and the "perceptions of employers and the public policy landscape" (p. 5). It identified various challenges to progressing GCE within the sector including: establishing more constructive relationships between institutions and employers, clearer and more supportive GCE-related public policy, and establishing the organisational frameworks and programs required to achieve the various global citizenship goals being adopted by institutions. It was also asserted that the terms global citizenship and global competence and the "value issues surrounding them" (Murray/IEAA, 2014, p. 5) are ambiguous and contestable by their nature, but this can be accommodated if the overarching goal is broadly "to achieve substantive global mindedness" and if the student as global citizen is "conceived as the ideal global graduate" (p. 5). Despite the importance of young peoples' perspectives to GCE programme design and pedagogical approach, the report notes "the question of how young people interpret and see their role in relation to the wider world tends to be ignored in the framing of programs for global citizenship within universities" (p. 5). Examining the ambiguous and contested nature of GCE, and further establishing the research gap surrounding the expectations, aspirations and relationship of young people to GCE, will be dealt with further in the next chapter.

3 Literature Review of the Concept of GCE and Related Research

The following literature review further elaborates on the understanding of the concept of global citizenship and GCE presented in Chapter 1. This is done through a critical examination of scholarship pertaining to global citizenship, GCE, and its relation to higher education. The intention is to, firstly, interrogate the notions of global citizenship and GCE to better understand how why and how is has come to be implemented in higher education programmes as part of internationalisation efforts in Australasia discussed in Chapter 2, and the kinds on objectives these programmes have in relation to learners. This is followed by a narrower focus on the rationale for calls to centre the learner in GCE research, which helps to clearly establish the gaps this research seeks to write into. The consideration of the learner in GCE is then expanded upon in Chapter 4, which provides a theoretical framework to analyse young peoples' accounts of the formation of their civic identities in relation to their educational and life experience across the transition from secondary school to university.

3.1 Global Citizenship as Concept

Ancient and enlightenment versions of global citizenship were largely limited to the realm of a "philosophical worldview" of an elite few but paved the way for individuals to consider their capacity to participate in, and affect, world affairs through alternative forms of political organisation in the twentieth century (Dower & Williams, 2002, p. 4). As a concept, global citizenship has existed in some form for millennia (Appiah, 2008), and in that sense easily precedes the notion of citizenship bounded by the nation-state. Current formulations have various historical antecedents and associated concepts. Appiah (2006, 2008) emphasises the connection between global citizenship and cosmopolitanism[17] – redefining the latter for a twenty-first century context as a universal minimum degree of moral responsibility to each other between all humanity, while maintaining an acceptance of difference and openness to fallibility. He asserts that this is demanded of us by modern globalisation which makes

[17] It is important to note that while Appiah acknowledges cosmopolitanism's origin in ancient Greece and Asia Minor he also notes the concept has developed independently (and continues to develop organically), in one form or another, across many cultural traditions. In discussing cosmopolitan citizenship Isin and Turner (2002) stress the need to appreciate how diverse cultures (they take the Islamic world as an example) have "experienced globalisation prior to modernity" and suggest a failure to do so will mean "falling into the trap of previous forms of orientalism" (p. 9).

knowledge of other cultures and people common place and, in theory, enables contact with any human on the planet.

In the 20th and early 21st century development education[18] and development agencies have been keys to the evolution and propagation of global citizenship as an educational principle (Bourn, 2015; Torres, 2017). Two world wars, the foundation of the United Nations and various international conventions, the rise of development as a shared international project post 1945, and the increased prominence of transnational organisations (and corporations), NGOs, social movements, and other forms of civil society, have all bolstered this sense of connection between the individual and the global sphere of action. Bourn (2015) notes the explosion of global citizenship literature in the 1990s and into the early 2000s. He draws attention to the work of the development education movement, and particularly Oxfam, in establishing the term as "a way of interpreting personal responsibility and engagement in global and development issues, with a nod to educational agendas around identity and political citizenship" (p. 22). Torres (2017) traces the significant role of global citizenship in the maturation of UNESCO's approaches to education since the Education For All initiative emerging from the Jomtien conference in 1990. This has recently culminated in the inclusion of global citizenship education in target 4.7 of SDG 4, and its accompanying indicator (4.7.1) that it is to be "mainstreamed in (a) national education policies, (b) curricula, (c) teacher education and (d) student assessment" (UN, 2015b).

UNESCO (2015) defines global citizenship as: "a sense of belonging to a broader community and common humanity…it emphasises political, economic, social and cultural interdependency and interconnectedness between the local, national and global" (p. 14). For Oxfam, global citizenship "is all about encouraging young people to develop the knowledge, skills and values they need to engage with the world…it's about the belief that we can all make a difference" (n.d.).

Tensions between global citizenship as abstraction (knowledge and disposition) and action (behavior and participation) are apparent in the varying definitions of the concept. This tension

[18] Both Bourn (2015) and Torres (2017) call attention to the role of various associated educational discourses - such as environmental education, multi- and inter-cultural education, peace education, global education, human rights education, education for sustainable development – in shaping the notion of global citizenship and GCE. Bourn also acknowledges the influence of activist communities who were in some cases early adopters of the term.

runs through much of the academic literature. Davies (2006) asks whether global citizenship is "merely a metaphor, a linguistic fancy which deliberately [and paradoxically] transposes a national political reality to a wider world order" (p. 5), or whether it is something that realises the action implied by citizenship. Peters (2010) argues that a more sophisticated understanding of national and international human and social rights in relationship to global citizenship is required to unlock the concept's full potential to offset "uneven and unequal" effects of globalization, and for "developing genuine transnational alliances and defining entirely new sets of rights within supranational political arenas" (p. 46). Matthews and Sidhu (2005), drawing on Parekh (2003), point out that this level of abstraction and impracticality can dissipate the energy required to enact real change. Toukan (2017) notes a general tendency for efforts to promote global citizenship to focus on "*learning about* action, rather than *engaging in* action" (p. 60).

On the other hand, authors such as Nussbaum (1997, 2002) advocate strongly for the innate value of moral global citizenship as a kind of virtue ethics cultivating critical appraisal of one's own national and cultural context, empathy, and an imaginative ability to engage respectfully with contexts beyond one's own. Davies (2006) herself concludes that global citizenship holds great potential as an educational tool promoting meaningful civic engagement (especially once the realities of curriculum design, resourcing and teacher training have been worked through). Dower (2000) suggests that along with a commitment to social justice and environmental concerns global citizenship means channeling the resulting values and dispositions into the existing institutional structures dedicated to them and seeking to improve them and/or build new ones where possible.

As seen above, UNESCO and Oxfam promote understanding of the relationship and interconnectedness of social issues at the local, national, and global levels, as a pathway to globally-inflected forms of civic engagement and action. Schattle (2008b) argues that global citizenship is "rich, complex, and tangible", based on the fact that it is undeniably having an effect on everyday practice of many individuals and organisations. Individuals are invoking it to frame "their senses of membership, participation, and responsibility in the political, social, cultural sphere", and organisations and educational institutions are very deliberately invoking the principle "to describe their activities and design programs and strategies" (p. 159).

Schattle (2008b) provides a framework for understanding what is meant by global citizenship when practically applied by individuals, which seeks to bridge the gap between abstract and active characterisations. It is based on ten years of research collecting public references to global citizenship (in documents and online) and dozens of interviews with self-described global citizens. From this Schattle identifies three intertwined and mutually-reinforcing primary concepts underpinning global citizenship: 'awareness', 'responsibility', and 'participation' Awareness refers to global citizenship as a state of mind that expands out from the individual. It encompasses reflection and self-awareness, awareness of other cultural practices and empathy for other people, and knowledge of the "interdependence among countries, cultures, economies, ecosystems, and all life on the planet", and the intersection of important issues "such as human rights, poverty, trade and environmental sustainability" (p. 44). Responsibility "serves as the ethical fulcrum between awareness and participation" (p. 44). It builds on the notion of principled decision making, leading people to consider the rights and needs of other communities, cultivate empathy in themselves and others, engage politically, and consume ethically. For Schattle it means people addressing their own impact on the planet, legacy, and taking a proactive approach to 'doing their bit'. Participation itself is often embodied in more structured activities such as activism, and civic engagement with communities, social movements and governance structures and their reform.

Schattle (2008b) also stresses an interpretation of global citizenship as being something active (whether manifesting as an abstract disposition or concrete action), in that it is something continually being applied (like a filter) and performed:

> Rather than emerging as a noun indicating fixed membership status or permanent transfers of authority and allegiance from the nation-state to the world, global citizenship now emerges frequently as a verb, a concept of action signifying ways of thinking and living within multiple cross-cutting communities – cities, regions, states, nations, and international collectives – as well as network-based communities such as neighborhood groups, service organizations, and professional associations. (p. 3).

The performative nature of global citizenship is reinforced by the idea that individuals are comprised of multiple identities they can choose (or are forced) to assert, show, or not show in varying degrees, depending on context and stage of life (Matthews & Sidhu, 2005; Pashby,

2018; Schattle, 2008b). The salience of these multiple and shifting identities has been increased by the greater ease with which individuals move between the kind of 'cross-cutting communities' described by Schattle, the multiscalar nature of globalised life, and the technology which increases possibilities for projecting performances of identity.[19]

However, establishing just who is a global citizen, or who is most likely to consider, or be encouraged to consider, their actions and identify in this way, remains a central point of contention pervading discussions of GCE. Multiple authors have remarked on a tendency for those espousing the virtues of global citizenship, and/or educating for it, to be implicitly addressing a privileged liberal Western citizen subject (Mathews & Sidhu, 2005; Jefferess, 2008, Pashby, 2011). Decolonial critiques of global citizenship, and especially of GCE, warn of its potential to become an instrument of neocolonial discourses - mirroring those often associated with international development agendas and North-South relationships more generally. This implies an inherent valorisation of a Western vision of the concept, and not allowing for a serious engagement with epistemological or ontological diversity (Abdi & Shultz, 2008; Abdi, Shultz, & Pilay 2015; Andreotti & de Souza, 2012).

Beyond education, Jefferess (2012) has demonstrated the potential for global citizenship to be reduced to a 'lifestyle brand' by initiatives focusing on a "neoliberal formulation of the practice of philanthropy" that "relies upon corporate-consumer affiliation not only with the "brand" but also, in some cases, celebrity (p. 19). Sant, Davies, Pashby, and Shultz (2018) summarise the way global citizenship has been coopted within neoliberal discourse to defend the expansion of global "economically liberalized environment" against "anticolonial and anti-globalization resistance" (p. 15). Schattle (2008a) makes the point that global citizenship is frequently invoked in contexts not directly linked to moral or ethical responsibility – but instead to describe things like personal employability and the pursuit of professional opportunities across borders, 'jet-setter' lifestyles, or the efforts of transnational corporations to access different markets, amongst others. Sant et al. (2018) collect the major trends in understandings of global citizenship discussed the preceding paragraphs under the labels: humanist, neoliberal and postcolonial. How discourses constellating around these categorisations are invoked,

[19] The literature connecting global citizenship and identity will be explored in greater detail below.

privileged, and balanced are key questions in the design and implementation of GCE offerings and feature prominently in the literature.

3.2 Global Citizenship Education

The debate around global citizenship turns on the various philosophical positions, "dispositions and agendas it embodies". Considerations of GCE add a focus on the practical implementation of education for global citizenship and its "goals in terms of student outcomes" (Yemini, 2017, p. 61). The principal domains in which it has been implemented are: formal and non-formal education provided by civil society actors in the development sector; (integrated into) national school curricula and/or targeted programmes of individual schools; as well as internationalised higher education.

As noted above, contemporary incarnations of GCE are rooted in the educational visions of development sector and civil society organisations, and especially UNESCO and Oxfam (Bourn, 2015; Torres, 2017). GCE is conceived of by UNESCO as a:

> humanistic approach that supports learners of all ages in acquiring values, knowledge and skills founded in notions of human rights, social justice, diversity, gender equality and environmental sustainable development. This is to support the normative function of learners acting as global citizens, with a promotion of implied rights and responsibilities towards fostering a better world for posterity." (Lockhart, 2016, p. 3)

It acts as a lens or framework to be applied at all levels of education from primary to tertiary and beyond, both formal and non-formal, and in both high and low income countries, to better prepare students and lifelong learners for the globalised realities of study, work, and life in the 21st century.

UNESCO and Oxfam both stress the *transformative* mission of GCE – to equip learners with knowledge, competencies, and a level of criticality enabling them to effect both personal dispositional change and actively contribute to societal change. Both organisations see successful GCE taking place within, and linking, the dimensions of 'learning', 'thinking', and 'acting' (Oxfam, n.d.). UNESCO (2015) terms these dimensions: 'cognitive' (acquiring

"knowledge, understanding and critical thinking about global, regional, national and local issues and the interconnectedness and interdependency of different countries and populations"); 'socio-cultural' ("to have a sense of belonging to a common humanity, sharing values and responsibilities, empathy, solidarity, and respect for differences and diversity"); and 'behavioural' ("To act effectively and responsibly at local, national and global levels for a more peaceful and sustainable world") (p. 15). For UNESCO (2015) these three dimensions "serve as the basis for defining global citizenship education goals, learning objectives and competencies, as well as priorities for assessing and evaluating learning" (p.14). Both organisations have moved to clarify possibilities for action and enactment especially through materials promoting practical activities, assessment and evaluation for global citizenship education offerings after criticism of earlier articulations of the concept (see UNESCO, 2018; Oxfam 2015a, Oxfam 2015b).

Sant et al. (2018) note that the complexity and contentiousness of GCE partly stems from the fact that each of those three composite concepts are complex and contentious in their own right. They argue, along with many other authors, that a single definition of GCE therefore becomes impossible, and even undesirable - given it is a form of education that by its own logic encourages diverse interpretations. Instead, they approach GCE through Biesta's (2009) three core purposes of education: qualification, socialisation, and subjectification.

For Sant et al. (2018) GCE as 'qualification' means producing measurable knowledge, skills, and understandings associated with global issues and intercultural competence, and that lead to "doing something" (p. 22). Outcomes are usually associated with individual employability in globalised job-market and intercultural competency, and/or increasing the global competence of a nation's human capital stock to ensure economic competitiveness. Another suggested objective relates to universities' framing qualifications in terms of their 'global' approach or ability to produce global citizens in order to increase their attractiveness to students (and international students in particular). This kind of GCE has been heavily criticised for its deficit-based approach – assuming learners are *not* already enacting global citizenship but need to be taught to be a *prescribed* type of global citizen by way of the educational offering in question (Sant et al., 2018, drawing on Biesta and Lawy (2006)). They note the tendency for this approach to privilege neoliberal values and competition, and question whether "the humanistic

ideal of ‘global citizenry’ is transformed into some sort of consumer citizenry” (Sant et al., 2018, p. 24).

GCE as ‘socialisation’ refers to its role in enabling membership of “social, cultural and political orders (Biesta, 2009, p. 40) that promote “certain values and identities that allow us to become ‘better’ citizens of the world” (Sant et al., 2018, p. 24). The kinds of values invoked are those associated with the educational discourse of UNESCO, Oxfam and other civil society organisations around human rights, peace and conflict resolution, and education for sustainable development (ESD), and can be aligned with the humanistic classifications of global citizenship discussed in the preceding section.

GCE as ‘subjectification’ involves fostering critical distance in learners from the education systems and societies in which they are learning. In contradistinction to the two previously described approaches Sant et al. (2018) see this as GCE “from below” (p. 25), in that rather than being prescriptive they provide a space where learners’ critical reflections are centred (Andreotti, 2006).

Shultz (2007) also highlights the importance of understanding GCE offerings in terms of their global citizenship ‘goals’. In reviewing initiatives from varying contexts (the formal education sector in the form of Canadian state policy of international education; and informal programmes offered by civil society organisations) she devises a conceptual framework dividing GCE into neoliberal, radical and transformational approaches. The neoliberal approach is grounded in the equation of liberal market values and consumer choice with democracy, and views the citizen as consumer best able to influence society through consumer choice. Neoliberal GCE, essentially commensurate with GCE as ‘qualification’, has a primary objective of increasing “transnational mobility of knowledge and skills” (p. 252). Those skills and that knowledge then enable the learner to participate economically. Learners participate through pursuing personal and business ends, or the kinds of “instrumental interventionism” she associates with the project of traditional development designed to mediate “the uneven effects of such global action” (p. 252). International education, (and particularly exchange, study abroad, and other educational travel initiatives often framed in terms of GCE) primarily serve to prepare the learner to negotiate the “liberal global environment”. It does not, however, seriously engage with the inequities or need for “any need for structural change” within that environment (p. 252).

In Shultz's typology neoliberal GCE is opposed to both the radical and transformationalist approaches. The radical approach encourages robust critique of the power imbalances between North and South, and international organisations and structures that sustain them. It encourages local forms of direct action and ultimately seeks to effect radical change. The transformationalist approach fosters understanding of globalisation as a complex new set of relationships between global and local actors across the economic, political, social and cultural spheres. While it promotes critique and recognition of inequities of the global order and the forces that perpetuate them, it emphasises "processes of building relationships and creating space for dialogue" to "engage participants in acting on an understanding of their common humanity and shared concerns" (p. 256.)

Andreotti's (2006) distinction between 'soft' and 'critical' GCE has proved a seminal influence for both the two latter approaches. Soft GCE is characterised by an overemphasis on awareness raising, moral and soft skills, and an underdeveloped engagement with historical and contemporary political, economic, and power structures underlying social injustice and environmental degradation. Andreotti and de Souza (2012) point out that:

> Some of these [educational] initiatives to produce global subjectivities tend to prescribe the adoption of strategies that very often foreclose the complex historical, cultural, and political nature of the issues, identities and perspectives embedded in global/local processes and events and in the production of knowledge about the self, the other, and the world. (p. 1)

While Andreotti (2006) acknowledges that soft GCE can be an important step - in terms of raising 'awareness' and fostering moral responsibility, and potentially builds momentum for action - it also runs the risk of perpetuating simplistic us/them and here/there binaries. This can result in "educational practices that unintentionally reproduce ethnocentric, ahistorical, depoliticized, paternalistic, salvationist and triumphalist approaches that tend to deficit theorize, pathologize, or trivialize difference" (Andreotti & de Souza, 2012, p. 1). Critical GCE, by contrast, focuses on developing a "critical literacy" comprised of "reflexivity" and "critical engagement" skills that in turn promote "analysis and critique of the relationships among perspectives, language, power, social groups and social practices *by the learners*" (Andreotti,

2006, p. 49). In critical GCE the emphasis is on: deconstructing how issues, global and local, are presented and framed; unraveling and critically engaging with the historical and cultural production of knowledge; cultivating an openness to diverse epistemological and ontological approaches to the issues; the centering of relationships and power dynamics; and resistance to narrowly didactic approaches that assert a moral authority or a singular reading of events (Andreotti, 2006; Andreotti & de Souza, 2012).

GCE programmes are often ideologically and pedagogically diverse (Jorgenson & Shultz, 2012). Schattle (2008a) points out that some may have a capitalist neoliberal bent focusing on international trade and business, some a commitment to social justice engaging primarily with questions of equity and poverty reduction, while others may concentrate on environmental issues. Whereas others still may not primarily focus on 'issues' per se, but rather on the development of certain competencies (Oxley & Morris, 2013) like language learning, intercultural communication, leadership, critical thinking, emotional intelligence etc.); on personal achievements (undertaking overseas internships, entering international competitions, winning international awards; completing volunteering/voluntourism placements; successful fundraising projects for international/service projects etc.); and/or on more ideologically unaligned civic virtues (being 'open-minded', 'inquisitive', 'reflective', 'empathetic', 'respectful' etc. (Schattle, 2008a, p. 89)).

Educational institutions may of course mix and match approaches; calibrating the degree of emphasis on each through teaching time, assessment, varying expertise of available teaching/programme staff, and, potentially, student interest. A further consideration for Schattle (and various authors – see Sant et al. 2018) is the willingness of many institutions, especially at tertiary level, to allow for pluralistic interpretations of global citizenship education, and the individual concepts introduced under its umbrella, "to co-exist – thereby not even attempting or wishing to resolve contestation" (2008a, p. 89). This is, arguably, particularly true of universities given their size, diversity of actors, and the complexity of their functions.

3.3 Global Citizenship Education in Higher Education Settings

GCE has been integrated into the functioning of universities around the world, both in terms of strategy and teaching and learning (Clifford & Montgomery, 2017). At an institutional level it is usually associated with internationalisation strategies, graduate attributes, and other institutional policy frameworks. Shultz and Jorgenson (2009) identify a few of the most common forms through which university students are likely to directly engage with GCE: "inter-faculty programming; formal and non-formal education programs; and community engagement including both local and international partners" (p.29). Another prominent (and much criticised (Zemach-Bersin, 2007, 2012)) addition to this list are formal educational mobility opportunities such as study abroad, exchange semesters, and experiential service learning trips (Lewin, 2009). A further important and counterpoint framing for higher education GCE initiatives is 'internationalisation at home' (IaH), which refers to "the purposeful integration of international and intercultural dimensions into the formal and [non-formal/] informal curriculum for all students within domestic learning environments [i.e. on a 'home' campus]" (Beelen & Jones, 2015, p. 69). This last concept is particularly important in the context of this study, as the programmes taken as research sites can be regarded as non-formal and formal examples of IaH respectively.

The multiplicity of GCE approaches reflects the complex relationship between GCE and internationalisation in higher education. As discussed in the preceding chapter, many commentators have highlighted an apparent clash between rationales for internationalisation of higher education linked to deepening socio-cultural and academic exchange and understanding, and the more market-driven, commercialised, and competition based rationales that have arguably taken precedence over them (see for example: Altbach & Knight, 2007; Harrison, 2015; Knight, 2013; Ng, 2012; Teichler, 2004; Wadhwa, 2016; Wihlborg & Robson 2018). For some, internationalisation and GCE actually constitute overlapping but ultimately distinct and competing agendas corresponding with the above rationales (GCE with the former and internationalisation with the latter) within higher education institutions (Jorgenson and Shultz, 2012). For Yemini (2017) GCE in higher education represents a pedagogical practice within broader internationalisation policy, aimed at developing the competency of global citizenship. Haigh (2014) provides a useful model[20] of internationalisation composed of eight coexisting

[20] The eight levels of Haigh's (2014) model are: "(1) recruiting international students; (2) teaching international students; (3) growing the international enterprise university through the competitive recruitment of international staff and students; (4) compliance with standards set by international accreditation agencies; (5) 'internationalisation at home', which means internationalisation of the curriculum for local learners; (6) education for global citizenship; (7) connected e-learning; and (8) education for planetary, whole-Earth, consciousness" (p. 6).

layers ranging from the more “materialistic” goals associated with “institutional survival and competition” (p. 6) (such as the recruitment of international student and staff), through to the more “idealistic” levels of GCE education for a “holistic awareness at the planetary scale” (p. 21). For most though, the rapid recent proliferation of GCE in higher education is *both* response to, and evolution within, the discourse of internationalisation (de Wit et al., 2015; Haigh 2014; IAU, 2012; Kraska, Bourn, & Blum, 2018). This is especially true when the latter is defined as an overarching term used to describe the manifold ways in which universities attempt to respond to the challenges of globalisation.

Seen in this light, GCE in higher education is being implemented against the backdrop of a neoliberal turn in both internationalisation and the functioning of the university more generally (Marginson, 2014a; Rhoades & Szelényi, 2011). A great deal of the literature focuses on the impact this has had on GCE offerings in higher education to date, and it further fuels critiques of higher education GCE as being (but not always, and not necessarily limited to): non-critical (or characterized as: ‘soft’ by Andreotti, 2006; ‘Neoliberal’, Shultz, 2007; ‘Weak’, Shultz, 2011; ‘Entrepreneurial’, Stein, 2015); tokenistic and harnessed to commercially driven attempts at internationalisation (Hammond & Keating, 2018; Schartner & Cho, 2017); and potentially contributing to homogenising, West-centric, and/or neocolonial dimensions of globalisation and internationalisation (Andreotti & de Souza, 2012; Pashby, 2018; Stein, 2015).

Yet, many commentators (and indeed many of the aforementioned authors critical of versions or elements of GCE) still see great potential for GCE to be a tool to help universities avoid these very pitfalls and to reengage with their (global) civic missions in a 21st century context (de Wit et al., 2015; Lewin, 2009; Sant et al., 2018; Torres, 2017). There is a distinct hope that reflexive and critical GCE in higher education can be a way of reimagining epistemically diverse (Abdi, Shultz, & Pillay, 2015), “historically and culturally inclusive”, and multi-dimensional notions of global citizenship - taking into account not just political but also social, educational, cultural, economic and technological dimensions of citizenship (Shultz, Abdi, & Richardson, 2011, p. 3). GCE is seen as a potential vehicle for forms of transformative learning in higher education helping students to better understand notions of oppression, privilege and social justice (Robinson & Levac, 2018), although with the caveat of possible dilution and constraints imposed by the institutional environment (Bamber, Lewin, & White, 2018).

Hammond and Keating (2018) neatly summarise much of the discussion around the competing claims being made on GCE, and their potential impact on GCE in higher education and individual learners as follows:

> This increasingly marketised HE environment has, in turn, led to the re-conceptualisation of students as customers, leading some to argue that student satisfaction and employability rates have superseded the traditional goals of HE teaching and learning (i.e. the production of informed, well-rounded and critically engaged citizens) (Giroux 2002). The question then arises, in today's era of neoliberal global higher education, are universities actually aiming to produce global *citizens* or simply global *workers*? (pp. 1-2)

Stein (2015) complicates the binary nature of the above representation in a theoretical mapping tracing the "reoccurring discursive scripts" of four major global citizenship positions in higher education (p. 249). She identifies three existing global citizenship positions, (entrepreneurial, liberal humanist, and anti-oppressive) and an emergent fourth 'incommensurable position':

> The entrepreneurial position emphasizes global citizenship as a means for rational economic actors to better compete in a global economy for their own benefit, and/or for the benefit of their nation. The liberal humanist position seeks to make existing systems more inclusive, and predicates concern for the Other on recognition of a universal humanity … I map a third, the anti-oppressive position, which is often articulated in direct refutation of the first two positions, and then a fourth, the incommensurable position, which conceptualizes engagement across onto-epistemological difference. I conclude by reflecting on the challenges involved in efforts to push beyond existing scripts and toward global citizenship other-wise. (p. 243)

The effort to "push beyond existing" scripts is an important feature of Stein's approach. She highlights the way these social scripts become entrenched and reproduced not just by institutions and educators, but also in "students' identities and sense of self" (p. 250). She promotes the value of facilitating student engagement with the existent scripts, or ones of their own collaborative making, to achieve a critical distance and imaginative space to generate "new possibilities for knowing, being and relating" (p. 250). A crucial step in pushing beyond these scripts (in practice and research) is developing better understandings of the learner experience

and how it relates to their sense of self - not only in terms of a given GCE programme, but what they bring to the programme, and how they integrate the scripts they encounter through it into their wider life.

3.4 Centering Students in GCE Research

Empirical studies of GCE in relation to university-aged youth are particularly scarce in the New Zealand context and still rare in the Australian one. Chui and Leung (2014) point out that:

> Given the exigency to prepare university students for careers not only in local but also in international and global contexts, the need for evidence-based educational practice is greater than ever. Before implementing such evidence-based educational practice, it is of paramount importance to first map out students' attitudes towards globalization and global citizenship and to identify gaps in knowledge in order to guide pedagogy and curriculum design aimed at equipping young people with the abilities required to navigate with ease in the global world of today and tomorrow. (p. 107)

A deeper understanding of learner experiences would also aid in the development of evidence-based GCE policy at the wider national level, as well as the institutional one. (2017). Schartner and Cho (2017) echo the concern that with regard to 'internationalisation at home' and 'global citizenship' both perceptions and "'lived' experiences of higher education staff and students remain largely underexplored", and yet have an important role in the formation of internationalisation policy, as well as content and approaches to measurement. Schartner and Cho (2017) explain further:

> Students play a crucial, dual role in HE internationalisation processes, both as consumers of internationalisation, selecting their university based on international rankings, and as outputs of processes aimed at producing globally minded graduates (Yemini et al. 2014). Whilst the 'lived' experiences of internationally mobile students are relatively well understood (e.g. Young et al. 2013; Schartner 2015), little is known about their orientation towards concepts such as 'internationalisation at home' and 'global citizenship'. (p. 456)

The definitions and purposes of global citizenship, and the ways GCE is, or should be, implemented in universities, continue to be fluid and contested. Indeed, definitions and strategic visions underpinning GCE initiatives are at times even absent or only vaguely outlined at the governmental and/or institutional level. It is, therefore, not surprising that there is a tendency for research on the subject to address this by focusing more on theory and what is *taught* (i.e. the content, design, curricula and mobility dimensions of programmes) (Bourn, 2013). While more definitional and theoretical clarity is needed, calls are also being made for more empirical research into what is being *learnt* and understood (especially in terms of student conceptions of global citizenship and experience of GCE) (Christensen, 2013; Chui & Leung, 2014; Harris; 2015; Meyers 2010; Oleksiyenko, 2018; Yemini & Furstenburg, 2018).

Biesta and Lawy (2006) highlight a similar bias towards what is *taught* in youth citizenship and citizenship education research generally. However, there is a growing recognition of how explorations of young people's lifeworlds can enrich understandings of citizenship as practice (Biesta & Lawy 2006, Hung, 2011; Lawy & Biesta, 2006). Citizenship education is increasingly being recognised as lived experience embedded in these complex lifeworlds, of individuals and communities, with their personal and collective histories (Biesta, Lawy, & Kelly, 2009; Biesta, 2011). Recent scholarship highlights the "continuing need to understand young people's lived and located experiences" of citizenship and its various dimensions in more "sophisticated and nuanced" ways (Walsh, Black & Prosser, 2018, p. 218). To elicit these kinds of rich understandings more respect and attention needs to be paid to the ways young people voice their experiences (Hart, 2009; Nicoll, Fejes, Olson, Dahlstedt, & Biesta, 2013), and the differing contexts in which these experiences occur (Biesta et al., 2009; Biesta, 2011; Hall, Coffey, & Williamson, 1999; Hung, 2011; Kallio, 2017, 2018).

Wierenga (2013) also laments trends in international education policy and associated instrumental testing systems that are "essentially defining young people as economic units and productive workers", and subsequently lead to a "narrowing rather than broadening of education inputs" (p. 21). They relay reports from some young people leaving education who feel equipped for the workforce, but not to engage with their immediate and broader communities as citizens. In the same volume Wyn (2013) sets out ways in which GCE can play a key role in remedying this by enabling students to critically explore their relationship to the

world (beyond limited or superficial constructions of the national), their sense of belonging and how they are valued, their rights and responsibilities, and ability to effect the change required to tackle globally interrelated social and environmental challenges. Wyn suggests:

> Three interrelated elements in particular call for a renewed focus on the constellation of educational areas that are implicated in citizenship, social inclusion and social capital: new patterns of transition for young people; the requirement to become navigators in uncharted territory; and the trend for local and global influences to intersect in young people's lives (p. 110).

Ratnam (2013), reinforces the importance of understanding the way young people's life narratives and lived experience, along with formal citizenship education, during the now extended transitions to adulthood, are crucial to improving the design, integration and implementation of GCE offerings in schools (and by extension, universities). This reiterates Davies's (2006) point that "where the research is sorely lacking is in what predisposes people to take part in issues related to their role as global citizen" (p. 18). Ratnam highlights recent research revealing the new and more globally-inflected ways in which young people are engaging and participating in civic life, and how recognition of these new modes of youth civic engagement and the lived experience of citizenship they bring to formal citizenship education, provide a counter-narrative to the prevailing civic-defect model (which is further discussed in Chapter 4).

The outcomes report for IEAA's symposium on GCE in higher education in Australia identifies "Further research on young people's own views and practices regarding global citizenship and their own principles for global citizenship education" as one of five "critical research needs" (Murray/IEAA, 2014, p. 28). In a discussion paper from the same event Harris (2014) unpacks this further, arguing that it is crucial "in order to capitalise on the promising developments in critical citizenship education towards youth-led learning and to understand how young people are already (differentially) operating as global actors" (p. 11). Building on the work of Andreotti (2006) and Wierenga and Guevara (2013) in particular, Harris (2014) points out a tendency to both ignore young people's own interpretations of their "role and relationship to the wider world" (Bourn, 2013, p. ix) and promote a deficit approach to GCE. An approach focused on teaching young people how to become a global citizen rather than helping them understand and

learn from the ways in which they already are. Harris (2014) reframes the question posed above by Hammond and Keating (2018) as to whether higher education institutions are really aiming to produce global citizens or global workers – she emphasises the complex ways in which young people are engaging with GCE in order to pursue their commitment to *both* wider social causes *and* personal development outcomes related to employability and leadership. Harris (2014) (echoing Ratnam, 2013) asks instead, given the differences in background and high school experience of GCE amongst tertiary students, "what prior experiences, knowledge, competencies and expectations [do] young people bring", to the GCE programmes they engage with in higher education settings?

This emergent research focus on centring young people's experience of citizenship education and GCE has emphasised relational, spatial, and affective understandings (Wood & Black, 2018). Christensen's (2013) work explores meanings of global citizenship amongst Australian and Indonesian adolescents but takes a broader approach. She acknowledges the formation of global citizenship identity: "for a young person or adolescent involves many changing relationships between oneself and the multiple contextual levels in which the young person is embedded" (p. 238). Christensen pays special attention to the potential influential role of GCE educators. Matthews & Sidhu (2005) also take a relational approach to examine social relations of international high school students in Australia with their peers and the school environment. They reveal the way these relationships and particularities of their 'situatedness' actually limit possibilities to develop "globally oriented, cosmopolitan subjectivities". Hörschelmann and Refaie (2014) examine how relational accounts of citizenship can extend transnationally through young people's intimate and/or intense connections to international politics. In so doing they argue that global citizenship "evolves from specific lines of connection and disconnection that are actualised and modified in performances of citizenship identities" (p. 444). Schattle's (2008b) approach, though mainly focused on adult professionals, is also instructive here. In inviting individuals to assess their practices of global citizenship and the development of their global citizenship identities across the life course he allows space for a more dynamic, reflective, and reflexive appreciation of identity construction across time and transitions.

3.5 Summary

For many, GCE resonates with the revival and globalising of the civic mission of 21st century universities, and as such it is considered a natural fit with the internationalisation strategies prevalent at Australasian institutions as discussed in Chapter 2. For others it is at best tokenistic, and at worst perpetuates forms of cultural imperialism and structural inequality. As such further research is needed informing the ways in which global citizenship can be incorporated as an "organising principle and curricula outcome" (Lilley, 2014, p. 1) in Australasian universities.

This chapter has served to unpack the dense and contested concepts of global citizenship and GCE in relation to higher education, with the intention of better examining the objective of the programmes considered here, which in turn provides the frame for the lived experience of their students. As shown above the basic aim of GCE, is to both cultivate certain forms of cosmopolitan and global-civic knowledge and awareness in students, as well as an affective connection with, and sense of responsibility to, people (and places) both within and beyond their immediate communities, to whom they are linked by processes of global interconnectedness. Questions remain however about how (and if) different types GCE facilitate opportunities for students to actually participate and act on this knowledge and sense of connection, and just what constitutes desirable global citizenship knowledge and action.

One key to developing more effective and transformative institutional policies, as well as practice, is a genuine engagement with young learners. Much of the previous empirical research explicitly investigating global citizenship through the lens of youth identities or subjectivities concentrate on temporally static and/or passive constructions concerned primarily with learners' understanding of presupposed concepts at a certain point in time. However, emergent work incorporating relational, situated, and temporally dynamic approaches that have emerged in wider citizenship and identity research, is arguably better placed to explore the construction and performance of citizenship identities. This body of work is drawn upon to construct a theoretical framework in the following chapter.

4 Theoretical Framework

This chapter presents a theoretical framework that has been designed to facilitate the analysis of youth global citizenship identities *in transition*, in particular young people's citizenship identity formation in the context of engaging with university global citizenship education programmes. This has been achieved by following Harris (2015) in using "broad citizenship processes" (p. 85) *participation*, *belonging* and *recognition* as framing concepts, while concentrating on how young people experience the global influencing these. I also drew on Wood (2017), in exploring the theoretical intersection of youth citizenship identities and youth transitions as a way of disrupting traditional linear notions of citizenship identity formation in order to engage with the new life patterns and pathways being experienced by contemporary youth. When applied together this represented an innovative and critical approach to understating the lived experience of young people undertaking GCE in higher education, and thereby writing into the research gaps identified at the culmination of the previous chapter.

These emergent forms and spaces of youth (global) citizenship are first related to recent and directly anteceding theorisations of postmodern and everyday citizenship, which also had an important influence on my analytical approach and my overall research design.

4.1 Everyday Citizenship

In order to take an approach to global citizenship identity[21] formation that enables less linear and less normative understandings, a postmodern theorisation of identity formation was adopted positing that citizenship identities are plural, multidimensional and hybridised (Isin & Wood, 1999). They are changeable or 'liquid' due to being less bound by 'old' forms of collective identity, and more individualised and more globalised (Bauman, 2000). Citizenship identities are also understood as inherently social constructions and therefore subjectivities shaped by dominant discourses (Hall, 2000) that are produced over the lifecourse in relation to "institutional and biographical prescriptions" (Beck, 1992, p.135). At the same time the individual retains a degree of agency in the construction of their citizenship identity

[21] Identity is a core concept in social science with an enormous amount of literature orbiting it, produced across multiple disciplines. Sant et al. (2018, pp. 45-53) offer an excellent starting point to consider a large range of alternative theorisations of identity that could be applied in the context of global citizenship.

(Marginson, 2014b) through the reassembling and 'suturing' of discursive elements (Hall, 2000) and acts of 'performativity' Butler (1997).

The enactment and performance of citizenship identities is another important facet of their construction by young people (Nelson & Kerr, 2006), especially those actions that challenge normative citizenship scripts (Isin & Nielsen, 2008; Wood & Black, 2014). Prior research underlines the power of active forms of citizenship (in terms of engagement with political and civic processes and actors), that confer the sense of having an ability to effect positive societal change, in the construction of citizenship identities (Youniss & Yates, 1999). In terms of global citizenship, various scholars have commented on the importance of combining both 'passive' (understandings, knowledge, dispositions) and 'active' (action) ways of 'doing' global citizenship (Christensen. 2013; Davies, 2006; Reysen & Hackett, 2017; Tallon et al., 2016; Toukan, 2017).

The importance of active and critical global citizenship in the construction of citizenship identities is also reflected in the theorisations of GCE (Andreotti, 2006; Shultz; 2007 & 2011; Stein, 2015, Sant et al; 2018), as well as certain approaches to practice (Robinson & Levac, 2018; UNESCO, 2014, 2015) considered in the previous chapter. In response to this, this study seeks a more informal, everyday approach to global citizenship identity construction in which daily life and acts become constitutive of identity development.

Theories of everyday citizenship propose that young people are 'doing' new types of citizenship in new spaces (Ratnam, 2013). Accordingly, they seek to examine *any and all* ways (young) people participate in citizenship (or do citizenship acts), where they do them, who they do them with or in relation to, and how they perform them (Biesta & Lawy, 2006; Hall et al., 1999, Wood, 2014). Consequently, my research is informed by this turn to a more sociological definition of citizenship, "in which the emphasis is less on legal rules and more on norms, practices, meanings and identities" (Isin & Turner, 2002, p. 4), that everyday citizenship represents. Special attention is paid to performances and enactments that occur outside the traditional spheres of citizenship (such as formal political acts like voting or in preordained moments of teaching and learning of formal education), and to personal, creative, and critical expressions of rupture with these established scripts.

Taking this youth-centred approach prompts examination of non-traditional avenues for civic association such as leisure activities, consumption, sub-cultures, digital spaces, creative pursuits, social entrepreneurship, familial and friendship relationships as some new potential fora for the enactment of citizenship (Harris et al., 2008; Harris, 2015; Wood, 2017). This does not mean ignoring the citizenship learning that occurs in, or in relation to, formal and public spaces like educational institutions. Instead, in this study a space was provided where participants had the license and room to critically reflect on the discursive constructions of global citizenship they were encountering in their programmes, and how they connected them – how they saw them informing and/or being informed by - their own lived experience of citizenship prior to and alongside the programmes. This is reflected in the formulation of my research questions, my choice of interpretivist and constructionist methodologies, and the design of my interview schedule - which prioritises capturing the way students voice the meaning they made from these processes.

Underpinning an everyday citizenship approach is the feminist critique of the traditional notion that citizenship only occurs in the public domain – they discard the idea that private and public political spheres are inherently separate (Pateman, 1989; Lister 2007). It is also important to note that the focus on the intimate, individual, and domestic as spheres of citizenship does not preclude a consideration of their connection with the global (Lister, 2007). Citizenship learning and actions are situated in the "unfolding lives of young people" which are in turn "implicated in a wider cultural, social, political and economic order" (Biesta & Lawy, 2006, p. 65). While these wider spheres always have important local specificities they also invariably connect with global phenomena, as citizenship occurs across "multiple scales…[that] are not hierarchical but overlapping" (Lister, 2007, p. 58)[22]. In this way aspects of global citizenship are realised in the personal spheres of individuals' lives and involved in citizenship identity construction.

4.2 Transitions and Youth Citizenship

Traditionally youth have been considered as "citizens in the making" (Marshall, 1950, p. 25) or 'citizens-in-waiting' (Weller, 2007), with full citizenship seen as something achieved in adulthood through its classic markers of full-time employment and independent living (Wyn &

[22] See Lister's (2007) illustration of this point with reference to ecological and sustainable citizenship drawing on Dobson (2003) and Bullen and Whitehead (2005).

White, 2000). Associated kinds of "future-oriented neoliberal constructions that position young people as citizens-as-workers" (P. Wood, 2013, p. ii), or "citizen-workers of the future" (Lister, 2003), also postpone the attainment of full citizenship status (and the accompanying rights and responsibilities) until they are able to contribute economically to society (Wood, 2017). In the process they tend to overlook the everyday ways in which young people (often un-, partially or precariously employed and/or still studying) currently enact citizenship. These tendencies have been compounded by a deficit model of youth citizenship prevalent in the moral and political discourse in Western Commonwealth countries in recent decades (including Australia and New Zealand) (Harris, Wyn, & Younes, 2008; P. Wood, 2013). The civic deficit model views young people as not adequately engaged with, or apathetic towards, political or civic life, and generally "not well informed about the role of citizens" (Harris, Wyn, & Younes, 2008, p. 7). Taken together these approaches have created "a vein of normative policies and research" focused on:

> …how young people can be socialized into the 'right' kind of citizens in the *future* through civic education, youth participation and community engagement programmes – not unlike much previous 'smooth' transition research. (Wood, 2017, p. 1180)

This study is guided by more inclusionary and everyday notions of citizenship that connect new, complex, and fluid patterns of youth transitions with the non-traditional forms, spaces, and expressions of everyday youth citizenship discussed in the previous subsection. Scholars developing new frames for marrying youth citizenship and transitions research (such as Harris, 2015; Wood, 2017) take into account the increasingly protracted nature of this transitional period of the lifecourse (Settersten, Fursternberg, & Rumbaut, 2005) and its de-standardisation in relation to patterns of leisure, production and consumption as well as the shifts in traditional markers of education, employment/careers, marriage, home ownership, and parenthood amongst others (Ecclestone et al., 2010; Furlong & Cartmel, 2007; Harris, 2015; Wyn & White, 2000). These new patterns mean young people are increasingly living both "youthful and adult" (Harris, 2009, p. 303) lives at the same time (Wood, 2017).

These new holistic approaches also acknowledge the ways global flows of people and information (including the internationalisation of higher education and the possibilities of the transnational labour market) contribute to this de-standardisation. As Wood (2017) notes, the

impact of globalisation has precipitated a "shift in thinking about time and space and young people's citizenship and transitions" (p. 1180), which take into account the weakening of distinct boundaries in people's lifeworlds and possibilities for multi-scalar citizenship influenced simultaneously by the local, regional, national, and global. Taken together, this underlines the need to develop more flexible and holistic understandings of how young people "achieve self-identity and negotiate new pathways to formations of both youth and adulthood" (Harris, 2015, p. 84), and citizenship, all the more important.

Harris (2015) proposes that youth citizenship is "a critical meeting point between analyses of youth cultural and leisure practices and theorizing about transitions" (p. 85). Likewise, a transitions perspective enriches constructions of youth citizenship. It can help to understand shifts in identity and agency over time in relation to the navigation of institutionalised pathways and "normative expectations of other structural factors" (Ecclestone et al., 2010, p. 12), and, in turn, how these inform youth citizenship. Harris (2015) also posits that:

> …young people are becoming 'self-actualizing citizens' (Bennet, 2003): disengaging from national politics and turning away from conventional associational life, but personalizing and globalizing citizenship by emphasizing their own behavior in terms of lifestyle and consumption and creating informal networks for fluid forms of action. (p. 86)

Of specific interest for this study is the way the young people interviewed exercised, or 'achieved' (Ecclestone et al., 2010) the kind of personalised and globally-inflected agency of the self-actualising citizen discussed by Harris (2015). At the same time a transitions framework was used to explore how the students had been thinking about and doing (global) citizenship across the period of secondary school and into university, and how they connected this with the discourses of global citizenship they were encountering through the GCE programmes they were undertaking at their respective higher education institutions.

The theoretical framing developed above, and the concomitant methodological choices presented in the next chapter, resulted in the collection of a large amount of rich and dense data in the form of subjective biographical accounts. To be able to discuss this data more specific framing concepts were adopted.

Following Harris (2015), the citizenship "thinking prompts" (p. 84) of *participation*, *belonging*, and *recognition* were used as fields across which the 'self-making' involved in the formation of youth (global) citizenship identities in transition can be traced. Table 4.1 provides further clarification on what is meant by each framing concept (discussed further in Chapter 8). A focus on these three "broad citizenship processes" enables examination of the more substantive dimensions and actual activities of youth citizenship that "young people already engage in…rather than a state to be arrived at when economic independence is achieved" (Harris, 2015, p. 85).

Table 4.1: Participation, Belonging and Recognition as Framing Concepts

Framing Concept	Working Definition
Belonging	Membership and social and civic bonds
Participation	engagement in society and constructing a publicly minded self
Recognition	having one's competencies and rights acknowledged

Source: Harris, 2015, p. 85

4.3 Less Linear and Normative Metaphors of Transition

Despite the acknowledged importance of the transitional period of late adolescence and young adulthood to the development of citizenship identities, Wood (2017) identifies a continuing disconnect between research in youth citizenship and youth transitions. Building on Harris (2015) she advocates for fresh research, combining these subfields, that seeks to disrupt static and linear notions of citizenship identity formation, and develop more "temporally, spatially and relationally-sensitive understandings of youth citizenship and transition" (Wood, 2017, p. 1177) as lived experience.

Gale and Parker (2014) point out that research addressing transitions in higher education is heavily focused on the first-year undergraduate experience. They call for research extending the range of both 'vertical' (prior to entry into higher education, and on to later years of undergraduate study and into postgraduate study) and 'horizontal' (for example, between the home or extra-university context and university which could occur as frequently as on a daily basis, along with other changes of course or institution during the period of study).

Drawing on Ingold (2007), Wood proposes three alternative metaphors to help guide investigations of youth citizenship that go even further in eliciting the more holistic understandings of citizenship identity formation sought here. These are: "*Genealogy* - longer and deeper dimensions of time; *wayfaring* – the ordinariness of change; and *threads* – the entangled and integrated nature of young people's lives, caught up within spatial and relational interactions" (Wood, 2017, p. 1186). Taken together these concepts are not meant to completely replace standard notions of time, temporal progression, and 'growing up', but instead add a greater degree of flexibility and nuance to the mapping of the changes *and* continuities involved in youth transitions and citizenship identity formation.

4.4 Summary

Taken together the theoretical framings discussed in this chapter represent an emergent and broadening approach to youth citizenship identity construction. Pashby (2018) asserts that across the varied and contested "rationales and agendas [of GCE] is a shared notion that GCE can open spaces for multiple and multi-levelled identities of young people" (p. 284). The framework developed here creates space to engage with students' reflections on core aspects of global citizenship identity formation: the affective/dispositional and relational (belonging and participation) and the practical (actions, and recognition of competencies and rights).

Crucially, it addresses how this has changed (or not) across their transition to university and coming into contact with GCE programmes, and associated discourses of global citizenship, once there. It also allows for a (re)consideration of activities undertaken across a particular period in relation to the global dimension of citizenship. In doing so it avoids limiting the sphere of that action to that of formal education alone, and instead situates the formal or co-curricular GCE programmes under consideration within the wider temporal, spatial, and relational web of students' everyday lives as citizens.

Thinking about youth citizenship and transitions in this way disrupts the tendency to rely on linear, step-wise, and teleological orientations to the subject that obscure the complex realities of being a young person today. It helps to address the "mutuality of agency and structure in transitions" (Gale & Parker, 2014, p. 737) by providing more nuanced understandings of the

ways young people navigate transitional periods in relation to both those core sociological concepts. It also provides a practical way to engage with calls for research in higher education to "foreground students' lived realities and to broaden its theoretical and empirical base if students' capabilities to navigate change are to be fully understood and resourced" (Gale & Parker, 2014, p. 734).

Adopting this more "temporally, spatially and relationally-sensitive vocabulary" (Wood, 2017, p. 1186) to think about youth citizenship in terms of transitions has influenced the research design, data collection, and analysis in this study. Understanding that citizenship is a lived experience for young people means recognising that it is not just the prescribed outcome of an "educational trajectory", but in fact "a practice, embedded within the day-to-day reality of (young) peoples' lives" (Lawy & Biesta, 2006, p. 47). In response to this this research engages with the individual lived experience of students undertaking GCE programmes over time, rather than focusing on the programmes or curricula, or looking to isolate students' static conceptions of global citizenship from an appreciation of their lifecourse.

The next chapter will discuss how this study adopted a qualitative methodology and utilised semi-structured interviews to examine the lifecourse, key periods within it, or even key moments (Fisher, 2016) in order to effectively compile mini 'citizenship biographies'. These alternative metaphors are useful in making sense of the rich yet fractured nature of responses and micro-narratives provided by my participants. Together, this made it easier to capture the different patterns and "multidimensionality of young people's lives" (Wood, 2017, p. 1186) and global citizenship identities.

5 Methodology

This chapter positions the study within an appropriate research paradigm and presents the methodologies and specific methods employed to collect and analyse the data. It also discusses steps taken to ensure trustworthiness and reliability, ethical considerations, and particular challenges involved encountered while conducting the study.

5.1 Research Paradigm

A qualitative methodology was deemed most appropriate for this research given that exploring citizenship identity formation across a transitional period inevitably involves the eliciting of rich subjective accounts from participants. The research topic and questions align naturally with epistemological and ontological positions built on interpretivist and constructionist perspectives that are closely associated with qualitative methodologies (Bryman, 2012; Thanh & Thanh, 2015), often inherently interlinked and at times conflated with each other (Tracy, 2013, p. 40). Schwandt (1998) notes that insights from both perspectives are increasingly *blended* and the two can often only be "somewhat artificially disentangled" (p. 245).

An interpretivist approach is appropriate to this study as it collects rich data regarding the way students make sense of global citizenship in relation to their lived experience of GCE and the way it connects to their wider lives explored through the notion of everyday citizenship. Following Bryman (2012) and Schwandt (2007), interpretivism is understood here in a broad sense as a set of epistemological perspectives based on the Weberian notion of *Verstehen*, or 'understanding', and specifically referring to attempts at understanding the *meaning* of social action from the actor's perspective. As Walter (2010) puts it "to understand society, we need to understand people's motives and interpretations of the world" (p. 17). It is well noted that "researchers who are using interpretivist paradigm and qualitative methods often seek experiences, understandings and perceptions of individuals [in words] for their data to uncover reality rather than rely on numbers or statistics" (Thanh & Thanh, 2015, p. 26). Of importance are the ways in which participants interpret (make sense and meaning of) reality (Bryman, 2012), which in turn allows for a more nuanced and detailed, or rich, understanding of their

experience of the social lifeworld[23]. As such, an interpretivist qualitative approach arguably enables the researcher to better engage with the "messiness and complexity of everyday life" (Limb & Dwyer, 2001, p. 2).

A constructionist approach was also deemed particularly relevant given the study's focus on more holistic and dynamic views of the process of citizenship identity construction through recognition of some of its relational and situated dimensions. While both interpretivist and constructionist approaches take understanding the lived experience of the research participant as their starting point, constructionism places an added stress on: "*how* social realities are produced, assembled and maintained…While still deeply interested in *what* is going on, constructionist sensibilities also raise questions about the processes through which social realities are constructed and sustained" (Holstein and Gubrim, 2008, pp. 374-375).

In counterpoint to objectivist/positivist strategies that seek to identify an objective reality of concepts independent of the research participants' experience, a constructionist approach entails: a focus on the "socially constructed character of lived realities" (Holstein & Gubrim, 2011, p. 341). It also entails a focus on their cultural and historical 'situatedness' (Creswell, 2007), and a recognition that meaning and knowledge are constantly being co-created by different social actors as they interact in specific contexts (Bryman, 2012). Finally, a constructionist perspective means acknowledging: "Meaning is constructed not discovered, so subjects construct their own meaning in different ways, even in relation to the same phenomenon. Hence, multiple, contradictory but equally valid accounts of the world can exist" (Gray, 2014, p. 20). In other words, the experience and knowledge of social realities, and the expression of this knowledge, can be considered as shifting, situational, relative, relational, and dialogical.

The methodological starting points considered above informed both the research design and the specific methods of data collection as discussed in the following subsections.

[23] Lifeworld (from the German *Lebenswelt*) is understood here as per Schwandt's (2007, p. 177) definition (drawing on Husserl): "the intersubjective world of human experience and social action; it is the world of commonsense knowledge of everyday life. It is constituted by the thoughts and acts of individuals and the social expressions of those thoughts and acts (e.g., laws, institutions)." Schwandt adds that the lifeworld consists of: "the structures of experience and the principles and concepts that give [it] form and meaning" (p.177).

5.2 Research Design

The study follows a comparative embedded multiple-case study design (Yin, 2009). The case study design is often described as a natural form for qualitative comparative research (Bryman, 2012) involving the collection of rich subjective accounts (Yin, 2009). According to Yin (2009) "case studies are the preferred method when (a) "how or "why" questions are being posed, (b) the investigator has little control over events, and (c) the focus is on a contemporary phenomenon within in a real-life context" (p. 6).

A case study can be defined as a detailed investigation of a unit (Bryman, 2012, Gerring, 2004), understood as "a relatively bounded phenomenon" (Gerring, 2004, p. 342), especially when "the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident" (Yin, 2009, p. 18). Generally, case studies can be understood as the study of a "single unit for the purpose of understanding a larger class of (similar) units" (Gerring, 2004; Nisbet & Watt, 1984). The units here are higher education GCE programmes. This study compares two single units (two of the most common types of GCE programme – informal co-curricular and formal curricular (Schattle, 2008b; Shultz & Jorgenson, 2009)) of this larger class of units, with a specific focus on *how* they relate to their students' formation of global citizenship identities. Given the broad and transdisciplinary scope of GCE, and the personal and holistic nature of citizenship identity formation, the boundaries between the phenomenon considered here and its context are certainly porous.

The adopted comparative case study approach matched Bryman's (2012) definition of a comparative design comparing two or more cases using essentially identical methods. The two cases are two GCE-focused programmes offered by two Australasian universities: 1) the Victoria International Leadership Programme (VILP), at Victoria University of Wellington (VUW), New Zealand; 2) the Bachelor of Arts in International Studies (BAIS), at Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology (RMIT), Melbourne, Australia. A multiple-case design adds robustness to the research findings in that similarities across cases suggest patterns that are not wholly context dependent (Bryman, 2012; Yin, 2009). The comparison of multiple cases also allows for an examination of similarities and differences of this phenomenon manifested in different contexts, which can potentially sharpen concepts and refine or advance theory (Ragin & Amoroso, 2019).

Because of the focus on individual students the study has adopted an embedded case study design (Yin, 2009). This means that the cases are comprised of embedded sub-units of analysis represented here by a selection of the students and staff currently (or very recently[24]) involved in the programmes (see Figure 5.1). The specific focus on the role of the programmes in the formation of individuals' citizenship identities means that the primary value of the study lies in the comparison of the students' subjective accounts. It must be acknowledged that this narrower focus represents a divergence from a classic case-study design, which seeks to develop a more holistic understanding centred on the meso-level case.

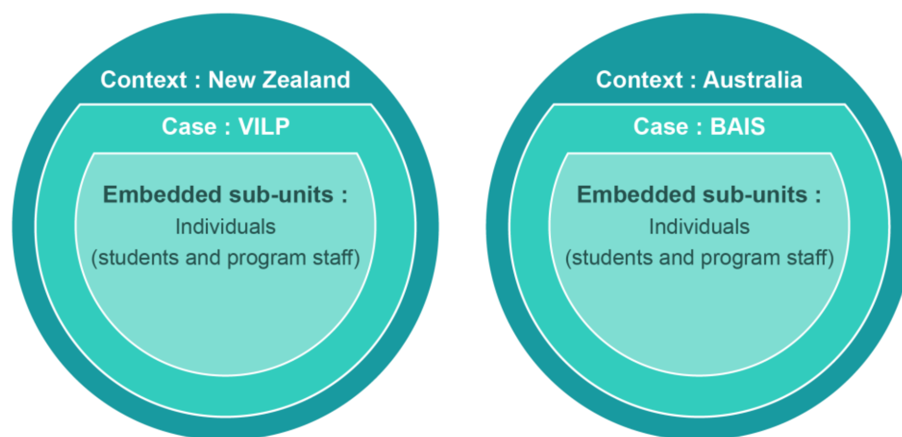

Figure 5.1: Levels and units of comparison used in this study

Source: Adapted from Yin (2009, p. 46).

5.3 Selection of Research Sites

For comparison to be meaningful the cases being compared need to have "a minimal base of shared commonalities" (Mannon, 2014, p. 128). Considering these similarities along with potential differences can be generative of new knowledge. The two selected programmes shared an explicit commitment to fostering global citizenship amongst higher education students. Both institutions offering them were operating within a broader discursive environment shaped by similar policy trends (as discussed in Chapter 2). While the wider differences of national and metropolitan context are influential contextual factors (Mannon, 2014), it is the differences in

[24] The 'programme director' interviewed for the VILP case had very recently retired from this role, and two of the BAIS students had completed the programme at the end of prvevious semseter.

programme approach and structure, along with the differences between individual students, that are of most interest.

The sampling of the programmes as cases was purposive. At the time of research VILP was the most comprehensive co-curricular GCE-focused programme offered by a New Zealand university, designed as it is to be completed across, and alongside, the course of a degree. It is free, self-paced and allowed the students the freedom to curate their own programme around elements relating to four core themes: 'global interconnectedness', 'global leadership', 'cross-cultural communication' and 'sustainability'. The BAIS programme is styled as a practical, employability focused degree concentrating on international politics and development, cultural diversity and intercultural skills and language acquisition (RMIT, n.d.a). Its courses engage with elements of globalisation and social theory, research, and practice, with the latter including a 'global professional practice' course and a 'global internship'.

A full degree curricular offering was determined to be a particularly interesting comparison to the above, because of the similarities in timeframe and transdisciplinary scope of the content, but with a much more structured and formalised approach. It meant that one sample included students from a range of different degree programmes and with diverse sets of majors, and the other a more homogenous group in the sense that they were all studying towards the same degree with an obvious connection to GCE.

Global Studies programmes are an increasingly common and important type of formal curricular GCE (Juergensmeyer, 2014; NZCGS, n.d.; Smallman & Brown, 2011; Steger, 2013). While it may have been preferable to have two New Zealand case studies, the only other option, the Bachelor of Global Studies in New Zealand (at Auckland University), had only been in existence less than one trimester at the time of the research. For this reason the BAIS programme at RMIT in Melbourne was selected as a suitable site instead, as staff and students with the requisite length of involvement in the programme (minimum one academic year) could be interviewed.

Both universities hosting these programmes had a strongly stated focus on GCE. VUW, one of New Zealand's oldest and most prestigious universities, has a particularly strong reputation in fields such as Law, Politics and International Relations, Governance, Development Studies, and Geography amongst others. It places a great deal of emphasis on civic engagement, describing itself as a 'globally-minded' institution and with the epithet: "a global-civic university" (VUW,

2017). The latter is interpreted as ensuring that "public good values dominate over market values" (VUW, n.d.d) amongst other aspirational goals.[25] It also means that "Victoria is committed to civil society and global citizenship, contributing to the resolution of international challenges and preparing critically informed, globally confident, civic-minded graduates" (VUW, n.d.d). The global citizenship framing is continued in the institution's graduate profile. Alongside scholarship, the ambition for its graduates to be "active and engaged global citizens" (VUW, n.d.e) is one of two categories of graduate attributes. The latter category is explained as personal qualities, developed through "formal and informal learning opportunities", such as: the demonstration of "international perspectives"; the ability to "engage constructively with their local and international communities"; the ability "to work both independently and collaboratively with others"; and knowledge of "how to set and achieve personal and professional goals for themselves" (VUW, n.d.e).

Drawing on its origins as a technical institute "bringing education to the working people of Melbourne" (RMIT, n.d.b)[26], RMIT University's strategic vision places a heavy accent on work-readiness and 'transformative' learning experiences (RMIT, 2015; RMIT n.d.c). RMIT's overarching vision is stated as being: "A global university of technology, design and enterprise" (RMIT, 2015, p. 2). The notion of the global features heavily in the current strategy (47 times to be exact) – including references to: "a global outlook, social change, and student diversity" (p. 2); its programmes being "global in focus and practical in application" (p. 2); solving complex "global problems"; preparing students for the globalised world of work" (p. 7); and equipping students for "life and work in a diverse global environment" (p. 13). However, in counterpoint to VUW, the RMIT strategy does not mention the term global citizenship itself.[27] That RMIT has differing disciplinary foci (Design, Technology and Enterprise) compared to VUW, and that its strategy has a more explicit focus on preparing and connecting students to the world of work, along with an arguably more practical approach and less idealistic discourse, adds an interesting dimension to the comparison of the two GCE offerings.

5.4 Selection and Recruitment of Participants

[25] For a fuller description of VUW's strategic vision in regards to being a 'global-civic university' see: https://www.victoria.ac.nz/about/global-civic-university, as well as the VUW Strategic Plan 2015-2019 (2014), and the VUW Learning and Teaching Strategy 2017-2021 (2017).

[26] RMIT was established in 1887 but gained university status during the 1990s (RMIT, n.d.b).

[27] RMIT does not have a graduate profile or a discrete set of graduate attributes publically available.

In order to gain understandings about the goals and rationale of the two programmes and the experiences and lives of students, both the managers and directors (programme staff) and current students of the programmes were included as participants.

Contact was initially made with VILP programme staff in mid-2017 via email, outlining the project and requesting permission to take the programme as a research site. The programme staff agreed, indicated they were happy to give interviews themselves, and to help recruit student participants. October and November 2017 were spent in Wellington, New Zealand familiarising myself further with the context and setting up and conducting interviews. Contact with my second case was made through a colleague in the UNESCO Asia Pacific office in 2018. The Programme Director and recent Programme Manager of BAIS were amenable to me including the BAIS programme in my research, giving interviews, and reaching out to students on my behalf. I spent six weeks, from mid-May to the end of June 2018, based at RMIT in Melbourne getting familiar with the context and carrying out the data collection.

Programme staff: Involving programme staff was important to engage with multiple levels of the cases and link with the literature, to supplement the relatively thin programme documentation available, and to better contextualise the students' responses. As Christensen (2013) points out, along with social and demographic factors, the global citizenship perspectives of educators are an important influencing factor in the construction of young people's global citizenship perspectives. Given both programmes had a wide range of educators delivering content (especially in the case of the VILP) but not involved with decisions regarding the overall direction or pedagogical approach of the programme, two *key* staff at each programme were selected for interviews. This is an acknowledgement that "context should not be defined as place or location, but it should rather be conceptualized as something spatial *and relational*" (emphasis added) in case study research (Bartlett & Vavrus, 2017, p. 15). In both cases the choice of educators/programme staff was obvious, as the invited participants were the only ones currently in the relevant positions, or with experience of having been in them for a significant amount of time.

Respective programme staff are identified by the approximate titles 'Programme Director' (PD) and 'Programme Manager' (PM) for each case. The VILP Programme Director was a senior academic who had designed, established the programme in 2007/2008, and acted as its effective director from then up until recently. He was also responsible for delivering one the core

seminars multiple times each academic year. The Programme Manager was a professional staff member, with a master's level qualification in a related field, and had been in charge of the programme since its inception in 2007. In the BAIS case the Programme Director was also a senior academic and had been in the position for a number of years. The Programme Manager was a younger academic who had completed a stint of two years as Manager at the end of previous trimester and continued to teach in the programme (which he started doing six years earlier).

Student participants: The sampling technique employed to identify student participants was a combination of purposive criterion sampling, convenience, and snowball sampling (Bryman, 2012). In order to best answer the research questions posed, selection criteria for participants was constructed: (i) they needed to be under the age of twenty-five so as to meet definitions of 'youth'; (ii) they had to have completed a minimum of one year in their respective programme at time of interviewing. Programme staff distributed a written invitation to participate along with the information and consent form for the project (see Appendix C), instructing students to contact me directly if they wished to participate. All respondents were asked for some basic demographic data and the final sample of participants was selected to ensure the greatest amount of diversity possible in terms of age, gender, ethnicity, degree, and major. As is common for much research (Schartner & Cho, 2017), it was difficult to attract many student participants. The groups of initial responders were not much larger than the final sample which limited the degree of diversity of the groups. In the case of the BAIS sample three of the interviewees were referrals from earlier interviewees. Nevertheless, the programme staff involved confirmed that the sample was roughly representative of the programme population.

There were 11 student participants in the VILP case, and 10 in the BAIS case. Tables 5.1 and 5.2 provide detailed information regarding the participants. All names are pseudonyms chosen by the participants, while the ethnicity of the participants is based on self-reports. The fact that the participants were self-selecting volunteers means that there is an inherent bias in the selection. Approximately two thirds of the students had at least one parent who had attended university, and the majority had attended fairly well-resourced secondary schools with mid to high socio-economic profiles. By taking the occupations of the students' parents as a guide, almost all the students could be described as coming from middle to lower-middle class backgrounds, although a couple described experiencing socio-economic disadvantage growing up. This relatively limited diversity of participants' backgrounds also creates a potential bias.

Table 5.1: Student participants drawn from the VILP (VUW)

Participant	Age	Gender	Nationality (Ethnicity)	Year at uni	Year in GCE programme	Degree*
Sophie	23	Female	NZ (Pākehā**)	6th	3rd	LLB/BSc
Jane	21	Female	NZ (Pākehā)	3rd	2nd	BCom
Umbreon	21	Male	NZ (Chinese)	4th	3rd	BCom
Winston	19	Male	NZ (European)	2nd	2nd	BCom
Louisa	20	Female	NZ (Pākehā)	2nd	2nd	LLB/BA
Olive	21	Female	NZ (European)	3rd	2nd	BA
Alex	22	Male	NZ (Pākehā)	3rd	1st	BSc
Lilly	19	Female	NZ (European)	2nd	2nd	LLB/ BA
Siti	22	Female	Malaysia (Malay)	2nd	2nd	BSc
Lena	23	Female	USA	3rd	3rd	BA
Louie	20	Female	NZ (Pākehā)	4th	4th	BA/BCom

(Notes: * LLB = Bachelor of Laws; BSc = Bachleor of Science; BCom = Bachelor of Commerce; BA = Bachelor of Arts. ** Pākehā' is a Te Reo Māori-language term commonly used to refer to non-Māori New Zealanders, usually indicating those of Anglo-European descent (also referred to as caucasion or 'white').

Table 5.2: Student participants drawn from the BAIS programme (RMIT)

Participant	Age	Gender	Nationality (Ethnicity)	Year at university	Year in GCE programme	Degree
Aleisha	20	Female	Australian (Italian)	3rd	3rd	BAIS
Alessa	20	Female	Australian (Caucasian)	3rd	3rd	BAIS
Bobbi	25	Female	Australian ('White')	Completed (previous semester)	Completed (previous semester)	BAIS
Sara	23	Female	USA (Latina/Colombian)	3rd	2nd	BAIS
Anna	22	Female	Australian (Croatian)	3rd	3rd	BAIS
Floyd	21	Male	Australian	3rd	3rd	BAIS
Camilla	22	Female	Australian & 'British'	4th	3rd	BAIS
Issac	22	Male	Australian (Italian)	Completed (previous semester)	Completed (previous semester)	BAIS
Perth	23	Female	Australian (Portuguese)	4th	3rd	BAIS
Jethro	22	Male	Australian	4th	3rd	BAIS

5.5 Data Collection Tools

The data collected for this study included programme documents (largely web pages in the case of the BAIS) and twenty-three audio recordings of in-depth semi-structured interviews with the four programme staff and 21 students. Each interview lasted for sixty to ninety minutes.

Programme documentation: Information regarding the purpose and structure of programmes was available on the respective university websites. In addition, five internal VILP documents were provided (VUW, 2007a, 2007b, 2008, 2013, 2018) dating from the inception of programme through to the present (see Appendix D for details). At the time of data collection the BAIS PD was writing a strategy document for the programme which was not made available. The programme staff interviews (see Appendix A) were designed to collect: a) information on the broader national and institutional context of the programme; b) to supplement the documentation; and c) provide context for the student responses and a link to the framing literature and theory.

Student interviews: In-depth qualitative semi-structured interviews with students were employed as the primary data collection tool (Bryman 2012; Tracy, 2013). The original interview schedule was somewhat adjusted after a test interview with a recent alumnus of the VILP programme, and other smaller adjustments made between actual interviews. A basic interview guide (see Appendix B) featuring ten questions was sent to participants approximately forty-eight hours before the interview. This was intended to allow for reflection ahead of the interview, given that they were asked to recall events from the past and trace complex understandings and actions across transitional periods. More specific prompts or follow-up questions were also used across all the interviews. Other lines of enquiry were improvised in the moment, acknowledging the nimbleness and reflective listening that is required to follow and explore subjective accounts of meaning making and identity formation through interviews (Bryman, 2012; Tracy, 2013). As the two sets of interviews were conducted roughly six months apart, I was careful to use the exactly the same base schedule for both.

The student interview schedule needed to facilitate open-ended and detailed responses from participants narrating elements from periods of their personal biographies across time and into the present. The *transitional* period encompassing secondary school and university has been used as a frame for focusing participants' reflections on elements of citizenship identity formation, inspired particularly by Tallon et al. (2016). Also instructive was Fisher's (2016)

work which asked youth climate activists recount particular moments or periods within the lifecourse critical to establishing that commitment. Employing Fisher's (2016) 'life memory' approach meant developing a basic and open interview schedule that both facilitated zooming in on specific elements of identity and certain periods of the lifecourse, but also zooming out to encourage exploration of constructed meanings across time, allowing for the "dynamic and ceaseless process" (Fisher, 2016, p. 229) of identity work. To this end, the interview was loosely structured to first ask students to recall past events and understandings, and then consider the present, and finally the relationship between the two.

After some rapport building and demographic questions all the interviews began with a question inviting participants to "tell me the story" of how they became interested in global citizenship, or global issues. This was a deliberate attempt to encourage 'free' responses from the student which could then be explored. It was also a recognition of both the strong relationship between narrative story-telling and identity formation (Sfard & Prusak, 2005), and the "generative potential of memory" in creating meaning that individuals draw on in their civic engagement actions and learning (Fisher, 2016, p. 234; Sfard & Prusak, 2005). Subsequent questions were slightly more specific. However, the first question, and its unpacking, was generally successful in setting the tone for the interview, one which welcomed exploration and thinking through ideas in the moment. This helped the participants to perform the complex task of assessing the role of the programme, and the learning experience it engendered, in relation their own evolving global citizenship identities.

5.6 Personal Motivations and Self-reflexivity

In qualitative research the researchers themselves are a key instrument of data collection (Fairbrother, 2014). Relationships and interactions between researcher and participants have a direct bearing on whether the objective of understanding the latter's subjective accounts is successfully achieved. Further, a constructionist approach means also being mindful that research outcomes are ultimately a product of both the values of both the researcher and the participants (Guba & Lincoln, 1994; Mertens, 2010).

My motivations for conducting this research are in part professional. I have held a number of professional staff positions at higher education institutions across a number of years, including

a six-month secondment to manage the VILP some years before this research was conducted.[28] This meant certain advantages such as institutional connections, an understanding of the programme, and experience communicating with university students, including those interested in concepts such as global citizenship. However, it also meant that for the VILP case I needed to minimise the influence of any preconceived notions on my approach. Inevitably though, some of my own biases and interests have shaped the process from the conception of the research problem, through the selection of certain sensitising concepts and not others, and on to the articulation of the interview guide and improvised prompts.

Since I had been introduced to the students by the programme staff or administrators, it was particularly important to stress that I was a master's student researcher, and from a Norwegian university. The intention was to lower the chances to be perceived as an 'official', or too far removed from their own life stage as a student and young person, and to stress that I was from a neutral institution. This was designed to increase the chance that the student participants would feel comfortable in sharing the relatively personal reflections requested, take the time to explore and reflect during the interview (rather than providing 'correct' or 'expected' responses), and be critical of the programmes, concepts, or the formulation of the questions if they wished.

The interviews were conducted in discrete parts of open and public spaces at, or close to, the respective universities and coffee or other beverages were provided. I made concerted efforts to put the students at ease by taking time to build rapport, and by attempting to strike the right balance between the formal requirements of the interview and an informal convivial approach. This was also an attempt to establish a more equal distribution of power between interviewer and interviewee (Tracy, 2013), recognising that meaning is not swapped back and forth in interviews but "created *between* individuals" (Tracy, 2013, p. 132), and thereby enable an open, honest, and organic discussion of identity and everyday citizenship.

5.7 Data Analysis Approach

The first step in analysing the data was to transcribe all the interview recordings. The transcription was completed using the online software 'Transcribe', and the results transferred

[28] In late 2019, between the time I started drafting this thesis and its completion, I took on a new role at Victoria University of Wellington which included oversight of VILP amongst other things. I mention it here in the interests of full transparency.

to Google Docs. Most of the idiosyncratic formulations and mannerisms of speech were kept when rewriting this material, remaining largely faithful to originals. Non-verbal elements that seemed significant (pauses, emphasis, laughter, uncertainty conveyed in tone) were retained and noted. Elements which were edited out were very repetitious and seemingly insignificant speech elements. The vast majority of the interviews were transcribed in the months following the second phase of data collection in Melbourne in 2018. This proved to be a very useful first step in data analysis. The process of transcription allowed for the emergence of initial potential themes and codes; these were noted and revisited when getting into the analysis proper. Field notes made at the time of interviewing were also consulted. However, data presented in quotes in Chapters 6 and 7 have been cleaned in that insignificant ticks and repetitions have been removed, and punctuation and elisions added where necessary.

Programme Documentation and staff interviews: The programme documents and programme staff interviews were analysed using a combination of qualitative content and thematic analysis (Bowen, 2009) (see Appendix D for a list of the documents analysed for each programme). This combined method identifies passages of text that are significant in relation to central questions posed by the research (Bowen, 2009), as well as relevant underlying themes (Bryman, 2012). The purpose of the document analysis and programme staff interviews was to provide a link back to the literature, the context for the student interviews, and to address research question one: to understand the natures of the two programmes. The interviews were particularly wide-ranging and provided a great deal of contextual information regarding the national and institutional context surrounding the programmes and their development. For the purpose of close analysis 'programme nature' was further broken down into sub-categories relevant to my research objectives (as per Table 5.3) to identify relevant passages from the documents and interview transcripts. The resulting analysis of the documents and programme staff interviews are summarised in the first section of Chapter 6.

Table 5.3: Content analysis categories used for documents and programme staff interviews

	Programme Nature		
Major themes	Internationalisation positioning	Main GCE aims and learning outcomes	Role of programme in global citizenship identity formation

Student interviews: Thematic analysis was used for the data collected through the student interviews, guided by Braun and Clarke (2006). The first step after transcription was to become more familiar with the data through repeated close reading. The step of constructing biographical sketches was added for each of the student participants from a mixture of their own words and my summaries of key features, passages, or moments from the lifecourse as described in the interviews. This made the data even more familiar, easier to recall, and helped to understand the patterns of transition common amongst the participants and the ways in which these were constructed in relation to the notion of global citizenship.

The second phase involved open coding of the data to generate initial codes. This was done based on passages of text first identified and extracted from across the entire dataset and grouped together in separate Google docs for each of the three research questions (assigning the same extract to more than one research question heading where appropriate). This was done to combat the difficulty of holding differing aspects of a large amount data generated from twenty plus semi-structured interviews in one's mind at one time (Åkerlind, 2005), and as a method of data reduction and filtering of extraneous material (Braun & Clarke, 2013).The text was colour-coded by case (VILP or BAIS) to enable analysis both within and across cases. Each passage of text was attributed to the relevant participant to facilitate analysis within individual accounts and allow for a degree of constant comparison across the individual, case, and overall levels (Boeije, 2002). This made the analysis more robust by allowing for the development of more discriminating codes, subthemes, and themes, and is reflected in the presentation of the findings (Boeije, 2002).

Phase three entailed reviewing the initial codes, constructing themes, and reorganising the data according to these themes (repeated for each research question). Given the wide-ranging nature of interviews and student expressions and experiences, the initial themes became sub-themes grouped under broader themes (Braun & Clarke, 2013). The next step was reviewing the themes and sub-themes in relation to their component codes and to each other and then undertaking any necessary refinement. To help with this grids were constructed to map the number of students and comments attached to each subtheme or particularly common codes. This process of refining continued into the final step of writing up the discussion in Chapter 8. The quotations used are the most representative of the theme and sub-theme under discussion.

5.8 Quality Measures

Many researchers hold that the quality of qualitative research is best judged in terms of 'trustworthiness', rather than inherently quantitative and positivist measures of reliability and validity (Bryman, 2012; Guba & Lincoln, 1994). Bryman (2012) breaks trustworthiness down into: *credibility*, *dependability*, *transferability*, and *confirmability*.

This study seeks to achieve credibility through a clear presentation of its methods (and the rationale for their selection) and resulting findings. The intent is to render the process of engaging with, and reconstructing, the social realities of the cases and participants encountered during the research, as transparent as possible. Further, credibility was sought through ensuring that the study draws on data from differing levels of the case study. To this end, a record of thoughts and observations was kept during the research process, especially in the form of field notes during the periods of data collection that proved useful in analysing the data. Confirmability was sought through transparency of intention and ensuring that the research process involved self-reflexivity, as well as a continual consideration of the participants and the impact of the research on them.

Dependability was achieved through thorough and complete record-keeping of every stage of the research process (Bryman, 2012) and ensuring that all data was adequately stored and protected. In addition, the various stages and elements of the research process were developed, implemented and checked with my supervisors.

It is difficult to ensure that qualitative research is transferable in the sense of replicability of results given the nature of the methods and the depth, richness and highly contextual nature of the data collected. However, ensuring credibility and dependability means that a loosely comparable approach can be taken elsewhere, and that the results would aid theory-building.

5.9 Limitations

Despite comparing two instances of a larger phenomenon (GCE-focused programmes that are increasingly common to higher education institutions around the world), the conclusions reached in this study are not necessarily generalisable. It is well established that small-scale qualitative research with a limited number of participants, and case-studies in particular, do not produce conclusions that are generalisable to a population (Bryman, 2012). However, as

Flyvbjerg (2006), paraphrasing Kuhn (1987), points out: “a discipline without a large number of thoroughly executed case studies is a discipline without systematic production of exemplars, and that a discipline without exemplars is an ineffective one” (p. 242). The value of this kind of study lies instead in exploring a subject in depth to serve as a basis for future studies. Case studies also generate “practical context-dependent knowledge” that better captures the complex nature of reality (Flyvbjerg, 2006, p. 224) and that may aid in generalisation to *theory* – or what Yin (2009) refers to as ‘analytic generalisation’.

A major limitation was the relatively homogenous nature of the participants in terms of class and ethnicity. As noted above, most participants came from relatively highly educated families and many from public (fees-free) yet relatively well-resourced secondary schools. Similarly, both cases were located in Western countries, despite initial attempts to gather data on a higher education GCE programme in Thailand. This meant that this study could not engage with the calls for more research on GCE in higher education in non-western contexts (Chui & Leung, 2014; Parmenter, 2011; Pashby, 2018) as initially planned.

Due to time and space constraints I limited myself to semi-structured interviews and thematic analysis. Arguably, an approach based on narrative research techniques that invited participants to reflect and track reflections in relation to my research questions across a period of time would have been even more effective. A longitudinal study across a period of years encompassing the transitions examined here would be the ideal approach to this research problem, but is well beyond the scope of a Master’s level project.

As with any case study that asks participants to recollect events, experiences, decisions or states of mind there is some risk of bias (Shaughnessy, Zechmeister, & Zechmeister, (2003). This limitation is at least partially offset by the epistemological understandings unpinning the study that the narratives we construct for ourselves are constitutive of our social realities. In effect, any given narrative is biased, but the bias does not detract from its significance in an individual’s meaning making.

One further possible limitation is that the participants knew the subject of the research and could have sought to provide answers they thought were desired by the research. This was addressed by promising confidentiality and inviting critical attitudes to the programmes and/or concepts discussed, as well as the steps taken to put the participants at ease during the interviews.

5.10 Ethical Considerations

This project was granted ethical clearance by the Norwegian Centre for Research Data (NSD). NSD also approved significant evolutions of the research objective and design during the process. As per NSD requirements all recordings have been stored in a password protected location and will be deleted at the conclusion of the research. Information identifying participants was protected by a scrambling key. All participants in the research were well informed of purpose and requirements of involvement in research ahead of their involvement. All interviewees were supplied with a 'Participant Information and Consent Form' (see Appendix C). The form was emailed ahead of the interviews and signed and collected on the day of the interview.

The names used to designate the students are self-selected pseudonyms. The titles designating the programme staff are approximations that encapsulate their relationship to the programme. Both sets of programme staff interviewed gave permission for the institutions and programmes to be named (see Appendix C). The students interviewed were aware this but given the large number of students enrolled in each programme their anonymity was not at risk.

5.11 Summary

This is an exploratory study which draws on the lived experience of specifically located Australasian participants. The data collected through the approach described above is subject to certain limitations, most notably the small sample size and the relatively homogeneous nature of the participants in terms of class, ethnicity and their comparable educational experiences. However, the approach taken also facilitated the collection of extremely rich data documenting the experiences, impressions, motives and interpretations of two groups of students regarding their encounter with GCE across transitional periods in their lifecourse and into two different types of higher education GCE programmes. As will be seen in Chapters 6 and 7, the data gathered allows for a better understanding of the complexity of delivering GCE in a higher education setting, and reveals the original and compelling voices of youth 'doing' GCE in these higher education settings.

6 The Nature of the Two Higher Education GCE Programmes

I have structured the presentation of the findings around the research questions. The first research question – which seeks to examine the nature of the two GCE programmes considered here – is addressed here in Chapter 6 to provide more specific context for the findings to follow. In Chapter 7 findings pertaining to my second research question - focusing on the students' significant prior experiences and motivations - are then presented, followed by those relating to research question three, which looks at students' understandings of global citizenship in relation to their experience both within and beyond their programme.

This chapter sets out the findings drawn from analysis of programme documentation and interviews with programme staff focusing on programmes' internationalisation positioning, main GCE objectives and learning outcomes, and role in the formation of global citizenship identities. The intention is to take "the reader into the case situation[s]" (Patton, 2015) by creating a narrative bridge between the preceding context, literature, and theory chapters and on to the programme context of the individual students. The documentation available was relatively thin and drawn from webpages (especially in relation to the BAIS), as well as proposal and strategy documents (in the case of VILP). As such, it must be understood as aspirational and rhetorical in nature. This has been supplemented and interwoven with primary data gleaned from interviews with programme staff, which was more practically focused.

When attributing quotes to them, the two programme staff interviewed in relation to each case are referred to as PD (Programme Director) and PM (Programme Manager).

6.1 Victoria International Leadership Programme (VILP) (VUW, New Zealand)

6.1.1 Programme Overview

The VILP is a free and 'self-paced' programme that operates in the co/extra-curricular space and is underpinned by four core themes: "global leadership"; "global connectedness"; "cross-cultural communication"; and "sustainability" (VUW n.d.c). Rather than including formal

assessment, it involves "academically oriented activities as well as contributing toward the development of a University-wide framework for students to engage in service activities" (VUW, 2007a, p. 2). In practice this means completing, and writing short reflective pieces on, three types of activities: external 'speaker events' (mainly relevant university or public lectures/talks); specifically-designed seminars delivered by VUW academics, diplomats, or other experts drawn from the community (many new each year, and some repeated, including four compulsory, seminars tied to the four core themes); and experiential activities relevant to programme themes (examples include an exchange semester, studying foreign languages, internal or external volunteer work, research, and conference participation). Completion of the programme is recognised on students' academic transcripts.

6.1.2 Internationalisation Positioning

The programme was designed to address "the pressing need for New Zealand tertiary students to be more aware of the challenges facing them in their future careers in today's highly internationalised workplaces and to think more creatively about their roles as global citizens in an increasingly interdependent world" (VUW, 2007a, p. 2). This statement neatly summarises the ways the programme documentation seeks to position the VILP as *both* furthering the more instrumental aspects of the university's internationalisation strategy, as well as implementing the civic and academic elements of said strategy. The programme is presented as a "bold, high-profile commitment to internationalisation on a university-wide scale, offering a programme open to all undergraduate students" (VUW, 2007a, p. 2) and is explicitly linked with both institutional and national internationalisation strategies (VUW, 2007a, 2007b, VUW, 2013). The proposal document also notes that VILP provides a way to distinguish VUW's internationalisation efforts from those of other New Zealand universities, and therefore "provides VUW with both a domestic and international marketing and recruitment tool". (VUW, 2007a, p. 2). The Programme Director had an active role in the development of the university's internationalisation strategy. In his words:

> The sense of mission associated with global citizenship is more to the fore in the university now, I think it's certainly there in the stated mission of the university, and in the rhetoric of the university, and in the neoliberal marketing of the university with the description of this university as a 'Global-Civic University' [introduced as part of the new university wide strategy in 2014]. (PD, VILP)

The Programme Director also asserted that to match the rhetoric he felt "there's a genuine commitment to advance that ['Global-Civic'] mission…[and] I think that probably its

strongest manifestation, especially for students, remains the VILP" (PD, VILP), although he noted challenges in securing resourcing.

6.1.3 Programme's GCE Aims

My analysis of both internal and publicly available *documentation* suggests that the programme's focus is on developing the 'softer' (Andreotti, 2006) elements of global citizenship such as 'global awareness', 'international perspectives', and 'cross-cultural communication' skills (VUW, 2007, 2008, 2013, 2018, n.d.b). The documents also place a strong accent on increasing personal employability. The programme aims "to give students a competitive edge to their employment prospects upon graduation, but it will also better equip VUW graduates to succeed in a fast-globalising world" (VUW, 2007, p. 2) as well as "contributing to New Zealand's knowledge economy" (VUW, 2018, p. 2).

Although the terms global citizen and global citizenship appear repeatedly across the documents they are not explicitly unpacked or explained. Phrases representative of how the programme's aims and learning objectives are articulated include: fostering "global awareness" and building "global competence" (VUW, n.d.b); inspiring "students to think creatively about how to address global leadership challenges" (VUW, 2013, p. 1); and preparing "active and engaged global citizens who can demonstrate international perspectives" (VUW, 2018, p. 1).

6.1.4 Approach to Global Citizenship Identity Formation

In the programme's 'theoretical learning outcomes' document, citizenship identity formation is linked to the core programme theme of cross-cultural communication. Specifically, the aim is for students to: "Develop an understanding of the role of culture in identity formation, social relationships and the construction of knowledge systems" as well as "to better understand personal identity and diverse forms of collective identity" (VUW, 2008, p .1). Again, this process is not further elaborated.

Both the VILP staff interviewed felt strongly that a core role of the progamme was to foster a sense of global citizenship identity amongst its students. They both described this process mainly in terms of deepening *understanding* and *awareness* around the interconnected nature of global issues, and developing leadership skills to tackle global challenges on multiple levels (global/transnational, national, local, community, individual). They noted that the VILP was

designed to allow students to "gain some knowledge around topics that they don't know, or that are not taught within their discipline" (PM, VILP), thereby fostering transdisciplinary and collaborative approaches in students.

However, along with the more passive contributions, both the Programme Director and the Programme Manager also stressed the role of the VILP as impetus for students' experiential learning. The emphasis on active citizenship and developing at least a burgeoning sense of critical global citizenship came through much more clearly in the interviews than it did in the documentation and website material:

> The intent is there to try and get students thinking about those global challenges that I mentioned, and to go through personal experiences that mean that by the end of the program, ideally, they would have a refined and critical sense of global citizenship, which would mean that they are thinking about those issues that transcend national borders, and they can think about them critically, they can engage in dialogues about them, and they can potentially act on them. (PD, VILP)

> People that join our program are interested in the idea [global citizenship]. And some of them are wanting to better their employability when they finish their degree, but, I mean, it's not a main focus of our program. It is a secondary or tertiary benefit of the program, but it's not our main focus. …another thing about our program is we're trying to get people to volunteer and to have a more...to gain experiential points for activity, but then with the hope that they continue that in the future. (PM, VILP)

A desire to represent the programme as easily accessible and non-elitist (a common criticism of GCE programmes) was another point made more forcefully in the interviews than in the documents. The Programme Director described it as "above all a mass program which is not elitist…but which seeks to engage as many students as possible at the University, which has a very low threshold for entry as a result". For the Programme Manager the flexibility of the programme, the fact there is no cost for participants, and its incentives (a points system, inclusion in academic transcripts for those who complete, and the possibility of grants towards exchange semesters), meant it appealed to students who were already civically engaged in secondary school *and* those who were new to it. She mentioned many students start by doing experiential activities' for points, but:

> the more they do it, they become involved with it and then they can carry on to lead in that organisation [or project], or to try and encourage other people to get involved, or it ping pongs to another activity that they get involved with, because they meet somebody... So it's a great way of engaging people. Yes, okay for points initially, but it really it really flows on from that. And that's what I think is really important for global citizenship, is to get engaged and get involved. Because...part of being being a good global citizen, is getting involved with different communities, and sharing different perspectives. (PM, VILP)

The idea of connecting with a community (or varying communities) of like-minded people was also highlighted as way the programme provided a structure to facilitate civic engagement and a sense of global citizenship identity:

> I think there's a lack of it [GCE] in higher education. Yes, secondary school, they're part of a school. They feel very connected to their communities, when they're at school. And then they get to a higher education institution that might not be near where they're from, and they have to develop new networks and new communities again. (PM, VILP)

However, there was an acknowledgement that the programme's flexibility also meant that the depth and form of each student's engagement varied greatly. This, coupled with a lack of resources for conducting formal evaluative research, meant the actual citizenship outcomes of the programme remained unclear:

> [VILP] is a framework, but because it's so loose as to what happens within that framework then it's basically it's left up to students to combine…what they do in the VILP with what they do in those in those other spheres (sometimes getting credit within the VILP for doing that, sometimes not) to build up to the set of experiences and understandings and skills that come through participation in the kind of program that the VILP is… Whether it's a good thing or not, the VILP is so flexible, and can include so many different kinds of components for different students, that it's hard to say that it is actually consciously developing that kind of formal global citizenship... I think it happens. It creates the platform and the opportunity for it to happen…That's what we hope will happen through the VILP, but we have no way of ensuring that it does happen, and we don't know if it really is happening. (PD, VILP)

6.2 Bachelor of Arts in International Studies (BAIS) (RMIT, Australia)

6.2.1 Programme overview:

The BAIS programme was developed as a full degree offering at RMIT in the 1990s. The original intention was to provide Australian students with a global perspective, an ability to engage with cultural diversity and the effects of globalisation, and develop linguistic competency beyond just English, all in the context of an increasingly internationalised Australian society and rising anti-Asian sentiment (PD, BAIS). It was largely pitched at domestic students as an opportunity to "rethink where they and their futures, and Australia's future, were positioned in this new world of globalisation" (PD, BAIS).

At the time of research, the programme was a three-year (full time) degree built around a set of twelve compulsory core courses, and additional sequences of language and elective courses

selected by the students. The core courses[29] "explore global-local interconnections" and include sequences of practical courses preparing students for social research and internationally related work (RMIT, n.d.d). The programme was designed to enable students to develop "knowledge and skills relevant to current international professional practice, broadly defined to encompass knowledge of international systems and global processes, cross-cultural negotiation and management, and strategic and ethical leadership" (RMIT, n.d.d). It technically culminates in a relevant internship of at least two months and a (often related) research project and is capped by a course promoting reflection on the programme as a whole, and the impending transition to the workforce. International exchange semesters (with courses taken during exchange can count as electives) and/or participation in relevant shorter credit-baring study tours are also encouraged.

The programme's primary aim is described as cultivating 'work readiness' in its students in order to "meet the challenges, opportunities and diversity brought about by a changing global environment" (RMIT, n.d.a) and prepare students for "international and cross-cultural careers in government, business and community organisation" (RMIT, n.d.d). Variations of this description served as the lead, or headline, message across the documentation analysed. One subtle divergence from this was the way the programme's "key interests and values" were framed in a magazine produced by students and staff in terms of: "[the] pursuit of *social justice*, a globally-informed perspective, and *critical reflection*" [emphasis added] (RMIT, 2016, p. II). This difference in emphasis most likely reflects the nature of the magazine as a forum less subject to institutional communications strategy as well as student involvement. It foreshadows differences and nuances of emphasis revealed in interviews with the programme staff and students.

6.2.2 Internationalisation positioning:

The general centering of career relevance and work readiness accords with the institution's overall strategic plan *Ready for Life and Work* (2015a) (discussed above), and its *International*

[29] The BAIS first year core courses are: 'Global Processes'; 'Global History and Security'; 'Global Mobility and Ethnic Relations'; Global 'Political Economy'; 'Intercultural Communication'. The second-year core courses are: 'Working and Managing in Global Careers'; 'Global Governance and 'International Law'; 'Foundations of Social Research'. The third-year core courses are: 'Global Research Project'; 'Global Internship'; 'Global Professional Practice'. For a full list of courses including language and other electives see RMIT, n.d.d.

Plan (2015b).[30] The Programme Director confirmed that the heavy accent on employability in the messaging around the programme was a product of central institutional strategic direction, and a requirement for all programmes as well as individual courses. The Programme Director also noted an interesting shift in the discourse around internationalisation at RMIT since the 1990s from a need to "rouse everybody to the challenge" (PD), to one of implementation centered on "preparedness for a globalised world of work" (RMIT, 2015b, p. 2). He associated this with a maturity and acceptance of the university as an internationalised institution - "the university now lays claim to being a global university of technology, design, and enterprise, so there is an assumption that we have 'arrived', as a global institution" (PD). In his view, this maturation of strategy has further sharpened the institution's practical and professional focus; a focus clearly present in the language used to frame graduate outcomes on the institutional level (which was in turn reflected at the BAIS programme level):

> …the current RMIT University strategy on that point [graduate outcomes] just follows through on what was said in the previous strategies, and that is that we need to give students a 'global passport' as it used to be called. It's been global passport, now it's 'work-ready and globally connected', that kind of thing…we're very much focused on 'work readiness' now. (PD, BAIS)

6.2.3 Programme's GCE Aims

The BAIS 'Program Guide' lists seven specific programme learning outcomes relating to the development a range of academic, cultural, and professional competencies applied in relation to international and cross-cultural settings (RMIT, n.d.d). The greater emphasis on practical and professional outcomes means that the terms 'global citizen' and 'global citizenship' do not feature in this list and are less prevalent in programme documentation generally. When the term does appear, it is still very closely linked with employability outcomes: "You'll learn from leading professionals in the field who enjoy sharing their knowledge, experience and contacts to prepare you for work and life as a global citizen in a global career" (RMIT, n.d.a, n.d.e). However, the preponderance of terms and phrases pertaining to 'globally' relevant knowledge, skills, opportunities, cross-cultural competencies, and civic and political engagement, and "global professional practice" (RMIT, n.d.d; PD, BAIS) suggest that this is more a matter of

[30] Goal one (of three) of RMIT's *International Plan* (2015b) is "A distinctive feature of the RMIT student experience will be preparedness for a globalised world of work" (p. 2), and 'enabler' 1 (of three) under this goal is "Adapt our programs to prepare all our students for the globalised world of work" (p. 2).

communication and marketing strategy rather than a deeper philosophical aversion to the concept.

6.2.4 Approach to global citizenship identity formation

Programme staff confirmed that the BAIS is, in practice, very focused on developing the students as global citizens - and that the concept is central to programme content, if not its presentation on university webpages. In response to the question 'do you see your programme playing a role in the development of young people's citizenship identities?' the Programme Director answered:

> Absolutely. Yes, we want the students to be engaged members of a global society. We want them to be conscientious. We want them to be active. We want them to strike out and try and make a difference. It's not just a cliché. It is something that we emphasise in our degree. We want people to be confident in stepping out and working in different cultural environments. We want people to be confident in their capacities to adapt to change and to adapt to living and working in different parts of the world, to be able to work with people from different backgrounds, and be confident and capable in all of that. That's what we want. If that's what being a global citizen is then that's what we want to educate our students to become. (PD, BAIS)

The Programme Director further broke the programme's approach to global citizenship down into three principal aspects it sought to foster in students:

> a consciousness of themselves as people in a larger system than just their own personal networks; a preparedness and the capacity to act; and an ethic of consideration, responsibility, and resilience and awareness of the limitations of people - humans - and the incompleteness, if you like, of the global system. (PD, BAIS)

This conceptualization of global citizenship in terms of awareness, responsibility and action/capacity to act, as well as cross-cultural competency, echoes both the similar understandings expressed by the VILP programme staff and Schattle's (2008b) framework. However, implicit in the above quotes is a stronger emphasis on the self-reflexivity, awareness of positionality, and critical engagement with inequalities and power imbalances inherent in the global system, which suggest greater alignment with definitions of 'critical' GCE (Andreotti, 2006).

The Programme Director described social critique and critical engagement with globalisation and development theory as a cornerstone of the programme, but also noted the challenges of balancing this with the vocational focus required of most university degree programmes, but particularly those offered by RMIT. He suggested that ultimately both critique and even critical

thinking are more likely to be translated to more practical language at the institutional level: "at RMIT we are 'problem solving' - critical, if critical thinking has any role, it's through problem solving". However, he noted that BAIS programme staff seek to maintain and protect that critical ethos, while appreciating the attractiveness of marrying this with a "vocational edge" (PD, BAIS). His impression was that different students are drawn to different sides of this equation:

> Sometimes we have to battle with our students to emphasise the importance of acquiring that vocational edge. Sometimes we have to battle with our students to encourage them to see the importance of marrying that with a critical understanding of key ideas. (PD, BAIS)

The Programme Manager reiterated the importance of practical (but not necessarily vocational) interpretation of global citizenship. His approach to teaching on the programme was: "intended to equip students in a practical way, not just for knowing about global issues, but how to engage with them in a constructive way" (PM). He referenced his background in activism and his subsequent constant self-checking that the courses do not become too "ivory-tower ish" and asking "how would an activist make use of whatever it is we were talking about" (PM). He felt the programme's aim is to:

> basically say, you know, there are these huge problems, such as poverty, and there are constructive ways to engage with them and non-constructive ways to engage with them. So, in short, non-constructive ways are basically thinking that you have the answers - you go and educate the poor people about how to do their finances and so on. (PM, BAIS)

Like the Programme Director, the Programme Manager highlighted the importance of reflexivity as a crucial ingredient of developing students prepared to critically engage with, and act effectively to tackle, global challenges – and without becoming overwhelmed at the prospect of doing so. He explained: "therefore I try to bring the uncritical people to do some self-reflection, but then you have to stop pushing the critical ones off the edge, right, and keep them in" (PM).

The Programme Manager did not feel that the balance between the professional focus of the programme detracted at all from the depth of critique encouraged: "I don't tend to be worried about that…my colleagues are as critical as they are anywhere…. I think we probably get the balance relatively good" (PM). He did feel though, that too much concentration on critique could become incapacitating:

> We have to be careful not to overdo the criticalness in a negative way, because… you can become so super aware and so super self-reflective of the difficulties of engaging in any kind of pro-social endeavor

> - and we will all the time see like sophisticated critiques of well-meaning interventions. And the experience of that I think is to undermine people's ability to have some faith that what they're doing is actually going to be helpful, and everything is problematic and therefore what do you do in the end? (PM, BAIS)

Equally important was ensuring challenges associated with complex things like climate change do not seem "overwhelming and paralyzing and disempowering" (PM) to the students. Rather, the Programme Manager tried to: "break it down and make it manageable" by spending time building up to that point in the course by spending a few weeks looking at practical and relevant tools useful to engage with the global challenge/s under consideration:

> …to break down a problem, and having broken it down being able to find points of intervention. And I think, and the results have been, have been much better. It's like they understand it now, and then they go into that week [looking at a particular challenge] equipped with various tools we give them. (PM, BAIS)

Both programme staff viewed the development of cross-cultural competence (with language learning as a vehicle for this), as a way of connecting the social and cultural critique with the need to focus on vocational and employability outcomes. They described this as a core part of the programme and key to preparing students to successfully negotiate global practice:

> The principal learning objective [of the programme] is to develop a global catalog, a global framework, for thinking about your practice. Obviously, we're not a vocational degree in the sense that we direct students to *particular* professions. But, we understand that anybody who was working internationally with international partners, working with culturally diverse colleagues or staff, has to start from a position of acknowledging that their view of seeing the world is not the only way of seeing the world, and then if they want to be able to negotiate and collaborate then they need to have greater cultural sensitivity. So cultural competences really form a significant part of the learning, the basics, if you like, of this degree program. So the practice side of it really does start from that proposition. (PD, BAIS)

One further way both the Programme Director and the Programme Manager felt the programme fostered the development of global citizenship identities was by building on students' prior or concurrent life experience, as well as providing a sense of community and connection with like-minded people:

> I think we try to build upon a student's international experiences outside education as much as anything else. Are you from a culturally and linguistically diverse background? How does that influence your perspective on globalization? How do your parents see this? What's your experience of if you've come as a migrant or refugee adjusting to Australian society? And if you spend time traveling overseas, how has this changed your perspective on the world? We try to engage students that way, because that then takes the discussion out of being focused on a scholastic environment, and emphasizes the engaged dimension of globalisation that we want to emphasize in our curriculum. That it impacts upon your life in many

> diverse and mundane, oftentimes very disguised, ways. So, it's consciousness-raising through thinking, getting students to think about how they've been engaged with the world. (PD, BAIS)
>
> In some ways one of the most important things that the program does is to provide a community of like-minded people, with whom the students can interact and feel as if they're part of a larger group of people who share similar views and are trying to achieve some similar aims in a different way…they need a community and it's the community that is one of the most important things that they experience while they're here. And the declarative learning that they learn supports some of those pro-social values, or humanitarian sensibilities. (PM, BAIS)

As the Programme Manager went on to say, it is useful to preach to the converted or semi-converted: "it's why the church does it every week – to build that sense of community" (PM, BAIS).

7 Global Citizenship Identities across Transitions in the Youth Lifecourse

This chapter reports the findings relating to research questions two and three, focusing on the lived experience of the young people undertaking these programmes both before and during their time at university. Numbers of students that expressed views are grouped together in certain ways, not because they are statistically significant, but to enhance the accuracy and transparency of the analysis (Silverman, 2006).

7.1 Significant Prior Knowledge, Life Experience, and Motivations for Students

The findings presented in this subsection correspond to research question 2: *What prior knowledge, motivations, and life experiences are significant in Australasian young people's involvement in two selected higher education GCE programmes?* I was particularly interested in the experiences the students deemed most important for developing their interest in global citizenship or global-civic 'issues'. I also inquired about the kinds of knowledge they gained through these experiences, and their motivations for engaging in globally-inflected civic activities during secondary school, and, later, for undertaking their respective GCE programmes upon entering university. The participants were asked to focus on the period during which they attended secondary school for all of the above except the last point regarding the transition to university and taking up their GCE programme.

The themes and subthemes, which have been constructed from coded data excerpts ascribed to this research question, have a number of similarities across the two data sets. For this reason, they are discussed together below. An exception to this was the kinds of motivations the students recalled having for undertaking the respective GCE programmes at their outset. The comparative dimension is presented more explicitly when dealing with this theme.

7.1.1 Sowing the Seeds at Home

Longstanding interest: In recounting how the students first became aware of and interested in global citizenship or engaging with global issues, half the participants explicitly stated they had

seen themselves in relation to the global sphere from an early age. Variations on this included statements like: "I've always seen myself as a global citizen" (Jane, VILP); "I've always been exposed to…globalism and different types of cultures" (Umbreon, VILP); "I think I've always been sort of interested in global issues" (Aleisha, BAIS). All participants were readily able to cite at least two catalytic influences or experiences (usually many more) sparking their interest in the global, even the few that described themselves as not particularly civically active during secondary school. This was an initial indication that understanding themselves in relation to the supranational scale was something familiar and ongoing to students in these programmes (Chawla, 1998, 1999).

Family environment: Sixteen of the twenty-one participants cited their parents and/or family life as playing an important role in fostering their interest in global citizenship. This confirms previous research which has identified the significance of family and social capital in shaping active engaged young people (Lenzi, Vieno, Perkins, Santinello, Elgar, Morgan & Mazzardis, 2012; Roker, 2012; Wyn, Lant, & Harris, 2012). A very common form was parents encouraging an interest in international current events and history through media consumption and facilitating discussion in the home. The scenes invoked were often domestic, intimate, and everyday in nature. Alessa (BAIS) described one of the biggest influences as "probably just my dad, boring as that is [laughs]...he has always just been interested in politics, and when we have family dinners he's always set [discussion] topics about global affairs." Aleisha (BAIS) "made that connection [to developing an interest in global citizenship] when I started being interested in politics, watching the news with my dad or whatever". These types of 'serious' media being mutually consumed suggest the link between the transmission of social and cultural capital at home and burgeoning global citizenship identities. For example, Sophie's (VILP) comment that she grew up aware of the "world around her" and "global politics and stuff" due to her parents being "quite sort of engaged and aware, and they, you know, read *The Guardian* etc. – they're very keen on their current events".

A significant variation on this subtheme was the influence of *a multi-cultural home environment*. A number of students referenced a migrant parent, and the sense of connection to a network of overseas family and other social ties this entailed, for example:

> Sara (BAIS): I would probably trace that back to like, my mom being an immigrant. And like, spending time... a lot of my family lives in Canada and Colombia so I spent a lot of, like, my upbringing being involved already like, having connections to people in other countries...I guess the fact that, like, my

> family kind of felt like they had to leave Colombia because it was dangerous, so that kind of made me aware of those issues...

Umbreon (VILP) explained how having one migrant parent (from Malaysia) and one Pākehā (see note two to table 5.1), along with his own ethnicity (Chinese - he was adopted), created a "kind of tension" and self-reflective focus on his own identity in relation to his secondary school peers, which led to an interest in global issues and a kind of cross-cultural awareness. Anna (BAIS) cited the impact of both her mother's work as a teacher of English for refugees and migrants, and her father's family's experience of immigrating to Australia. For her issues such as international conflict and the resulting movement of refugees felt that much closer given her mother would relate the first-hand experience of her students, and she herself would also spend time with the children enrolled at her mother's school. Her father would link those directly to his family's experience of civil war in the former Yugoslavia and their subsequent migration to Australia. Anna felt this meant they were "very open in my family talking about all these kinds of politics".

Floyd (BAIS) cited his mum's "progressive mindset" and the way she "facilitated that political discussion". He also linked the discussion and awareness of global issues it gave rise to with the physical neighbourhood in which they lived: "So yeah definitely living in Northcote there are.... because the issues are always there, there's a big movement for, you know, gay rights and there's a lot of refugees in that area. So, there's issues all-round...common conversations at the dinner table." Louie (VILP) also felt the multicultural nature of her neighbourhood and connection with people from other cultural backgrounds was an important influence. She described the relationships she formed with exchange students hosted by her family, neighbours she babysat for or others who gave her a lift to school, as well as school and neighbourhood friends – all of whom had a different cultural and ethnic background than her own. These relationships led to her developing an "empathy for other people and what their lives are like…that led to curiosity and then having [a diverse range of] friends", which in turn provided a frame of reference and a greater interest for related socio-cultural and global issues she encountered in various media, and ultimately to specific forms of civic engagement (discussed below).

Travel was another prominent sub-theme. Just over half the students cited international travel with their family as an important factor in developing an awareness of the global in relation to

their own lives. In addition, four students cited school-organised travel or exchange programmes, two cited travel they organised themselves between completing secondary school and starting university, and two growing up in various places overseas due to mobile parents working overseas.

Jethro (BAIS) recounted a trip to Nepal where his mother took him 'backpacking' during secondary school, to learn how to "not be a dickhead" when travelling on his own later in life. He described learning to:

> …travel with a light impact and take yourself out of your cultural perspective and try to immerse yourself, and really try to gain a deep understanding of the place you're in. And really appreciate where it is in the world you are, and the opportunity you have to experience another walk of life, and see how other people do things.

For Floyd (BAIS) his own post-school backpacking trip brought home the realities of the differing restrictions on people's movement according to their citizenship:

> So it teaches a bit about mobility. We got to Budapest, there were all these refugees at the train station from Syria… And there were like, massive train stations just packed and the streets were flooded with refugees, like it was on the news and that. So that was an interesting first-hand experience…and that got me into it [international/global studies] as well…you feel closer to... when you're in Europe you go, 'wow, like stuff's happening just here', in Australia it's kind of separated.

A commonly expressed sentiment was that engaging with another country's "people and culture… [is]…so much different from watching something on the screen" and that this opportunity to travel and encounter 'the Other'[31] in a different cultural setting equated to being "extremely privileged in that way" (Umbreon, VILP).

Many students highlighted the impact of the relationships they made with people they met overseas, and how in some cases these have led to establishing a network of friends in different countries with whom they maintained contact through social media. Like Olive (VILP), several mentioned the value of this interpersonal contact - "through, you know, just exposure to

[31] The term 'the Other', or 'cultural other', is used here in a basic phenomenological sense and as a noun – denoting the way someone is perceived as different from the self – especially someone who has been raised in a different cultural context and/or has been exposed to different cultural influences – as part of the process of self-making (Mountz, 2009). This is as opposed to being used as a verb, in the sense of 'othering' or imagining 'the other' as 'deviant' or 'inferior' as occurs through the processes of orientalism (essentialism and cultural imperialism) resulting in the construction of the marginalised or subaltern figure in opposition to normalised self (Mountz, 2009; Said, 1978). This is not to say the students interviewed (or anyone) are immune to the influence of processes latterly described, but to attempt the (extremely difficult) task of unpacking their conscious and unconscious biases was not the primary aim of my research.

international students, traveling overseas, my family living overseas, growing up around international people" - and the discussions they led to "about issues that they're facing in their own country". This prompted reflection on how:

> Olive (VILP): …you sort of feel a sense of like, 'that's not right' or 'we don't have that here'…Or, you know, if someone points out something that's a flaw in your own society and how they go about it [in their country]. You kind of start to feel more impassioned about how we do things at home.

Louie (VILP) described a family trip to Vietnam as where she felt she first began to understand:

> …what being poor was about. So before then I think poor was like a kinda intangible concept [for her], because your life is pretty good, well, my life was pretty good in New Zealand. And although you have an understanding of it, like you might see it on the news, you might hear it being talked about, the realities of like going to rural villages in a developing country, are very very different.

Many of the students associated their travel experiences with an expansion of their cross-cultural knowledge and an incipient awareness of their own privilege (the latter is a topic that is further developed below in certain students' accounts of the impact of their respective programmes). While the excerpted accounts above suggest a largely liberal-humanist approach to the 'other' (Stein, 2015), it is important to remember that these are the accounts of young people recalling the starting points for their engagement with the Other, and what this might mean for them in terms of their later interest in global citizenship. Generally, increased curiosity, expanded imaginative horizons, and an increased ability to see their own national and immediate socio-cultural contexts at home in relation to the global were frequently discussed by students as being a result of travel experiences. This in turn provided them with a new frame for both school work and related civic engagement activities upon their return to their everyday lives.

7.1.2 Structure and Inspiration at School…For Some

Twelve students mentioned particular *teachers as mentor figures*, inspiring their engagement with global-civic issues. The following comments from students are representative of the ways they articulated this:

> Louisa (VILP): The first kind of time that I can think of that I became interested in kind of social justice, which I linked to the kind of global citizenship stuff, was…because I had a really enthusiastic teacher and the curriculum was very creative in terms of kind of looking at issues of poverty and looking at issues

> well, looking at growing small business and things like that…and also things like social justice projects that we could get involved in. Like the City Mission had one.
>
> Floyd (BAIS): In high school I had this one teacher and he was a [global] politics teacher and he was just awesome. Like he, I think that's honestly why so many people from my school do this course because the way he taught politics, it was just like being in Uni and it was just open and he just got us so into it all. The nitty-gritty, like, really boring treaties and international laws. He just made... he made them feel relevant to us and made us feel kind of part of it. And then I was just like, yeah, I'm going into International Studies [the BAIS programme]. So, I would say, living in that area [Northcote – see above] makes you politically minded, and this particular teacher just really got me into wanting to actually study it.

The students expanded on how these teachers were influential or inspirational in two principal ways: 1) employing innovative or creative teaching methods that considered classroom work in relation to broader social issues (such as migration, poverty reduction, or climate change) or social trends (such as entrepreneurialism); 2) providing the student with experiential learning opportunities to actively engage with the community (especially service-learning trips to community organisations) or connecting them with other relevant extra-curricular opportunities (such as the United Nations Youth network or the Duke of Edinburgh Award[32], and associated activities). Like Floyd, other students also expressed this in terms of these teachers being adept at making the connections between global issues and those more immediate to the students in their own lives or classwork. The points made above accord with previous research highlighting the key role teachers, in their approach to their pedagogical practice and their interpretation of curricula, can play in both enabling *and* constraining the development of young people's global citizenship identities (Schweisfurth, 2006; Wood, 2013; Wood & Black, 2014).

Almost all the students interviewed referred to specific *secondary school subjects* as sparking their interest in global-civic issues and engagement. Again, these numbers were split almost evenly across the programmes. All the subjects that students mentioned were humanities and social sciences subjects - history (10), global politics (4), languages (4), English/literature (2), social studies (2), geography (2), philosophy (1), religious studies (1) classics (1). In the Australian context, four of the BAIS students cited the subject 'global politics' (included as an elective subject within the Victorian state curriculum – but not offered at all schools), or their global politics teachers, as being a key influence. The BAIS Programme Director also noted the strong correlation between students coming into the BAIS and having taken 'global politics' at secondary school. It is interesting to note that none of the students connected any science or

[32] The Duke of Edinburgh Award is described as a "global non-formal education framework" that "creates opportunities for young people to learn a new skill (or develop an existing one), get physically active, give service to their communities and take part in adventure" (DofE NZ, n.d.) The award is open to anyone between age 14-24 and is delivered by schools, youth groups, the Scout Movement, juvenile justice programmes, and other groups working with youth.

commerce subjects with their burgeoning interest in global citizenship. The findings collected under the two preceding subthemes (teachers and subjects) are suggestive of the sporadic implementation of GCE within the Australasian secondary school context and the subsequent uneven levels of preparation to engage with the ideas involved amongst the cohorts coming through (Petersen et al., 2018; Wood, 2019).

Half the students from each case summarised the secondary school environment as providing further support and structure to engage in global-civic causes through *extra- and co-curricular activities***.** These students referred to various ways their school achieved this: offering a specific co-curricular programme focused on internationalisation or global citizenship (just two schools); supporting fundraising activities on behalf of INGOs or other forms of engagement with organisations involved in international development activities; and/or sister-school relationships with schools in the developing world; and/or facilitating overseas trips for students to connect with development projects, progress their acquisition of another language, or complete high-school exchange programmes; and helping join or found relevant clubs (or, in one case, a student union) at the school. A few students also mentioned the service learning ethos of their school, which encouraged students to actively engage with community groups, mentor other students, and demonstrate leadership in relation to social justice issues, especially those relating to equity and diversity. These issues often had an international or global dimension – a common one, for example, being the support and integration of refugee communities.

Among the minority of students who described their *school as not providing much structure for their global-civic engagement*, a few felt this was due to the smaller, more rural, and more conservative nature of their schools and the surrounding communities:

> Lena (VILP): So my hometown - think like Gilmore Girls – this, like, small town. That's basically this town, pretty much white middle-class. Public School. Fairly conservative. There were definitely some teachers who are trying to get some new fresh ideas out there. They had some good intentions, but I don't know if it was really getting across. Some people would probably use the word a bit 'redneck'[33]

A few students, like Bobbi (BAIS), felt the smaller rural setting where her secondary schooling took place limited the opportunities for global-civic engagement not only at school, but also beyond in the wider community:

[33] 'Redneck' is derogatory term originating in the USA, now typically used to describe any white person with politically reactionary views.

> Bobbi (BAIS): No. None of that [languages and opportunities for civic engagement] in high school. And I don't think that's because I didn't want to be helping people. It's just that those opportunities were never there. Yeah. So the community that I lived in for most of high school was a small country town where you know, they farm apples and cherries and most of the people know each other. It's like a town of a thousand. Like there wasn't that mindset in the town already. And so no one was facilitating those opportunities for other people.

Issac (BAIS) felt the amount of support to engage with global issues at his urban school was:

> Low to non-existent. Like no one else in my family was really interested in that stuff and my school like... it's just like a high school like they were pretty focused on what your next like, assessment was and stuff. It wasn't really like it is in uni where they really try to get you to engage. Like I was just... most of this was just my own independent interest. I didn't even really think about it. It never occurred to me, there could be a structure…for me it was like 'oh this is just the thing I'm interested in', the same as someone looking up, like, the footy results.

The findings presented in this subsection emphasise the ways in which the school environment, the curricula, and its implementation, can all serve to provide varied and uneven GCE experiences for differing students. The kinds of capital (social, economic and cultural) students are able to draw on in their schools and surrounding environment, as well as from their teachers, can spur students to use their school experience as a structure to begin exploring their identity as global citizens, both within and outside of that environment. Interestingly, while the absence of a strong GCE influence at certain (seemingly often rural) schools can constrain some young people's ability to imagine themselves as global citizens, it can also prompt others to seek out diverse extra-scholastic forms of global-civic engagement.

7.1.3 Finding and Creating Spaces for Global-Civic Engagement

Like Issac above, other students also felt their engagement with global-civic issues was more a result of their own initiative, and that while they were encouraged to think about the connection between their lives and the global sphere in school, they were not necessarily being provided with pathways to take action:

> Linsell: Still thinking about high school, at that time did you feel like there was a lot of support or a structure through which you could engage with these issues?
>
> Louie (VILP): No. By engage I think 'thinking' - definitely. I think that I was very lucky with my teachers, they would encourage my thinking. But in terms of like volunteering, so I did lots of volunteering around my neighborhood - like I volunteered for the SPCA[34], at the op-shop for a few years, different things like that. We were like collecting, bucket collecting, a few other things - like YMCA[35] camp…I'd say most of

[34] Society for the Protection of Animals
[35] YMCA's (originally the Young Men's Christian Association), in New Zealand are community organisations focusing on youth, family and community development for all (irrespective of gender or background).

> it probably came from myself. And probably a mix of that's like my personal interactions with the world - so through my family and things. And part of it my personality - I am very curious.

Eight of the students interviewed shared Louie's sentiment that *self-initiated actions in the community*, independent of the school environment, were influential early experiences they linked to global citizenship. The kinds of experiences mentioned were diverse, including involvement in: youth clubs and councils; refugee advocacy groups; environmental groups; army cadets; community radio; and various activities as part of the Duke of Edinburgh award (undertaken outside of school). As mentioned above, everyday relationships and interactions with family, friends, neighbours and other members of the community who were from a different cultural background, were also commonly invoked as important catalysts for global-civic thinking and action.

Digital channels for civic engagement are increasingly being shown to facilitate this integration of the global into everyday life. They provide new fora for civic engagement, and radically alter (often globalising) the spatial and relational nature of this engagement (Harris et al., 2008; Loader, Vromen, & Xenos, 2014; Vromen, Loader, Xenos, & Balio, 2016). Just under half the students interviewed here referenced online spaces as significant sites for engaging in global citizenship activity:

> Jethro (BAIS): As for most people my age growing up the internet quickly became, like, a pretty primary thing in our lives. And I used that a lot. I was like a massive geek growing up. Umm, spent a lot of time reading on internet, and of course naturally you're going to encounter lots of different things, about...the world and global issues, on the internet, and just self-education…

> Olive (VILP): I mean, I guess just living in the sort of generation that I'm in, with social media is...you're not necessarily signed up for Facebook as an extracurricular activity, but definitely being part of social media sites, kind of exposes you to what people are doing overseas and people traveling and posting photos and that definitely makes you consider your options. And as I've mentioned, growing up, a lot of Facebook friends were from all around the world. So, I kind of get little snippets of their lives in different places.

Others felt it was a way to access, through sites like Vice News or Al Jazeera, information pertaining to global issues not readily available in mainstream media in their home or school context:

> Louie (VILP): I think for a long time I was probably interested in counter-narratives. So, what's in the mainstream media? What are alternatives to its worldview? [Linsell: Where did you source those counter narratives from?] Mostly just from Google. A lot of time it would be following on from an article. So, I loved Al Jazeera. I felt Al Jazeera was an insight into culture as well. And it felt less...I don't know the word to describe it, but I enjoyed it and then from there I could also offshoot…

It is interesting to note the wider range of digital sources beyond traditional media that young people regularly consult to gather information and actively engage in global-civic spaces. Another student described using more alternative or obscure imageboard sites like 4Chan (an anonymous uncensored and controversial image board site used by various subcultures)[36] to get a clearer picture of opinions beyond their own social media 'bubble':

> Jethro (BAIS): I started looking at 4Chan. It's an image board, it has a pretty notorious reputation on the internet. But it's like, it has its merits. Like it has its dark sides of some pretty bad things you get exposed to, but it also has some positive sides, like, certain boards you can go on there...like there's the board called International. And there is a board called History/Humanities. And they're pretty much just open and anonymous discussion boards where people bring in new ideas and talk about things and discuss things. You get exposed to a lot of, to be frank, like messed up ideas, but ahh...you also gain an awareness of what's out there.

As well as using sites like Facebook as an alternative and curated delivery system for information and news pertaining to global issues for passive consumption, Issac's (BAIS) and Anna's (BAIS) responses make more explicit the ways the students viewed more commonplace online spaces as places to actively create and contribute as digital global citizens:

> Issac (BAIS): I liked a lot of things on Facebook and read ...had a lot of things I would read on the internet. Like my Facebook was pretty much all just like news updates and everything like that. So I was pretty on top of it in that sort of area, but I wasn't, like, a member of any forums or anything like that. I would just read, just independently. But I would go, like, I'd go looking for information. Like I wasn't that passive, like, I would go and just devote myself to like, read a Wikipedia page or something every few days and just do that. I even got into like, editing Wikipedia, which I still do now, I contributed and stuff.

Anna described mircro-blogging site Tumblr as a place to build a sense of community with people of a similar age from around the world, and craft and perform one's burgeoning sense of self and identity in relation to global issues and trends:

> Anna (BAIS): I think having your own computer makes you feel way more connected to, like, the rest of the world. I used to have a Tumblr... that was very exciting. Like we, my friends and I, we all had one, we would all chat to people from like all around the world and you'd share the same jokes. And you'd definitely talk about political issues. I think having a Tumblr was like, a big part of like, social awareness and social justice awareness when I was like, a young teenager. Like people were just talking about really out there things that are talked about [more often] now…[Interviewer: like identity politics?] Definitely. Oh 100% because you've got your own page and you can customize it, make it look however you want. People would have super personal stuff on there and you would just read these wacky stories people would post about their life. That was definitely a community. I think maybe at the end of Year 12 or so,

[36] For example, internet providers temporarily blocked both 4Chan and 8Chan after the Christchurch massacre in New Zealand, as they were amongst the websites that initially hosted footage of the shooting.

I think we all like left it alone. But that was definitely a formative part...chatting to other people from around the world.

Primarily, students saw online spaces as a way to: connect with and contribute to globally networked communities and trends in global youth culture; access diverse media and alternative 'takes' on global issues; as well as offering fora for the exploration of identity-politics and self-making.

7.1.4 Mixed Motivations

VILP: All of the students reported seeing the programme as likely to serve multiple purposes in terms of establishing themselves in the new environment of university and navigating the opportunities it presented. The most common motivations they had for undertaking the programme were: actively engaging with the university community and meeting likeminded people to further develop a sense of community (8 students); complementing and enhancing their degree studies, especially with experiential learning opportunities (7); and a genuine interest in the core themes of the programme (6). Most of the students also mentioned they hoped that completing the programme would in some way enhance their employability and create a way for future employers to recognise the additional relevant globally-inflected knowledge, skills and experience of civic engagement afforded them by the programme (8).

Many expressed the value they had sought to extract from the programme in terms of *relationships* (Biesta et al., 2009; Wood, 2012; Hörschelmann & Refaie, 2014). This meant developing a sense of community with likeminded people: "the value probably came in…meeting people, and making friends, and that's probably how I would've looked at it - people that were interested and engaged in the world, like I was" (Louie, VILP). It also meant actively engaging with other students and experts from differing cultural backgrounds:

Siti (VILP): You get to understand the perspective of people… like, for example, about how a Mexican thinks about the 'Wall', the 'Trump Wall'… you get a first-hand understanding of what other people think for themselves, their stand towards the situation and issues. So like, I get to understand their position not just like, browse in internet and it's like - yeah actually talk to people or listen to what they have to say.

Another relational motivation cited was network building and exposure to academics, community leaders, diplomats and other experts in fields the students aspired to be involved with. The students saw this involvement occurring, and benefit accruing from it, *both* in a projected professional future and through immediate opportunities for (citizenship) action.

Students often joined the VILP as a way of *continuing the kinds of globally-inflected civic engagement they had begun in secondary school*:

> Louisa (VILP): So yeah, that was an amazing experience [in school], and I guess when I came to university after that, it was kind of like how can I continue, you know going up from here and using that experience…but that's over, that's it, you know, - yet to continue using and honing those skills.

There was a common feeling that beginning university led to focusing more exclusively on their degree study, the need to "learn the content, write essays, get a grade" (Lilly, VILP), and less on civic activities they had previously been involved in. Students felt the VILP was a way to get "much more from my degree" as "VILP stuff is about living and having experiences" (Lilly, VILP). Like Louie (VILP), who "decided that up until that point I'd just kind of been going to class and then coming home, and that was pretty much my life", students often reported hitting "a point that I wanted to do more, be more involved". Likewise, Olive (VILP) felt joining the programme would push her to seek out opportunities for civic engagement: "instead of not prioritising my time to do something like volunteering…With VILP, it sort of does push you to utilise your own time to do stuff like that". These comments suggest that many of the students felt there was at once more pressure to focus on the studies (and paid work) at university, and that they anticipated less structure to support them to engage civically as compared with the secondary school environment (see Tallon et al., 2016). They were seeking something to, if not replicate that structure some experienced at school, then at least connect them with the knowledge, networks, and opportunities, and galvanize them to engage. Whereas for others it was a chance to connect with other people interested in global issues that they felt was lacking in school, and which they had been looking forward to finding at university.

Another common motivation amongst the students was to benefit from the programme's *interdisciplinarity* and co-curricular nature. Some felt it enhanced their degree studies: "For me, it was just like having a greater understanding of content, because in a lot of cases, I'd be studying something related in one of my papers" (Olive, VILP). Others saw the potential of its interdisciplinary nature: "I just like all the seminars I've got to - there's so many different issues - so I guess I just wanted to learn about lots of different stuff that isn't really part of my degree, but I always was interested in (Alex, VILP)".

Many students expressed an instrumental motivation for taking the programme: "I instantly recognised it was going to be a way to supplement my commerce degree - put that [international] spin on it" (Winston, VILP). They saw it as some that would help them "to either

work in an international firm or to follow a, like... be broad enough that I could follow different random jobs around the world" (Jane), or just demonstrate they had more experience beyond their degree that would be useful when entering the job market: "it seemed like, and I noticed it with a lot of other jobs too, they don't…you know, getting a degree isn't really enough, they want you to be like doing a hundred other things too" (Alex, VILP). A couple were specifically chasing grants to fund overseas exchange trimesters accessible through the programme.

Interestingly though, most students tempered this with skepticism as to whether having the award (for completing the programme) recognised on their transcripts would really mean much to future employers. Olive (VILP) for instance related that: "I didn't actually know if it was going to be something beneficial to put on my CV at first. For me, it was just like having a greater understanding of the [programme] content". This suggests that for most students, employability and recognition were secondary concerns and that their motivations were mixed and more complex, as with Winston: "I recognised it would look good on my CV, I'd meet people who had similar interests, and I would hear interesting speakers, get an opportunity to go to events I wouldn't otherwise have gone to, and [I would] learn more"

The below comment captures the way in which students overall came to the programme consciously hoping that its open and flexible nature would help facilitate their 'pathfinding' (Tallon et al., 2016) through the transition to university:

> Louisa (VILP): Yeah, I guess what I hoped to get out was kind of learning about…well finding different opportunities to get involved in was definitely one of them in. And, I guess it was also in that kind of journey that university is about finding out what you like, and what you don't like, and what you might be interested in pursuing and what you aren't… Because coming to university, especially from a different city, is quite a big thing, you know getting settled in, and stuff. Having VILP as this kind of structure was quite useful as well, in terms of settling into uni.

BAIS: Similarly, to the VILP students, six of the ten BAIS students made comments indicating they were initially drawn to the programme as they thought it would help them in *finding their way*, as well as figuring out exactly what it was they may want to do post-university. Jethro (BAIS) described not having a precise idea of what he wanted from the programme, but rather he liked that it seemed diverse in content but also "a kind of a build up from all of the things I've been talking about today [with regard to high school and global citizenship] - developing this fledgling idea of the world, an interest in politics, and it seemed like the best fit to study that". This was representative of the similarity across the two groups of students, in that many

in both sought out these programmes as way to continue and build on the forms of civic engagement they had encountered in secondary school.

In another manifestation of this pathfinding subtheme a number of BAIS students stated they were motivated to join the programme to develop the professional skills to "serve people" (Perth), or even to "save" people (Bobbi). This is an important difference. One group of students that, like Perth, invoked service had generally already been more civically active, and often outside and alongside secondary school, whereas the students that discussed their motivations in salvationist terms - associated with soft and liberal humanist GCE positions (see Andreotti, 2006) - had come from backgrounds with less civic engagement, or less sophisticated approaches to it (such as Bobbi – see her comments about her rural school in section 7.1.2). A number of students specifically mentioned initially wanting to work for the UN or in a job related to international development:

> Bobbi (BAIS): "I think I wanted to work for the UN [laughs at herself] and then realised very quickly that I don't know if I could work for the UN. It was like yeah, UN then it was, like, definitely going to work for an NGO and like save people, and then I was like, 'wow you are so naive'. And now I'm working for a University. Yeah. Pretty different.

Five students referenced their initial desire to work for the UN, and all but one followed this swiftly with another comment critiquing the naïveté of their younger selves, as with Bobbi above. In general, this kind of reflective self-critique was more common amongst the BAIS students as compared with VILP, likely to be in part due to the more critical and in-depth nature of their programme.

The fact the BAIS programme is a dedicated degree, with a much more explicit focus on employability relating to international fields, especially in civil society, naturally led to the *technical and specialised nature of the programme* relating to career aspirations being a key motivation (seven of ten students) – an obvious point of difference from the VILP. Many of the BAIS students discussed choosing the programme over other more general BA degrees in the liberal arts mode. Like Aleisha (BAIS), who recalled feeling:

> "it just seemed like it was for me because it was that technical sort of structure rather than just, you know, learning random things… feel like, just having another line on your resume is not the point, like actually learning something is the point. Where it's like, I feel like I'm actually prepared to like go out and do whatever job I want to do, rather than like someone reading my resume and be like, oh she went to [Univeristy of] Melbourne, like she can probably do it.

Perth (BAIS) chose the programme because she felt confident that: "this is my professional trajectory. This is what I want do. I want to be able to go out and serve other people and aid in their own development. Yeah. And I was optimistic". This comment was representative of many in the programme who were attracted to it by the perception it would allow them to combine social responsibility with their career aspirations. The students were to develop more nuanced outlooks as a result of engaging in both programmes as discussed in chapter 7.2.

7.2 Student Understandings of Global Citizenship and its Relationship to their GCE Programmes and Lived Experience

This subsection addresses my third research question: how do the students relate their *current* understandings of global citizenship to their GCE programme and life experience? The interviews were wide-ranging and produced a very diverse and nuanced set of responses. The responses from each case (VILP and BAIS) have been analysed separately, however the major themes able to be constructed from the data applied equally to most students across both cases (an interesting finding in itself). As such, these major themes are presented together below (with reference to individual students), rather than separately for each case. Subthemes are used to illustrate any interesting divergences between the two cases, and the useful comparisons are made more explicit in the discussion that follows in Chapter 8.

7.2.1 Navigating Idealism, Critique, and Ambivalence

Nineteen of the twenty-one students across the two cases described *global citizenship as a disposition,* independent of formal or legal structures, and that connects the individual to a wider sense of shared humanity. Comments describing it as "not like citizenship of a country…more like a frame of mind or frame of reference", or as a filter to be applied: "a general lens or a way of viewing the world" (Aleisha, BAIS) were representative and came easily to most students in both programmes. Equally common were comments highlighting empathy: "So I guess it's kind of defined by, like, empathy towards humans as a whole, and seeing the commonality between everyone, and I guess for me the idea of global citizenship is just recognising the value of every person on the planet as a rational being (Jethro, BAIS); or Louie (VILP): "I think of a broader idea of collective empathy…as working as a team of people to create better outcomes for

everyone." This sense of connection and belonging often led students to invoke the idea of shared or universal values: "I guess it links into ideas of human rights and the universality of human rights and the universality of human experience. I think that is the primary value that defines global citizenship" (Jethro, BAIS). Ten students also suggested some form of travel, through its potential to enhance intercultural understanding, as an important part of developing this affective sense of global citizenship as empathetic connection.

These kinds of statements were usually offered as part of first responses to questions about students' understandings of global citizenship. Implicit in them is the idea that global citizenship is theoretically accessible or achievable for anyone, regardless of nationality or circumstance. Given the positive nature of the traits and dispositions students associated with the concept it is unsurprising they at least loosely identified with them or expressed a desire to cultivate them in themselves. These understandings also align neatly with liberal cosmopolitan formulations of global citizenship based more on passive 'awareness' (Schattle, 2008b), although, by themselves, run the risk of being viewed as the kinds of airy or idealistic platitudes often associated with 'soft' (Andreotti, 2006) and neoliberal (Shultz, 2007), and weak (Shultz, 2011) versions of the concept.

However, after further reflection, most of the students demonstrated more *nuanced and critical understandings* of global citizenship, that complicated and unpacked their initial statements. Many of the students acknowledged the idealism inherent in the concept, seeing it as aspirational, while oftentimes also demonstrating a clear understanding of the breadth, complexity, and problematic nature of concept. Most also mentioned how commonplace, or even "trendy (Alessa, BAIS) and "overused" (Camilla, BAIS), the term global citizenship was in their programmes and broader experience. Most students, across the two programmes, raised the notion of privilege in relation to the concept of global citizenship. Winston (VILP) for example saw it as being "still quite an urban elite thing, predominantly in cities and particularly at universities", aware that this implicitly meant the programme and himself. For Anna (BAIS) learning about global citizenship meant "acknowledging privilege and understanding your place in the world and just being aware of other people's experiences and like, being respectful of that as well." Umbreon (VILP) saw it as a product of "first-world privilege" and not accessible for those who by necessity are "more focused on survival needs". The level of detail supplied in unpacking notions of privilege suggested varying degrees of critical awareness, some incipient, some more developed, as discussed below.

The vast majority of students from both programmes shared an ambivalence towards the concept when reflecting on whether they would consider themselves to be global citizens. Nineteen expressed *difficulty in pinning down the concept and only qualified self-identification as global citizens.* Many, like Alex (VILP), were unsure what the qualifiers or markers would be and questioned whether affective understandings are enough or whether certain actions would be required: "I want to be [a global citizen], I just, I don't know what that would require - like, is it just the way I think, or would I have to be putting it into action…?". Camilla (BAIS) and Jethro (BAIS) both felt they would qualify as global citizens if going by their own definition provided during the interview, but that they "would never use those terms" (Camilla), or they would "shy away from identity statements like that" (Jethro) that indicate a static or achieved status.

When asked if they considered themselves to be global citizens almost all students still offered qualified 'yes, but' type statements. Sophie (VILP) felt that "yes, I suppose I am…[in the sense of using the concept as] a frame of reference, but there are probably shades" based on "how actively people participate and contribute" beyond just the affective level. Louisa and Olive (VILP) both aspired to be global citizens but acknowledged it was "hard work" to continuously apply the concept and associated principles to one's actions and decision making. Lena (VILP) also saw it as something more fluid and intermittent and that needs to be enacted, rather than a status to be achieved: "I think it's something that needs to be constantly worked out - I don't think you just like achieve global citizenship and then all of a sudden you're a global citizen forever, you know, it's something you need to be living in your daily life". Alessa (BAIS) echoed this sentiment of 'trying' to be a global citizen and felt an important part of that was "constant reflection and questioning of your own privileged assumptions". Siti (VILP) pointed to the importance of context, saying she felt more able to enact her global citizenship identity in New Zealand as compared with her home country, where she felt society was more culturally segregated and socially conservative.

The sub-themes considered above showcase the value of inviting students to reflect more deeply on the concept of global citizenship and how they personally relate to it, beyond pre-emptory attempts at defining the concept or describing associated abstract values. In these longer-form semi-structured interviews the students quickly moved beyond what might be described as the rhetoric of global citizenship, to constructing more nuanced, changing, critical, and even at times contradictory understandings.

7.2.2 Porosity of Boundaries, Awareness of Barriers

One of the most common ways the students elaborated what global citizenship meant to them, and the influence of their respective GCE programmes, was to discuss the intersection of the local and global in their own lives. Almost all of the students made explicit reference to a central pillar of GCE: developing an understanding of the interconnectedness of political, economic, environmental and socio-cultural issues across the global, national and local scales and how this can promote globally inflected forms of civic engagement and action. Students were very familiar with the notion that global challenges have local manifestations and points of engagement. For the most part they felt their respective programmes did a good job of unpacking some of the many processes involved and facilitating both informal and formal civic/political participation.

As a result, seventeen of the students viewed *global citizenship as something immediate and everyday* precisely because it connects the local to the global and is not tied exclusively to formal civic processes:

> Jethro (BAIS): It's global consciousness generally. And seeing the connection between local and global. Being aware of your power within a society to enact change. And how every action that you have, like whether it be politically or economically, in some small way, has an impact in the wider scheme of things. And also having a willingness to work within the community to raise awareness towards issues, and push socially or politically for change.

Their experience of growing up part of the most globally exposed generation to date informed the students' intuitive feel for the dispositional dimension of global citizenship as discussed in in 7.2.1. Sophie (VILP), for example, viewed formal or traditional citizenship as something tied to the national sphere and likened it to "membership to a club", and which is controlled by others in that "it can be given or taken away". On the other hand, she felt "global citizenship isn't a formal thing like that – you have it automatically". In other words, students saw global citizenship is something that doesn't need to be sanctioned, and therefore potentially a more direct opportunity to exercise one's agency.

Many students mentioned how this notion of the immediacy and accessibility of the global had been enhanced for them by the ubiquity of globalised media and the intense connectivity provided by digital channels:

> Anna (BAIS): I feel like I'm connected to the world, and I feel like the more that I learn about the world - that brings me closer to different people and different concepts that I didn't know about before. And I

> think there is a global community of people that doesn't revolve around politicians or like political entities or like sort of, [traditional] leadership entities.

This power of cross-cutting issues to unite and mobilise communities of young people across the globe for a common cause, and to tackle it's local/glocal manifestations, has recently been reinforced by the Me Too and Black Lives Matters movements, amongst others.

Students pointed out how their respective programmes built on this through their interdisciplinary approach and exposing them to different aspects of cross-cutting global issues and to the different actors involved:

> Sophie (VILP): Yeah, one of my big things is feminism, and I think VILP, sort of, helped me put that in perspective. Confronted with a particular story, I felt a connection in that I'm a woman, I have responsibility to do something about the way the women are persecuted in this particular situation. I think that like it's quite easy to sort of get locked into your local community… but there are lots of other aspects to any problem…[and] they exist in other parts of the world.

For Sophie it was a particular seminar delivered by a representative of Médecins Sans Frontières with a focus on women's experiences of the 'refugee crisis'. For Olive (VILP) it was making a connection between "colonialism and its impact on biodiversity in New Zealand". This was a connection she felt she wouldn't necessarily have made in her degree proper, but once she did she could see all around her in her everyday life. Other students cited a variety of specific issues covered in the programmes drawn from broad fields - including sustainability, international development, global governance, (de)colonialism, security, migration and refugee issues, and gender, racial, and social justice issues more generally – that sparked this feeling of proximity to, and enmeshment within, the global. The programmes brought these issues 'home' to the students, and allowed deeper exploration of individual issues, or a cluster of related issues, that were already part of their everyday university lives as part of interactions with media, friends, family, colleagues, and other groups or social movements.

While the students highlighted the immediacy of global citizenship as a concept in their own lives, and the facility with which they connected with it, eighteen of the students also acknowledged the *barriers and exclusions associated with the concept*. Like Winston (see Chapter 7.2.1), many students made reference to privilege in passing. Eleven (the majority from the BAIS programme) offered deeper and more articulate reflections on this point. These students began to treat questions of access, agenda-setting, values, delivery language and power associated with global citizenship and GCE. A few students, such as Alessa (BAIS), who had earlier dwelled on the central role of travel in fostering her own sense of global citizenship,

later reflected on how this is also an example of the problematic nature of the concept. First she acknowledged: “I think that in the privileged sense of the term, yes [I am a global citizen] - because I travel so much, and I don't really see anything as a boundary”. She continued by further unpacking the implications of this:

> Alessa (BAIS): but it’s [global citizenship] almost a fantasy, because it's kind of like you can't be a global citizen when half the globe isn't participating in such an identity. It's more of a Western citizen I guess. And you know, I'm yet to do anything significantly helpful for brethren across borders. So, I haven't really done anything positive with global citizenship yet. One day. So, it's almost something you have to earn maybe, is what I would say. And I haven't earned it yet, but I plan to.

A number of students also identified a tendency for the discourse of global citizenship to be formulated in Western-and/or anglophone-centric ways, and the potential negative and excluding impacts of these discourses for non-Western and indigenous peoples. As Olive (VILP) put it “global citizenship can be dangerous sometimes, when it's used in a way that is like one nation imposing what they think is right on another nation – cultural imperialism”. Both VILP and BAIS students felt their respective programmes were flexible and diverse enough in their offerings to allow for multiple interpretations and critique.

Taken together the sentiments captured in this sub-section make it clear that students had reservations about global citizenship as a concept, and that self-awareness of their own forms of capital and privilege meant it felt more accessible to them than it likely would for many others. However, the concept still spoke to the students because they intuitively saw themselves as belonging to a broader citizenry given their lived and everyday experience of globalisation, and sought ways to act on this basis. Another important way the students engaged with global citizenship and went about the construction of their publicly-minded selves (Harris, 2015) was through relationships.

7.2.3 Global Citizenship and GCE as Inherently Relational

All twenty-one of the students referenced specific relationships, types of relationship, and/or skills required to make, foster, and maintain relationships as crucial to the ways they enacted their understanding of global citizenship. The affective understandings of global citizenship discussed in the previous two sub-sections proved a departure point for thinking through how they engaged with people in their communities and societies - in person and digitally, near and far, privately and publicly.

Fourteen of the students saw *global citizenship as a countervailing force to rising nationalism and as prompting an active and empathetic engagement in their own communities and societies.* Students largely demonstrated an understanding of citizenship as a concept formed around core ideas of membership and status, rights, responsibility, and civic or political engagement, whatever the scale – national or otherwise. However, they often associated more traditional calls to civic duty with legal status, individualism, passivity, and sometimes conservatism and nationalism. The following comments are representative of this:

> Alex (VILP): When I think about national citizenship, I think about people that sort of, I guess, put their needs before other people. And it also sort of implies to me that they don't really care about what happens to anything else or any issues that may affect them in the long term either, that require, you know worldwide sort of approach to them.
>
> Aleisha (BAIS): National Citizenship is always being concerned with yourself - like even if you're concerned with other people in your country, it's actually about you. Whereas as global citizenship is thinking about other people as well
>
> Bobbi (BAIS): Identifying a lot with your national citizenship can cripple your willingness to be acting in a global sense.

These kinds of sentiments signaled challenge to the commonplace narrative of young people being politically and civically apathetic and disengaged – judgements often based on measures formulated in relation to traditional and formal notions of civic engagement. Many of the students' comments seemed to flip this formulation; associating the more formal idea of citizenship constructed within a national framing more with potential for passivity, and/or more cynical or individualistic motivations for civic engagement, and disengagement with the reality of interconnected and pressing global challenges. Instead they suggested that an ability to recognise the intersection of the global and local in one's own immediate circumstances became a force galvanizing participation in a variety of informal civic actions within their own lives and associated spheres of influence.

Fifteen of the students in some way referenced a *desire to engage effectively and appropriately with increasingly diverse local communities*. The students were very aware that local urban and broader national communities are globally networked and connected: "civic engagement in Melbourne now, is no longer civic engagement within Melbourne just geographically, because... [there is] such high levels of multiculturalism that it's a global community within a local setting" (Perth, BAIS). Most of these students saw their programmes as both equipping

them with the knowledge and interpersonal skills to better engage with their changing communities and prompting them, or providing a framework for them, to do so:

> Sophie (VILP): I kind of went in expecting I will just learn more about other countries and cultures, and like to an extent it is sort of been the result, but the larger thing is… a more nuanced conception of community, and my own connections with the communities around me. And so I think that I associate all these other activities that I do for VILP with that - in the sense that I'm better able to identify with the particular community [group] or issue I engage with, whether that is global or local.

> Lilly (VILP): The programme is an opportunity to figure out your place in the world and how to interact with other people… Learning from others, human connection, rather than just having to like, write papers and do research. It's like, actually practical and you can go out there and interact. That's really important.

The students referenced a variety of global-civic skills these opportunities helped them develop. VILP students commonly invoked some form of intercultural competence and ability to engage in difficult discussions that the programme helped them develop:

> Lena (VILP): the ability to interact across different cultural circumstances…with cultural others, and being able to not offend people and to properly conduct yourself in a way that enables work on bigger issues. You know, actually have conversations that need to be had, rather than [resorting to] violence, and work towards alternative solutions.

Students on both programmes referred to the ways the programmes deepened their issue-based knowledge (see 7.2.2) and their ability to critically engage with those issues, and in turn how this enabled them to consider their own privilege and positionality in relations to others. Alessa (BAIS) reflected frankly "I feel like we are all born a little bit racist in a way, just because humans are innately a bit afraid of the other", but she felt the BAIS programme provided some tools and opportunities to help understand and dispel this fear. One way it did this was by promoting "that kind of constant reflection and questioning of your own privileged assumptions". For Bobbi (BAIS)) it meant learning humility and cultivating more of a collectivist world view: "just sort of like getting over yourself… not taking your needs or your country's needs or anything like that to be more important than someone else's or somewhere else's… and uplifting people doing the good work".

As many did when recollecting their pre-university experience, over half the students pointed to more *intimate and everyday spaces as sites for the performance of global citizenship*. Umbreon (VILP) discussed the ways students changed up and down gears in terms of the ways they sought to effect change: "I try to be a global citizen with just like small things - obviously

there are the bigger things like protesting, but even small things like facilitating a conversation, can be effective". He went on to explain how he would often discuss and debate topics from the programme with his more conservative family and friends, or tried to engage as much as possible with international students in the programme. Many of the students saw the interactions and relationships forged within the programmes themselves as further cultivating and shaping their global citizenship identities.

> Louisa (VILP): I think an important thing is community. It's about bringing students together to this kind of program where they are talking about these issues and there's kind of open discussion about these things and the whole idea of being a global Citizen, and the sense of community this creates that is really important for students.

This sense of community and camaraderie as a crucial support and resource in the students' developments as civic and political agents was common across both programmes. Perth noted too that "having lecturers and tutors who themselves have had a lot of interaction in global settings, it really provokes and encourages you". Siti (VILP), Sara (BAIS), and Lena (VILP), who were international students, all mentioned the pathways for integration into the local student and wider communities opened up by the programme. They referenced their regular online contact with transnational networks and how this influenced, and was influenced by, their experience of the programmes. This was echoed by domestic students who had incorporated international education opportunities into their programme and made similar connections abroad.

7.2.4 A Shifting Sense of Agency

This subsection reports the students' reflections on how the ways they thought about and enacted global citizenship changed over time, with an emphasis on the role entering their GCE programme at university played in this. It also takes into account implied changes based on the ways they described the above in relation to secondary school and at the point of being interviewed.

Many of the students stressed the way the programmes linked to their previous experience and/or studies, personal interests, career interests, and civic engagement pursuits. Given it's extracurricular and customisable nature, VILP students typically described the programme as a "prompt" to "be more engaged" (Sophie), and a "platform" (Jane) or a "structure" (Lilly) to better understand the global dimension of their lives, "make more informed decisions" (Jane),

and framework (Louisa) to find or create those opportunities to engage. Louie (VILP) felt it gave her a better idea of “what I view I can give…so I know what I need to learn now, and I know the spaces which I have an affinity for and therefore can do the most good in”. The BAIS students described their programme in similar terms, however, given it had a fixed curriculum, the way it connected them to opportunities was a little different. Every student had to undertake an unpaid internship (with an organisation in some way engaged with globally related issues) as part of the programme. Some students undertook international mobility experiences as part of it too (with the latter often including internships or volunteering).

Both programmes encouraged and facilitated diverse modes of civic action such as: a variety of volunteering roles, arts and media projects, creating and organizing education programmes and initiatives for young(er) people; student politics, protesting and other forms of activism, social entrepreneurship, paid roles and internships associated with social causes and development. Almost all the students participated in some form of civic engagement. Even those that felt their ‘they were taking a step back from volunteering’ to focus on the demands of their studies and the economically precarious nature of student life, were usually involved in some other form of civic engagement such as socially progressive groups, local politics, or civic education initiatives for younger people.

Six of the students had either had their ability to engage with global-civic issues constrained during secondary school, or they had not been as interested in doing so at that point in their lives. For them the *programme’s role as enabling global citizenship* was particularly important and keenly felt. Alex (VILP) did not go to a particularly well-resourced secondary school and nor did he describe his home environment as one that fostered civic engagement. At school and upon starting university he felt his natural shyness, anxiety, and cynicism were barriers preventing him from getting involved in these kinds of opportunities: “I was so introverted I guess, and even if I could get over that sort of anxiety part of it I always thought well what is that even going to achieve? I would think about it, but I wouldn't really do much about it”. Despite having a long-standing interest in environmental issues, Alex freely admitted he joined the programme for relatively instrumental reasons – to enhance his employability. He felt a degree alone was no longer enough for employers: “they want you to be doing like a hundred other things too”. However, the programme’s seminars and speaker events had helped him become “more willing to listen and willing to think about ideas that may seem abstract or hard to deal with”, and it had opened opportunities to get involved with several community groups

focused on providing refugee support services and promoting sustainable lifestyles to combat climate change. Alex reflected that during his time in the programme he was:

> …realising that maybe it will take like a collective effort for some things. But I mean, it can't be collective if people aren't doing it because of individual reasons like I was. So I guess that's something that changed my mind about the sort of effect I can have. I don't know how much impact I can have by myself, but I definitely think it's worth trying… I guess I'm also learning how to engage with global and social issues. Like you can do it in a variety of different ways, and also how to communicate better with people about how to approach these issues.

This sense of having increased his ability to effect social change in relation to pressing global issues was one that was shared by many of the students. The broadening of the way he saw himself as a civic and political agent was already impacting the way he was thinking about his future: "it's just sort of changed how I see like where I want to go in terms of like career, and further study and stuff. Like I really want to try and incorporate as much of the different dimensions of what I've learned in VILP if it's possible into sort of my professional life as well".

As discussed in 7.1.2 Bobbi (BAIS) had come from a small rural town prior to university where her opportunities for global-civic engagement were severely limited. She had initially had a strong desire to be a medical professional and 'save' people. A chance encounter with a civically-engaged international student prompted a change in a more social direction. Bobbi described having an excess of enthusiasm and idealism coming into the programme. For her the journey of moving through the programme, but also moving to Melbourne, and completing an internship with a women's rights organisation in Indonesia as part of the BAIS was one of cultivating self-awareness and beginning to critique the naiveté of her younger self:

> Bobbi (BAIS): coming out and realizing that it's not about, sort of imposing change on people, but it's about helping people develop the capacity to change their own lives. Which can be a hard thing to deal with for white and Western people, because we're often like, 'no, but I know better, you can learn from me'. It's more like, you totally have to yeah... totally get over yourself and be like, I don't actually know what these people need, what people want. I don't even know what I want.

Bobbi thought that the programme didn't allow for students to settle into one understanding of global citizenship and what it means to be one but rather:

> ...You're constantly challenged throughout the course to reassess what it means to be you, what it means to think the way that you do, and you know, a lot of people go through the course thinking...They start out one way and they come out thinking a totally different way because they've had three years of being challenged about what they believed in. A lot of the people that go into the course already have that desire to want to be a part of a community and help people. But, yeah, the way that we think about how to do that or what it means to do that is challenged.

For Bobbi evolving this self-awareness went hand in hand with "learning to become a professional", especially for those with aspirations to work in the development, social, community, and education sectors (like most of the BAIS students).

Issac (BAIS) was another who had felt isolated from likeminded people when he became civically active during secondary school. He also acknowledged that the breadth and multi-dimensionality of the programme created a lot of scope for different ways to teach, learn and do global citizenship. He highlighted classes like 'Working and Managing in International Context' and 'International Professional Practice' which were "basically like vocational classes", which "show how you connect different things to things you learned in the course of what you did in the workplace and how it connects with the purpose of your degree". He felt this exemplified the potential for GCE to be multi-faceted and to be delivered in different ways, rather than being something fixed with set outcomes or objectives: "[the programme] was more like: 'to develop as a global citizen is an ongoing process'…it was never like: 'this is what a global citizen is and this is what that means' - it's just sort of a thing that I think everyone has to develop their own" (Issac, BAIS).

Other students also referenced the notion of being constrained in terms of place or isolated from diverse populations by growing up in a small place that limited their secondary school concepts of global citizenship identity, but that then later broadened upon entering the programme (Sophie) or becoming an international student (Lena). For example Sophie (VILP) felt "like, a lot of the time, living in a place like New Zealand you can, sort of live in a very concentrated bubble" or Lena (VILP) who lamented "[foreign] people were more intangible, they were just so different and so far away, it was like they didn't even exist in my world - until I met people who are actually from these places and it's like wow, you know actually putting a face to it." Sophie (VILP) went on to say that:

> I was broadly aware of what goes on in the world, but I was very much thinking that NZ is a tiny little speck in the bottom corner of the globe and no one cares about us, and we're almost meaningless in the grand scheme of things. Whereas now I kinda look at any international news story and think this affects me. In high school I probably would've have thought that even something like climate change, it's huge, it's a big global problem, but I am a tiny person in a tiny corner of the world, and it has almost nothing to do with me. I mean I can care about it but my caring about it is from a distance, and of no impact whatsoever. Whereas today I think that if it's anyone's problem then it's my problem. And that even just by caring about it, that can begin to have an impact… I'd like to think that all of the skills and values and ideas that I have now I probably already had but they have perhaps been enlarged by VILP. I think definitely my sense of responsibility and connection.

Many of the students contextualised their life experiences of travel, speaking other languages, spending time with exchange students, or even engaging with theoretical concepts of global citizenship as a form of privilege that was mostly granted to them by their financial or cultural backgrounds. Olive was aware that her private school emphasise and structurally provided for international awareness, as did the amount of travel her father's job as airline pilot had allowed her to undertake. Umbreon believed that "being able to like think about these like global issues is kind of a first world privilege thing."

One reoccurring theme was the idea that the concept of global citizenship had evolved from a theoretical ideal (often large scale themes of 'helping the global poor' or 'working for human rights') into a more practical sense of how global change could be affected; often beginning on a more localised scale. Jane noted that after the VILP programme "I see the potential in me has grown…I think now, both my development personally, and the development through the VILP just made me realize that there's so many more pathways than what I thought, of how to be international." Perth felt that the BAIS had helped her shift her career perspectives from the global to the local:

> I think at the back of my mind I had, you know long term, if I was doing human rights law, work with the United Nations or global institutions…I still feel really passionate about grassroots movement, and I'm less inclined to look at large institutions...not that I dismiss them. I think they're absolutely imperative, but my focus is a small one.

Similarly, Floyd noted that he had entered the BAIS thinking of his career goals "I think in high school, like, I really wanted to work for the UN. So I was really in that…we're all in the 99% and our enemy's the 1%." His transition involved analysing his values and his actions "I feel like I want to go out and do things and, you know, promote these global values and all that. But the course has taught me that, you know...just be responsible and think about it, you know, realistically and pragmatically, but hold onto these values, but don't be naive about it." He recalled being a strident proponent of global citizenship in secondary school, and the term being popular in his progressive neighbourhood and school. However now although he strongly supported the values underpinning the concept, and was vocal about them outside of the programme environment, he felt some of his fellow students resorted to employing it as a fix-all:

> Floyd (BAIS): after being in this course for three years it's such a buzzword - people just think they can bring it out whenever they want: Global citizen really idealistic, like, let's all be cosmopolitan. So now it's almost like, if someone says they want to be a global citizen it's like 'sigh, give us a break.

Students saw Both VILP and BAIS as opening up new spaces for them to expand their sense of agency as a global citizen. This was seen as both an ongoing commitment "I think for me kind of the next step is looking at how to be a global citizen, or feel like a global citizen always, rather than just this kind of intermittent sort of thing" (Lousia, VILP) and a challenge for the future:

> Jethro (BAIS): I'll be interested to see how much I can translate my research in what I'm doing into like practical applications… because I know it's one of the things I see that plagues academia is how disconnected people who are in the academic field are to the reality that they're studying - and how do you reconcile these two fields. How do you reconcile the institution with society at large?".

8 Discussion and Conclusion

This chapter discusses and draws insights from the findings presented in the previous two chapters, drawing on the key concepts elaborated in the literature review and the theoretical framework. It is structured around the three research questions.

8.1 The Natures of the Two Higher Education GCE Programmes

As discussed in earlier chapters, a key tension running through the literature on GCE is whether of GCE programmes are primarily developing human capital through the creation of globally competent knowledge workers, or delivering transformative, critical and inclusive opportunities, including a focus on social justice, sustainability and decolonial approaches. Despite operating within the constraints of a neoliberal institutional approach to GCE, programme staff in the two programmes found ways to create spaces to ensure students did have a more critical engagement with GCE than readings of programmes documentation and institutional webpages may suggest. In this way they were able (at least partially) to deliver on the promise of GCE to navigate the competing rationales of internationalisation at universities (de Wit et al., 2015; IAU, 2012 Kraska, et al., 2018). Several other important points can be taken from the findings of this research into these programmes.

The analysis of the GCE discourse found that the programme documents in both cases were generic and tended toward an instrumental view of education as qualification (Biesta, 2009; Sant et al., 2018) as discussed in the literature review. The relatively superficial treatment of global citizenship and associated concepts, along with the emphasis on enhancing individual student employability outcomes, reflect the primary purpose of the documents and website material – to establish institutional backing for the programme and to promote the programmes to potential students. VILP's award structure, in particular, which emphasises individual achievement, suggests that its aims mostly align with the 'qualification' (Sant et al. 2018), 'neoliberal' (Shultz, 2007) and 'entrepreneurial' (Stein, 2015), 'socialisation' (Sant et al., 2018)

and liberal humanist (Stein, 2015) framings of the GCE discourse[37] – which in themselves have much in common.

The interviews with the programme staff complicated this picture in both cases and began to hint at the problems with characterizing programme aims as being the formation of *either* 'global citizens' *or* 'global workers' (Hammond & Keating, 2018), and GCE provided as soft *or* critical (Andreotti, 2006). They reinforced the key role of programme designers, educators, and professional staff in shaping the delivery of the GCE content (Christensen, 2013) and highlighted the potential for discrepancies to exist between GCE in institutional discourse, and its implementation. Indeed, even in implementation there exists great variation between different teachers' approaches (Christensen, 2013; Schattle, 2008a). This foreshadows the nuanced responses students gave in reflecting on the role of the progammes in their lives and in the development of the global dimension of their citizenship identities, and the meaning they derived thereby.

The flexibility of VILP's structure also allows students more license to curate their experience of the programme, and to connect with both their prior and concurrent life experience, as well as whatever degree they are pursuing, and to incorporate a range of different experiences and content. This means students have a degree of control over the nature of the programme and whether the emphasis is more on the 'soft' or the 'critical' side. It also means that it is able to attract a broad range of students, potentially with wider breadth of knowledge – a point returned to below. The BAIS programme, with its formal degree structure is designed to attract students aiming to start a career requiring global competence. The academics interviewed pointed out how the focus on practical professional skills this requires is not necessarily antithetical to a critical approach. Relating theoretical content to the realities of grassroots development and activism for example was designed to enable students to cut through the idealism of global citizenship as 'empty signifier' (Shartner & Cho, 2017), while staving off the potential for inaction brought on by being overly critical.

The findings of this study suggest there is a tendency for some of the existing literature to lead to overly rigid divisions of GCE into either "soft" or "critical" approaches. The interviews conducted with the programme staff (mainly academics) revealed them to be very conscious of their institutional operating paradigm and pushing against it in deliberate ways. They identified

[37] See elaboration of these terms in the literature review section

certain constraints of running GCE programmes within the environment of the neoliberal university, including the need to ensure programmes were 'marketable', and the need to prioritise employability outcomes for students. This suggests that while it is clear and important to note that GCE programmes have differing primary drivers in focusing more on human capital or critical outcomes (with arguably an overemphasis on the former), their frequent juxtaposition may be misleading. The academics and professional staff responsible for the design and implementation of these two programmes could be said to both be interested in creating human capital outcomes *and* critical understandings. This provides hope that academics are already actively responding to the calls of recent literature that seeks for GCE programmes to deliver outcomes reflective of both approaches (Sant et al., 2018, Kraska, et al., 2018).

The findings also highlight *the importance of an in-depth and qualitative approach* to analysis of GCE programmes. Previous research based on reviews of documentation alone, such as Grimwood (2018) in the New Zealand context for example, was unable to identify the tensions between academics delivering programmes and the messaging around the programmes found on the webpages. Another New Zealand based study, Shephard et al. (2017), suggested that institutional policy on GCE may be intentionally vague so as to allow for interpretation by implementors. This study demonstrates the value of examining that interplay more closely.

Finally, this research demonstrates *the importance of a comparative case study methodology* to identifying the range of ways in which the tension between "soft" and "critical" approaches are reconciled in a real context. By looking at two programmes side by side, my study showed that despite differently structured programmes, academics/programme staff had similar ambitions to incorporate critical approaches in GCE, although these were advanced in different ways depending on the context. These approaches in turn informed the structure which students coming into the programmes responded to.

8.2 What Prior Knowledge, Life Experiences, and Motivations are Significant in Australasian Young People's Involvement in Two Selected Higher Education GCE Programmes?

A major concern of this research was to better understand what predisposes young people to undertake GCE programmes offered at Australasian universities. Key to this was recognising and exploring the kinds of lived experience of global citizenship young people bring with them into the programmes. A range of, often overlapping, factors were identified as particularly significant in shaping these globally-inflected experiences and understandings of citizenship prior to starting university: intimate, personal, and everyday spaces (especially relationships with friends, family, neighbours and inspirational teachers, as well as networked relationships cultivated through virtual social spaces); international travel and/or exposure to a range of cultural milieu including dispersed family and social networks and multicultural neighbourhoods; the consumption, curation and creation of new media; self-initiated public activities including, but not limited to, more familiar forms of civic engagement such as volunteering; along with the formal learning environments of secondary school.

The ways the students described these pre-university experiences were notably casual, matter of fact, and often unsophisticated. Yet, these experiences had clearly impacted on their citizenship identity formation. Even the relatively limited and artificially constructed space for reflection provided by this section of the interview generated accounts of how these experiences impacted on the ways they saw themselves belonging and participating in their communities, society, and the world – along with their decisions to undertake GCE programmes at university.

This study's findings accord with previous research that suggests young people's political subjectivities are commonly constructed within liminal, often 'everyday', spaces "between Public/private, Formal/informal and Macro/micro politics" (Wood, 2012, p. 337). The students cultivated their understandings of the global and its impact on the politics of their everyday lives and societal participation in relation to the way these ideas were presented by family members, peers, virtual connections, new media and school teachers. Crucially however their recollections demonstrated the agency they were already displaying while in secondary school - through seeking opportunities to engage with and act on global-civic issues autonomously, alongside, or mixed with, the structured opportunities provided by school and community organisations.

The young people entering these GCE programmes were *already* accustomed to associating the sense of *belonging* and acts of *participation* inherent in the construction of citizenship identities

with a mixture of the everyday, the local, and the global, as well as the formal and informal. Their framing of this civic self-making was therefore divergent from the traditional notions of citizenship – those that cast it as occurring primarily within a national frame or associate it only with a passive legal status, and/or formal political acts such as voting, and perhaps membership of associations and volunteer work. Again, this supports recent trends in research and theory (Lister, 2007; Ratnam, 2013, 2014; Wood & Black, 2018).

The students interviewed were readily able to identify and connect aspects of their pre-university experience that informed their interest in, and understandings of, global citizenship, as well as provide examples of their own performances of global citizenship. This further consolidates the growing body of research that refutes the civic-deficit narrative portraying young people as apathetic and/or civically disengaged (Harris et al. 2008; Ratnam, 2013, 2014). The findings illustrate how global citizenship, as an inextricable dimension of citizenship, should not only be understood as something taught within a formal curriculum, or something that is only achieved when one becomes an economically independent adult. To these students the ideas and values associated with global citizenship were not something completely new, and therefore not something that needed to be inculcated in them as if from a completely fresh start (Biesta, Lawy, & Kelly, 2009; Biesta, 2011; Harris, 2015; Wood, 2016).

There was no sense of 'waiting to become' a citizen or global citizen evident in the students' accounts of secondary school, nor was the idea that 'doing' citizenship only occurred in relation to a certain sphere of action – just at school for example, or even just 'locally' (Harris, 2015). Both sets of students reported an awareness of the interrelated nature of global and local issues, the accumulation of associated knowledge, and the desire to act upon it, as beginning early in life and subsequently waxing, waning and evolving in accordance with different formal and informal influences. This demonstrates the importance of developing more nuanced understandings of the lived experience of the students prior to entering higher education GCE programmes and how this shapes young people's view and practices of global citizenship, and expectations for GCE (Davies, 2006; Harris, 2014; Murray/IEAA, 2014; Walsh et al., 2018). That knowledge provides a base to draw on in the design of these programmes, and thereby make them more appealing, validating, and likely to increase their efficacy (Ratnam, 2013, 2014).

Recounting catalytic citizenship experiences during secondary school flowed naturally into a discussion of the students' motivations for undertaking the GCE programmes at university. Both sets of students recalled initially undertaking the programmes out of a genuine desire to be better able to engage critically and practically with the globalised nature of the world – either as way to better understand and build on prior experience, or to address a perceived lack of previous opportunities to engage with these issues within formal and/or structured education environments. Many VILP students mentioned supplementing their regular degrees with more internationalised learning as a key motivation, with a vague view to enhancing their future employability. VILP students also placed a more explicit emphasis on building a sense of community as a major motivation for taking up the programme, whereas the BAIS students did not (though interestingly many of the cohort mentioned this when reflecting on their progress through the programme). Unsurprisingly the BAIS students focused more on the technical skills and specific vocational outcomes they expected to gain. It should be acknowledged that all the students' recollections of their motivations were likely coloured by their current or recent experience of the programme. However, the motivations described by both cohorts for taking up GCE programmes at university demonstrate an implicit understanding that these programmes can encompass both human capital and critical social justice-oriented outcomes.

It's hard to reduce motivations to one thing or the other. They are complex and changing. In reflecting on their motivations for starting the programme – a period ranging from one to three and half years in the past at the point of the interview - students were already able to note a change between them and their current estimations of their programme's value and outcomes. Of course, there will be a much wider range of motivations for undertaking these programmes than just those uncovered here among other young people undertaking similar programmes elsewhere. However, that range will be informed by the responses captured in this study, and the students' reflections on how these motivations were met and modified over time as they entered and progressed through their respective programmes.

8.3 How Do the Students Relate Their Current Understandings of Global Citizenship to Their GCE Programme and Life Experience?

The students outlined a great variety of understandings and ways they were enacting, or 'doing', global citizenship. Some of these actions were obviously international or global in nature, some were more examples of local civic engagement in which the students could see a global dimension and/or connected it with an aspect of their respective programme. Common to almost all students was a desire to meaningfully and ethically act on their affective understandings of global citizenship, and where possible, effect change. While most students had begun this process in secondary school, and some continued it independently of their programmes, almost all of them mentioned ways it was reinforced by their university GCE programme. They saw the programmes facilitating a deeper exploration of global/local interconnectedness and providing more pathways to action. These reflections were naturally linked to the students' motivations for doing the programme, their principal learning outcomes, and the ways they related both to their future professional lives post university. The remainder of this subsection will discuss the findings relevant to this research question with reference to the four core concepts making up this study's theoretical framework: *belonging*, *participation*, *recognition* (based on Harris, 2015) and *transitions* (based on Wood, 2017).

Belonging: At heart, all forms of citizenship come back to "membership and creating social-civic bonds" (Harris, 2015) of some kind. A common critique of global citizenship is that one cannot belong to a global citizenry as there is no supranational mechanism to sanction membership (Miller, 1999; Bowden, 2003), and therefore it's too broad a category to have any real meaning because it does not confer legal status or rights. The young people interviewed here were fully aware of these points and despite them, and in part because of them, derived a sense of belonging from the idea of global citizenship and the GCE programmes they were engaged in. The students were hyper aware of the term global citizenship. Most embraced the principles underlying the concept but did not blindly accept the term either. Many demonstrated relatively nuanced and critical understandings of the term and how it is employed in different contexts. Yet, because of its informality students found it a useful scaffolding to interpret their more immediate, everyday, and multi-scalar experience of 'doing' citizenship (Ratnam, 2014; Wood & Black, 2018). In the same way, it provided a frame and impetus for connecting with others who were similarly engaged – both locally and via transnational networks. These two interlinked processes resulted in multiple senses of informal or loose membership or "participant identities" (Ratnam, 2014) to both supra- and sub-national groupings.

Students joined programmes looking for a sense of connection, often in the absence of the comforting sense of structure provided in their secondary school environments. This was heightened throughout the programme and they formed deep bonds with their cohort, and in the case of the BAIS, with their teachers too. The programmes are also both designed to facilitate interaction with cultural others and engage with issues from the perspective of academics, students, and community members from other countries. This enhanced their understanding of, and interest in cultural difference, and developed their ability to communicate successfully in intercultural contexts. Given the transnational networks and flows of people prevalent in both contexts, Wellington and Melbourne, this often reinforced the students' sense of connection to their local communities as well as others further afield.

Participation: Participation in relation to citizenship is about facilitating civic engagement and "constructing a publicly minded self". The students interviewed used their GCE programmes as a framework to aid in this process. They saw the programmes as a framework (where they had anticipated less structure) to help them "find their way" amongst the new, globalised, and entangled forms of civic engagement and de-standardised patterns of transition they were encountering (Wyn, 2013). The study found that the programmes had deepened their knowledge of global issues, encouraged most to develop self-awareness, and consider their privilege and positionality in relation to others. In conjunction with this formal learning, and the various forms of civic engagement they had undertaken, many students had begun to critique the naivety of their younger selves and revaluate how best they can be involved in tackling global challenges, effecting societal change, as well as contributing to the uplifting of those in need of it. Finally, the programmes helped further develop civic skills such as critical thinking, (intercultural) communication, and the ability to unpack the interconnectedness of global issues. All of these processes feed into the construction of "a publicly minded self" (Harris, 2015, p. 85) who will be able to navigate the less obvious pathways of 21st century citizenship.

In line with recent research, this study suggests the process of constructing a publicly minded self did not occur exclusively within formal education settings (Biesta et al., 2009; Wood, 2010, 2012). Rather it occurred both in formal education and everyday intimate spaces, such as the home, the workplace, volunteering site, social groups, and through personal relationships and conversations. The students easily and organically connected and wove together the global with

the localised realities of their families, neighbourhoods, schools, leisure activities and individual relationships, which again echoes recent research (Biesta et al., 2009; Harris et al., 2008; Wood 2010, 2012, 2014; Wood & Black, 2018). Other everyday sites in which students constructed and enacted their global citizenship identities included lifestyle choices, patterns of consumption, and online interactions.

The study found that the young people involved often did not draw clear lines between local, national, and global civic engagement (Ratnam, 2013, 2014). They were instead more inclined to intuitively make connections between the local and global spheres and forms of civic action and citizenship. Seeing these as categories with porus (but not insignificant boundaries) better reflected their lived experience. As such they often rejected more passive, legal, and/or nationalisitc constuctions of citizenship identity. On the other hand most of the studnets understood it was their position of relative privildge that enabled this view. Many clearly understood that status and rights accorded thereby (or lack thereof) have a large role in shaping one's citizenship identity and relationship to the concept of global citizenship for most people in the world. For a number of the students this discrepancy was another prompt to global-civic engagement itself.

Recognition: The tension between competing visions for GCE often sees higher education GCE programmes labelled as either 'critical' or, more often, 'soft' (Andreotti, 2006). Given the dominance and pervasiveness of the neoliberal imaginary (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010) in higher education - especially in Australasia (Connell, 2013, 2015; Shore 2015) – there have been suggestions GCE programmes are more concerned with human capital and producing 'global workers' rather than global citizens (Hammond & Keating, 2018). There is still a dearth of research looking at IaH or 'GCE in a domestic context' (Bamber, 2020), especially in Australasia and from a student perspective, as well as based on their lived experience. Not only did this study write into that gap, it also focused on students' accounts of their lived of global citizenship experience over an extended period of transition from secondary school and into university GCE programmes. As such it is well placed to discuss these students' motivations for undertaking these kinds of programmes, and kinds of recognition they might be seeking.

The students in these programmes reported mixed, complex, and changing motivations. The fact that the programmes emphasised enhancing employability, and that they made special

effort to connect students to the professionals and the workplace, was highly valued – especially by BAIS who closely associated the vocational and critical outcomes of their programme. While it is important not dismiss critiques the soft GCE, it would be prudent to further investigate how select human capital motivations might align with (or be realigned to) building critical consciousness in students (Tallon et al., 2016). The construction 'global citizens *or* global workers' might be something of a false dichotomy. It confirms the need to understand the real motivations and lived experience of students and their expectations, and to a build a critical approach based on these. As discussed in chapter 8.2, better programmes can be designed if we understand what students want and what they bring.

Alongside 'education as qualification' (Biesta, 2009; Sant et al., 2018) type motivations, the students interviewed in this study articulated a range of motivations, outcomes and discoveries as part of undertaking their GCE programme for undertaking their GCE. Naturally qualifications and jobs remain key outcomes for students. However other "dimensions of life" were equally important to them which were very much in keeping with Wyn's (2013) observations that:

> These include citizenship in its broadest sense: how young people understand themselves in relation to their worlds; how they belong; are valued; what their responsibilities and rights are and how they can shape a better world, locally and globally (Wyn, 2013, pp. 104-105).

Transitions: Applying a transitions lens to this study added a depth and criticality it would not otherwise have had, and further sets it apart from other work in this area. This approach allowed for greater appreciation who the individual students were, their life journeys, and the catalytic experiences in the formation of their citizenship identities. It demonstrated how the students' citizenship identities were clearly influenced by inherited forms of capital (economic, social, cultural) and the different geographies and people they had encountered. Although, this is not to say students' citizenship trajectories are preordained. As a transitions framing makes clear, their citizenship identities are constantly evolving in entangled and accretional ways through the everyday processes of threading and wayfaring (Wood, 2017).

For the most part however, the findings confirmed the agentic ways in which most students, pushed, at least to some extent, against the structure and institutional discourses they encountered in developing their own global citizenship identities. This was most clearly demonstrated in the savviness with which they engaged with the institutional discourse regarding global citizenship itself at their respective universities and more broadly. They were easily able to hold on to multiple meanings of term at once – dismissing those that they did not agree with, or at least clearly identifying how the similar discourse was being deployed in a different discursive field with different objectives from their own. Although it should be noted there were certainly a few students in the VILP programme who had only a cursory understanding of critical global citizenship and who were less likely to disrupt or challenge the messages they were receiving. It begs the question whether these students will continue to build on the base of GCE they have created and how strong their commitment to its principles is (Tallon et al., 2016). However, some of the students, especially those in the BAIS, seem poised to push beyond existing citizenship scripts (Stein, 2015) as they transition into their post university futures.

8.4 Conclusion

The overarching aim of this study has been to explore the lived student experience of undertaking global citizenship education (GCE) programmes in Australasian higher education settings, and the role these types of programmes play in the development of students' citizenship identities. The study invited undergraduate students attending two Australasian institutions to reflect on their experience of developing an interest in, entering, and progressing through a GCE-focused programme (offered on the home campus of each university selected for the study) in the broader context of their life transitions from late adolescence to early adulthood. Supplementary data was sourced from interviews with key programme staff involved in the design and delivery of these programmes, as well as university and programme documentation.

A key finding at the programme level was way in which staff were able to reinterpret institutional global citizenship discourse to create the space to implement their GCE programmes in more critical ways. The students' recounted new, globalised, and entangled forms of civic engagement they had already participated in pre-university, which illustrated the

de-standardised patterns of transition they were encountering (Harris, 2015; Wood, 2016; Wyn, 2013). Many of the themes discernible in these transitions were evident across both groups of students despite slightly differing programme structures and geographic contexts. It was notable that the specific combinations and timing of the relevant experiences were highly individualised - even amongst the small samples taken from each programme. Both points represent significant findings in themselves. It is suggestive of the variety of experiences likely to be found across bigger and more diverse samples of young university students, and young people more generally, and the need for educators to recognise these to improve programme design (Ratnam, 2013; Wyn, 2013). The ways the students were each required to navigate their own pathways of globally-inflected civic engagement as they moved into their GCE programmes underscores the agency they were already displaying in responding to similar forces and educational structures.

This study didn't look to quantify civic engagement or capture static definitions of global citizenship. Underpinning it is the idea that to continue to improve GCE offerings we need we better richer understandings of students' attitudes towards, and lived experience with, global citizenship, and in turn how these impact on their processes of self-making (Chui & Leung, 2014). These processes occur across time and through transitions, within the rich lifeworlds of individual young people. There are several directions future research could take to counter some of the other limitations of this study. Future studies could look to include broader more diverse samples in terms of class, ethincity, non-univeristy students, and take in cross-cultural comparison and/or non-western contexts. Longitudinal studies would also yeild valuable insights.

The mapping of individual and diverse lived citizenship experience, and student experience of GCE, will help with the building of theory and design of better GCE programmes. The more we listen to the often marginalised voices of young people and other learners, the more likely we are to avoid assuming their experience or denying their agency. Both theory and practice need to strike the balance between promoting critical approaches and ensuring students are building knowledge, skills, and relationships that will help them live and effect positive social change in a shifting 21st century future.

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Appendix A: Interview Guide for Programme Staff

1) **Rapport building conversation**

2) **Scene-setting and background information gathering:**

- How do you define or understand global citizenship and global citizenship education (GCE) as concepts?
- How do you see GCE relating to traditional - or nationally-focused - citizenship education?
- Generally speaking, how do you understand the broader purposes of global citizenship education in the context of higher education?
- What is your understanding of how GCE is being incorporated in national policy for higher education, it at all? What are the objectives of this?
- What is your understanding of how GCE is being incorporated into the institutional strategy of your university? What are the objectives of this (if different)?

3) **Principal questions:**

- Please tell me about your programme?
- How would you describe:
    - Its origins?
    - It general aims/purposes/learning outcomes?

- For the purposes of this research I am characterizing your programme as one with a strong GCE dimension – do you agree with this?
    - If so, please describe the principal ways you consider your programme to be implementing GCE?
- What role do you see your programme playing in the development of young people's citizenship identities (their citizenship understandings, dispositions, relationships, actions/enactments)?
- What role do you see your programme playing in the development of young people generally (if different?)
- How do you think the experience of your programme relates to young people's previous experiences of GCE and citizenship in high school?
- How do you think the experience of your programme relates to young people's life experiences beyond:

  a) the programme?

  b) the university?
- Can you tell me about any tensions or challenges you have encountered with implementing your programme?

Appendix B: Interview Guide for Students

This is the interview guide as sent to students about 48 hours before the interview, accompanying a reminder when and where the interview was to take place. As the interviews were open-ended and only semi-structured I also employed a range of prompts and follow-up questions across the interviews.

Rapport building conversation

1) **Demographic questions**

2) **Interview proper:**

- Tell me the story of how you first became interested in global citizenship or engaging with global issues (etc.)?
- Can you describe any experiences from your time at high school that were particularly influential in developing this interest?
- Why did you decide to join the VILP/BAIS? What did you hope to get out of it?
- What have been the most meaningful opportunities the programme (VILP/BAIS) has provided you with?
- How would you describe your key learning outcomes from the programme?
- How does the programme connect with other areas of your life and experience?
- What are the first few things that come to mind when you think of 'global citizenship' now?
- Do you consider yourself to be a 'global citizen'? Why/why not?
- What is different/the same about the way you engage with global citizenship or global issues now as compared to when you were at high school?
- Has the programme had an impact on the way you see yourself and your future?

Appendix C: Participant Information and Consent Form[38]

Request for participation in the research project:

Transitions and Transformations |

A comparative case study of Global Citizenship Education and youth citizenship identities in selected Asia-Pacific higher education settings

Background and Purpose

This research explores the ways in which global citizenship is conceptualised by young people as they move through life transitions from high school to higher education in selected Asia-Pacific contexts. A comparative analysis will be conducted based on data gathered from interviews with young people undertaking global citizenship education (GCE) related programmes in higher education settings in New Zealand, Australia, and Thailand. Of specific interest are: the changes in young people's understandings of global citizenship; the changes in their citizenship identity during this period; and how these are influenced and shaped by entering their post-secondary educational contexts and GCE programmes, alongside other life experiences and informal interactions.

This research is being conducted as part of a Master's thesis in Comparative and International Education at the University of Oslo, Norway.

You have been invited to participate in this research as you are either an expert educator in the field involved in the implementation of GCE at a university, or a student who has taken part in a programme at a university that aims to provide global citizenship education in some form.

Accordingly, this form requests your participation in this study, as your views on the subject matter are very relevant and important for this project and its findings.

What does participation in the project imply?

Taking part in this research means you consent to being interviewed individually by the researcher for 45-90 minutes, or possibly participating in a focus-group (if you are an educator). The questions will focus on: your motivations for undertaking some form of GCE; and your understanding of the purposes, implementation, and intended outcomes of GCE for you personally and relation your wider life, in the context of the programme you are involved in, and with regard to higher education in a broader sense. Your answers will be recorded on audio files, and through my own notes.

[38] Titles, research sites, and supervisors changed across the extended timeframe of the project

If you are concerned about anything related to the project you may request the interview guide at any time in advance of the interviews, you may decline to answer a question, and request to see any quotations or paraphrasing of your comments to be published in the final thesis.

What will happen to the information collected?

All personal data will be treated confidentially. Only I and my thesis supervisors, Dr Teklu Abate Bekele (University of Oslo) and Dr Bronwyn Wood (Victoria University of Wellington) will have access to the data gathered prior to publication. If you are a student no data will be connected to you personally at any time and your name will not be included in the final publication. If you are an academic or university professional your name will not be included in the final publication, and further efforts to ensure anonymity can be made at your discretion through such measures as allocating a pseudonym, using gender-neutral pronouns, and only employing vague approximations of job-titles. The names of institutions and programmes involved will only be used if consent is given by the programme staff. If the institutions and programmes involved are not explicitly named, please be advised descriptions of the programmes may mean they are identifiable to some.

The project is scheduled for completion by the end of **December 2018**. After completion of the thesis, the raw data in the form of transcriptions will be kept anonymous and on password-protected disks. Audio files will be deleted. The data might be released upon request and used for further analysis in the future. The level of confidentiality and anonymity will not change.

Voluntary participation

It is voluntary to participate in the project, and you can at any time choose to withdraw your consent without stating any reason. If you decide to withdraw, all your personal data will be made anonymous.

If you if you have any questions concerning the project, please contact me at linsell.richards@gmail.com or my primary supervisor Dr Teklu Betele at teklu.bekele@iped.uio.no.

The study has gained ethical approval from the Data Protection Officer for Research at the Norwegian Centre for Research Data (NSD).

Consent for participation in the study

I have received information about the project and am willing to participate

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(Signed by participant, date)

(For EDUCATORS)

I am happy for my institution and programme to be named in the final thesis: Yes / No

Appendix D: List of Programme Documents Analysed

VILP

Title	**Reference**	**Type of resource**	**Link**
Victoria International Leadership Programme	VUW n.d.b	VILP website home page + sub-pages	https://www.victoria.ac.nz/students/get-involved/vilp
VILP Concept Proposal	VUW 2007a	Unpublished internal document	n/a
VILP Draft Implementation Plan	VUW 2007b	Unpublished internal document	n/a
VILP Theoretical Learning Outcomes	VUW 2008	Unpublished internal document – used as a guide for seminar development	n/a
VILP Strategic Plan 2013-2015	VUW 2013	Unpublished internal document	n/a
VILP Team Operational Plan 2018	VUW 2018	Unpublished internal document	n/a

BAIS

Title	Reference	Type of resource	Link
Bachelor of Arts (International Studies)	RMIT n.d.a	RMIT BAIS Home Page	https://www.rmit.edu.au/study-with-us/levels-of-study/undergraduate-study/bachelor-degrees/bachelor-of-arts-international-studies-bp048)
BP048 - Bachelor of Arts (International Studies)	RMIT n.d.d	BAIS Student Programme Guide	http://www1.rmit.edu.au/browse;ID=SPGBP048P6AUSCY;STATUS=A?QRY=%2Btype%3Dflexible%20%2Bsubtype%3Dspg%20%2Bnotes%3D(%2B(international)%20%2B(10)%20%2B(AUSCY))%20&STYPE=ENTIRE
Make an impact	RMIT n.d.e	BAIS Course Brochure	https://www.rmit.edu.au/study-with-us/levels-of-study/undergraduate-study/bachelor-degrees/bachelor-of-arts-international-studies-bp048
Bachelor of Arts (Internaitonal Studies)	RMIT n.d.f	BAIS page of a RMIT Globlal Studies blog-style website	http://www.rmitglobalstudies.net/#/bais/
Here be Dragons (volume 1)	RMIT 2016	RMIT Global Studies Magazine	http://www.rmitglobalstudies.net/#/herebedragons/