Global Citizenship Education: re-envisioning multicultural education in a time of globalization

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Abstract
As societies face unprecedented challenges that are global in scope, educational policy makers emphasize the importance of fostering active citizens capable of resolving complex global issues. In this paper, we explore how Global Citizenship Education (GCE) frameworks could open up new perspectives to rethink dominant approaches to multicultural education by expanding pupils' understanding of cultural and ecological relationships. Furthermore, we argue that while dominant approaches to multicultural education are well-intentioned, they are often limited to essentialist visions of cultures and therefore fail to develop a critical understanding of inequality and power relations. To address this question, we first examine the different conceptualizations of GCE and the role of international organizations in the increasing attention given to the concept of global citizenship. Second, we discuss the current crisis of multiculturalism and multicultural education. Third, we consider different theoretical frameworks for GCE. Finally, we conclude by arguing that GCE may represent an opportunity to overcome the crisis of multiculturalism, unifying students around a set of democratic values while valuing multiple identities and cultural diversity, deepening knowledge about the root causes of global issues and promoting a fairer and more just global society. GCE may indeed provide a framework to carefully balance universalism and diversity in multicultural societies and tie values of diversity with overarching values of unity, justice and equality.

Keywords: Global Citizenship Education, multiculturalism, diversity, justice, equality

1. Introduction

In the light of increased globalization, migration and the crisis of multiculturalism[1], scholars today recognize citizenship as more complex and nuanced than simply being a member of a nation-state. For instance, one can be a member of several cultural communities, a resident of a nation state, and may perceive membership of a diasporic or global society. Furthermore, many individuals are transnational citizens. In this context, refugees, migrant workers, immigrants, or people employed by transnational companies requiring their frequent relocation often with their children, maintain attachments to multiple communities (Abu El-Haj, 2009). In this respect, Bagnall (2015) proposes considering the "concept of affiliation and belonging from a global rather than a national perspective" (p.2).

Indeed, increasingly diverse societies are reshaping traditional models of citizenship which imply a natural affiliation to the nation-state and a shared sense of belonging (Akkari & Maleq, 2020a). These transformations in societies are leading to a new conception of citizenship that accommodates multiple identities and a sense of belonging to one human family as described by Maalouf (1998). Indeed, shared humanity is at the heart of global citizenship.

[1] The multiculturalism crisis has two dimensions: political and educational. (1) Alongside the rise of far fight, leaders from the political mainstream (Sarkozy, Merkel, Cameron …) have expressed skepticism towards multiculturalism. (2) Many scholars deplore that a majority of multicultural approaches in education remain essentialist and folkloric.

Banks (2009) speaks about identity as multiple, changing, overlapping and contextual, and asserts that a major problem facing nation-states throughout the world is how to accept, recognize and legitimize differences and yet construct an overarching national identity that incorporates the voices, experiences, and hopes of the diverse groups that compose it.

As well as accommodating multiple identities and reinforcing a feeling of belonging to a global community, global citizenship generally extends the idea of rights and responsibilities beyond the limits of the nation-state and involves components of empathy and intercultural knowledge, sustainable development, human rights, and shared values.

Multicultural education for its part has been a prominent concern for educators and policy makers since the 1980s. Although it has increased in importance since the beginning of the 21st century, dissenting voices are can be heard regarding the hegemonic vision of intercultural competency (Asmer, Kerr & Andreotti, 2020) and the essentialized and static way of presenting culture (Dervin, 2015) that reinforce the process of "othering".
In this respect, even if the acquisition of intercultural competences is an essential step to enable groups to co-exist peacefully, the transformative potential of multiculturality can only be realized by addressing the root causes of social divisions, inequalities and injustices.

For this reason, we question whether GCE frameworks could open new perspectives to rethink dominant approaches to multicultural education in an era of globalization and growing inequalities. To do so, we will first examine the different conceptualizations of GCE and the role of international organizations in the increasing attention given to the concept of global citizenship. Next, we attempt to understand the current crisis of multiculturalism and multicultural education. We then present theoretical frameworks for GCE and conclude by arguing that GCE may represent an opportunity to rethink dominant approaches to multiculturalism and promote peaceful co-existence and global social justice.

2. Conceptualizations of GCE and the Role of International Organizations

Although global citizenship is not a new concept, the acceleration of globalization in the last few decades and the influence of international organizations have resulted in widespread scholarly interest in the term, leading to a considerable range of theorizing regarding its application (Gaudelli, 2016). Global citizenship and related terms such as "cosmopolitanism", "global mindedness", "global consciousness", "global competencies" and "world citizenship", have been in use for decades in educational and political discourses. Although the earliest manifestations of these ideas were abstract and generally limited to well-educated elites, today scholars and educators worldwide use global citizenship to define or mediate identities in the age of globalization (Myers, 2016; Oxley & Morris, 2013; White, 2019).

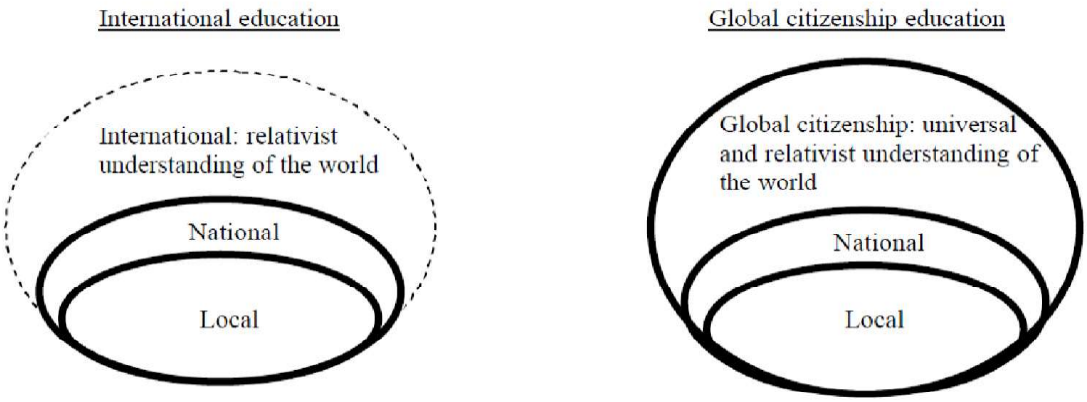
The focus on GCE is relatively new in educational systems in comparison to traditional nation-centric approaches to citizenship education which, in the second half of the 20th century, gradually replaced civic and moral education present in compulsory schooling from the end of the 19th century in many Western countries.

Although citizenship education was historically rooted at a national level, global education and world studies have also been promoted in schools over the last decades. Although not directly referred to as citizenship education or GCE, these programs were designed to teach about global interdependence and cultural diversity through participatory learning and experimentation of values (Davies, 2006).

To refer to the general construct of GCE, the literature uses various terms such as "learning about the world", "education for world citizenship", "global education", "global competencies" "intercultural competence", and "international education". Although these concepts are related, Mahlstedt (2003) pointed out a key difference between "global citizenship education"

and “international education”. “Global citizenship education” refers to education that seeks to push students to expand their understanding of and personal identification with a geopolitical paradigm beyond the nation-state. In doing so, it necessarily encourages some level of engagement with normative universal values, while simultaneously engaging relativistic differences. “International education” etymologically deals more with education “between nations,” and as such does not traditionally push students to move beyond the historical limit of the nation-state in terms of self-identification. International education creates an understanding of humanity’s relativistic differences, but fails to engage our more universalistic commonalities. International education differs from “national education” offering students declarative knowledge of nations and cultures other than their own. The figure below compares how international and global citizenship education play different roles in student identity formation. The bold circles represent the extent to which each type of education pushes students to identify, whereas the dotted line represents awareness of a level without identity connection. As the figure shows, international education creates in students’ identities local and national citizenship, while creating awareness about international differences and similarities. The emphasis, however, is always on the nation-state as the highest level of connection, and so international education fails to project student identities towards a universal humanist global connection. Global citizenship education differs in that, while not replacing local or national citizenship, it adds yet another layer to students’ identities by encouraging them to understand their individual universal humanistic connections in addition to differences. Diversity and multiculturalism are hence considered within a larger understanding of a global identity.

Figure 1: Student Identity Formation in International and Global Citizenship Education



Source: Mahlstedt (2003)

In an effort to map the existing approaches to global citizenship, Veugelers (2011, p.476) distinguishes between three categories of global citizenship: “open global citizenship”, which recognizes the interdependence between nation states in the global age and opportunities for cultural diversification; “moral global citizenship”, based on equality and human rights, which emphasizes global responsibility; and “socio-political global citizenship”, which is meant to shift the balance of political power to promote equality and cultural diversity worldwide. These categories are hierarchical, with “open global citizenship” representing a shallow form of Global citizenship and “socio-political global citizenship” representing a profound form with the integration of postcolonial and Global South perspectives. Nevertheless, the aim of developing a global form of citizenship contrasts with the realities of vast numbers of marginalized citizens across the globe, to the extent that marginality appears to be the “hidden other” of global citizenship (Balarin, 2011).

Global citizenship is the target of much theoretical criticism and can be viewed as serving the Western world (Howard, Dickert, Owusu & Riley, 2018). Several scholars addressed strong critiques to GCE which they consider to be Eurocentric, neo-colonial and unsuitable for the Global South (Abdi, 2015; Sharma, 2018; Dreamson, 2018; Misiaszek & Misiaszek, 2016; Lauwerier, 2020). Critics of the term often refer to its ambiguity and Western assumptions that are considered to be embedded in its very core (Andreotti, 2006). In the global South, global citizenship is considered to be a tool for student empowerment and the creation of economic opportunities; sometimes, however, its meaning is reduced to knowledge of the English language thought to enable students to exercise the opportunities for mobility that economic globalization offers (Quaynor, 2015).

Global citizenship could also become an instrument of oppression whenever it turns into a normative ideal in opposition to 'backward' forms of national or regional belonging and more 'traditional' communities. In other words, there is a pressing need to enhance understanding of local perspectives, ideologies, conceptions and issues related to citizenship education on a local, national and global level in order to open global citizenship agendas to diversity and indigeneity. This may, however, only be achieved by rethinking the Eurocentric paradigm of modernity reflected in conceptualizations of global citizenship and promoting national, cultural and local ownership (Akkari & Maleq, 2020b). In the global South, the possible relevance of GCE is thus linked to its openness to a non-Western view of global citizenship (Quaynor, 2018).

To respond to the critique of the concept of GCE being essentially developed within a Western paradigm, UNESCO (2018) has sought to identify national concepts that convey similar meanings. In Bhutan, the concept of "Gross National Happiness" plays a part in national policy, asserting the primacy of societal good over economic growth. In Ecuador, the concept of "Shared Humanity" is at the root of *Sumak Kawsay*, an Indigenous Andean concept, which places humanity as an integral part of the natural and social environment.

One of the challenges associated with global citizenship is the possibility that, like globalization, it would mostly benefit members of elite groups, thereby deepening societal inequality (Gardner-McTaggart, 2016). Moreover, some critics argue that, as an identity model, the concept could weaken nation-states and national social cohesion by providing citizens with an alternative global identity (Bowden, 2003); or, rather, that the notion itself is moot since no global governmental body exists to assume responsibility for the global society we aim to create or to foster. Indeed, the failure of international organizations to settle most violent international conflicts may stifle the idea of world governance.

Furthermore, global citizenship has been impacted by the anti-globalization discourse that has flourished across a broad political spectrum in recent decades. In Europe, the far right presents globalization as the enemy of national interests and accuses the European Union and multiculturalism of being the accomplices of predatory globalism (Salvatore et al., 2019). The radical left criticizes the standardization of economic and social policies in the world and the hegemonic role of neoliberal international organizations such as the World Bank, the IMF and the WTO, where the losers are the working classes (Tilly, 1995).

Despite being a highly contested subject, international organizations, particularly UNESCO, have played a key role in promoting global citizenship and lobbying governments to include it in educational institutions' curricula and from an early age up to university.

> Global Citizenship Education aims to empower learners to engage and assume active roles, both locally and globally, to face and resolve global challenges and ultimately to become proactive contributors to a more just, peaceful, tolerant, inclusive, secure and sustainable world (UNESCO, 2014, p. 15).

It could be argued that UNESCO's approach to GCE is not easily classified within Veugelers (2011) categorization since its learning objectives may be interpreted in various ways; some of which can be associated with "open global citizenship" whereas others relate more to "moral global citizenship" or "socio-political global citizenship".

The adoption by the international community of the Sustainable Development goals (SDG) in 2015 offered a new dimension to Global citizenship. SDG 4.7 aims "by 2030, ensure that all learners acquire the knowledge and skills needed to promote sustainable development, including, among others, through education for sustainable development and sustainable lifestyles, human rights, gender equality, promotion of a culture of peace and non-violence, global citizenship and appreciation of cultural diversity and of culture's contribution to sustainable development." (UNESCO, 2020)

International organizations prioritizing economic development are also interested in global competencies related to global citizenship. Global competence was added as a new domain to the main PISA instruments in 2018 with the aim of evaluating young people's understanding of global issues and their attitudes towards cultural diversity and tolerance. However, it is not yet clear if it will be part of the regular PISA instruments in the future. Viewed as an increasingly important competency in today's society, this recent addition to the PISA assessment tools reflects young people need to be able to leave school with the competencies, knowledge, skills and attitudes to be able to learn, live and work in a global and interconnected world. We can however question the existence of a universal global competence that could be accurately measured by a standardized test.

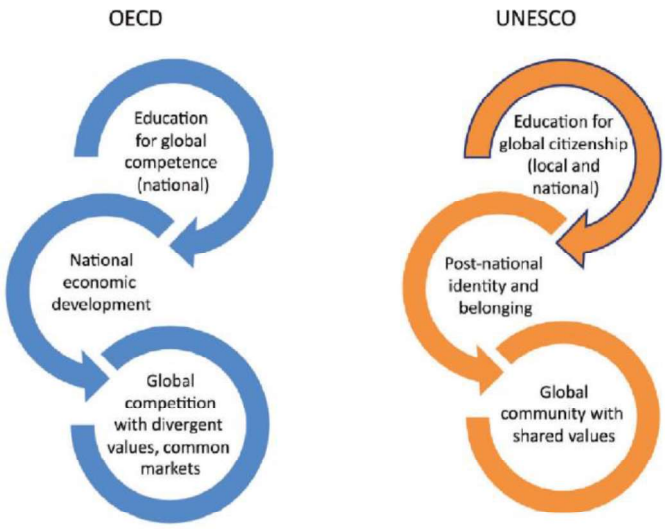
The working definition so far is that global competence means the, "capacity and disposition to act and interact appropriately and effectively both individually and collaboratively when participating in an interconnected, interdependent and diverse world" (OECD, 2015, p. 46). The framework of global competencies has four dimensions:

- Communication and relationship management.
- Knowledge of and interest in global development.
- Challenges and trends concerning openness and flexibility.
- Emotional strength and resilience.

Each of these dimensions contains knowledge, skills, attitudes and behaviors that interact in a dynamic and interconnected way OECD (2015). Knowledge is viewed as contextual, aiming to better prepare students to navigate diverse contexts such as work environments and local communities.

Vaccari and Gardinier (2019) point out that UNESCO and the OECD are pursuing similar orientations envisioning the world of the future, through to 2030, but with different theoretical orientations and frameworks. As demonstrated in Figure 1, although both stress knowledge, skills and attitudes, they place significantly different emphases on each area. The OECD's main focus is on marketable skills and global competencies that will help students integrate into a global labor market, whereas for UNESCO, the values and attitudes of global citizenship play a much stronger role. These differences reflect the ideological tensions that underlie GCE's different approaches; as well as convergence between the two organizations (Lauwerier, 2018).

Figure 2: Comparison between OECD and UNESCO orientations on GCE



Source: Vaccari & Gardinier (2019)

Overall, we can see that GCE has taken a pride place in the 2030 Agenda for sustainable development and has progressively become the new buzzword in educational systems. However, despite its apparent relevance and potential to mobilize international cooperation and international communities, it is often described as a fuzz-word due to its lack of conceptual clarity and consistency, which makes its operationalization challenging for policy makers, teachers and educators (Akkari & Maleq, 2019).

It could however be said that being and becoming a global citizen is more than a technical efficiency; it is a "fluid" concept that involves a process of thinking differently" (Lilley et al., 2017, p. 18). It represents an ethical being, an ability, a disposition, and a commitment. However, in practice, the ontology of being a global citizen presents a challenge to research and pedagogy (Rhoads & Szelenyi, 2011; Sklad, Friedman & Oomen, 2016; Richardson, De Fabrizio & Ansu-Kyeremeh, 2011; Hammond & Keating, 2018).

2. Crisis of Multiculturalism

Scepticism and sometimes even outright hostility towards multiculturalism is growing in many countries experiencing immigration. Coulby (2019) claims that progressive education and particularly multicultural education has failed in many national contexts. The evidence according to his analysis comes from the worldwide rise of populism as well as the theoretical weakness of dominant approaches to multicultural education. He also points out that this failure of multicultural education is linked to a set of theoretical weaknesses associated with the nature of globalization and populism, and their impact on states, cities and regions (Coulby, 2019). Indeed, we believe that dominant multicultural approaches in education suffer from empirical and conceptual flaws, partly due to a narrow understanding of culture, generally reduced to national boundaries, and a resistance to view culture as dynamic and complex. A critical framework of GCE could therefore provide a more comprehensive understanding of settlement, immigration and multiple identities by acknowledging and addressing the power dynamics between marginalized and dominant cultures (Eidoo et al. 2011).

Theoretical weakness of multiculturalism:

Anthropologists argue that the concept of culture used in multiculturalism is theoretically imprecise. Furthermore Wax (1993) asserts that the major conceptual weakness of multiculturalism resides in the assumption that “cultural deficit” or “distance from school culture” need to be compensated. “It should not assume that because the child is unfamiliar with some aspects of the dominant culture, its psyche is a vacuum, and the child is ignorant. Rather, the curriculum should be designed to deal with the child at the point of entry into formal education” (Wax, 1993, p. 105).

Another theoretical weakness of multiculturalism is linked to the treatment of inequality in education. Indeed, oppression may also be the result of diversity without equality (Weinberg, 1994). As confirmed by Ogbu (1992), multiculturalism works only for some individuals and some minorities (Ogbu, 1992), failing to achieve equal opportunity for all.

Multicultural education:

From a wider perspective, the relative failure of multicultural approaches in schools is also associated with the tenet of the central role played by educational systems in building national identity. Both through civil rights movements and international migration, schools started in the 60s and 70s to hear the voices of cultural and ethnic differences (Akkari & Radhouane, 2019). However, the changes made to promote a more open space for cultural diversity in schools have resulted in only limited impact, especially in relation to ethnic segregation and low learning outcomes for minority and migrant students (Connor & Ferri, 2018; Lauwerier & Akkari, 2020). Indeed, there is abundant evidence that race, racism and culture affect educational opportunities and outcomes (Howard, 2019).

Crisis of multiculturalism:

On a broader level, various OECD countries are experiencing what could be described as a multilevel crisis of multiculturalism (Chin, 2019). First, on the political level, many politicians, not only those from the far right of the political spectrum, strongly express doubts regarding the efficiency, validity or the added value of multicultural policies. Second, many countries still experience school segregation linked to residential segregation of ethnic minorities and migrants, resulting in ethnic tensions and aggravated inequalities. Third, the fight against Islamic extremism is often evoked to challenge multiculturalist and immigration policies.

As an example of this crises, Black (2016) argues that in Great Britain, feelings oscillated between the nostalgia of the past where England/Britain were presented as a ‘safe’ and legitimate source of belonging and a present that, while being portrayed as both confident and progressive, is overwhelmed by latent anxieties and feelings of discontent. In the British context, here is a strong pervasive political thesis that multiculturalism is in 'crisis' or has even 'failed' in the country (Miah and al., 2020) and religious identity, especially Islamic identity, has become central to debates British multiculturalism (Haynes, 2017). Furthermore, Harris and Johnston (2020) point out that high levels of ethnic segregation exist between the majority white British and other ethnic groups such as British Pakistanis and British Bangladeshis, especially in primary than secondary level of schooling.

Recent surveys in France also show an increasing socio-spatial segregation, which means that pupils attend different schools according to their ethnic and social origin (Audren & Baby-Collin, 2017; Ichou, M., & van Zanten, 2019).

In the French context, the crisis of multiculturalism is often associated with the general feeling that multiculturalism, as a public policy, is a threat to the French Republican integration (James & Janmaat, 2019). The idea of recognizing diversity and considering

minority identities in France runs up against historical values and principles such as the traditional universalist and emancipatory dimension of French citizenship, secularism, the fear of communitarianism and the will to maintain a direct relationship between the State and its citizens.

In the United States, Sleeter (2018) suggested that multiculturalism is also under permanent struggles. It is indeed at the center of the tense majority-minority relations within society and schools (Montalvo-Barbot, 2019). Although racial segregation in public education has been illegal for almost 65 years in the United States, public schools remain largely separate and unequal with profound consequences for families and students, especially for students of color. Coincidentally, white students have low exposure to students of minority groups as the typical white student attends a school that is 69% white. This is considerably higher than white students' national share of the enrollment (48,4 %) (Orfield and al., 2019). Recent surveys pointed out a process of re-segregation and separation between students by ethnic lines (Fuller and al., 2019; Logan & Burdick-Will, 2017).

3. Theoretical Frameworks for GCE

As the concept of global citizenship is gaining popularity among researchers and international organizations, diverse and sometimes contradictory theoretical frameworks have been developed. The growing interest and ongoing debates surrounding global citizenship are evidence of its increasing relevance to contemporary educational systems. Despite its popularity, its many interpretations, definitions and frameworks have resulted in a "highly diverse conceptual arena" (Torres & Bosio, 2020, p.2). Consequently, GCE has become a controversial concept (Gacel-Avila, 2017), torn between the spirit of solidarity and global competitiveness (Torres, 2002).

In an attempt to build on the legacy of multicultural education, but also take further the debate on how to re-envision approaches to multicultural education in a time of globalization, we will successively present two main theoretical frameworks for approaching global citizenship in education within multicultural and critical perspectives. The first area of research is related to the Council of Europe's concept of intercultural competency (Barrett, Huber & Reynolds, 2014). The second area of research is linked to the typology of global citizenship by Andreotti (2014) and will help us to understand from a critical perspective global citizenship as a contested space.

As defined by Barrett et al. (2014), the components of intercultural competence may be broken down into attitudes, knowledge and understanding, skills and actions. The attitudes involved include:

- Valuing cultural diversity and pluralism of views and practices;
- Respecting people who have different cultural affiliations from one's own;
- Being open to, curious about and willing to learn from and about people who have different cultural orientations and perspectives from one's own;
- Being willing to empathize with people who have different cultural affiliations from one's own;
- Being willing to question what is usually taken for granted as 'normal' according to one's previously acquired knowledge and experience;
- Being willing to tolerate ambiguity and uncertainty;
- Being willing to seek out opportunities to engage and co-operate with individuals who have different cultural orientations and perspectives from one's own (Berrett et al., 2014, p.9).

The knowledge and understanding, which contribute to intercultural competence, includes understanding (1) the internal diversity and heterogeneity of all cultural groups; (2) the influence of one's own language and cultural affiliations on one's experience of the world and of other people; (3) the processes of cultural, societal and individual interaction; and (4) the socially constructed nature of knowledge (Barrett et al., 2014). Furthermore, it includes an awareness and understanding of one's own and other people's assumptions, preconceptions, stereotypes, prejudices, and discrimination. Finally, it requires us to build knowledge of the beliefs, values, practices and discourses that may be used by people who have particular cultural orientations. Intercultural competence also includes a set of skills such as multiperspectivity (the ability to decenter from one's own perspective and to consider other people's perspectives in addition to one's own); empathy; cognitive flexibility (the ability to change and adapt one's way of thinking according to the situation or context); adaptation; and linguistic, sociolinguistic and plurilingual skills (Barrett *et al*., 2014).

In line with the Council of Europe's framework, the approach of Barrett et al. (2014) can be seen as both pragmatic and proactive as well as applicable to educational actions. Intercultural competence has strong active, interactive and participative dimensions, and it requires individuals to develop their capacity to build common projects, to assume shared responsibilities and to create common ground to live together in peace. For this reason, intercultural competence is a core competence, which is required for democratic citizenship within a culturally diverse world and provides a foundation for being a global citizen. It is however important to emphasize that building students' intercultural competences and educational strategies that focus on celebrating culture run the risk of de-politicizing racism discourse and reinforcing an "us" versus "them" binary. While GCE may be susceptible to similar critiques, critical frameworks of GCE could contribute to a stronger multicultural approach by acknowledging and addressing the dynamics between marginalized and dominant cultures.

In the field of education, Andreotti (2006) suggested a broad conception of GCE, breaking it down into 'soft' and 'critical' GCE. Whilst soft GCE could be equated to education about global citizenship that provides students with an understanding of the world and cultural tolerance, critical global citizenship however requires a deeper engagement. Critical GCE, which Andreotti later developed into post-critical and postcolonial GCE, provides students with the skills to reflect upon and engage with global issues involving conflict, power, and opposing views; to understand the nature of assumptions; and to strive for change.

> Despite claims of globality and inclusion, the lack of analyses of power relations and knowledge construction in this area often results 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. 13).

Indeed, global citizenship education cannot solely promote human values and overlook the "conditions that create the inequities faced by marginalized groups, specifically by migrants who are perpetually deported to the site of non-humanity and global non-citizenship" (Chapman, Ruiz-Chapman & Eglin, 2018, p. 155).

Whilst publications on global citizenship and GCE are growing, empirical studies remain scarce. Goren and Yemini (2017) and provided a mapping of the current research landscape and highlights both the dominant themes and potential lacuna in the existing body of research. The two main findings of this study are the identification of an apparent gap between the growing call from the scientific community for more critical approaches to GCE and a deficiency of critical discourse within educational policy and empirical studies, and a lack of acknowledgement of heterogeneity.

4. Global Citizenship Education: Opening new Horizons for Multicultural Education

In practice, schools often limit multicultural education to activities aimed at celebrating cultural diversity and recognizing the ethnic and cultural heritage of students and their families. Watkins & Noble (2019) point out that, despite being portrayed as a vehicle for cultural inclusion, these activities often fail to develop a deeper understanding of cultural complexities and dominance relationships. Described by the authors as "lazy multiculturalism", these approaches not only put forward superficial understandings and essentialized representations of cultures, they "rest on a kind of simple moralism that resists intellectual scrutiny: a moralism that suggests the primary lesson is to be nice" (p.297). It should be said that these "feel good" approaches to ethnic and cultural diversity seem to prevail over other educational aspects of multicultural education and a critical understanding of multicultural issues. Walking and Nobel (2019) further argue that:

> A multiculturalism that emphasizes feeling good is primarily concerned with moral rules of engagement, of doing and saying what is culturally appropriate, as if one could arrive at a checklist of 'dos and don'ts' for each group. Of course, multiculturalism has operated in this way and it is an approach that has influenced multicultural education (p. 299).

In schools, cultural diversity is generally celebrated as a "demographic fact" and advertised in the style of the United Colors of Benetton. This "Benetton multiculturalism" is solely based on the premise that ethnic diversity is in itself an added value, without building an understanding of power relationships.

Furthermore, we believe that in today's globalized and interconnected world, the greatest limitation of multicultural approaches in education is their national framework. Whilst it is important to work with students and teachers on cultural diversity, it is also important encourage them to reflect on their responsibilities, rights and privileges in a global interconnected world, beyond their national belongings/borders.

In this context, citizenship education approaches in multicultural societies face the challenge of striking a balance between local, national and global belonging that ensure both national social cohesion and global responsibility.

We argue that linking the fields of multicultural education, citizenship education and sustainable development under the umbrella of GCE could help students understand cultural and ecological relationships and the interconnections between issues related to citizenship, democracy, participation, multiple and fluid identity, ambiguity, diversity, social justice, global issues and sustainability (Hughes, 2019). Current challenges can no longer be met exclusively by individual states and national educational policy frameworks. We need to educate youth to imagine creative solutions to existing global issues and future challenges. In this sense, global citizenship may provide an opportunity to value multiple identities and cultural diversity, build understanding of root causes of global issues of inequality and discrimination and help create a fairer, more sustainable and just global society.

Overall, we argue that the multicultural paradigm must be revised and improved on five conceptual levels:

- Open new perspectives and provide a definition of culture that transcends national, ethnic and religious boundaries
- Seek to go beyond the demographics of cultural diversity and a display of how many minority groups are represented in schools
- Value hybrid, cross-border and fluid forms of cultural identify

- Consider tolerance to ambiguity and the ability to cross cultural boundaries as key aspects of multi/intercultural education
- Develop a critical understanding of global power dynamics and roots of global inequality resulting from colonialism, neo-imperialism and neoliberalism.

In this respect, teaching Global Citizenship within a Community of Inquiry method based on P4C (Philosophy for Children) may constitute a pedagogical approach worth exploring. Known to help develop cooperative and peer learning, P4C uses a dialogical approach to learning, looking at issues from different viewpoints and encouraging critical thinking.

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