

DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 336 330

SO 030 206

AUTHOR Burnham, Jeffrey B.
 TITLE The Meaning of Citizenship...in America and in the World. Resource Packet.
 INSTITUTION Council for the Advancement of Citizenship, Washington, DC.
 SPONS AGENCY United States Inst. of Peace, Washington, DC.
 PUB DATE Jan 90
 NOTE 25p.; For related documents, see SO 030 207-208.
 AVAILABLE FROM Council for the Advancement of Citizenship, 1724 Massachusetts Avenue NW, Suite 300, Washington, DC 20036 (\$5.00).
 PUB TYPE Guides - Classroom Use - Teaching Guides (For Teacher) (052)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC01 Plus Postage.
 DESCRIPTORS *Citizenship Responsibility; Curriculum Guides; Futures (of Society); Political Science; *Political Socialization; Secondary Education; Social Studies; *Values Clarification; *Western Civilization

ABSTRACT

This resource packet is designed to provide teachers and other civic educators with an introduction to issues surrounding the meaning of citizenship in today's world. It is intended to be used as a companion piece to "CIVITAS: A Framework for Civic Education" which is a new civic education curriculum resource designed to serve as a blueprint from which teachers, curriculum developers, administrators and community leaders can develop civic education materials, courses, programs and curricula to enhance civic literacy in the United States. Articles include: (1) "Civic Education in an Interdependent World" (R. Freeman Butts); "On an Expanded Definition of Citizenship" (Stephen P. Strickland); "Notes on the Idea of World Citizenship" (Charles F. Bahmueller). Discussion questions, program and curriculum ideas, suggested readings, other materials, and a list of organizations with related resources conclude the document. (NL)

 * Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
 * from the original document. *

Citizenship Education and Peace Project



A project of the Council for the Advancement of Citizenship
supported by the United States Institute of Peace

ED336330

The Meaning of Citizenship *... in America and in the world*

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION
CENTER (ERIC)

This document has been reproduced as
received from the person or organization
originating it.
 Minor changes have been made to improve
reproduction quality.

• Points of view or opinions stated in this docu-
ment do not necessarily represent official
OERI position or policy.

RESOURCE PACKET

January, 1990

Council for the Advancement of Citizenship
1724 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
Suite 300
Washington, DC 20036
(202) 857-0580

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS
MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

JEFFREY B.
BURNHAM

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES
INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

SO 030.206

The Meaning of Citizenship

... in America and in the world

CAC  Council for the
Advancement of
Citizenship

This Resource Packet is produced by the Council for the Advancement of Citizenship as a component of the Citizenship Education and Peace Project, with support from the United States Institute of Peace. It is designed to provide teachers, community leaders, and other civic educators with an introduction to issues surrounding the meaning of citizenship in today's interdependent, complex world environment. It is also intended to be used as a companion piece to CIVITAS: A Framework for Civic Education, a new civic education curriculum resource designed to serve as a blueprint from which teachers, curriculum developers, administrators and community leaders can develop civic education materials, courses, programs and curricula to enhance civic literacy in the United States. CIVITAS will be published in fall, 1990.

The Council hopes that this packet will be disseminated widely and that it will be used as the basis for classes and programs designed to stimulate understanding of the meaning and responsibilities of citizenship in the United States and in the world. In particular, the packet should contribute to the individual's ability to analyze and evaluate different conceptions of citizenship; to take and defend a position on the responsibilities of citizenship in this country; and to explain what good government in a constitutional democracy requires of citizens.

The Packet was prepared by Dr. Jeffrey B. Burnham, consultant to the Citizenship Education and Peace Project.

The opinions, findings, conclusions and materials found in this packet are those of the contributors and do not necessarily reflect the views of the Council for the Advancement of Citizenship or the United States Institute of Peace.

© 1990, Council for the Advancement of Citizenship

Citizenship Education and Peace Resource Packet

The Meaning of Citizenship ... *in America and in the world*

Table of Contents

I. Introduction	1
II. Selected Readings	7
Civic Education in an Interdependent World	7
An excerpt from <i>The Civic Mission in Educational Reform: Perspectives for the Public and the Profession</i>	
R. Freeman Butts	
On an Expanded Definition of Citizenship	9
An excerpt from the <i>Conference Report on CAC's 8th annual Jennings Randolph Forum (1989)</i>	
Stephen P. Strickland	
Notes on the Idea of World Citizenship	11
Charles F. Bahmueller	
III. Discussion Questions	15
IV. Program and Curriculum Ideas	17
...for schools	
...for youth programs	
...for community programs	
...for higher education	
V. Suggested Readings and Other Materials	21
VI. Organizations with Related Resources	25

The Meaning of Citizenship *... in America and in the world*

I. Introduction

“Effective citizens must have knowledge and understanding of the world beyond our borders — its peoples, nations, cultures, systems, and problems; knowledge of how the world affects us; and the knowledge of how we affect the world. The increasing internationalization of society and interdependence among peoples and nations brings a new dimension to the citizen’s role and places a special responsibility upon our educational institutions to develop citizens able to function effectively in that world.”

*—The United States Prepares
for its Future - Report of the
Study Commission on
Global Education
1987 Global Perspectives in
Education*

What does it mean to be an American citizen? What does it mean to be a citizen in other countries? How do the rights and responsibilities of citizenship differ from country to country?

How does the rapidly increasing interdependence of countries throughout the world alter these concepts of citizenship?

There are no universally accepted answers to these questions. They have been debated at least since the days of ancient Athens, but the changes taking place in the modern world give them new urgency. They thus present teachers, community leaders, and other civic educators with an extraordinary challenge as they set about educating Americans of all ages for their roles as citizens in a democracy.

This Citizenship Education and Peace Resource Packet has been designed to help educators explore, in school and community settings, the variety of approaches to the meaning of citizenship by focusing on two issues. First, it seeks to illuminate the essential nature of the political responsibilities of American citizenship by noting the very different conceptions of citizenship found in some other parts of the world; second, it examines the impact of global interdependence on the concept of citizenship. This introduction is followed by selected articles, discussion questions, suggestions for

community programs and classroom activities, suggested readings, and a listing of organizations that offer related materials.

The Meaning of Citizenship in the United States

What does it mean to be a citizen of a country? For most people, it means membership in a particular society and a certain legal status. It also means that one is entitled to the privileges and subject to the obligations which that country has established for all its citizens.

This definition is adequate as far as it goes, but it doesn't go far enough to be very useful. What are those "privileges and obligations"? Suppose one asks, "What does it mean to be an *American* citizen?" Now the answer becomes much more complex. Most Americans will answer in terms of a combination of the rights and freedoms which the American political system confers on its citizens, such as the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness or, more specifically, freedom of religion, freedom of speech and of the press, the right to a fair trial, the right to vote, etc. This answer is better, but it is still not sufficient - an essential ingredient of American citizenship is still missing.

Thomas Jefferson spoke of citizenship as an "office," by which he meant to imply that citizenship, like any other official position, entailed responsibilities. Other countries imposed obligations of obedience, service and payment on their citizens, but the United States was unique in Jefferson's day because it alone depended for its success on the participation of citizens in the process of governing. Thus, for Jefferson, citizenship entailed a solemn responsibility as well as rights and freedoms.

That responsibility, of course, extends beyond simply pulling a lever in a voting booth every few years. To vote wisely requires that citizens keep informed about issues, that they establish rational priorities for government, and that they evaluate policy alternatives. Given the much greater complexity of the contemporary world, "government by the people" requires even more of today's citizens than it did in Jefferson's day. Thus, civic educators today reaffirm Jefferson's concept of citizenship. For example, in an interview in *Citizenship Education News* (fall, 1988), Benjamin Barber stressed that "citizens need to take responsibility for their own destiny." The Freedoms Foundation at Valley Forge and the National 4-H Council remind us that it is our duty "to participate constructively in the nation's political life. Democracy depends on an active citizenry. It depends equally on an informed citizenry."

The Meaning of Citizenship in Other Nations

The significance of the political responsibilities of American citizenship becomes clearer when we look at nations with very different political

systems. Each country defines citizenship differently, based on its own values, beliefs and goals. These are exciting times for people interested in the concept of citizenship, because the political changes taking place in Europe, Latin America and elsewhere entail, among other things, redefinitions of citizenship in the countries involved.

When the Shah of Iran was overthrown ten years ago, that country briefly established a western-style democracy, with multiple parties and free elections. The democratic experiment soon foundered, however, as the Ayatollah Khomeini emerged as the supreme ruler, apparently unfettered by democratic or constitutional constraints. Americans were dismayed, because the rise to preeminence of the Ayatollah was widely celebrated by the Iranian people. The explanation for this phenomenon lies, in part, in the very different concept of citizenship held by many Iranians.

In traditional Islamic societies, religion and politics are not separated as they are in the United States. Instead, religious scriptures and traditions provide guidance or even prescribe the proper resolution of matters that Americans would view as purely political. Democratic structures may exist in such societies, as in fact they do in modern-day Iran, but more traditional members of society defer to the judgments of religious leaders in the belief that those judgments are inherently superior to judgments made by ordinary citizens.*

Soviet-style communism, at least until 1985, was predicated on the belief that the essential parameters of objective reality and the ultimate objectives of society had been defined by Marx and Lenin. It was the role of the communist party to interpret Marx and Lenin in the contemporary context and to prescribe appropriate government policies to resolve society's problems. The leaders of the party were also the leaders of the government. The ordinary citizen's duty was to accept government policies and to faithfully carry out whatever tasks he or she was assigned. In return, the government guaranteed (at least in theory) the economic well-being of all citizens, assuring them of an education, a job and the other necessities of life. Thus, government was by the party, rather than by the people.

Romania, under the late dictator Nicolae Ceausescu, represented one of the most antidemocratic regimes in the world. A single man ruled the country as he saw fit. Citizens were forbidden to play any meaningful political role and were required to perform whatever tasks the dictator or his agents assigned. Further, the government was not obliged to furnish anything in

* Traditional Islamic culture is a complex subject, to which we cannot begin to do justice in a short essay on citizenship, so we run the risk of inadvertently creating new stereotypes even as we seek to dispel old ones. It should be noted, for example, that in Traditional Islamic societies, religious leaders were often the best (or the only ones) educated. Also, there are many Iranians today who reject traditional Islamic political norms and advocate something much closer to western-style democracy for their country.

return. The Ceausescu regime represented the opposite extreme from American-style democracy.

In all of these systems, the government - whether dominated by religious leaders, a single party or a dictator - is something separate from and above the people. The government determines what is best for society and what the obligations of citizens will be. In the United States, all citizens have the opportunity to participate in the selection of government leaders and to influence policy. The people, rather than a dictator, party or religious leader, determine what is best for society and what the government will do.

During the past year, Romania and the rest of Eastern Europe have abolished their Soviet-style governments and are in the process of evolving new political systems. The people in those countries are demanding democracy and a role for the citizen in the process of governing. They are thus struggling to create new definitions of citizenship.

The People's Republic of China provides us with yet another example. Last summer's popular demonstrations for democracy and the government's brutal response indicate a profound disagreement between the people and the government over the proper role of the citizen and thus over the definition of citizenship. For the moment, the government appears to have won, but the struggle is far from over.

The Impact of Interdependence: A New Definition of Citizenship?

"Global Interdependence" is a rather complex subject, but the essential concept behind it is simply this: that actions or events in one country affect life in other countries in significant ways. Two of the most prominent areas of concern involve economics and the environment.

The tremendous growth of international trade since World War II has resulted in steadily increasing economic integration throughout the world. Now we have reached the point at which economic decisions and events in one country often have profound effects in other countries, especially smaller countries. Japanese and European purchases of American securities have played a major role in the long-running bull market on U.S. stock exchanges. The oil price increases imposed by the oil exporting countries of the Middle East were a major cause of the recession and inflation experienced in the U.S. in the late 1970's. U.S. and European demand for coffee, tea and tropical fruits fuels the economies of many developing nations. These are only a few examples.

Similar examples abound with regard to the environment. Air pollution from coal-fired electrical generating plants in the U.S. causes acid rain which is destroying lakes and forests in Canada. The disaster at the Soviet nuclear power plant in Chernobyl resulted in high levels of radioactive fallout which rendered livestock and crops in parts of Scandinavia unsafe for human consumption. The destruction of rain forests in Brazil

threatens to seriously disrupt global weather patterns and to cause the extinction of numerous plant and animal species. The list goes on and on.

These and a myriad of other problems related to interdependence raise an important issue with regard to the concept of citizenship:

Is it sufficient to think of ourselves only as citizens of our nation, with responsibilities limited to that nation?

Or should we see ourselves as citizens of the planet as well, with responsibilities for the promotion of global welfare?

If we perceive our country's policies or interests as being in conflict with global welfare, where do our duties as responsible citizens lie?

II. Selected Readings.

The articles which follow offer differing perspectives on the concept of citizenship in the context of global interdependence. It is recommended that these articles, along with the preceding Introduction, be copied and distributed to students and community groups to provide a common basis for participation in classroom and community discussions.

In this first article, Dr. R. Freeman Butts argues that American citizens need to be knowledgeable about the nature of citizenship and the status of human rights around the world in order to be effective citizens at home. He calls for the integration in the educational curriculum of civic, multicultural and global education.

Civic Education in an Interdependent World

by R. Freeman Butts*

Today, the obvious interdependence of the world requires that civic virtue or obligation for the public good encompass a wider and more positive moral element than solely the need to defend the American public order when it is threatened from within or without. It reminds us that superjingoistic patriotism, which in the past has often been narrowly conceived as loyalty or obligation to one's own nation, must now be imbued with a broader international outlook that honors the world's diversity of peoples but also seeks a new and larger cohesion based upon the concept of common human rights.

As a civic value and a focus for American civic education, I believe that "human rights" requires a basic change in our historical views and values of citizenship. The idea of national citizenship must now take account of the vast changes in the world situation that have burst on our consciousness since the end of World War II. Increasingly, popular terms to define the set of phenomena that began with Wendell Wilkie's "One World" in the 1940's are now "global interdependence," "global perspectives," or simply "global education."

I recognize that the term "global education" has been attacked by political and religious conservatives on the ground that it seeks to denigrate true American values, or that it sees no superior values in the American way of

* Excerpted with permission from *The Civic Mission in Educational Reform: Perspectives for the Public and the Profession*, (Stanford, CA: Hoover Institution Press, 1989). Dr. Butts, a founding member of the Council for the Advancement of Citizenship's board of directors, is William F. Russell Professor Emeritus in the Foundations of Education, Teachers College, Columbia University, and has long been engaged in scholarly research and writing on the civic mission of American education.

life and thus preaches a kind of "moral relativism" or "moral neutrality." I hope that no one could understand the values I propose and still think that I see no superior values in the ideals of American citizenship.

In fact, I come very close to the definition of global education set forth in the report by the Study Commission on Global Perspectives in Education chaired by Clark Kerr, which outlines what students need to know to function as citizens of the United States in an increasingly interdependent world. In this effort, the United States should not try blatantly to export our "cultural" or "political imperialism" to peoples who have chosen a different way. But if the world is truly interdependent and U.S. citizenship is genuinely devoted to democratic values, then global study should be searching for and preferring democratic answers to global issues as well as simply understanding the reasons for diverse views.

The idea and practice of citizenship itself as conceived in various nations could be a major theme for this study. What does citizenship mean for Christians and Moslems in Lebanon, for Blacks in South Africa, for Jews and dissidents in the Soviet Union, for ethnic and language groups in India, Sri Lanka, China, or Nigeria, and for new immigrants to the United States? A greater attention to human rights would give opportunities to address the positive aspects of democratic values and the obstacles or threats to such rights in various national approaches to citizenship. There is not only the danger of doing too much in too scattered and superficial a fashion, but there is also the danger of competition in the school curriculum between civic education, global education and multicultural education. These three efforts to redirect the school curriculum are often carried out independently of one another. There has been too little effort to interweave the three and too little recognition of their natural affinity. Indeed, they are often disparate, and even sometimes antagonistic, in their impacts or pressures upon the schools.

My principal argument is that these three major drives in American education are rightly interdependent; that keeping these movements separate is essentially artificial and constitutes a distortion of the logic that binds them together; that reasoned awareness of and respect for disparate cultures is increasingly necessary in a world of international conflict; that international security for the United States is inseparably tied to the maintenance of an intelligent, informed citizenry; and that an intelligent citizenry is necessary to keeping a society free of intolerance, racism, sexism, and ethnocentric behavior. These several impulses should be unified if the nation's interests in freedom, equality, justice, and the public good are to be served. Teaching and learning in the social studies have historically had a large part to play in these sets of values, but they have seldom been brought together in a coherent program of studies.

Study of international human rights should be linked to questions of justice, freedom, equality, diversity, authority, privacy, due process, truth telling, property rights, and participation, stressing how these values are honored or violated in various nations and in the relations among nations.

In this second article, Dr. Stephen P. Strickland argues that the reality of interdependence makes it necessary that we function as citizens of the world as well as of our country. He further asserts that civic educators bear a major responsibility for insuring that this necessity is recognized and understood by the American people.

“On an Expanded Definition of Citizenship”

by Stephen P. Strickland*

Two hundred years ago this Spring, President Washington took the oath of office to become the first President of the United States of America. He warned the nation against foreign entanglements, especially because the international alliances that were a coinage of the era had kept European nations in a state of almost continuous warfare on the continent and elsewhere in the world. President Washington's admonition was treated almost as Biblical text by Americans for most of the succeeding century, although like Biblical text, we sometimes honored it more in the breach than in the observance. And by the time of the first great war, World War I, the U.S. government and American citizens realized that we could not shut ourselves off from the rest of the world.

I think even President Washington would agree that ours is a completely different world today, a world of interdependency economically and myriad interconnections. Ours is a time in which we are required to function as citizens of the world.

Those of us concerned about civic education have taken on a critical part of the responsibility for helping our compatriots, and especially their children, come to grips with this new reality, to understand it in such a way that we can respond appropriately in our daily lives. This is an awesome task, and the first challenge seems to be that of the continuing, if not increasing apathy of an astonishingly large portion of the U.S. population. It is very difficult for the ordinary citizen — including me — to understand exactly how our actions, collectively or individually, cause the rise or fall of the dollar or the yen, or what the actions of the European Economic Community have to do with our purchase of household goods we need and want. But events sometimes dramatize logic, so perhaps sometime soon the lightbulb of recognition will go on, and the seemingly apathetic, but more likely simply puzzled, American citizen and taxpayer will see the

* This article has been excerpted from CAC's Jennings Randolph Forum '89: *Educating for Peace: Realities, Rights, Responsibilities, Conference Report and Discussion Guide*. Dr. Strickland is President and Executive Director, National Peace Institute Foundation. Previously, he was an advisor to the Kettering Foundation on the development of international programs and supplemental diplomacy in the Western Hemisphere.

connection, for example, between the wealth and power of the Colombian drug lords and America's insatiable appetite for cocaine.

But if dramatic events help us get the first message across — e.g. how our patterns of consumption of particular goods and substances directly affect how and what is produced and distributed from other points of the world — the second level of understanding, that relating to structural connections, remains complex. Still, we must take advantage of dramatic events, since they seem to be the only way to grab the attention of large numbers of people, and then build beyond them.

A series of jarring stories about the continued destruction of portions of the environment certainly have gotten more people thinking, and willing to learn more, about a new global imperative. In fact, one of the new phenomena in international affairs is the proliferation of environmental activists who do not always wait for their governments to act on their behalf, but go straight to the source of problems they have identified and demand action, or cessation of action, by offending parties, whether those be governments, or communities, or corporations, or simply other human beings pursuing what they feel to be their rightful livelihoods. It is one thing to recognize that the rainforests of Brazil constitute one of the world's lungs, and it is another for those who feel particularly passionate about this to descend from their jumbo jets — which also have some environmental impact — and demand that the local Brazilian farmers stop cutting trees. To encapsulate this dilemma, it is how to balance the need for increased international attention to threats to the world environment while respecting social and cultural differences. Can we save the world only through new kinds of cultural imperialism?

The third challenge facing all of us, but especially those who are involved in international civic education, is the rapidity with which the change is coming. Here, the problem is more acute for our government and others than it is for us as individual citizens. Should we, as official U.S. policy, try to help Mr. Gorbachev with his "glasnost" and "Perestroika?" Should we quickly multiply our loans and other forms of assistance to Poland and Argentina to make sure their efforts in democracy succeed, or should we wait to see if they are otherwise on a successful track, and then lend a helping hand?

I see only one sound procedural course of action, and that is a course of conversation and dialogue — in our communities, our professions and, wherever possible, with our counterparts from other countries and cultures. Simultaneously, we must work harder than ever to enlist professionals in journalism and communications in the cause of international civic education. I believe that, as citizens and as educators, we can meet this situation of enormous complexity, and work our way through it, if we maintain clarity of vision about the ultimate goal, steadfastness of purpose, full application of intellect, a tolerant spirit, and a thoughtful presence at all key junctures.

Thus committed, let us go forward.

Dr. Charles F. Bahmueller, in the article below, accepts the significance of interdependence and the need for increased international awareness and cooperation. Contrary to Dr. Strickland, however, he argues that citizenship is possible only in the context of the nation state. For Bahmueller, global citizenship is a vague concept which cannot be given concrete meaning in the real world.

Notes on the Idea of World Citizenship

by Charles F. Bahmueller*

The idea of world citizenship is in the air. It has been there for a long time, since the time of the Stoic philosophers of the Hellenistic age more than 2,000 years ago. In one way or another the idea has remained with us. In the fourteenth century, Dante penned his plan for a universal world order in his *De Monarchia*, and there have been many others. In the intense concern today over global issues, it is perhaps to be expected that some will look beyond the citizenship of their own country to a larger world—to the complete whole, the Earth itself. This seems all the more appropriate when one thinks of the ways in which the world is becoming evermore interdependent. To take the most dramatic and familiar example, nuclear weapons place all of humanity under the same shadow of death. And if the fate of individual nations looks like a common one, a shared world citizenship appears to some Americans to be a natural consequence.

The idea of world citizenship, however, is not without both conceptual and existential problems. In the first place there is no "world" to be a citizen of. This may seem to be a strange thing to say, since we all inhabit a single place we call the Earth. But we are not citizens of just a geographical area; we are not citizens of a piece of real estate. We are instead citizens of an association, whether it is called the United States of America, the United Kingdom, Chad, China, or something else. There is no similar association of the entire world for any person to be a member. The United Nations does not qualify, since it is composed of states, not individuals. Other international organizations do not qualify either, for they are not governing bodies. World citizenship today is therefore merely notional or ethereal: it is a pose or an attitude; it is not a choice that one can now make in the sense of choosing to (try to) become a member of this country or that. Winston Churchill is well known to have been called a "citizen of the world," but that was a title of honor not a matter of fact. And besides, what sort of "world citizen" was it who found it among his principal duties to keep the British Empire whole—to prevent its peoples from self-determination? No "world"

* Dr. Bahmueller is Assistant Director for Special Projects, Center for Civic Education. Among his principal responsibilities is the development of CIVITAS: A Framework for Civic Education.

took precedence over empire. Churchill's behavior was surely a statement of national self-interest, not universalism.

Proponents of world citizenship might say that there should be a world political organization for individuals to join, but there are other problems with this form of universalism. First, there is an obvious conflict with American or any other citizenship. Do those who choose universal citizenship also choose renunciation of American citizenship? The two are quite incompatible. Ever since Christianity was legalized in the Roman Empire, people have had the *de facto* option of a moral and religious loyalty beyond the political power of the day. They have sometimes also (though seldom in republics) had the option of dual citizenship. In that case, however, it is not obvious that membership in one country takes precedence over the other. But they have never had the option of being full members of two separate polities in which one could claim political superiority over the other—for that would render nugatory “loyalty” to the inferior polity. This is a case in which dual loyalties, dual memberships, cannot coexist; one cannot—not in this case—“serve two masters.”

The problems of world citizenship run deeper. It is difficult even in an extended republic such as the United States, with its huge territory and diversity, to maintain cohesiveness. It is hard for citizens *de jure* to feel much of the weight and meaning of membership (unless they were once without citizenship and were obliged to choose and earn it) among 240,000,000 others. But if political space is vast across the broad sweep of the North American continent, it positively explodes if it is expanded to include the whole world. Who but a handful of activists could cope with this immense area? One might also ask how many others accept membership in this universal association. The answer must be that their numbers are few. Perhaps world citizenship is (as it always has been) premature.

The truth is, as anyone who has been observing current history knows, that nationalism, not universalism, is one of the strongest and most enduring features of the modern age. Nationalism in the end mocked and defeated the universalist message in Marx and Engel's call to the workers of all countries to unite. In the same way, the urge to abandon the nation to a larger world whole is found only among a relative few. Even the partial integration of Western Europe after two millennia of common history is proving more than a little problematic; Scandinavia has already said no, and Britain is balking.

Lost in political space, the world citizen is also lacking in common bonds that in the past have made citizenship in particular areas possible. If diversity increasingly makes difficult a common consciousness and sense of community in the United States, it makes it virtually impossible in the world as a whole. Being a citizen everywhere means being a citizen nowhere, just as having everywhere as one's home, in fact means having no home. The recognition of one's common humanity with 5,000,000,000 others may be an ennobling possibility; that it can secure the bonds of citizenship is more than a little doubtful when the sources of division are so many and so potent. What we can do, on the other hand, is to promote

cooperation on the world stage. In some cases we can act as individuals directly on the world at large; in other important instances, we must act to influence our policy as a nation. But for the foreseeable future—if not forever—world citizenship is a chimera, an impossible utopia destined to confound and disappoint its adherents.

III. Discussion Questions

The following questions can serve as a starting point for discussing the meaning of citizenship in America and in the world in classroom and community settings.

- **What is citizenship? How does one become a citizen in this country? In other countries?**
- **What duties, rights, and obligations does American citizenship entail? How are these similar or different from the way citizenship is experienced in other countries?**
- **In a typical presidential election in the United States, only 50%-60% of those citizens eligible actually vote. Should this be a cause for concern? In the countries of Western Europe, often as many as 80%-90% of the people vote. Does that mean that Europeans tend to be better citizens than Americans? Why don't more Americans vote?**
- **Is the meaning of citizenship changing as the world becomes more "interdependent?"**
- **How does the changing world environment affect the responsibilities of U.S. citizens?**
- **Do U.S. citizens have responsibilities to the world? Do these responsibilities differ from their responsibilities to the United States?**
- **Arguments for and against world citizenship are presented in the selected readings portion of this packet. With which position do you agree?**

IV. Program and Curriculum Ideas

The following is a list of activities and projects designed to enhance learning about the meaning and responsibilities of United States citizenship in a global context.

... For schools

- A classroom lesson on American citizenship can include discussions on immigration — from where have most Americans come and why? Students can learn about America's heritage by sharing information on their family's origins. Put a world map on the wall and pin each student's name to his/her country of origin.
- To encourage a better understanding of the world, have students participate in world map drawing exercises. They can learn to identify the United States and neighboring nations, oceans, seas, and continents. A "geography bee" could challenge students to learn and identify items on an outline map of the world.
- Engage students in a discussion on what the flag represents — select songs about the flag for your students to sing and discuss what the stars and stripes stand for. Have your students design flags that represent their own views of America and of citizenship. Ask your students to create "world flags" to reflect their thoughts about the world and about world citizenship.
- *Growing Up in the World* — an Educator's CARE Package focusing on the challenges of growing up in the third world is a curriculum supplement available free from CARE. It includes a videotape and curriculum packet with five lesson plans, background information for teachers and a color poster. *Growing Up in the World* is intended for grades 6-12. For more information or to order write: CARE Film Unit, 660 First Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016.

... For youth programs

- Encourage the members of your youth group to read about and discuss the meaning of citizenship in a democratic society. Compare and contrast ideas surrounding United States citizenship and "world citizenship" and organize a debate on these ideas. Invite members of the community and media to witness the debate.
- Select current international issues for study and discussion at youth group meetings. What roles might U.S. citizens play in their resolution? Are the interests of U.S. citizens different from those of citizens in other countries? Through the discovery of possible solutions to international problems, young people can develop a greater sense of their place as American citizens in the world.
- Have your youth group create a display of books and articles on the meaning and responsibilities of citizenship in the United States for the local public library. Invite a senior citizens group to meet with your youth group at the library for an intergenerational discussion on the subject.
- Sponsor an essay contest for children and teenagers on "The Meaning of Citizenship in America and the World." Ask the local newspaper to print the best entries. Have the winning essays included in the library display suggested above.

... For community programs

- Organize a discussion series to be held at the library or community center to study major issues of global interdependence. Ask interested citizens to take turns serving as discussion leader. Each meeting could begin with a presentation by that meeting's leader on a topic of the leader's choice. Discussion could focus on the impact of the selected issue on American citizens and on what they might do in response.
- Hold a community forum on the responsibilities of American citizenship and the various ways in which they might be fulfilled. Invite local scholars, educators and public officials to serve as panelists.
- Arrange a public presentation on the meaning of citizenship in other countries. Invite recent immigrants to describe their perceptions of citizenship in their native lands and to share their views on American citizenship.

- At the monthly meeting of your group, show a film that deals with matters of citizenship in America or elsewhere and/or America's international responsibilities. Follow it with a group discussion of issues raised in the film. Examples of appropriate films might be *The Killing Fields*, *Missing*, and *The Year of Living Dangerously*.

... *For higher education institutions*

- Establish an International Relations Organization to plan campus events focused on international issues and their relationship to American citizenship.
- Organize a forum which brings together American and international students. Ask the international students to describe the meaning of citizenship in their homelands. Other discussions could explore the varying perceptions held by participants of major international issues.
- Participate in one of the intercollegiate Model United Nations simulations which are conducted throughout the country. The role-playing involved in these simulations is an excellent way to gain understanding of the perceptions of citizens in other countries.

V. Suggested Readings and Other Materials

There is a wealth of additional material available for those who wish to do further work in civic education in an international context. The following list contains a sampling of that material and is not intended to be exhaustive.

Readings

- Lee Anderson, *Schooling and Citizenship in a Global Age*, Bloomington, IN: Mid-American Program for Global Perspectives in Education, 1978.
- William J. Bennett, "History - Key to Political Responsibility," *History, Geography and Citizenship*, Ethics and Public Policy Center, Washington, DC 1986.
- William J. Bennett, "America, the World and Our Schools," *Teaching International Politics in High School*, Raymond English, ed., Ethics and Public Policy Center, Washington, DC, 1989.
- R. Freeman Butts: *The Civic Mission in Educational Reform: Perspectives for the Public and the Profession*, Hoover Institution Press, Stanford University, Stanford, CA, 1989.
- R. Freeman Butts, *The Morality of Democratic Citizenship: Goals for Civic Education in the Republic's Third Century*, Calabasas, CA: Center for Civic Education, 1988.
- R. Freeman Butts, *American Education in International Development*, New York: Harper and Row, 1963.
- R. E. Freeman, *Promising Practices in Global Education: A Handbook With Case Studies*, National Council on Foreign Language and International Studies, New York, NY, 1986.
- Martin I. Glassner, *Global Resources: Challenges of Interdependence*, Foreign Policy Association, New York, NY, 1983.
- Robert G. Harvey, *An Attainable Global Perspective*. The American Forum for Global Education, 45 John Street, Suite 1200, New York, NY 10038.
- David King, James Becher, Larry London, *Education for a World in Change: A Report* (Intercom 96/97). The American Forum for Global Education, 45 John Street, Suite 1200, New York, NY 10038.

- Willard M. Kniep, "Social Studies with a Global Education," *Social Education*, Nov./Dec. 1986, pp 536-542, National Council for the Social Studies, Washington DC.
- David Mathews, *The Promise of Democracy: Source Book for Use with National Issues Forums*, National Issues Forums, Kettering Foundation, Dayton, Ohio, 1988.
- Keith A. McLeod, ed., *Canada and Citizenship Education*, Canadian Education Association, Toronto, Ontario, Canada, 1989.
- Ward Morehouse, *A New Civic Literacy: American Education and Global Interdependence*, Aspen Institute, Princeton, NJ, October, 1975.
- Walter Parker and John Jarolimek, *Citizenship and the Critical Role of the Social Studies*, National Council for the Social Studies, Washington, DC 1984.
- Dianna L. Reische, *Citizenship: Goal of Education*, American Association of School Administrators, Arlington, VA, 1987.
- Barbara Stanford, *The Living Textbook: A Celebration of Culture*, Arkansas International Center, 1988.
- Judith Torney-Purta, ed., *Evaluating Global Education: Sample Instruments for Assessing Programs, Methods and Learning*, The American Forum for Global Education, 45 John Street, Suite 1200, New York, NY 10038.
- Michael Walzer, "Citizenship," *Political Innovation and Conceptual Change*, Terrence Ball, James Farr, Russel L. Hanson, eds., Cambridge University Press, Cambridge Mass.
- *A Nation at Risk: The Imperative for Educational Reform, A Report to the Nation and the Secretary of Education, U.S. Department of Education by the National Commission on Excellence in Education*, United States Government Printing Office, Washington, DC, 1983.
- *Education for Democracy: A Statement of Principles*, Education for Democracy Project, American Federation of Teachers, Washington, DC, 1987.

Other Materials

- "Citizenship in the 21st Century," teleconference videotape, National Council for the Social Studies. Topics include: "Citizenship in a Multicultural Society," "Citizenship in a Global Environment," "Citizenship in a Technological Information Society," "Citizenship Education," Washington, DC.

- ***Simulations for a Global Perspective* (Intercom 107 1985)**
For grades 7-12, this resource presents several complete simulation games, including "Spaceship Earth," to help develop global awareness. The American Forum for Global Education, 45 John Street, Suite 1200, New York, NY 10038.
- ***The New Global Yellow Pages.*** A resource directory listing 172 organizations and projects that provide services related to global/international education. The American Forum for Global Education, 45 John Street, Suite 1200, New York, NY 10038.
- ***The New Global Resource Book.*** A resource directory of materials available on a broad range of global/international topics with annotated listings of books curriculum materials, and audiovisual materials. The American Forum for Global Education, 45 John Street, Suite 1200, New York, NY 10038.

VI. Organizations with Related Resources

The following organizations publish materials that address issues related to the meaning of citizenship in America and in the world.

The American Forum for Global Education
45 John Street, Suite 1200
New York, NY 10038
212/732-8606

Center for Teaching International Relations
University of Denver
Denver, CO 80208
303/871-3106

Close Up Foundation
1235 Jefferson Davis Highway
Arlington, VA 22202
703/892-5400

Constitutional Rights Foundation*
601 S. Kingsley Dr.
Los Angeles, CA 90005
213/847-5590

Ethics and Public Policy Center
1030 15th Street, NW
Washington, DC 20005
202/682-1200

Foreign Policy Association*
1800 M St. NW, Suite 295
Washington, DC 20036
202/293-0046

Mershon Center*
Ohio State University
199 W. 10th Ave.
Columbus, OH 43201
614/292-1681

National Council for the Social Studies*
3501 Newark Street, NW
Washington, DC 20016
202/966-7840

Social Science Education Consortium*
855 Broadway
Boulder, CO 80302
303/492-8154

Social Studies Development Center*
Indiana University
2805 E, 10th St. Suite 120
Bloomington, IN 47405
812/335-3838

**Stanford Program on
International/Cross Cultural
Education**
Institute of International Studies
Littlefield Center, Room 14
Stanford, CA 94305-5013
415/723-4581

United Nations Association of the USA
Model UN and Youth Programs
485 Fifth Ave
New York, NY 10017-6104
212/697-3232

United States Institute of Peace
1550 M Street, Suite 700 NW
Washington, DC 20005
202/457-1700

World Without War Council, Inc.*
1730 Martin Luther King Jr. Way
Berkeley, CA 94709
415/845-1992

*Organizational member of the Council for the Advancement of Citizenship