Identity and Citizenship: the impact of borders and shifts in boundaries

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Section 1: Questioning Citizenship

'Social' and 'society' have become key concepts in social studies. Citizenship - often seen as positive - also ties the individual to a state with boundaries that limit mobility. 'When 'society' and 'social facts' lose the weight once attributed to them in today's 'liquid modernity' ... it can only be staged as a spectacle, as a simulacrum of a 'society' that exists, masking the anxieties that follow the disappearance of 'society' and the privatisation of politics' (Bauman, 2002).

Citizenship has different perspectives in different societies. Kjell Skyllstad shows some tribal societies in South-East Asia with an intimate connection between artistic training and education for citizenship: music, dance and theatre are arenas for democratic participation and conflict transformation. Albertsen & Diken describe civic society as founded on common will and equality, where collectivities and representation subordinate undesirable factions, corporatism, and individualism. Mobility and speed become the enemies of reflection, and debate, and civic life require concentration and low levels of mobility. Citizenship has become a crucial question in the last decade, balancing the citizenship of a country with global citizenship.

Different Concepts of Citizenship

Citizenship Education has absorbed global perspectives on education since the 1980s, shaping educational initiatives. A focus on the nation state is problematic when scientific, political, environmental, social, moral, and legal forces predicate Global Citizenship as essential (King, 2005: 242). Historically the city was an imagined enclosed space demarcating inclusion and exclusion (see Virilio 1997), distinguishing the polis from nature: this transition is no longer clear-cut. Citizenship is more than a course or a subject. Teaching citizenship contributes to democratic life for all. It enables citizens to make their own decisions and take responsibility for their lives and communities, and does not try to fit all in the same mould to create a 'good' citizen.

To some, the status of being a citizen is membership of a particular political community, geographical and nationally limited, bringing rights and responsibilities defined in law, and is close to nationality. But a wider definition of citizenship implies involvement in public life and affairs, and is about behaviour and action (the active citizen votes, stands for office, etc.). It refers not only to rights and responsibilities but also to general forms of social and moral behaviour, themselves part of ongoing public debate (www.citizenshipfoundation.org.uk). Citizenship as an educational activity concerns helping people learn to become active, informed and responsible: it is a subject of continuous education at all levels.

Identity, Citizenship and Boundaries

Citizenship and identity meet in a multidimensional complex, with global and local roots, challenging understanding of difference, culture, intellect and economy and re-conceptualising the workplace. To developmentalists, identity, starting in early childhood, is a response to diversity, while others

value more formal didactic approaches (Grieshaber & Canella, 2001:3). Modernist theories positioned the individual as 'an unchanging human essence that preceded all social operations' (Best & Kellner, 1991:51), consistent with concepts of universal truth, in which human beings are rational unified, and objective individuals. A rational subject is presupposed, whose identity is based on the individual's fit with 'rational' behaviour. Individual development described those who are younger to be naïve immature identities, at the lower levels of a continuum created by the 'truth' of progress.

Practices centred on individualism construct the individual and in so doing inhibit alternative description of identity and subjectivity. But counter identities have always existed, contradicting universal structures and truths – a challenge that became obvious in the late 1960s and 1970s, when revolts against 'a rigid and oppressive modern society' (Best & Kellner, 1991:ix) led to ways of being in which the singular and unitary identity associated with modernism was challenged by a postmodern understanding of identities as multiple, complex and always changing. From a variety of theoretical perspectives, these understandings move beyond dualisms of good/bad, male/female, mature/immature or appropriate/inappropriate. Postmodern critiques of psychology and other societal discourses offer the subject as 'socially and linguistically decentred and fragmented' (Best & Kellner, 1991:5): subjects or subjectivities are dynamic, multiple and positioned in relation to particular discourses and practices.

Identity and citizenship require a vision for all members of society. The personality, history, ideals and future implications of the individual shape the image of citizenship, and sustain ways to pass the skills and implications to individuals. It is now possible to talk not just of citizenship but also of different models of citizenship, which differ in their understanding of responsibilities and their performance in practical daily life. While citizenship is related to boundaries, the dilemma is whether boundaries shape the nature of citizenship or whether citizenship shapes the boundaries. To some citizenship is a boundary and to others, it is without borders and its very liquidity forms all societies and social structures. If citizens are mobile individuals in different societies, this will impact on their citizenship rights.

National and Transnational Identities

Kymlicka (2001) argues that citizenship education in multinational states has a dual function: promoting national identity and a transnational identity. How can schools in multinational states promote a national identity and a transnational identity that unites diverse national groups? Carens (2004) describes recent changes in different multi-national states (Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Canada), suggesting different tensions and conflicts make transnational identity difficult to construct and maintain. There are tensions between unity and diversity in multicultural citizenship (Banks, 2004), and tension ***within*** multiculturalism - that pursuing a 'transnational' identity/citizenship may interfere with creating a just and inclusive nation-state (Kymlicka, 2004). These tensions and conflicts are addressed by

multicultural education in different ways , with an apparent shift focus from civic equality that focused on ending discrimination (of race, gender, language, etc), to a more 'borderless neoliberal ethos' that focuses on promoting skills and competences for the individual as a 'citizen of the world', not rooted in any particular nation-state (Ong, 2004). In a world transformed by migration and globalisation, citizenship education is re-thought to prepare students to function within as well across national borders (Banks, 2004).

This problem can be addressed by approaching citizenship not as a shared identity, within delimited boundaries, but as an open and shared membership within networks of interconnection and interdependence (Williams, 2003). Citizenship-as-shared identity may be an inadequate approach to diversity. Reconsidering post-national/non-territorial citizenship implies citizenship as functional or pragmatic: what dimensions, functions and boundaries are envisioned in this form of citizenship? What knowledge, skills, competences and values should be developed in students so they can function within and across national borders? We need to rethink citizenship education in a world being transformed by migration and globalisation, so citizens can hold multiple, nested and overlapping identities (Banks, 2004; Carens, 2004; Castles, 2004; Kymlicka, 2004; Ong, 2004; Yuval-Davies, 1999).

Citizenship as Identity

Citizenship is about rights and responsibilities, but also has a psychological dimension of identity and belonging to a political community, with affective bonds of solidarity (Kymlicka, 2000, Carens, 2000). Yet there is a tendency to address citizenship as only the affiliation citizens have to a nation-state, ignoring multiple affiliations, so that it is expected that individuals will identify with only one political community. A less conventional approach would commit citizenship education to a more complex and open conception of different dimensions of citizenship (Carens, 2004). William suggests reconsidering citizenship as based less on a shared sense of identity, and more on membership of multiple and complex network of relationships with others, located alongside territorial bounded societies. The curriculum of civic education would be shared identity within one nation-state.

Citizenship as Membership in a Network of Interdependence

Citizenship moves from shared identity to networks of interdependence as communities with a 'shared fate' (Williams, 2003). 'We find ourselves in webs of relationships with other human beings that profoundly shape our lives, consciously or voluntary. What connects us in this type of community is that our actions have an impact on other identifiable human beings, and other human beings' actions have an impact on us' (Williams, 2003: p. 13). Good citizenship is not how we think, but how we act. Being a good citizen is not a question of beliefs, but of acting. Citizenship requires individuals imagine themselves in a community, in Anderson's terms, but not necessarily sharing a cultural identity or heritage. Members are bound to each other by interdependence, rather than shared values. Key is reciprocity, without allegiance or betrayal (Williams, 2003). Often individuals feel more

identification and attachment towards the community to which they belong rather than to the state. Flexible citizenship leaves room for a more inclusive approach independent of notions of ties that bind members of society. Citizenship should have space for multiple dimensions and complex relationships (Carens, 2004), open to multiple identities and affiliations.

To be active and effective in a network of interdependence we should learn of the history of waves of interdependence. This entails understanding, interpreting and producing different and sometimes conflicting narratives of how we came to be connected to other particular peoples, and also requires effort and intention to acknowledge the other's versions of the past and future. We need a subjective consciousness of community, selected from different histories that may privilege some structures of interconnection and suppress others (Williams, 2003). Sharing citizenship means seeing and sharing our own narratives with those of others - learning the history of local communities, including immigrant communities. Every community is constituted by a multiplicity of narratives (Bruner, 1997).

New Definitions and Future Implications

Citizenship is redefined in new dynamic societies: postmodernism shifts identities so that it is impossible not to move beyond pre-existing, truth-oriented identities. Three different perspectives help consolidate this. Firstly, education is limited in how it can reproduce existing identities, but can open new avenues to create counter identities. In the second, multiple identities are reconceptualised through diverse cultural representations; and in the third, colonised identities that dominate educational practice are challenged. Counter identities give way to constructions that limit education; and reconceptualised identities give way to expanding cultural representations.

Identity has not only a past dimension, but also a future. Feminist poststructuralist theorists such as Davies (1993) redefine identity, challenging single, coherent, fixed identity that stay with us for life, arguing -

- Identity as multiple, with facets including gender, race, ethnicity, class, sexuality, ability, etc.
- Identity is potentially contradictory, with conflict facets that are not necessarily coherent;
- Identity as dynamic, never complete or fixed, always changing and being reformed.

We can now formulate an alternative, general model of identity formation: individuals actively and continuously construct and reconstruct their identity(ies) or sense(s) of self, but they do so within discursive repertoires that are increasingly liable to be dominated by the major corporations within the cultural and communications industries (Grieshaber & Cannella 2001:127).

Section 2: Questioning Globalisation

Till recently, no one questioned globalisation: now no one is happy with it. Yet many resist challenges to a universal truth or grand narratives: Grieshaber & Cannella give an example:

> such terms as 'effective practice' while appearing objective and scientific, are charged with political, social, historical contextual and even gendered bias: What are the dominant cultural values of a context in which the term effective is considered important? Who decides what is meant by 'effective'? ... Who is helped and who is hurt through the discourse and implementation of 'effective' practice? (Grieshaber & Cannella 2001:173)

Educators who challenge predetermined truths, including our right to impose universalised truth(s) on others, must be steadfast in critiquing all discourses, including their own. World views that have an affinity for the postmodern are often dismissed as too theoretical or idealistic at best and as dangerous and damaging at worst.

In the age of globalisation everything - the textbooks, the materials , the methodology - is suspect as symbolic in belief or meaning. Different actors may attach different meanings or functions to the same thing. This impact of globalisation means we cannot imagine the structures of globalisation appearing in the same pattern in all places: the idea manifests itself though different aspects all over the world.

Globalisation means understanding and accepting the world, differences, cultures, values as they are. There are other definitions: some see it as a threat while others see it as a rich discovery of other cultures, going beyond the barriers of structured rules. As new aspects are identified there will be new definitions: each generation brings new perceptions and rules and new conceptions of borders and values.

In critical theory, problematising the 'taken for granted' in pedagogical discourses about learning in institutions is referred to as exposing the 'hidden curriculum' (Bowles and Gintis, 1976; Freire, 1971; Giroux, 1981; Weiler, 1988). This hidden curriculum includes ideological and marginalising dimensions of schooling that are not usually acknowledged or discussed, such as gender roles, class-based epistemologies and non-standard language codes. Fortson and Reiff thus question whether we are losing opportunities for teaching young people the concepts and values needed to become responsible citizens if we focus on less important content in social studies. Should social studies be re-evaluated as society changes? Do pupils get the information and experiences they need to support them with problems, become responsible for their behaviour and relate with others? (Fortson & Reiff, 1995: 276-278)

The most important social concepts of the past two decades concern relationships of interdependence between people, nations and the environment. The interrelationship between social change, international issues

and global change are seen the world over, and influence national and international policies as well as impacting on attitudes and lifestyles. The study of social relationships is an important but neglected area of knowledge. Interdependency highlights the urgent need for better understanding and for abilities to build more constructive relationships and peaceful communities.

A crucial task for citizenship education is the development of programs for active and effective citizenship in a global context, and the prevailing coexistence between globalisation and nationalism makes this particularly complicated (Banks, 2004). There are also individual, group, local, regional and national boundaries: it isn't just nationalism that's challenged by globalisation. But in most countries citizenship education is designed to prepare citizens to function within the nation-state – though we argue it should also explicitly promote capacities, skills, and virtues that are also distinctive to membership of communities beyond the nation-state:

Some of these capacities are described by Williams:

- Networking in mutual interdependence with others who may have very different experiences in areas such as race, culture, religion, class, etc.
- A sense of political agency, using this when necessary;
- Seeing oneself within several networks of human interdependence, and being able to make judgments and choices between them.

This requires individuals to see themselves as participants in cooperative projects that include others who are different and distant, behaving ethically with egalitarian reciprocity and respect for individual freedom (Williams, 2003). This challenges the traditional view of every individual belonging to a nation-state and having only one type of citizenship (Carens, 2004): the old model is flawed conceptually (failing to recognise the complexities of multiple citizenship) and empirically (many states recognise dual/multiple citizenship). Conceptions of de-nationalisation, trans-national, post-national are gaining currency. Soysal (1994) suggests citizenship 'is no longer unequivocally anchored in national political collectivities'.

World migration and the political and economic aspects of globalisation challenge nation-states and national borders (Castles, 2004; Ong, 2004). Yuval-Davies (1999) argues we need to separate citizenship from the nation-state, evoking an agency-based notion of citizenship, rather than a state-focused, rights-based approach. Rights and equalities extend beyond nation-state boundaries (Fox, 2005). Portes, Guarnizo and Landolt (1999) usefully distinguish ***transnationalism from above*** –activities of powerful institutional actors, including states - and ***transnationalism from below*** –initiated by individuals.

We are now harmonising globalisation with localisation. Local values, cultures, languages and belief systems inevitably persist – but it is also inevitable to be as global as possible. Globalisation brings a larger context and value system, in which everyone in the world positions themselves. The duality is sometimes dubbed 'glocalisation': global values are localised, and local values are globalised.

Crossing Borders and Future Implications

Crossing borders is simple in one sense in the EU regulations: official borders don't prevent free and mobile individuals. But there are also unseen borders, in the minds of people: prejudices, discrimination, common beliefs and false concepts about the others. Freeing the mind from its borders seems to be difficult, and a problem that will be accentuated with easier and cheaper travel. The more that physical boundaries diminish, the greater psychological and emotional boundaries become. While Europe discusses European Citizenship, the world is now discussing World Citizenship.

Section 3: Questioning the Borders

Borders are usually thought of as national borders that may physically limit people in crossing: this may involve questions (perhaps whether you are a citizen of the country you are leaving or entering). Individuals are seen as responsible for crossing a border: acceptable reasons include economic and social reasons and for tourism. It may require paperwork, and management and diplomatic decisions, processes that used to be long and unreasonable. National borders are changing their structure, meaning and function. The borders of nations are changing, as are the regulations: most nations accept dual nationality and national borders become international. Even a decade ago leaving one's country and settling in another was rather different. Some families now live across borders for part of the week, so that crossing the border is more like going to another city in their own country. Mobility, currency, common pricing – all change the status of an individual so that being a European Citizen is easier. The functions of national borders are also changing, and we are closer to a world citizenship in which all languages, currencies and concepts are welcomed. These are the 'free zone' in which one is beyond borders and only international law applies. Airports are 'zero points' in which individuals are neither citizens nor outsiders. It is everybody's point, yet, it's nobody's place. Levi-Strauss called it a 'zero-institution': 'a kind of institutional counterpart to the famous *mana*, the empty signifier with no determinate meaning, since it signifies only the presence of meaning as such' (Žižek 2000: 113). This border is an institution characterised by a lack of difference. But it is impossible to live in these zero-institutions, as their reality could only be valued through the absence of real institutions and nations.

As nations and borders change, the historical narratives of the previous borders also change: European borders change over time as countries separated with long walls or spiky lines are no more. Between the cities there are no passport controls or security checks. The historical remains now are nostalgia and tolerance, in a borderless Europe in which cultures mingle, localities became more widely known and cultural differences are minimised.

Mobility and its Types

Mobility is one of the main issues for the modern citizen. Within a decade, mobility has become an issue in social disciplines and communication. Social dynamics, networks, relations and identities take the concept of mobility as core, a key term affecting content, organisation and the frequency of the message. The mobile seem to be more powerful than the immobile. There is a dilemma: mobility is encouraged in modern society – the ability to respond to the call of a moving world; but we also expect a kind of stability, with unchanging behaviours and stereotypes. One chooses either to change (and a transmutation is inevitable), or not to change (and become a stereotype).

Mobility has greater impact in societies with contrasts and greater communication substructures. As mobility becomes easier, citizens become pidginised, and control becomes uncontrollable and even impossible. Rapidly shifting but continuous and unbounded individuals make it impossible to

have long-term control (Deleuze 1995: 178-181). Controlling individuals or groups in a state of mobility is impossible; the rapid shift of values bring together speed, flexibility, anonymity and contingent identities in terms of 'the whatever' (Hardt, 1998:32).

Concepts of physical and social mobility may now be joined by the virtually mobile individual and by intellectually mobility. Becoming mobile and becoming borderless are closely linked : there are expectations for all citizens to be mobile, physically, intellectually, socially, culturally, linguistically, economically and virtually. Physical mobility depends on physically changing places and social situations, introducing ideas of inclusion and exclusion. Cultural mobility adds concepts of tolerance and inclusion, and also of adding new cultural parts to identity and becoming pidginised. Linguistic mobility also relates to the inclusion of foreign elements into language. Most young people are becoming bilingual or learning a second language. Economic mobility can combine social and cultural mobility. Living and working in widely separated locations is increasing, with multilingual, multicultural structures. Virtual mobility leads individuals and groups towards higher expectations of life standards. Mobility helps individuals and groups to make bridges between mind and society.

Some argue that borders only exist in the mind. Open minds abolish borders and obstacles, taking out limitations of circumstances and abilities. Crossing the borders of the mind allows the actualising the inner self: behaviours, attitudes and related social issues become borderless. Education systems, traditions, history, identity and expectations create borders and boundaries of the mind, and freeing these develops the personality and communication strategies.

Five Minds For The Future

Howard Gardner has suggested in *Five minds for the future* (2007) that we have

- a ***Disciplined Mind*** follows ways of thinking in the major disciplines like science, history, mathematics and the arts - the historian thinks of causes and effects, not approaching the past with values from the present.
- a ***Synthesising Mind*** summarises information accurately, productively and meaningfully.
- a ***Creating Mind*** gives a premium to the person who can go beyond disciplinary and interdisciplinary synthesis to uncover new problems, questions, and phenomena.
- a ***Respectful Mind*** goes beyond tolerance and accepts diversity in an empathic understanding of 'the other'.
- an ***Ethical Mind*** belongs to honest, considerate and constructive individuals willing to look beyond self-interest for the broader community.

Problems from the past and failed dreams recur: '*Anachrone circles in the sky, you may catch them if you try'* (from 'Anachrone circles: The musical history tour', by Wim Kratsborn and The Gathering). Thus the present sometimes appears mediaeval, when space was relational rather than territorial, and borderlines less fixed. Private and public life intermingled and human activities were part of a complex collection of stories (Rifkin, 2004). People look to the past to revenge unfulfilled dreams and to minimize and maximise point of views, reconsidering history as never-ending cycles. As the borders of history vanish, individuals and groups become free to evaluate the present and future.

The borders of self-identity may lead the individual to behave in certain ways with attitudes, behaviours and expectations that are demonstrated through situations, traditions, learning and conditioning. These never allow the individual to act naturally, and to break the limits of self-identity is to go beyond the boundaries of physical surroundings. Changes of identity are hard to achieve unless the borders are eliminated, and this can be consciously achieved: raising awareness of the borders of self-identity is necessary to overcome these. The more flexible the individual, the easier the elimination of the borders.

Borders Of Education

Education can create borders both in a content-based and a function-based system. Education schooled and socialised individuals, establishing rules and limitations, instead of enlarging horizons. Educational borders also make boundaries to knowledge. The concept of knowledge is changing and what is accepted as knowledge changes quickly and dramatically. Knowledge may be bounded by information sources, related to what is accepted as knowledge. Some societies have their own filters to accept certain information as knowledge.

But the sources of knowledge are changing, and some people believe in one source more than another – television, print or word of mouth. How knowledge is respected and valued depends on the borders, and how it is treated is determined through the education system and this is valued. Knowledge is now ubiquitous, and more important than access is knowing how to best make use of it. Knowledge is mobile, so mobilising knowledge produces more from it. It is usually thought that the education system provides more theoretical knowledge than real experience, but people are now seeking life experience more than theory.

The curriculum defines borders: designed by educational specialists who set the agenda in society, curriculum cultivates values related to a specific society, based on national or even local agendas. What is changing is not so much information or its sources, than the validity and reliability of assessment. Older generations also may set barriers to new curriculum development.

Global communications lead to changes in the national education system. Usually the main structure changes through small steps, little by little over a long period. Education at the national level is full of borders - national language(s), subject priorities, what is compulsory and not, time constraints, etc. The Bologna process and re-structuring the national education systems in the light of European Standards is another layer of change.

It is now widely accepted that certificated educational success is less important than the application of knowledge in the circumstances of real life. But as education becomes more accessible to all, it becomes more complex: increasing the proportion of those studying brings problems in learning, teaching, orientation, materials and methodologies. Educational institutions have had to become more diverse. Competitive working practices and technological developments mean individuals now look for new ways to differentiate and accentuate their portfolio of knowledge and skills, and to demonstrate creativity and dynamism. Everything and everyone needs to be certified.

Lifelong education should enrich and mobilize individuals, freeing them from boundaries of time and space. Greater lifelong education opportunities should motivate change in the educational system to meet these expectations and to provide the new skills that are required. The concept of lifelong education should be less stressful, so individuals can attend programs when they feel the need and have the motivation.

The present turning point in history is an age of information with a lack of the right information. Hyperreality has been created by the media and many take this as real. Many Americans found it hard to see 9/11 as real, because they had seen it so many times in movies (Žižek, 2000). The liberty of 'hyperreality' is not a big party, but boredom and stress. Perhaps because of this, many are nostalgic and fascinated by the past in films and books: '*recherchez du temps perdu*' (Marcel Proust). The borders of reality are becoming more blurred. It is striking to see that reality could be replaced by hyperreality created through media images: creating filmic reality that is believable.

Commercials prepare the audience for this filmic world, unreal, full of happiness and full of accomplishment: consumption-based satisfaction. They provide an unreal world perspective, in which everything is possible, affordable and obtainable through instalments. In this world individuals are not alone: they act collectively, buying the products in large numbers, running to buy new brands, changing their life style, habits, attitudes – they are all mobile for something a bit better. The individual in front of the television is no longer an individual, but part of mass society, trying to be social through the commercials. Bauman initially differentiated between 'postmodern sociology' (a pragmatic 'mimetic' response to the postmodern condition) and a 'sociology of postmodernity' (focused on the sphere of consumption, to understand the relationship between systemic reproduction and social integration) (Bauman 1988). In Bauman's later work these two types of sociology merge into each other.

Those in 'hyperreality' may not realise they are in a different reality: to them, normality is the same as it is for anyone else. The made-up reality becomes reality; reality becomes a dreamy world; borders become less blurred.

In hyperreality digital games create a virtual world, in which young people become avatars. American children engage with electronic media for 5.5 hours a day (Rifkin, 2004). For many young people the real world is 'just another window' (Lindsholm & Seybold, 2003). Education needs to develop appropriate learning theory and didactics. The MCI-project 'The European House' game tries to discover how learners learn, dividing Europe into a house with four quadrants as a virtual environment (Hofstede, 1995). The avatar has a 'multiple choice identity', visiting the Dutch, Danish, Latvian, Portuguese or Slovenian house as the metaphor for national identity. The learner starts by designing an avatar who will gather knowledge, act, solve, communicate and reflect. The avatar gathers basic knowledge about the history of that house, allowing him to enter, link interactively and collect elements of other identities. After visiting all the houses, the box embodies the knowledge of the 'multiple choice identity'. Idealised self-identity is the private, multiple choice identity. It may differ from person to person, provided it stays within the framework of human rights. Multiple choice identity may cause confusion and lead to loss of contact with reality – but one may also adjust ones identity to changes in reality.

Section 4: Questioning Identity

Identity is the sum of presumed attitudes and behaviours. An individual's activities cannot be separated from the identity they carry. Identity can be seen as a mix of genetic and social attributes: in cultural theory it is a relational web of differences rather than intrinsic qualities (Diken, 2003: 2). Questioning identity has brought together questioning of the self, systems and related ideology. Identity is shaped through society and within society.

For many people identity is an envelope, protecting against threats from strangers and helping people to be accepted and included. But increased mobility makes everyone a stranger at some point. The stranger introduces heterogeneity into 'the social'. Bauman suggests 'the social' can only define its identity as against strangers (those who cannot be included in 'we') and what is excluded defines the 'inside'(1997:17). In some cases individuals need to reformulate their identity, so there are more identities in one personality. The identity that is emphasised depends on the circumstances, and is related to social boundaries.

Individual and social identity is partly related to **Attachment Theory** – an emotional bond to another person or a place, thing or value, described by Bowlby as a '…lasting psychological connectedness between human beings' (Bowlby, 1969, p. 194). Mary Ainsworth developed three kinds of attachment in her 1970s 'Strange Situation' study: secure attachment, ambivalent-insecure attachment, and avoidant-insecure attachment. Main and Solomon added a fourth style, disorganised-insecure attachment. Not forming secure attachments early in life can have a negative impact on behaviour in later childhood and through life. In contemporary society attachment and mobility seem to be in contradiction. There may be no place for attachment or property. In the virtual reality, everything seems to be for everyone, yet for no one in its actual sense. The new global elites 'do not own factories, lands, nor occupy administrative positions .. their wealth comes from a portable asset: their knowledge of the laws of the labyrinth' (Boltanski & Thévenot 2000).

Social Theory analyses how social life is organised and transformed, questioning everyday assumptions and systematically reflecting on the division of power, the nature of identity, forms of agency and rationality, etc. Its interdisciplinary setting contextualises theoretical and substantive issues raised in disciplines such as Sociology, History and Philosophy. 'Society' traditionally referred to clear-cut boundaries of nation-states, and classical social theory focused on what unified this. There have been differing characterisations of this unity. For Marx, it was the economy (capital determined the unity of capitalist society); for Durkheim, unity was secured through shared norms and values; while Weber saw rationality as the unifying element. Urry described as mythical the idea that 'there is an essence to sociology, that it has some essential characteristics that give it and its practitioners a unity, coherence and common tradition' (Urry 1995: 33). Different theories define 'society' differently, so it is not possible to speak of a common and external scientific object, around which social theory can constitute itself as a unified discourse (ibid 1995: 41). Similarly, Luhmann writes 'there is no aim, no objective, no centre, or no top of the system'

(1994: 4). Thus the burden of integrating high social complexity is alleviated; each system concentrates on its own function. Without a centre, modern society is a ***horizontally*** differentiated society. In modern society, therefore, the importance of distinctions of class and rank fade away. 'Today it is evident that none of the important big problems of our society can be solved through class struggle or the dissolution of the contradiction between capital and labour' (Luhmann quoted in Sigrist 1989: 847). In Luhmann's horizontal perspective, questions of inclusion or exclusion from functional systems replace the question of vertical inequality (exploitation).

Borders and boundaries are related to the process of urbanisation. The city was imagined as an enclosed space surrounded by walls that marked the limits of inclusion (Virilio 1997). Enclosure distinguished the polis from the state of nature. But the transition was never clean-cut: urban reality was structured through symbolic mechanisms that ultimately fail (Žižek 1994: 21). To concentrate on **inclusion and exclusion**: individuals will behave according to their perception of participation in society. Feeling included, they become better citizens. If some appear to be not included, exclusion leads to detachment from society and citizenship. Luhmann draws attention to a dramatic example of this 'in the favela, in which 'citizens' are excluded from autonomous function systems and reduced to ***homo sacer***, to 'bodies' (Luhmann 2002: 136). Inclusion and exclusion appear at different levels of society, and with different functions and criteria (economic, education, social) - one might be included through the powerful sides of ones' identity, but excluded when other qualities were considered. This partial or temporary exclusion is refuted in other contemporary social theories which argue for exclusion as an absolute (thus Castells describes two distinct and contradictory topologies, the 'space of flows' and the 'space of places', which 'live by each other, but do not relate to each other' (Castells 1996: 476).

Within the complexity of relationships in a society, the individual makes their own borders, trying to be included in different layers of society (for exclusion has side-effects and permanent impacts). Fear of exclusion from the social motivates the individual to be part of a **group**. The individual in a group is included: part of his/her identity is compatible with other group members. Group members have similar aims and perspectives, and establish a network that binds them to each other. The more the individual takes part, the better his/her inclusion into group. Projects are well suited to group networks because of their transitory form: 'the succession of projects extends the networks by multiplying the connections and making the links proliferate'. Not having a project, or not exploring networks, threatens exclusion, so it is important always to develop oneself and one's employability. In this connectionist world, the most important value is to connect to others. One should be 'physically and intellectually mobile', and able to respond to 'a moving world'. Rather than sticking to stable skills, be flexible and polyvalent and the risk of connecting is the individuals (Albertsen & Diken, 2002).

As described above, **society** has many different definitions. Often it means the virtual heterogeneous and leaderless mass of people. Bourdieu describes society as consisting of differentiated fields, or 'spheres of play', which

prescribe their particular values and possess their own regulative principles. Yet society today is acquiring virtual qualities, just as in 'reality' television programmes such as Big Brother. Society loses the weight it once had: in today's 'liquid modernity' society cannot provide salvation for individuals, but can only be staged as a spectacle, masking anxieties about its disappearance and the privatisation of politics (Bauman 2002). In the contemporary situation, everything in society seems to be bordered. Classical social theory tried to detect the 'laws' of social change to explain order and cohesion (Durkheim found order in modern society through the division of labour and organic solidarity; Marx, despite the inbuilt dialectic of crisis of capitalism, found mechanisms of social integration and order in the self-valorising process of capital). People are expected to be free to speak and mobilise themselves, but all kinds of mobility depend on borders and boundaries. Even if we are now in a 'liquid society', the liquidity of the individual depends on the liquidity of the society. However, many societies no longer rely on physical borders, and try to get rid of these to free their citizens as much as possible. The concept of citizenship becomes bound to the individual rather than to society. While in the past citizens were expected to show respect and dependence to society, in a liquid society individuals are good citizens wherever they are.

The borders of society emphasize rules and misconceptions for individuals. Mobility also requires the restructuring of **reflexivity**. Public opinion and common sense are shaped not only through concrete facts but also by made-up supernatural beliefs and traditions. As borders are mobile and unseen, a liquid society will tend to reflect culture and values more than anything else. This becomes the way to find groups that one can take part in, as a means to identity. The more reflexive a society, the greater its mobility. Through reflexivity comes transparency, openness and a free society. Sometimes, reflexivity is seen in the media, yet the messages in the media could mislead and may give distorted images of certain groups or values. Reflexivity could be established through the civic system and non-governmental bodies. The reflexive society becomes a living society and is no longer a mass. Though still heterogeneous and leaderless, in its reflexivity is the capacity to come together to act and respond. Reflexive societies do not just have single voices, but colourful voices, representing diversity.

Individuals and groups have a position and appearance in society. The problems of a reflexive society appear more on the individual level than the social. The individual tries to cope with things and with the problems of identity and communication. In frequent re-positionings the individual often has to re-evaluate the self; he or she will **minimize or maximize the self** to fit into the necessary position. It is possible to downgrade one's capacity and skills, to minimize identity; or to maximise the self - to be able to do anything. The individual is captured through self-images in the media - on one hand , as if s/he can buy-do-act anything, and on the other hand as limited in all of these. The media (sometimes consciously, sometimes not) minimizes or maximizes identities involved in society: individuals are shaped and stereotyped, portrayed in a box into which everything that resembles them is also put.

Young global passengers are busy composing, decomposing and recomposing their identities – a process often called '**hybridisation**'. People going through this process are **cultural hybrids**, freed from their local ties, and travelling easily through the networks of cyber-connections, in a process of mixing and separation (Bauman,1995). Social dynamics force groups and individuals into patterns of conspicuous consumption. In the old system, the same symbols can create different meanings with different values. This re-structuring could make more knowledge and create gaps for new information. Information coming non linearly, cyclically, could create more to be deciphered by the individual (McQuail: 24). Knowledge is not somewhere else, but in each individual, making it inevitable that we communicate with each other. Information is no longer objective, but personalised and subjective. In a hybrid society we disappear in a timeless 'space of flows' (Castells, 1996). The system produces our desires, needs and dreams, which can only be satisfied in the technological biotope. The problem is not modern technology, but a kind of 'spherical power' that has taken over and throws us into a rapture. The system is incorporated in ourselves as a virtual world and we are the battery of the system. We feel free, but we are de-individuated, driven out of ourselves (Verbrugge, 2004).

Communication theories tell us much about the individual, society, information and dynamics. Young people, trying to be modern and non-traditional, are given the opportunity to add new meanings to the ordinariness of life. Festinger offers new definitions for 'ordinary people' who cannot cope with the differences between cognitive reality and the reality they are in (Severin, 243). Individuals become the heroes/ines of situations created for themselves by themselves. In this, they may come across new codes and meanings, which they cannot decipher alone. Goffman's research on the participation of 'ordinary people' described patients in a mental hospital behaving as if they are ordinary, particularly when they were with 'normal' people. The patients were successful, so completely 'one of them' that they convinced themselves and others that they were 'normal' (Lazar, 44). What Goffman emphasises is social pressure. The lines between the real and unreal are blurred. Pseudo-communication in pseudo-communities is so wide that there seems to be no discrimination between real meaning and the virtual.

All the above seems to show that it is difficult to establish an identity and to be certain that it is 'your' identity. Identities are made and distributed by society. To have a **self-identity** requires patience and determinacy. The identity usually given at birth is also shaped later in life. Individuals require a self-identity at the moment they come face choices. The choices also **make up identity**. Dilemmas help individuals to decipher the different mechanisms of life. Maintaining values and making new perspectives will also shape self-identity. There may be other dilemmas between given identities and the shaped self-identities. To make it more complicated, one may even talk of made-up identities becoming more common. Opposed to the reality they are in, individuals try to get rid of the realities of their life and they pretend to have other, usually better, qualities.

Building Identities: living in the hybrid society

'*It's the end of the world as we know it and I feel fine*' (Michael Stipe, REM)

Young people are building different identities in space, time and realities. How can they find their way in a hybrid society? We use here as possible good practice the cultural/ educational project 'Multiple Choice Identity' (2005-2010) (Robi Kroflic, Marjanca Kuscer, Sandra Rone, Wim Kratsborn and Henrik Bak), which aims to teach young people (between 3 and 25) to develop their own identity in Europe (see www.europemci.com).

Our choices shape ourselves and others. Each encountering with 'the other' has an impact on the individual, shaping, re-shaping, re-structuring, re-positioning the self. Through others we 'become'. As much as peers, the individual may also be pressured by surrounding social groups. Groups shape the life of the individual more than other individuals. Identity is shaped accordingly, polishing the parts needed by other group members, in order to assert the right to membership. Being and becoming somebody require a special level of alertness to experience surroundings, and this is achieved through networks that carry the individual from his physical surroundings to global connections. These bring mobility to the individual, largely virtual: globalisation impacts on the global trek (migration), 'hyperreality' (the media) and virtual reality (the digital revolution). Millions of people are part of 'The Great Trek' (Magnus Enzensberger, 1992) and globalisation. From above, the European map looks like a weather map with the turbulence of millions on the move in a 'cultural diaspora'. Migrants have a double loyalty, taking 'the land that lives inside' to the multi-cultural society. Maybe the greatest 'cultural diaspora' has still to come (Rifkin, 2004).

Another virtual reality is seen in the mass media, which take individuals from their couches to unknown places, showing images that trigger the imagination and create a better self. The filmic world introduces people to a world of fantasy that is a key to most of their problems. Increasing working hours increases stress: people have more money and less time to spend it. The more individualised the media became the more individualised the purchasing habits became. Largely shunned by intellectuals and controlled by commercial interests, television has become the most powerful communication medium. Corporations controlling the medium have constructed it in their image of a consumption process. It is now seen basically as an entertainment medium, part of a consumption process, and to be used to relax, 'watch,' pass time with for recreational purposes. Consumers expose themselves to this medium in a passive way.

It is amazing to see how people could alter their qualities and abandon their real self in case of difficulties. They can easily be some 'other' characters, hidden under the other names of the different heroes. Mostly in games, the characters are given in the form of sets and the individuals are only free to choose one of them, limited to the given choices. What is striking is that chosen images and identities become real. Once an identity in created virtually, one tends to be as creative as possible in real life situations: the individual may continue to act in the chosen identity in social interactions.

The individual does not use his/her creativity any more, but obeys the rules of the game, the classifications of the society, the labelling of the stereotypes.

The **idealised self identity** appears where all other identities loose importance: the most powerful part of the individual is emphasised. Usually this is not the individual alone, but part of the nation or social groups that carry values from one generation to the next. Through idealised self-identity people could do things they could never do in other circumstances. Idealised self-identity is attached to the individual more than real self identity.

By creating step by step identity, individuals come up with multiple identities. These do not start on their own, nor do they get away on their own. Multiple identities are not a beginning or an end, but help the individual become more communicative and creative. Figuring out their identities, people share and communicate. There are many advantages in having multiple identities: it may help the individual to be compatible in their encounters with others, experiencing diversity and mobility. It encourages the individual to interact with others. There are also disadvantages: how many different identities could an individual handle? Isn't it unhealthy to have such different identities? Which one would be his/her own identity? There are problems with these identities. The more identities an individual might have, the more problematic it becomes. People with impact in the media and society will be forced to live more in the virtual societies they create with more and more coded images.

Section 5: Conflicts of Identity

Young people have to respond to many conflicting demands in a network society. They give different answers: their reactions may be active or passive, positive or negative, rational or emotional, individual or collective. They are living in a 'reflexive society' with a constant flow of contradictory information to be selected from and internalised (Giddens, 1991).

'Choicism' is the new narrative for life-style-surfing. Young people belong to many social networks, with ties varying from weak to strong - strong ties towards family and friends, weak ties towards acquaintances. Most will reserve part of their identity for new relations in the network-society, because of the fear of isolation or exclusion. But some young people will not want this flexibility, preferring to stay at home with parents. They are uninvolved, in a moratorium, waiting for an identity. Everybody has such a right and they internalize the crisis in 'the risk society' (Beck, 1993) in this way, in a peer-group that is not interested in social issues (Fülop, 2005).

Identity And Diversity

Identities also bring diversity: each new identity has its compatibilities and incompatibilities. Individuals might reflect themselves differently in unexpected conditions and layers of communication. Each new layer of communication seems to require a different identity; each new grouping will blur or clarify, depending upon the others in the communication. Virtual networks create diversity in society, so reflexive society creates reflexive identities. The risk of stereotyping also has an impact, and there will be many identities resembling each other in the same community. The fewer group members, the greater the chance of distinct faces and identities.

Inevitably, the individual will ask for help - from their roots, values or even globalisation itself. Identity crises are not easily solved: whose identity is this? Mine, or somebody else's? Is it my given identity or my self-identity? My created identity? Can I create myself in a better way? Will others accept me? In that group, what identity should I have? These will be questions asked by millions of young people. People hate to be alone. Social alienation becomes a problem, as more people do not talk to or care about each other and lead lonely lives. Things can be so smoothly arranged that one can live without seeing anybody else - virtual shopping malls, credit cards, machine led manufacturing systems all add to this. To get rid of such deep alienation, individuals need to feel that they exist and belong to a value system, society or group.

Lutz and partners studied the balance between European and national identity. In fifteen countries on average 52% of 15 to 25 year-olds said they had a multiple identity, of their own country and of being a European. In the UK this was 40%, in France 68% and in the Netherlands 59%. The proportion is rising: by 2030 226 million will have a multiple identity, up from 177 million in 2004 (Lutz, 2007).

A global identity is needed as social relationships become globalised. Networks require such an identity, approved by global circles. As identities become known outside local circles, they are known more widely. A transnational identity differs from a global identity, in that takes elements from different nations, and can be accepted in both or in multiple layers. The bilingualism and plurilingualism issues are relevant in this: being both African and American or American Indian, or American–Canadian are examples. Transnational identities are valid both in the given nations and wherever the individual goes – the values in the identity do not change through distance or cultural and linguistic differences.

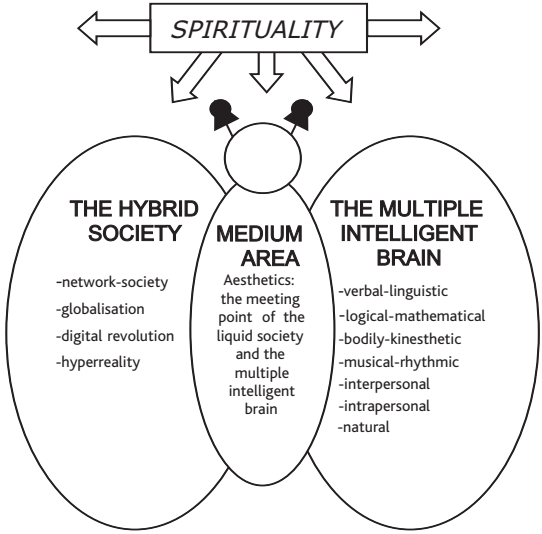
Diversity is normal: in the MCI-project we also experience diversity as increasing. Research done in the CiCe network shows 'two seemingly contradictory trends in Europe: those of cultural distinctiveness and of globalisation and the emerging globalised youth culture' (Fülop, 2005). Modern youth culture is spreading over Europe with inclusive codes and behaviour. Dedicated followers of music such as hiphop, heavy metal, RNB, gothic, dance or techno: millions of young people gather in high impact performances and festivals. As Friedrich Nietzsche said, 'Without music life would be a mistake'.

Aesthetics is a language of mutual comprehension, and helps one read, understand, express and act on the world. (Dinvaut, 2005). The medium provides an area in which to meet, described by Foucault as an open space, between 'the basic codes of a culture-which rule its language, its perception patterns, its deals, its techniques, its values, the hierarchy of its practices, and which determine every man's empirical order' (Foucault, 2004).

'The Butterfly Touch'

An essential aspect of music is its interplay between autonomy and contingency. 'Autonomy is about universality and the sublime transcendence of specific meaning. Contingency is about historical concreteness and the intelligible production of specific meaning' (Kramer, 2002). This can be visualised in this Venn-diagram: 'the butterfly touch'. When the two wings make contact, the individual has immediate and direct contact with reality. It is a representation of what Gustav Mahler called 'die ***Panlautigkeit der Wirklichkeit***' [the sound of reality] (Baumeister, 1999). The individual will use a specific combination of multiple intelligences: verbal-linguistic, logical-mathematical, bodily-kinaesthetic, musical-rhythmic, visual-spatial, interpersonal, intrapersonal or natural. The combination is up to the individual!

'The butterfly touch'



Given these multiple elements, it is important that young people have a goal: this could be 'The European Dream', with its dimensions of inclusiveness, diversity, quality of life, relaxation, sustainability, universal human rights, rights of nature and peace (Rifkin, 2004). Young people may become life-artists creating their own life-style with commitment.

Music becomes the link between 'multiple choice identity' and living in a hybrid society, using multiple intelligences and Gardner's five minds. 'Music comes alive when it's connected to something else, breaking down the barriers between art, self and society. Music energizes as the sounding manifestation of life (Kramer, 2002), a deep concrete link - though other aesthetics (poetry, theatre, literature, painting) may have the same effect. 'Thus art, and music especially, as a sense-opener, enables the critical treatment of reality, is an ideal means of communication and a media of connecting cultures, and simultaneously strengthens an individual's reflexive consciousness' (Kroflic 2005).

'Multiple choice identity' is located in the hybrid society in

- space: moving places in 'the Great Trek'
- time: integrating past and present
- mind: balancing five minds for the future
- hyperreality: using aesthetics
- virtual reality: with the avatar having hard fun

'Multiple choice identity' doesn't have a glossy-lifestyle just of happiness and joy, but a relationship to human rights. 'It's essential to combine personal respectful attitude with building up ethical consciousness and to follow the three stages of the development of responsibility and their influence on mature ethical consciousness: responsibility and normative agency for pro-social activities; respect for the other's face; and development of ethical consciousness and human rights' (Robi Kroflic)

Wittgenstein was right: 'a*esthetics and ethics are one*'.

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Section 6: In Conclusion: possibilities for research

These guidelines have contested two commonly held views about politics and citizenship: (1) that politics and citizenship are only possible within the boundaries of the state; (2) that economic globalisation erodes the significance of the state, diminishing the scope of politics and citizen activity.

The very processes of communicating that make economic globalisation possible also make it possible to contest globalisation. Politics and citizenship, like the market, have burst the borders of the nation-state. Information and communication technologies facilitate new forms of political expression and connection, and the growth of new public spaces.

A boundary is a personal property line, marking those things for which we are **responsible.** Boundaries define who we are, and who we are not. They impact on all areas of our lives:

- **Physical boundaries** help us determine who may touch us and under what circumstances.
- **Mental boundaries** give us the freedom to have our own thoughts and opinions.
- **Emotional boundaries** help us deal with our own emotions and disengage from harmful and manipulative emotions.
- **Spiritual boundaries** help us to distinguish God's will from our own and give us renewed awe for our Creator.

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