

**MASSIMILIANO TAROZZI AND CARLOS ALBERTO TORRES,
GLOBAL CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION AND THE CRISES OF
MULTICULTURALISM. COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVES,
2016, BLOOMSBURY ACADEMIC, LONDON & NEW YORK
ISBN 978-1-4742-36597-6, 210 PAGES.**

The book centres on the crisis of multiculturalism and intercultural education. The former concept is given prominence in the Anglophone world. The other concept is given prominence in ‘continental’ Europe (read: outside the British Isles and probably Ireland). In Italy, home country of one of the authors (Tarozzi), one encounters university chairs in Intercultural Education which have led to studies in the field at the doctoral level¹, including PhD level (‘Dottorato di Ricerca’ in Italy). A prominent international programme was run by the Universities of Messina (*Università degli Studi di Messina*) and Mainz (The *Johannes Gutenberg University Mainz*) leading to a jointly awarded PhD degree. It focused on ‘Pedagogy and Intercultural Sociology’, a project that served as a catalyst for the launching of the refereed open access journal *Quaderni d’Intercultura*.²

There has been much talk in Europe about the perceived ‘failure’ of the multicultural experience – see for instance past declarations by the German Chancellor, Angela Merkel, echoed by the then UK PM, David Cameron. One can argue that these are declarations by conservative figures who might have regarded a multiracial society as posing a threat to the social relations underlying the hegemonic notion of ‘national culture’ which had to be preserved - shades of Powellism?³ I think this would be too harsh on both, especially Merkel who has done much for Germany to take in migrants.

1 All degrees in Italy are doctoral in the old traditional Italian sense, irrespective of whether they are first, second or third cycle degrees.

2 *Quaderni* is a much used term literally meaning ‘notebooks’, as in Gramsci’s *Quaderni del Carcere/Prison Notebooks*, but which refers, in this context, to journal.

3 The term was coined by Stuart Hall with reference to the ideas of UK Conservative MP, Enoch Powell captured in his ‘rivers of blood’ (a quote from Virgil’s *Aeneid*) speech, recently the subject of an award winning play, *What Shadows* by Chris Hannan.

The book under review highlights, in a systematic manner, the pros and cons of the two concepts. It ventures beyond this, proposing the concept of Planetary Citizenship. This notion is closely connected with the legacy of Paulo Freire and the work of the Institute in *São Paulo* which bears his name (the *Instituto Paulo Freire*) - it connects with certain strands of formative educational processes such as eco-pedagogy (see Guiterrez and Cruz Prado, 2000). One would not expect anything different given that one of the two authors, the Argentinean Carlos Alberto Torres, holds the UNESCO Chair in Global Citizenship Education at UCLA (University of California at Los Angeles). Massimiliano Tarozzi, for his part, carries out work with a strong international dimension, teaches in the area at the Institute of Education/UCL (University College London), besides being a Professor at the Alma Mater Studiorum in Bologna (University of Bologna). He straddles two worlds, the Anglophone and 'continental' (Europe, minus the UK and Ireland) ones. The two authors seem to be well positioned to offer a comparative study. Comparative Education is the area where Torres has made his mark, a product of a leading centre in the field led by Martin Carnoy at Stanford University. Torres has contributed to rendering Latin America quite visible in Comparative Education.

One of the great merits of this work is that it contributes to the provision of a genuinely international dimension to studies in English emerging from Anglophone publishing houses. And there is a desperate need for this as books such as the one by Tarozzi and Torres foreground work by scholars ensconced in different parts of the world who alas have little following beyond their specific linguistic boundaries. This in itself is a decolonizing act with respect to the current hegemony of the English language.

With respect to the subject of this book, I would argue that the concepts of Multiculturalism and Intercultural Education can co-exist. A society conceived of as multicultural can be predicated on an intercultural education entailing processes of interpersonal communication, to echo Martin Buber, between persons who are different but not antagonistic (Freire in Gadotti *et al*, 1995, p.14). Both concepts however have revealed their shortcomings when put into practice in certain countries.

In Canada, for example, there has been criticism of multiculturalism as a form of absorption and containment. It was perceived as a concept which would serve to confine persons to their ethnic boundaries. Some are therefore dubbed 'ethnic' while others, who have greater access to material and cultural power – the so-called WASPs (White, Anglo-Saxon Protestant) – constitute the invisible 'norm'. They do not consider themselves 'ethnic' - a tag attached to those regarded as the 'other'. This tag throws into sharp relief the so-called unitary subject called 'Canadian'. This situation provided the backdrop to the study carried out by Carmel Borg and me (Borg and Mayo, 1994) among the Maltese at Dundas Runnymede, a district in Metro-Toronto. Toronto is touted as the classic 'multicultural' city. Most of the persons interviewed belonged to the first generation of Maltese immigrants.⁴

As far as the Maltese in Toronto are concerned, the situation spurred on the second generation to seek an escape route, that of assimilation. They would declare that their parents are Maltese while they are Canadian. They aspired to become WASP. They gave the impression that remaining attached to their subaltern ethnic group would not have taken them very far in life. It represented 'a ticket to nowhere'.

A question that arises is: What is the relationship between this type of multiculturalism and colonial cultural reproduction? In other words, what is the relationship between the dominant colonising Anglophone culture and those cultures brought by migrants (portability of cultures) from Southern Europe and from the former European colonies, including the English colonies? Do they reflect and represent a transposition of colonial relations between the different countries of origin? These strike me as very relevant questions with respect to the kind of discussion carried forward by the two authors in this book, even though one must here factor in the strong element of hybridisation, substantially discussed in the volume under review. What effects do the processes of hybridisation have on the 'colonial' relations among the different ethnic groups? As the authors remind us, identities are never static/constant but shift.

⁴ Their first generation Lusitanian(Portuguese) neighbours in Toronto would be regarded as FOB (fresh off the boats).

In this regard, I would underline the power issue, a key recurring theme for someone like me who adheres to the 'Anti-Racist Education' school of thought rather than to any of the two discussed in the book (Multicultural Education and Intercultural Education). In the first place, I regard multiculturalism as extending beyond questions of ethnicity to comprise gender (including sexual orientation and positions along the LGBTQ continuum), social class, (dis)ability, religious denomination or otherwise, age...the whole spectrum of subjectivities that intersect, for the most part, often in a contradictory manner. Issues of Power, or absence of power considerations, in the discourse about the two concepts, are given adequate treatment in this book.

The two authors scour different contexts when discussing these issues. There is considerable reference to France with its intriguing concept of *métissage*, in a context characterised by *laïcité* (Mazawi, 2010), which stands at the heart of the Republican Constitution: "La France est une République indivisible, laïque, démocratique et sociale" (France is an indivisible, lay, democratic and social Republic). There are moments when the 'multi-colour' ethnic mosaic transcends the national 'tricolor'. As elsewhere, we find this in fields of practice that strengthen stereotypes, especially the different fields of entertainment, including sports.

The authors refer to France's 1998 World Cup victory in football, to which we now have to add last summer's repeat success (World Cup 2018). The 1998 victory of 'Zizou' (Zidane – of Algerian origin) and teammates (with their images, immediately after the 1998 success, reflected on the Arc de Triomphe), and the more recent triumph of Mbappe, Kante and Pogba, were hailed as victories for 'Multicultural France'. Sport is one sector where multiculturalism is glorified, especially in countries such as France where athletes from different *départements d'outre-mer*, such as Marie-José Pérec from Guadelupe, compete under the colours of the administering country. All this occurs in a country where the naming of colonialism, in its capital city, Paris, is often taboo as I experienced last year when delivering a talk on the subject at an international conference there, ironically a conference on 'éducation émancipatrice'. It was reported to me that some people, mainly French citizens, were upset by my discussion of *colonialisme*, a concept they must have regarded as superceded, *passé*.

My question regarding the exaltation of Multicultural France in Sport would be: How many offspring of immigrants from the majority world transcend stereotypical roles to access positions of power and prestige such as holding government portfolios, belonging to the upper echelons of public administration or accessing positions at the *Grandes Écoles* (even as students) or the *Collège de France* in Paris?

There are issues concerning power and its dynamics with respect to Intercultural Education. Handel Kashope Wright is on target when posing a question to this effect: Who dialogues, interculturally, with whom and from which position of power? (Wright, 2009) This strikes me as a key question for the type of critical pedagogy posed by the two authors with regard to the theme of Global Citizenship Education carried forward in this book. It is this concern which led Tarozzi and Torres to search for alternatives to citizenship education globally and not within the confines of one geographical space. This search begs questions concerning access to power or more accurately the possibility of 'reinventing power' in the sense addressed by Freire and his associates (Freire in Gadotti, Freire and Guimarães, 1995, p. 44).

I have argued (Mayo, 2017) that one cannot achieve social justice unless one develops a critical consciousness that extends beyond the confines of municipal, regional, national and continental 'fortresses' (see the concept of 'Fortress Europe'). I have also argued that one can never speak of inter-ethnic justice within an official and closed, fortified 'Social Europe'. One can, on the other hand, speak of another 'Social Europe' operating from below and which involves NGOs and social movements who extend their politics beyond continental boundaries. They would be in tune with the concept of Global Citizenship as proposed by Tarozzi and Torres. All are connected and in relationship with others: persons and other species in the global context. Romantic poets wrote about a cosmic communion involving all, the so-called 'One Life' invoked by Samuel Taylor Coleridge, in 'The Rhyme of the Ancient Mariner' and the 'Eolian Harp', which resonates with the 'web of life' of the Indigenous of the Americas, notably the First Nations. What occurs in one place has ramifications elsewhere.

The two authors place their emphasis on this type of vision in their affirmations regarding a global conception of social justice,

providing freirean undertones. Added to these are insights from others such as Judith Butler, Boaventura De Sousa Santos and Don Lorenzo Milani. This notwithstanding, the situation raises issues concerning access or otherwise to citizenship as formally provided at the level of nation-state. In this wonderful though, at the same time, ‘terrible’ world, to echo Antonio Gramsci, governed by the tenets of Neoliberalism and therefore the merciless world of the marketplace, there are many who have no access to citizenship, as clearly demonstrated by the authors.

With the erosion of the ‘social contract’ or the welfare state, known in different European countries as the ‘social state’, social protection is at a premium. Many are at the mercy of this market. Among these are the *sans papiers* (undocumented migrants). They are added to the continuously growing list of those who lie outside the index of human concerns. They are the ‘wretched of the earth’ (*les damnés de la terre*), the ‘poor christi’ (*i poveri cristi*), the ‘oppressed’ (*os oprimidos*), as respectively called by Frantz Fanon, Danilo Dolci and Paulo Freire. Neoliberal society can dismiss them as ‘human waste disposal’, in Zygmunt Bauman’s (2006) terms. As daily struggles for survival take their toll on these people’s life, they are hardly mourned, as Judith Butler and others have often lamented when posing questions of this nature.⁵

In this book, Massimiliano Tarozzi and Carlos A. Torres, pose several questions, avoiding facile answers. They carry this out in the Freirean tradition of problem-posing, raising issues about the limits of present day politics regarding multi-ethnic conviviality, at the same time exploring new pathways for a conception of planetary citizenship governed by the quest for greater social justice and the enhancing of intra-human and human-earth relations. We must take the discussion forward if we are to restore a healthy planet to the future generations from whom it has been leased.

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⁵ This emerged from a paper she read at a public session at the Mediterranean Conference Centre, Valletta, Malta organised by the European Graduate School on 6th April 2016. The question posed was: Are some lives more grievable? Echoes of Butler (2016) https://www.maltatoday.com.mt/news/national/63953/are_some_lives_more_grievable_than_others#.XPWLtY-xWUK

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