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A meta-review of typologies of global citizenship education

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ABSTRACT

This paper reports on a reflexive exercise contributing a meta-mapping of typologies of GCE and supplementary analysis of that mapping. Applying a heuristic of three main discursive orientations reflected in much of the literature on GCE – neoliberal, liberal, and critical – and their interfaces, we created a social cartography of how nine journal articles categorise GCE. We found the greatest confluence within the neoliberal, greatest number within the liberal, and a conflation of different 'types' of GCE within the critical orientation. We identified interfaces between neoliberal-liberal and liberal-critical orientations as well as new interfaces: neoconservative-neoliberal-liberal, critical-liberal-neoliberal, and critical-post critical. Despite considerable diversity of GCE orientations, we argue GCE typologies remain largely framed by a limited range of possibilities, particularly when considered as implicated in the modern-colonial imaginary. In a gesture toward expanding future possibilities for GCE, we propose a new set of distinctions between methodological, epistemological, and ontological levels.

KEYWORDS

Global citizenship education; postcolonial critique; modernity; ontology

Introduction

Since the turn of the twenty-first century, there has been increasing attention to both the usefulness of global citizenship as an agenda for education and its inherently contested nature. Mannion et al. (2011) suggest Global Citizenship Education (GCE) serves as 'a floating signifier that different discourses attempt to cover with meaning … [and converge] within this new nexus of intentions' (444). Similarly, Schattle (2008) finds there are multiple ideological constellations overlapping and even contradicting one another within the field of GCE. Several prominent publications have unpacked the concept by describing and categorising differences within GCE. These typologies have then been applied as analytical frameworks in subsequent research. As GCE is taken up around the world as part of United Nations Sustainable Development Goal 4, Target 7, it is important to take stock of various attempts to map out the different approaches to GCE.

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In this paper, we critically reflect on and map the commonalities and distinctions in groupings of frameworks and approaches to GCE across and within a set of typologies. Using social cartography, we offer a situated meta-review of selected GCE literature for those immersed in the field as well as those new to the conversation by highlight both productive distinctions as well as circular discussions. First, we explain the heuristic used to initiate our approach to a social cartography of types of GCE – consisting of three discursive orientations (neoliberal, liberal, and critical) and their interfaces –, and we define the scope of the review. Next, we present our cartography and review key findings according to the three discursive orientations and their interfaces, noting commonalities and distinctions. We also consider to what extent different approaches GCE reproduce or help to define the limits of a modern/colonial imaginary. We finish the paper by offering a reflexive supplementary analysis suggesting how to push the edges of debate and discussion so that the field of GCE might ultimately be more relevant and responsive to the complexities, paradoxes, and intense conflicts that characterise today's many overlapping global challenges.

Methodology

As a way of initiating and organising our social cartography and to contribute a new framing of discussions within GCE, we applied a heuristic (Andreotti et al. 2016). The heuristic helps make intelligible some of the overlaps, conflations, contradictions and tensions within and between 'types' of GCE (the groupings of frameworks and approaches described in different typologies) by looking at key discursive orientations and their interfaces. The original heuristic was developed in the Ethical Internationalisation in Higher Education (EIHE) project (see Figure 1) to map discourses evident in higher education policies related to topics such as international development (Pashby and Andreotti 2016) and increasing international students (Haapakoski and Pashby 2017).

As four scholars engaged in critical work in GCE, we were concerned with how typologies can be applied uncritically (e.g. Pais and Costa 2017[1]) and felt it could be a useful heuristic to map commonalities and distinctions between a selection of GCE typologies. We took this approach as a way to think critically about our own work and to invite further reflexivity in light of the mounting number of publications in this area.

According to Stavrakakis (2011), social cartographies can complexify common sense imaginaries to make visible contradictions and limits of common discursive assemblages. We understand discursive orientations as points of configuration around which, in this case, identifications and descriptions of 'types' of global citizenship 'not only represent the world as it is (or rather is seen to be), they are also projective imaginaries, representing possible worlds which are different from the actual world, and tied in to projects to change the world in particular directions' (Fairclough 2003, 124). Our social cartography is a meta-mapping in that the authors have themselves unpacked and mapped out the field in their articles.

The heuristic (see Figure 1) identifies three major discursive orientations: neoliberal (market imperative, commercialisation, commodification), liberal (erudition as rigour, individual development, research for the public good), and critical (social justice, interrogating systemic injustices and substantively changing the status quo) (more fully described in Andreotti et al. 2016). While authors of the typologies draw on a range of theoretical

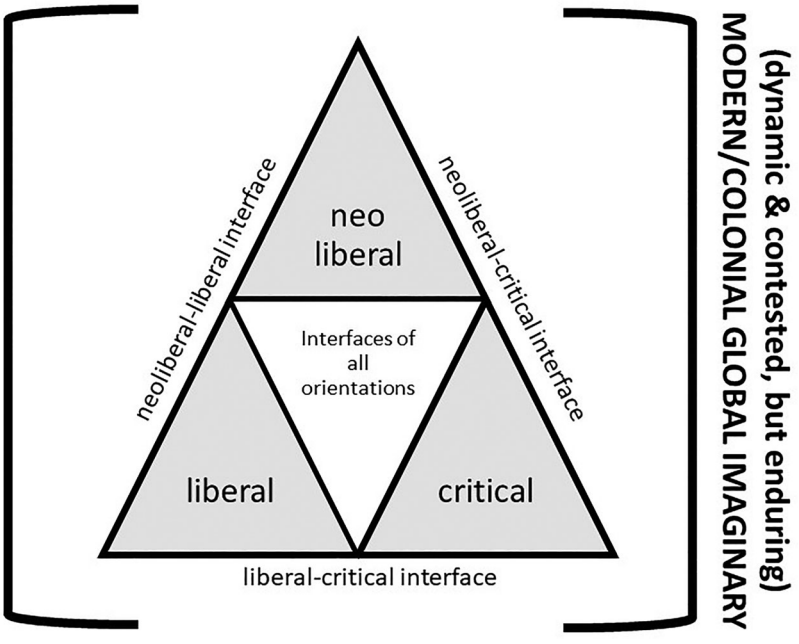

Figure 1. EIHI heuristic (Andreotti et al. 2016, 91).

and empirical literature themselves that map onto these three orientations, the heuristic contributes a new framing of GCE discussions by considering interfaces *between* the orientations: neoliberal-liberal, liberal-critical, neoliberal-critical, and all three (neoliberal-liberal-critical). Interfaces are spaces of ambivalence where the same signifiers are deployed with multiple meanings and signal some underlying commonality across two or more orientations.

As discussed at length elsewhere (e.g. Andreotti et al. 2016; Pashby and Andreotti 2016), the heuristic also identifies the ways that neoliberal, liberal, and even critical discursive orientations are generally framed, and thus limited, by a common metanarrative: the modern/colonial imaginary. This metanarrative naturalises a Western/European standpoint and corresponding set of colonial and capitalist social relations, projecting a local (Western/European) perspective as a global design (Coulthard 2014; Mignolo 2000; Silva 2007). The effect is to present as universal and inevitable an economic system organised by (racialised) capitalist markets, a political system organised by nation-states, a knowledge system organised by a single (European) rationality, and a mode of existence premised on autonomy and individualism. Thus, our cartography of selected typologies contributes to discussions in the field in three key ways. First, it offers a social cartography meta-mapping of detailed work done by a set of researchers in the field. Second, it uses a heuristic that considers not only the three main discursive orientations evident across the literature in this field but also their interfaces. Third, it acknowledges that these discussions exist within a modern/colonial imaginary, something we refer to in our findings and reflect back on in our supplementary analysis.

We draw on Paulston's (2009) approach to social cartography that contrasts against modernist and positivist approaches to mapping claiming to capture objective truth

and reality. According to Paulston, the process of social cartography generally involves: selecting the issue to be mapped, selecting a range of texts that substantially address that issue, identifying the positions of each text (in our case, descriptions of 'types' of GCE) and the ways that they intersect and overlap with other texts, and finally, adjusting the map with those communities that are mapped. While social cartographies are often understood as providing a panoptical view of the issue to be mapped, they do not offer a disinterested position of omniscience, as only those parts defined as relevant by the mapper(s) are included and made meaningful.

Social cartographies are performative and situated, rather than representational, and thus, do not claim to be inclusive of all possible positions. Our mapping is focused on examining overlaps and distinctions within nine categorisations of GCE. Although limited in scope, our mapping is highly detailed and offers a 'provisional unity' (Paulston 2009, 980) among selected typologies that can open up diverse readings, discussions, and re-mappings of, in this case different 'types' of GCE. Social cartographies prompt active engagement, further conversation, and generative contestation, rather than fixing or reifying meanings and definitions. Our heuristic served as a way of organising our map; however, we also mapped instances where 'types' of GCE did not fit on our heuristic, identifying further discursive orientations and interfaces. It was an iterative process in this sense.

Situating ourselves as the cartographers, we were informed by our own previous work in this area and our familiarity with the GCE literature. Ultimately, we sought to both honour the work that has been done in this area and to move what can at times be circular conversations about GCE into new directions that might be more responsive to contemporary educational and global challenges. Our aim was self-reflexive in that we are ourselves involved in producing and/or applying typologies of GCE and are at very different stages of our engagement with the field from an early-stage PhD to among the most published in the area. We do not intend for our mapping to be representative of all typologies nor of how everyone would map those typologies. Rather, our intention is for the mapping to support further reflexive discussions relevant to those experienced and new to the field. The map continues to be discussed, contested, and moved as we share it with others and relate it to our teaching and research, so we are presenting a capturing of it here

We mapped 9 typologies of GCE found in journal articles published between 2006 and 2018. Although we refer to 'types' of GCE, different authors call their objects of description and identification different names (e.g. frameworks, conceptions, approaches, etc.). These are specified in Table 1. We started with Andreotti's (2006) piece on soft versus critical GCE, a germinal work distinguishing between two types of GCE based on a basic principle for change. Cited over 500 times and referred to in subsequent typologies (e.g. Marshall 2011; Oxley and Morris 2013), it was followed by a proliferation of typologies, increasingly considering the role of critical approaches. Working in 2018, and for the purposes of defining a manageable scope, we limited our typologies to those published in journal articles and those we had ourselves used and found helpful in our own work and with which we were strongly familiar. We also ensured they have been cited by others working in the field[2] indicating they have been influential.

The typologies draw on a mixture of theoretical and empirical work. The authors of the typologies refer somewhat interchangeably to cosmopolitan and global as key descriptors,

and we included both (see Pashby 2013, 2015). They draw on a broad range of literature both related to wider theoretical engagements regarding globalisation and political theory (which largely correlates to the three discursive configurations: neoliberal, liberal, and critical) and to specific literature on GCE. While all articles are interested in defining different 'types' of GCE, some articles do not distinguish between global citizenship (GC) and global citizenship education (GCE). We have considered categories or 'types' of GC/GCE as articulated by the authors. Further research could look into this conflation and the ways that GCE elicits application of and interrogation of wider political theory, including liberal cosmopolitanism, Marxism, and post and de-colonial critique. Importantly, these typologies, referring almost only refer to Global North and English-speaking contexts, in line with much of the work in this field (see Goren and Yemini 2017), are thus already limited in scope and framing. Table 1 includes the typologies considered, the 'types' of GCE identified, the sources they drew upon, and main implications and recommendations emerging from their research.

We read each typology to identify the different 'types' of GCE described and/or analysed. We then mapped the 'types' identified in each typology onto our heuristic, paying particular attention to differences within the three discursive orientations and to interfaces between them, and we identified new interfaces where 'types' did not map onto the existing heuristic. Following this, we considered the impact of the modern/colonial imaginary on shaping and limiting the available possibilities for GCE.

Findings

Figure 2 demonstrates our social cartography of GCE 'types', which we will explain in this section. Overall, we found a strong confluence of GCE 'types' aligned within the neoliberal orientation. Yet, across the typologies, authors identified and described many different 'types' of GCE that mapped onto the liberal orientation. We found the greatest conflation and interfaces of different 'types' of GCE with, and only two 'types' of GCE squarely mapped onto, the critical orientation. The heuristic helped to map distinctions and overlaps by considering interfaces between neoliberal-liberal and liberal-critical in particular. We also found three new interfaces. The first recognises an interface between neoliberal, liberal and neoconservative orientations centring on rationales for national interest in a stability of global affairs as well as competencies. The second is an interface between critical-liberal and neoliberal. The third, critical-post critical, contributes to unpacking the conflation of critical approaches. In the next section, we review the findings from mapping the types of GCE onto the current heuristic and introduce the new interfaces.

Neoliberal

The authors use a few different labels for neoliberal 'types' of GCE, but the descriptions are consistent. Many explicitly describe Neoliberal GC (Shultz 2007; Gaudelli 2009) or Neoliberal Cosmopolitanism (Camicia and Franklin 2011). Oxley and Morris (2013) refer to Cosmopolitan (Economic) GC while Stein (2015) describes an Entrepreneurial Position. Marshall (2011) and Andreotti (2014) refer to a Technicist (Economic) Instrumentalist agenda and narrative of GCE, respectively. Significantly, neoliberal GCE was the most consistently identified, analysed, and criticised.

Table 1. Description of the typologies mapped onto our cartography.

	Key sources and approach	'Types' of GC/GCE	Implications/Recommendations
Andreotti (2006)	Drawing on Dobson's (2006) 'interdependence' and 'complicity'; Spivak's (2004) 'sanctioned ignorance'	Two frameworks for GCE: • soft • critical	Responds to Make Poverty History Campaign in the UK and argues for educators to carefully analyse context, highlighting risks and implications of pedagogical choices.
Shultz (2007)	Drawing on McGrew's (2000) typology of globalisation; selected literature review; policy analysis in Canada of three programmes aimed at GCE	Three approaches: • neoliberal • radical • transformationalist	Responding to reduction in effective GCE in Canadian context because of different normative, existential and aspirational desires. Argues for more attention to transformational approaches towards restructuring and renegotiating global relations
Schattle (2008)	Drawing on Thompson (1984), analysis of global citizenship education initiatives internationally to consider if GCE is a new ideology	Four ideological constellations: • moral cosmopolitan • liberal multiculturalism • neoliberal • environmental	Concludes GCE is not a new ideology but a reflection of liberalism in multiple forms. Environmental GCE, an ideology of its own, has the potential to challenge liberalism.
Gaudelli (2009)	Heuristic drawing on political science, philosophy and sociology identifies four visions of GCE (competitive, imaginary, cooperative, tangible) upon which he considers the five location.	Five locations: • neoliberal • national • Marxist • cosmopolitan • world-justice	Promotes curriculum building on hermeneutics and dialogue as well as a critical reading of place.
Marshall (2011)	Building from her (2009) analysis of media texts; draws on selected literature in the field of GCE; policy analysis in the UK	Two instrumental agendas: • technical economic • global social justice	Identifies strength of neoliberal agenda, sees cosmopolitan and critical approaches as highlighting epistemological reflexivity but argues both need to engage more with practical and empirically informed understanding of school contexts.
Camicia and Franklin (2011)	Drawing on their previous work on different understandings of global community (2010); draws on selected scholarly literature; HE policy analysis in UK and Philippines	Two discourses: • neoliberal cosmopolitan • critical democratic cosmopolitan	Lament rarity of critical democratic discourses and highlight possibilities of explicitly treating colonial relations of power but warn these opportunities are constrained within a neoliberal context.
Oxley and Morris (2013)	Substantive literature review of research on GC and GCE, drawing on theoretical and empirical work in and outside of education; offer a multi-faceted analysis with many detailed distinctions (e.g. hegemonic and counter hegemony or idea forms); define a typology based on two forms.	Two forms comprised of four conceptions. • cosmopolitan: political, moral, economic, cultural • advocacy: social, critical, environmental, spiritual	Highlights that GCE is understood in multiple/contradictory ways and to advocate for various causes. Apply their two forms with four conceptions as a tool for evaluating a Department for Education (England) policy document. The evaluation provides a nuanced view of intentions and practices of GCE identifying internal tensions, for example within critical approaches, while also identifying overall strengths (e.g. elements of cultural and social GC).

(*Continued*)

Table 1. Continued.

	Key sources and approach	'Types' of GC/GCE	Implications/Recommendations
Andreotti (2014)	Drawing on, reflecting on, and complexifying previous theoretical and pedagogical work (2006, 2008, 2012), explores concepts of transnational and critical literacies; maps root narratives of distinct discourses of society, development, diversity and society as framed by or in response to modernist tenets; refers to example from Peru.	Four narrative frames: • technicist instrumental • liberal humanist • critical and post-critical • 'other' (absent)	Highlights discussions of uncertainty, plurality, and inequality and supports educators to enlarge possibilities for thinking and living in complex and unequal societies. Finds first three narratives respond to modern tenets while the last narrative, 'other', is under-examined requiring further engagement towards pluralising possibilities for shared futures.
Stein (2015)	Draws on theoretical and empirical literature and examples from international programmes/ policies and research in U.S. higher education.	Four positions: • entrepreneurial • liberal humanist • anti-oppressive • incommensurable	Finds the first three positions are common in higher education while the fourth offers a reflexive opportunity to generate new possibilities for how GCE can inform processes of knowing and relating.

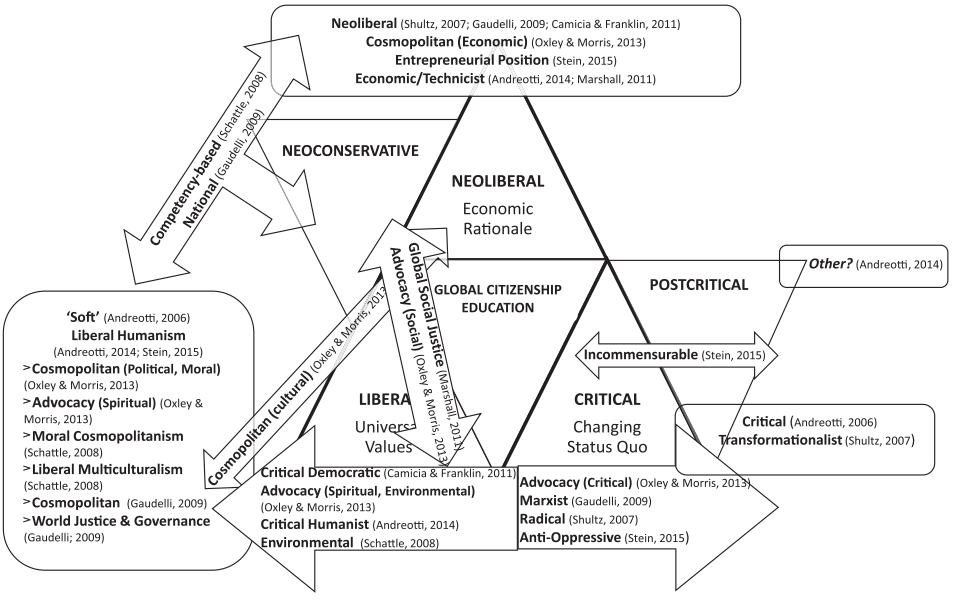

Figure 2. A capturing of a social cartography of 'types' of GCE.

The typologies describe a role for education in this context of neoliberalism through some key principles: education serves a human capital function (Andreotti 2014) that is tied to the wider knowledge society where expertise is exchanged as a means to further (individual and national) economic development (Stein 2015). Formal education is a state-enterprise, and the neoliberal nation-state focuses on national competitiveness (Gaudelli 2009) and maximising the performance of its future citizens towards employability (Andreotti 2014). Curricula are driven by competition (Camicia and Franklin 2011), academic utility (Gaudelli 2009) and standardisation (Camicia and Franklin 2011), employing

competency-based approaches (Schattle 2008). The typologies describe an ideal student as self-motivated (Camicia and Franklin 2011) and entrepreneurial (Camicia and Franklin 2011; Andreotti 2014). The typologies describe neoliberal approaches to GCE as instrumental (Marshall 2011) in preparing students for competing for jobs in a global market (Schattle 2008) and learning about and engaging with the world is valued as a line on one's c.v. (Schattle 2008; see also Oxley and Morris 2013). There is a consistent description and critique of a strong neoliberal vision of GCE across the typologies.

Liberal

While there was a consistency within neoliberal 'types' of GCE across typologies, within the liberal orientation we found a larger quantity of descriptions of and differentiation between different 'types'.

Some consistent broader ideas cross the typologies mapped onto a liberal orientation. These included general principles of democracy (Gaudelli 2009) and universal values (Oxley and Morris 2013) in a single moral community (Schattle 2008) and common humanity (Stein 2015; Andreotti 2014). Oxley and Morris' (2013) identify GCE types that promote openness, love, and caring. Mutual respect (Stein 2015) and concern (Schattle 2008) are key principles in a liberal orientation as well as cultural equality (Oxley and Morris 2013). Gaudelli (2009) describes Cosmopolitan GCE as combining a concern for all of humanity with a focus on civic processes that involve dialogue.

Applied to education, these values encapsulate traditional notions of cosmopolitanism as moving from a local to a universal notion of self, morality and society (Gaudelli 2009). In a liberal orientation, GC is understood through international political apparatuses as seen in calls for and support for legal frameworks (Gaudelli 2009) and the building of international consensus through nation-level representation at institutions such as the UN (Andreotti 2014). Gaudelli (2009) refers to this as World Justice and Governance GC while Oxley and Morris (2013) refer to this as Cosmopolitan Political GC. To varying extents, most authors offer critiques of these – often through their identification of critical types – for failing to engage substantively with structural inequalities and focusing on global relations from an individualistic or Westphalian nation-states position.

We found that some typologies mapped many different versions of liberal oriented GCE while others did not. Andreotti (2006, 2014) and Stein (2015) describe an overarching name for a liberal approach in order to critique it as a category. 'Soft' GCE (Andreotti 2006) describes approaches based in the notion of a common humanity and single view of progress where global justice issues are framed and responded to from within a Western, Global North status quo. Stein (2015) and Andreotti (2014) elaborate on a 'Soft' category, both referring to Liberal Humanism as an overarching orientation to global citizenship. As Andreotti (2014) identifies, in 'soft' approaches 'different perspectives and critical engagement are welcome within pre-defined frameworks' (Andreotti 2014, 44).

Several typologies make distinctions within the liberal orientation. Oxley and Morris (2013) identify several types of Cosmopolitan GC: Moral, Political, and Cultural as well as Economic (the latter mapping onto neoliberal). Similarly, Gaudelli (2009) distinguishes Cosmopolitan GC from World Justice and Governance and Political GC. These 'types' speak to distinctions in civic engagement and the extent to which various political models and processes represent ideal, radical, or grass-roots visions. As we will discuss, some of these

distinctions signal a liberal-critical interface as they open to some more radical approaches; however, like Schattle (2008) we find that inherently these distinctions occur within a liberal orientation.

Neoliberal – liberal interface

Schattle's (2008) work points to the existence of a neoliberal-liberal interface that helps to question the extent to which liberal 'types' are alternatives to neoliberal. He acknowledges the different 'types' of GCE he identifies (neoliberal, liberal multicultural, moral cosmopolitan, and environmental) are all essentially ideological adaptations of GCE situated within the 'wide umbrella of liberalism' (74). He articulates an often-unexamined inherent tension within GCE approaches:

> When looking widely at the landscape of educational initiatives for global citizenship, the various patterns of political and social relationships advocated by specific programs do not seem to fit together. Moreover, some programs do not advocate particular patterns of political or social relationships at all, but instead aim to encourage higher levels of competence and achievement in the next generation, irrespective of the sorts of political and social relationships they might form or encounter. (Schattle 2008, 88)

He emphasises the discourse of competency whereby 'the ways in which teachers and administrators define their objectives often emerge as complementary to neoliberalism in at least accepting the validity of the present configuration of the global market' (83). Positing that a neoliberal understanding of GCE is tied fundamentally, and therefore interfaces easily, with a liberal approach, he argues that multiple versions of GCE operating in the field of education ultimately represent 'competing strains of liberalism which are distinct and contradictory, but are tied to basic assumptions of individual rights' (Schattle 2008, 90).

Oxley and Morris's (2013) typology also articulates several 'types' of global citizenship that link both to liberal and neoliberal orientations. They describe Cosmopolitan Cultural GC as openness to others from other places, an active engagement with a variety of different cultural practices, and tying in with Schattle's (2008) description, promoting global competence (Oxley and Morris 2013). They also acknowledge a false dichotomy within Cosmopolitan Cultural GC evident of the neoliberal-liberal interface: 'Despite the links to moral cosmopolitan ideas, cultural GCE sometimes resembles the more contentious aspects of economic GCE' (Oxley and Morris 2013, 311). They lament that the globalisation of culture itself reinforces English language domination and reinforces stereotypes of an 'Other' who is 'trapped in states of class, racialised and gendered immobility' (Roman 2004, cited in Oxley and Morris 2013, 311). They identify that Cosmopolitan Cultural GC includes an understanding of western dominance of culture, promoting an ethical stance; however, the focus is on the individual to become more culturally competent rather than on significant, systemic changes to the status quo. As our social cartography is framed by acknowledging a modern/colonial imaginary, we would extend their critique by pointing out a lack of recognition that there are onto-epistemic possibilities beyond modernity and promote a discussion of what/whose ethical perspective might be mobilised or fail to be considered when citizens are to 'evaluate cultural practices' (Oxley and Morris 2013, 311).

Neoconservative-neoliberal-liberal

When recognising the neoliberal-liberal interface through the competency discourse, we found that our heuristic was missing a key interface. Schattle (2008) finds that the neoliberal discourse of competency aligns GCE with traditional subjects and basic skills, and in the U.S. this includes an emphasis on traditional literacy and raising standards, thus suggesting a neoconservative-neoliberal-liberal interface. He notes a telling paradox whereby 'some manifestations of global citizenship education are packaged in ways that can appeal to the political right' (85). Gaudelli's (2009) typology also identifies a 'type' of GC that maps onto a neoliberal-liberal-neoconservative interface. According to his description, National GC includes a re-centring of the nation that maps onto a neoliberal orientation (global-market participation through nation-state), a liberal approach (international relations), and a neoconservative orientation (focus on international relations as part of national security). In the current context of resurgent nationalisms – particularly militarised, securitised, and intensely xenophobic nationalisms – there is a need for further examination of this as a de facto GCE orientation and its potential impacts on education and global relations. It is important that we account for and consider possible responses to its growing popular circulation and recognise that it is absent from most of the typologies.

Critical, liberal-critical, critical-liberal-neoliberal, and critical-liberal

Authors of typologies often present approaches to GCE mapped onto the critical orientation in opposition to those mapped onto neoliberal and liberal. Whereas we found distinct names and descriptions of different 'types' of GCE within a liberal orientation, we found the category of 'critical' GCE can conflate what are quite distinct 'types'. Broadly, these include 'types' of GCE that acknowledge and address social injustices. Some of the typologies acknowledge critical GCE approaches are important but find they are not evident in practice (Oxley and Morris 2013, Marshall 2011; Schattle 2008).

Critical GCE approaches and those that interface with them to varying extents put into question the roots of current mainstream Eurocentric notions of GC and cosmopolitanism (Stein 2015). They include approaches to GCE that provide a critique of current power structures and modernisation (Gaudelli 2009), some that include critiques of western exploitation and violence (Shultz 2007; Oxley and Morris 2013; Stein 2015), and those that acknowledge complicity in that violence, as well as alternative concepts of progress (Andreotti 2014). Overall, we found two key trends within how typologies describe critical 'types' of GCE. First, critical can refer to any approach that raises the status quo as problematic, grouping together quite distinct approaches. Second, most critical approaches retain a strong interface with liberal orientations either explicitly or implicitly, including some with neoliberal-liberal interfaces.

Camicia and Franklin (2011) describe Critical Democratic Cosmopolitanism as a more desirable framing of GCE than Neoliberal Cosmopolitanism. The former emphasises global community and is 'best related by principles of social justice and an ethics of recognition' (314). Drawing on Habermas (1990, 1996), they root Critical Democratic Cosmopolitanism in notions of deliberative democracy: 'global citizens aim at reaching an understanding of other global citizens rather than adhering to strictly strategic

communication such as that found in the economic sphere' (Camicia and Franklin 2011, 314). Further, Critical Democratic Cosmopolitan discourses involve communicative action based on 'a deep commitment to multiculturalism, critical awareness of global power asymmetries, emancipation and social justice' (314). We map this 'type' of GCE in an interface with a liberal orientation as it pushes at the status quo and raises issues of power but relies on existing institutions and processes, and thereby may reproduce the modern/colonial imaginary.

Oxley and Morris's (2013) detailed typology offers many distinctions. Their description of 'types' of Advocacy GC, including Advocacy Critical GC, presents strong interfaces with the liberal orientation as well as somewhat of a conflation within the critical in comparison to others. In contrast to the Cosmopolitan types of GC referring to mainstream models, often framed within universal principles such as human rights, Oxley and Morris (2013) identify Advocacy types of GCE as taking on a more 'relativist', 'holistic' and 'advocacy-based' approach (311). The sub-types within these two categories are both linked and contrasted. Oxley and Morris (2013) describe the Advocacy Social GC as related to transnational activism, including 'capitalist, institutional, cosmopolitan universalism and localised, grass-roots post-colonial relativism' (311) thereby representing a liberal-neoliberal-critical interface. Focused on activism largely organised through civil society organisations, Advocacy Social GC is linked with Cosmopolitan Cultural GC in its representation of specific groupings within national contexts (e.g. based on ethnicity, race, gender), and Oxley and Morris (2013) argue the need to distinguish Social GC for setting objectives that are more both relativistic, radical and even violent (312). They then describe Critical GC as a type of Advocacy GC that, unlike Social GC directly opposes Cosmopolitan GC for 'aligning [with] western exploitation and imperialism as part of a "civilising mission"' (citing [Tully 2008; Roman 2004], 25). This appears to be a distinction between a critical and liberal orientation, according to our heuristic.

Oxley and Morris (2013) identify that Advocacy Critical GC conceptions generally promote counter-hegemonic approaches and commitments to social transformation. Critical GC involves 'postcolonial ideas' that directly relate to human rights and, in a positive manner, represent 'the potential for associations between certain conceptions of critical GC and forms of moral and political GC' (313). We identify this as a liberal-critical interface. They contrast cosmopolitan approaches from Critical GC which is associated with postcolonial scholars advocating a 'localised and morally relativist stance' (313). From our heuristic's positioning, critical approaches are not simply morally relativistic but work to unsettle the hegemonic categories that normalise an inherently unequal status quo held up by a modern/colonial imaginary. Oxley and Morris (2013) suggest Advocacy Critical could be a 'radical subset of Social GC' but is distinct because lies outside a pragmatic approach working within institutional boundaries. They present Spiritual and Environmental Advocacy GC as topical foci from which to both advocate for Cosmopolitan GC and relate beyond Western Enlightenment paradigms. Therefore, their discussion of Advocacy as an overall category linking to Cosmopolitan GC types and identification of Critical GC as a sub-category, determining postcolonial approaches as not pragmatic, reflects very important internal distinctions within critical orientations. This explains the number of types of GC in their typology that map across interfaces with liberal orientations as they intended to distinguish these. We agree that thinking about implications for practice is important when considering applications of GCE, but in other typologies, there is an

openness to explore what does not currently appear viable. We explore these further in relation to the work of Shultz (2007) and Stein (2015).

Whereas we identified liberal-critical interfaces in Oxley and Morris's (2013) description of Critical GCE, Andreotti (2014) explicitly names an overarching liberal-critical interface as Critical Humanism. Critical Humanism expands the notion of consensual human progress to include the rights of those who have historically been marginalised; working against patriarchy, sexism, class divisions, racism and hetero-normativity (e.g. approaches grounded on critical theory). It critiques the primacy of economic growth imperatives in nation states influenced through lobbying by elites and corporations and therefore builds on an expansion of consensual human progress. Similarly, Schattle (2008) describes that Environmental GCE may challenge some liberal assumptions, such as the desirability of economic growth; however, he also finds it is complementary to liberalism. We therefore map his description of environmental GCE onto the liberal-critical interface.

Another example of a 'type' of GCE that exists at the more critical side of the liberal-critical interface is Gaudelli's (2009) identification of the Marxist conception of GC. Prevalent among pockets of teachers in the U.S., it critiques capitalism as responsible for universal exploitation and dehumanisation and promotes change at a structural level through improving labour conditions (Gaudelli 2009; citing May 2008; Povinelli 2001; Standish 2009]). Gaudelli's (2009) Marxist GC is relatable to what Shultz (2007) identifies as Radical GC whereby global citizens (in the North) understand that capitalist systems produce poverty and oppress most of the world's population, particularly in Global South contexts, and feel a responsibility to challenge states and corporate structures. However, she notes Radical global citizens do not significantly question how the structures reinforce the modern/colonial imaginary. They 'learn that the world is determined by structures that prevent authentic change or relationships from developing' (257), failing to offer new ways of relating as they remain tied to extant liberal structures and subjectivities. We therefore have mapped Marxist and Radical GCE onto the critical side of the critical-liberal interface.

Shultz's (2007) typology is notable for distinguishing Radical GC from Transformational GC, pointing to an overlooked conflation within broadly defined critical 'types'. She notes that Radical global citizens focus so much on structural barriers and removing or redistributing them that they take them as given. Similarly, Stein (2015) presents and critiques what she calls the Anti-oppressive position on GCE. She argues this position challenges Eurocentric notions of cosmopolitanism by recognising 'how colonial, racialized, and gendered flows of power and knowledge operate to the advantage of the Global North' (247). Yet, unlike how Oxley and Morris (2013) suggest such approaches to be more 'pragmatic' (313) than ones influenced by postcolonial analyses, she identifies an inadvertent assertion of innocence in this position associated with a lack of recognition of one's complicity in the systems being critiqued. Also, Stein (2015) suggests that the Anti-oppressive position on GCE presents change as engineered through rational policy and a sense of moral agency. Correspondingly, despite seeming to critique universalism, the Anti-Oppressive position can 'overlook the possibility that it, too, maintains some Eurocentric assumptions' (247), thus reflecting a critical-liberal interface.

Andreotti (2006) identified 'Critical' GCE as attending to justice, complicity in harm, multiple ideas of progress and critically examining origins/implications of assumptions while looking at opportunities for other possibilities for signification. It was largely described as a

critique of a 'soft' liberal orientation. Shultz (2007) identifies Transformationalist GC in contrast to Radical GC, and we find it to be the only other 'type' that maps squarely onto the critical orientation. Transformationalist approaches view globalisation as a complex and dynamic set of relationships – international, national, and local – which create new patterns of inclusion and exclusion: 'As a result, new ways of negotiating between local and global actions and agendas, resolving conflict, and acting in solidarity need to be established' (Shultz 2007, 255 drawing on McGrew 2000). Differently from how Oxley and Morris (2013) distinguish between a pragmatic human rights approach and a morally relativistic, localised approach; whereas a Radical global citizen focuses on changing existing structures, Shultz (2007) argues Transformational global citizens see that 'power relations become negotiated in localised contexts as spaces through the connection of transnational networks and coalitions of solidarity' (Shultz 2007, 257).

Few descriptions of critical GCE fit directly in the critical orientation. Instead, as indicated in our social cartography (see Figure 1), they tend to interface with a liberal orientation across a continuum of more strongly offering an alternative to extant structures, systems, and subjectivities (more critical) or more strongly aligning with universal morally liberal commitments (more liberal). From the reflexive position we take with our heuristic, looking at how approaches to GCE exist within a modern/colonial imaginary, we argue distinctions within the critical orientation are important to opening up possible alternatives, particularly given the strong liberal orientation across 'types' of GCE.

Critical-postcritical

Given that the 'types' of GCE described as critical very often intersect with a liberal orientation, it is important to also note some critiques of critical approaches evident in the work of Stein (2015). She indicates the possibility of an additional interface: critical-post critical. The 'Incommensurable Position' of GC, draws on post and decolonial approaches, resisting 'normative commitments and prescriptive futures' (Povinelli 2013, cited in Stein 2015, 248). This 'type' of GC is forged through 'radical co-presence' (248) and questions the prescriptive and teleological approaches to GCE that tend to dominate across many orientations, including critical ones.

Stein (2015) describes the Incommensurable Position as a stance 'in which existing scripts for thought and action are not outright rejected, but their limitations are illuminated through encounters with and across difference' (247). Like the Anti-Oppressive Position, it recognises the oppressive nature of the enactment of symbolic and material violence on the part of the Universalism ascribed to by 'the West'. However, unlike the Anti-Oppressive Position, and interfacing with Shultz's (2007) description of Transformationalist GC, the Incommensurable Position presents a possibility of engaging differently with existing ordering of the world. Stein (2015) notes that many de- and post-colonial 'thinkers explicitly draw on possibilities offered by relationships across difference that do not need to be reconciled through consensus or synthesis' (247). Adding the critical-postcritical interface to the heuristic reflects increasingly prevalent discussions, building from earlier typologies (e.g. Andreotti 2006; Shultz 2007) by challenging the critical approach as the 'edge' of available critiques. Because the modern/colonial imaginary is so powerful, it is extremely challenging to imagine outside of it. Thus, our identification of an emergent yet still developing postcritical GCE is meant to capture the importance,

but also the difficulty, of imagining GCE otherwise – meaning that there are few existing examples of this in practice, particularly in mainstream Global North contexts.

There are multiple different genealogies of critique generally falling outside of GCE scholarly discussion but possibly informing a postcritical orientation to GCE. Andreotti (2014, 45) puts forwards an as-of-yet uncaptured GCE narrative: 'Other'. Non-anthropocentric, non-teleological, non-dialectical, non-universal, non-cartesian, 'Other' narrative frames are often unintelligible because most people are overly socialised in neoliberal, liberal, and critical discursive orientations. This hints at a postcritical orientation, and we have included it on the typology as a question because Andreotti suggests it may be more useful to think of such approaches to GCE in terms of absences rather than categories. While Andreotti (2014) refers to a set of principles guiding the Apu Chupaqpata Global Education Centre in rural Peru as a possible example of 'Other' GCE, she acknowledges its illustrative limitations when read outside the context of ontologies of that region. Therefore, the 'absences' of examples gesture to possibilities that are viable but unimaginable from within the modern/colonial imaginary that currently frames most GCE approaches.

Stein's (2015) incommensurable position and Andreotti's (2014) 'Other' narrative draw on decolonial critiques challenging the colonial horizons of hope and strategies for change that tend to dominate across the majority of orientations to education and social change, despite their internal diversity. These critiques identify the circularity of approaches that ignore or minimise that the conditions of possibility for our existing (modern/colonial) system are both violent and unsustainable. Accordingly, diagnoses and proposed changes premised on the continuity of that system will ultimately reproduce more of the same. Therefore, there is a hesitancy to prescribe predetermined alternatives because one risks projecting colonial desires and entitlements onto those alternatives if trying to imagine them from within our colonial system.

A supplementary analysis of existing GCE orientations

Thus far in this article, we have in some ways repeated the descriptive mode of many previous typologies of GCE, albeit on a meta scale, by offering a mapping that is somewhat a 'typology of typologies'. However, we have also tried to emphasise the importance of going beyond merely describing types of GCE, and toward a deeper analysis by using social cartography and drawing on a heuristic that considers interfaces between main discursive orientation and locates GCE scholarship within a modern/colonial imaginary. Unpacking the conflations and contradictions within and between different typologies demonstrates important ways that, despite a consensus as to the dangers of neoliberal orientations to GCE, many of the liberal orientations interface and possible reinforce rather than significantly challenging them. Similarly, the proliferation of liberal orientations tends to obscure the deeply rooted ways these orientations can mask issues of inequity. Critical approaches are identified in various typologies, but they too represent a conflation of key debates regarding the extent to which structural change should focus on changing existing structures or forging entirely new ways of relating.

In addition to the three primary GCE orientations and their varied interfaces, the emerging neoconservative and postcritical orientations suggest a need to continue revising and refining existing typologies, at least if the intention is to be more comprehensive

and thorough in mapping existing discursive configurations, and also to ensure that GCE is responsive to the challenges of the present. As we signalled in our framing of this article and our approach as situated cartographers, we intend for our mapping of the existing conversations with the GCE field to open up different kinds of conversations. Towards this effort, we offer a supplementary analysis of the GCE typologies we have reviewed. We describe this analysis as supplementary because we do not intend to negate or replace our 'typology of typologies', nor the individual typologies we have reviewed, but rather to rethink inherited distinctions and divisions within the study and practice of GCE. In particular, we draw attention to how, despite the considerable diversity of GCE orientations, as a field our interventions nonetheless remain largely framed by a limited range of possibilities, and thus, closed off from imagining viable alternatives. We suggest that identifying and grappling with these limits will be necessary if GCE is to be mobilised in a more relevant way for addressing the complexities, paradoxes, and intense conflicts that characterise the present. For this supplementary analysis, we identify three different layers of analysis and intervention with regard to global education and social change: methodological (the level of doing); epistemological (the level of thinking); and ontological (the level of being).

At the methodological level, change happens through enacting different approaches to practice and policy – i.e. changing the means of achieving a particular end, without necessarily rethinking the end itself. Neoliberal and liberal orientations to GCE mostly uphold a methodological focus, emphasising questions such as:

> How can we teach students the values that will support democracy, fairness and progress for all humanity? How can we encourage students to take responsibility for people beyond their own nation's borders? What kinds of activities can enable students to connect with and understand global issues so that they can be helpful in solving them (e.g. climate change, migration, economic globalization)? How can learning about other cultures prepare people to work and collaborate more effectively and efficiently across cultural difference? How can global learning be more systemically incorporated into curriculum and assessed through evaluation?

Intervening at the epistemological level offers a potentially deeper transformation than the methodological level, by rethinking not only strategies for change, but also the ends or change that we want to achieve. In particular, more critical orientations to GCE tend to emphasise this epistemological level, drawing attention to the ways that certain worldviews are granted more power and legitimacy than others, and how this in turn both reflects and reproduces material inequalities. GCE, and education in general, is understood to support the development of individuals' convictions which in turn dictates the communities they will align with and the direction of social change they will pursue. At the epistemological level, to make change is to change one's convictions in order to change one's behaviour and relationships and to convince others to do the same. Relevant questions would include:

> How can we imagine a responsibility *towards* others (both human and other-than-human beings), rather than a responsibility *for* others? What kinds of analyses can enable students to understand how they are a part of global problems, and how they can work to mitigate or eradicate these problems at a structural level (e.g. the impact of consumption levels on climate change, the role of Western military interventions in prompting migration, the racialised and gendered international division of labour, etc.)? Whose definitions of citizenship tend to dominate in GCE discourses, and why? How might we redefine and repurpose the concept

> of global citizenship to advocate for more inclusive forms of representation, and the redistribution of resources? How can our ideas of global citizenship be informed not just by the national citizenship formations of Western nation-states, but also of other countries and other kinds of political communities (e.g. Indigenous nations)? How can we learn to learn from different ways of knowing in order to imagine the world differently?

Epistemological interventions, particularly critically-oriented responses, have been crucial in denaturalising both liberal and neoliberal approaches to global citizenship that reproduce universalising – and thus, structurally exclusionary and evolutionary – visions of the world. However, in current hyper-polarised political contexts, addressing change at the epistemological level has also incited indictments of and negative responses to critical approaches. For instance, different stances on GCE can coincide at a neoliberal-liberal orientation leading paradoxically to claims that the critical orientation fosters moral relativism and coercively seeks to control not only people's actions but their ideas as well, thereby forestalling the liberal values of open dialogue and debate and individual choice (e.g. Standish 2009, 2012, as discussed in Winter 2018).

This may enable a neoconservative-neoliberal-liberal interface, for example through a backlash against political correctness in favour of competency models and nation-centric rationalities. Such responses tend to ignore (or, frame in reverse) the uneven distribution of power that characterises not only global relations but also purportedly neutral dialogues between different ideas. If the basis of action and collaboration in GCE is perceived to be consensus about a shared idea or set of values, then conversations about different orientations may become contests over the position of epistemological hegemony – contests whose outcomes will likely be determined by pre-existing relations of power.

Re-reading the typologies reviewed here in relation to the three levels, we find that many mainstream approaches to GCE are articulated from within imaginaries of global education and social change that exhibit significant distinctions at the methodological level (ways of doing), assuming an uncontested way forward. Most others intervene at the epistemological level (ways of thinking), challenging normalised assumptions and power relations, and presenting a deeper historical and systemic analyses. However, despite the diversity that characterises the GCE field, we contend that most approaches are ultimately rooted within the same shared modern ontology (way of being) where existence is defined by knowledge, humans are separated from nature, and a single form of (Cartesian, teleological, logocentric, allochronic) rationality prevails. What does not fit the codified categories of this ontology – what is unintelligible – is perceived as non-existent, and therefore worthless, as described by Sousa Santos (2007) with reference to 'abyssal thinking' and its resulting 'epistemicide'. Conversely, what does not fit might be misread and instrumentalised in a way that betrays its gifts by grafting it onto a modern/colonial ontology (Ahenakew 2016). Therefore, the GCE questions one would ask from a different ontological standpoint would likely not be legible for those over-socialised within a modern/colonial ontology; in other words, they have been largely absent from GCE conversations. Conversely, GCE approaches that could support learners in sitting at the edge of the modern/colonial ontology could gesture towards making this absence noticeable, through questions such as:

> How has the modern/colonial ontology restricted our horizons and what we consider to be possible, desirable, intelligible and imaginable? What kinds of denials and entitlements keep us not only intellectually but also affectively invested in this ontology? What can

engender a stream of connections and a sense of care and commitment towards everything that overrides self-interest and insecurities and is not dependent on convictions, knowledge, identity or understanding? What would it look and feel like if our responsibility to all living beings on the planet was not a willed choice, but rather something 'before will'? What kinds of experiences can enable students to see and sense how they can be simultaneously part of global problems, and part of global solutions? Is it even possible to imagine a definition of global citizenship not premised on conditional forms of inclusion, or shared values? If citizenship is not a universalizable concept, then how might we nonetheless use it in strategic ways, while remaining conscious of its significant limitations, potential harms, and the partiality of any particular approach? How can we open ourselves up to being taught by different ways of being in order to experience and sense the world differently, being aware of misinterpretations, idealizations and appropriations that are likely to happen in this process?

Conclusion

In this paper we have attempted to do several things. First, we have offered a meta-review of existing typologies of different approaches to GCE, using our heuristic of different discursive orientations (and their interfaces). We observed common patterns of categorisation, and identified significant conflations and emergent interfaces of different approaches to GCE. However, social cartographies are not only about mapping what exists, but also the overlooked tensions, assumptions, and edges of discussions within a field or overlapping fields; social cartographies can also be used to map significant absences.

Drawing on decolonial critiques, we have identified and emphasised a particular absence by sketching one edge of GCE discussions that could open up generative conversations in the current context. This edge is related to the limits of a modern/colonial imaginary that is inherently violent and unsustainable, and which denies our entangled existence. Within the GCE field, we have noted a relative lack of engagement with these limits and their implications for our current and future research and practice. This may lead us to reproduce the narrow imaginaries of global justice, responsibility, and change. Further, we have suggested that it will be difficult to identify, let alone work through and be taught by these limits, if our engagements with GCE ask only methodological and epistemological questions, and do not engage in ontological questions. We might mistakenly conflate decolonial approaches to GCE that challenge the continuity of the modern/colonial imaginary with critical approaches that seek to reform it.

At the same time, we note that the present context of global uncertainty and instability in relation to political, economic, and ecological concerns might open up a space for deepened engagements with these ontological questions, given that existing approaches to global engagement and interdependence appear increasingly insufficient for facing the scope, scale, and intensity of the numerous challenges we face. However, this context also calls on us to attend not only to decolonial responses to the limits of our inherited imaginary, but also to map the full scope of possible responses – including those reactionary responses that might be emerging at what we have identified as a neoconservative-neoliberal-liberal interface.

The placement of environmental approaches in both Schattle (2008) and Oxley and Morris (2013) as a 'type' of GC is an interesting finding and points to the need for further work across GCE and environmental and sustainability education (see for

example, Sund and Pashby, forthcoming) – particularly around recent discussions of the Anthropocene and posthumanism. Such analysis could aim towards unpacking the extent to which environmental foci in GCE open up (e.g. Richardson 2008) or fall into liberal-neoliberal-orientations (Schattle 2008). In the context of work mobilising around GCE in relation to SDG Target 4.7, it is particularly important to note distinctions within critical approaches. A focus on systemic, historical and ongoing colonial and racial violence may prioritise access to means of development and fail to focus on unsustainability and the limits of the planet, while those working with unsustainability tend to foreclose systemic, historical and ongoing colonial and racial violence. We wonder if engaging with questions at the ontological level as suggested above could bring these approaches together.

To offer a prescriptive, alternative approach to GCE inspired by decolonial critiques would betray what we read as the spirit of the critique itself, and its recognition of the difficulty of approaches to change that do not create more of the same – that is, it would flatten the depth and complexity of the problems we face, and submit to the colonial desire to resolve and transcend complicity in harm without giving anything up (Jefferess 2012; Spivak 1988). Thus, we do not propose the limits of the modern/colonial imaginary as the only place from which to continue future conversations about GCE, and we offer the liberal orientation's interfaces as possible spaces for negotiation but also for possible slippage into neoliberal and neoconservative approaches. Nonetheless, we invite engagements in research and practice with what these limits might teach us about the enduring colonial systems that have kept this imaginary in place. It may be that only once we have understood the difficulty and even the impossibility of transcending this imaginary that something different can become possible.

Notes

1. In this article, the authors apply Camicia and Franklin's (2011) distinction between neoliberal cosmopolitan discourse and critical democratic and cosmopolitan discourse without explaining or questioning the distinction.
2. According to google scholar at last check while revising this paper, the citations were: Andreotti (2006, 685); Andreotti (2014, 23); Camicia and Franklin (2011, 67); Gaudelli (2009, 69); Marshall (2011, 86); Oxley and Morris (2013, 167); Schattle (2008, 112); Shultz (2007, 238), Stein (2015, 17).

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