



# Conveying the First Steps of Global Citizenship to Children in Korea: A Case Study of an Exhibit at the Samsung Children's Museum\*

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*This article explores how the Samsung Children's Museum in Seoul has attempted to translate to young children ideals related to social inclusion, cross-cultural engagement, international understanding and self-awareness in an exhibit titled: 'Global Citizen: We are Peacemakers!' and, in Korean, koma segye shimin ('Little World Citizens'). While the exhibit provides only a partial rendering of the concepts of global citizenship now prominent in public discourse, its displays and activities interact with liberal understandings of citizenship that emphasize individualism and respect for diversity as well as civic republican understandings of citizenship that emphasize decision making among motivated and responsible citizens who trust each other to act in the best interests of a political community. By bringing the contents of the exhibit into dialogue with conceptions of citizenship and cosmopolitanism, the article also illustrates how the meaning of citizenship in the Republic of Korea is changing as the country gradually transitions into a more diverse society.*

**Keywords:** citizenship, global citizenship, cosmopolitanism, civic education, multiculturalism, multiethnic society

## INTRODUCTION

Encouraging children to grow into 'global citizens' has become a popular educational objective around the world. However, relatively little insight is available as to how ideas related to global citizenship actually can be translated effectively to small children just beginning to become aware of political membership and social attachments in their most immediate surroundings, let

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\* The author wishes to thank Hyunah Ko of the Samsung Children's Museum, research assistant Jee In Chung, who translated the museum exhibit's Korean language signs and captions into English, and two anonymous reviewers of this article who provided many helpful suggestions and observations. Yonsei University, 50 Yonsei-ro, Seodaemun-gu, Seoul, 120-749, Korea. (e-mail: hschattle@yonsei.ac.kr)

alone in the wider world. In this regard, it is instructive for several reasons to examine a permanent exhibit at the Samsung Children's Museum in Seoul that opened in March 2007 with the titles 'Global Citizen: We are Peacemakers!' and, in Korean, *koma segye shimin*, which translates into English as 'Little World Citizens.'

For starters, the exhibit in Seoul is perhaps the world's first children's museum exhibit organized under the specific term 'global citizen' as a unifying theme. Second, the exhibit illustrates how ideals related to social inclusion and cross-cultural empathy, international understanding, self-awareness and self-esteem can be translated to youngsters just beginning to perceive the relevance of such matters. Third, the exhibit provides a window into the deployment of cosmopolitan ideals beyond the West and invites comparisons regarding the extent that the exhibit corresponds with various concepts and strains of thinking articulated more widely in contemporary academic debate and public discourse around the world regarding global citizenship. Fourth, the exhibit's displays and activities also speak to debates about the nature of domestic citizenship in the Republic of Korea as an emerging multiethnic society.

Taking all these issues into account, this study addresses two primary research questions: (1) How exactly did the professionals who designed the 'global citizen' exhibit at the Samsung Children's Museum choose to convey the notion of global citizenship through the individual displays and activities? (2) How do the depictions of global citizenship in the exhibit compare with various conceptions of global citizenship that have manifested themselves more widely in recent years in the academy as well as in everyday social and political life? The study also illustrates how the notion of global citizenship, an idea more commonly invoked in the West than in Asia, has been deployed by the museum in the context of Korea's gradual transition into an increasingly diverse society.

## APPROACH TO THIS STUDY AND KEY CONCEPTS OF INTEREST

This qualitative study provides an analysis of a single unique case – a children's museum exhibit that frames itself on the notion of a 'global citizen' – and takes a conceptual approach that operates across theory and practice in two principal ways: first, by examining how the exhibit provide representations of key concepts of global citizenship; then, by bringing the exhibit's themes and contents into dialogue with broader conceptions of citizenship, itself a highly varied and contested concept in political and social theory, with notions that emphasize formal membership status and legal jurisdiction on the one hand and ideals related to democratic participation and the qualities, habits and dispositions envisioned as necessary among everyday people for vigorous and fulfilling civic life on the other. By comparing the concept of global citizenship operative in the museum exhibit with more widespread

understandings of citizenship and global citizenship, my research contrasts with positivist approaches that prove or disprove hypotheses. Instead, my methodology converges with empirical approaches to the study of ideologies that emphasize the identification and analysis of the key concepts that operate within a delineated body of thought (Freeden 1996; Steger 2008).

My research focus, then, concentrates on the intentions of the museum staff in designing and implementing the exhibit as well as the specific themes and messages related to global citizenship that the museum's curator chose to depict and convey within the exhibit. Hence this study combined interviews with museum staff with analysis of the exhibit's specific contents following a series of observations of the exhibit. While examining how the exhibit has been perceived by children and their parents and teachers would also be interesting, this would amount to a separate field study and one that would face challenges given the difficulties in reliably measuring the ways in which museum exhibits and related educational initiatives shape the lives of young people; the impacts of such exhibits on life trajectories are often very subtle and emerge gradually over time. To be very clear, this study is limited mainly to examining how the notion of global citizenship actually has been interpreted and communicated within the exhibit and then bringing this body of thought from the exhibit into comparison with more widespread understandings of citizenship and global citizenship.

The idea of global citizenship in contemporary public discourse works across numerous key concepts. As illustrated in a recent empirical study of how the term 'global citizenship' has been interpreted and communicated in English around the world, awareness, responsibility and participation can be regarded as mutually reinforcing primary concepts of global citizenship, while cross-cultural empathy, international mobility and personal achievement can be classified as secondary concepts (Schattle 2008). In analyzing the exhibit at the Samsung Children's Museum, it is useful to highlight the extent that specific displays and activities within the exhibit seem to converge with these various concepts as they have become manifest more widely in recent perspectives on global citizenship. As demonstrated later in this article, although the concepts of responsibility and participation receive little direct attention in the exhibit, the concepts of awareness and cross-cultural empathy are highly visible, and an important conceptual trajectory runs through the exhibit that begins with self-awareness and then progresses into cross-cultural engagement and eventually into international understanding.

The timing of the exhibit coincides with lively ongoing academic debates related to citizenship and multiculturalism as well as striking social changes under way within Korea. The country is undergoing the early stages of transition into an increasingly multiethnic and multicultural society that has followed the country's rapid late 20<sup>th</sup> century industrialization, urbanization and, to a partial extent, westernization. New lines of division have emerged across various classifications of international residents in Korea, especially disparities in both social and legal recognition in Korea between the professional classes and migrants living on the

economic margins (Han 2007). ‘Multiculturalism’ itself is yet another contested concept in this regard, especially when it comes to the recent surge in marriages between Korean men and women from Southeast Asia who have relocated to Korea and often find themselves pressured to forgo their respective cultural norms and traditions and assimilate quickly as Koreans.

Despite frequent suggestions in government and media circles that the Republic of Korea is gradually moving toward a model of a multicultural society or a conception of multicultural citizenship, a term popularized in the academy by political theorist Will Kymlicka (1995) with regard to Canada and its policies of differentiated membership rights for minority groups, critics have argued that the government’s preferred notion of a ‘multicultural family’ is a mere façade for initiatives and policies that actually aim to replenish the domestic population and preserve illusions of the traditional Korean family and myths of Korean ethnic homogeneity (Kim 2007), and that the government’s multicultural discourses amount to “empty political rhetoric” (Han 2007: 59) as Korea’s legal system regards migrant workers as temporary residents and “is reluctant to support their settlement and integration into Korean society.” (Han 2007: 50)

Aside from academic debates on multiculturalism, new venues for interaction and engagement across cultural groups are becoming more and more enmeshed in the fabric of everyday life in Korea. Indeed, several neighborhoods in Seoul have emerged as enclaves for particular groupings of international residents – such as French residents in Seorae Village, Filipino residents along Daehangno, and Japanese residents in Ichon. Multicultural life in Korea is not only a result of inward migration by international residents – with the total number of international residents breaking through the 1 million mark in 2007 – but also a consequence of the ever-present Korean diaspora abroad, which now dates back more than a century, as well as the growing hybridization and “global *mélange*” (Pieterse 2003) accompanying the most recent waves of global migration and technological interconnectedness that have implanted icons and mores from other parts of the world into everyday life across Asia, especially in the continent’s largest metropolitan areas.

Therefore, the ways in which educational institutions and voluntary organizations choose to convey notions such as global citizenship to young children are becoming increasingly important subjects for sociological inquiry into societies such as Korea as they rapidly become more diverse.<sup>1</sup> The Samsung Children’s Museum fills a pivotal role in this regard, since it essentially operates in Korean society simultaneously as an educational institution, a civil society organization, and a philanthropic subsidiary of one of Korea’s largest conglomerates. The intentions and objectives that led to the creation of the exhibit – and the images and messages conveyed by the exhibit to children, their parents and their teachers – take on a great deal of relevance, as they point the way toward alternative perspectives on citizenship and

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<sup>1</sup> I wish to thank an anonymous reviewer of this article for emphasizing this point.

cosmopolitanism beyond the arenas of politics and government.

## ORIGINS AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE EXHIBIT

The Samsung Children's Museum created 'Global Citizen: We are Peacemakers!' in response to survey research that revealed growing public demand for an interactive exhibit that would help children begin to shape their ethical values.<sup>2</sup> When museum curator Hyunah Ko expanded upon a written survey by interviewing 200 visitors in person, she found that parents most wanted an exhibit offering young people guidance in reflecting upon principles that they could apply in daily life. This led Ko to design an exhibit with an emphasis on themes of peace and cross-cultural empathy under the title of 'Peaceful Imagination,' in English, and in Korean, *pyeonghwa sangsang noriteo*, with a literal translation of 'Peaceful Imagination Playground.' The leadership of the Samsung Foundation, which governs the children's museum, approved the exhibit but raised concerns that the Korean version of 'Peaceful Imagination' could be construed as a politically loaded phrase on the divided Korean peninsula, given that *pyeonghwa* is heavily used by various advocacy groups concerned with inter-Korean issues. Foundation directors told museum officials that they did not want to be perceived by the public as taking or advocating particular stands, however subtle, on government policies toward North Korea.

Consequently, Ko returned to the drawing board to come up with a new title capable of encapsulating the purpose and character of the exhibit. As she told me during an interview: "I had a hard time thinking about a new title. What would children learn from this exhibition? And what did I really want children to be? So I focused on the goal of the exhibit... and I thought that, oh, children can learn from this exhibition to be 'what'... and 'what' was the global citizen. Peace and diversity, they just mix together and then influence kids to learn values and behaviors to be global citizens." Although the museum used the Korean phrase *koma segye shimin* ('Little World Citizens') as an accompanying title, Ko said the English term 'global citizen' carried more significance in her view, as she thought the English phrase would signal a more active approach to citizenship: "I think I picked 'citizen' because it brings value and behavior together," Ko said, adding that the term 'citizen' came to her mind first, and then she attached the word 'global' to signify a sense of opening the mind expansively and flexibly.<sup>3</sup> Ko then added the subtitle "We are Peacemakers!" which the Samsung Foundation accepted, although it is displayed only in English, not Korean, and shown in considerably smaller

<sup>2</sup> In 2005 and 2006, the museum asked more than 900 visitors to comment on several prospective themes for new exhibits. Initially the most popular topic among visitors surveyed was an exhibit idea about outer space, followed by an 'art market,' followed by an exhibit on cultural diversity and peace, followed by a zone for creative play.

<sup>3</sup> As Ko elaborated upon her thought process: "To be truly global... when I think of global, I don't really think that communicating or exporting or importing or going overseas is truly global. What I really think is that 'truly global' is a global mind. What is a global mind? It's an open mind."

lettering than “Global Citizen.” Ko’s understanding of ‘global’ as a mindset converges in part with sociological conceptions that argue the meaning of ‘global’ is a dynamic process that rests upon “the development of a common consciousness of human society on a world scale.” (Shaw 2000: 11)

The exhibit’s individual displays and activities, then, were designed initially in relation to themes of peace and cultural diversity and then recast under the conceptual umbrella of global citizenship. One of the first captions visitors encounter at the exhibit presents the museum’s own definition of ‘global citizen,’ which is anchored in personal qualities related to self-esteem and mutual understanding and also establishes a link between global citizenship and peace: “Peace starts from understanding differences. Global citizen children love themselves and respect others through understanding. This is about making peace, which makes our world a beautiful place to live in.”<sup>4</sup>

## THE EXHIBIT IN RELATION TO KEY CONCEPTS OF GLOBAL CITIZENSHIP

An important conceptual trajectory runs throughout the exhibit that begins with self-awareness and then progresses into cross-cultural engagement and eventually into international understanding. The exhibit places much emphasis upon self-awareness – and also self-esteem – as prerequisites for any progression related to global citizenship in one’s life course. Much more so than many Western accounts of global citizenship, the exhibit intertwines notions of self-awareness and self-esteem and presents both of these concepts as essential to global citizenship. As noted earlier, the museum’s definition of ‘global citizen’ displayed in a caption at the start of the exhibit states: “Global citizen children love themselves and respect others through understanding.” Likewise, a nearby caption addressed to parents and teachers outlines the museum’s intended purpose of the exhibit by interpreting global citizenship as a combination of self-awareness, international understanding and cross-cultural engagement: “The goal of the exhibit is for children to become global citizens who are able to value themselves, look at the world beyond differences in race, gender, age, nationality, language, belief, ability, and play an important role in peace and co-existence in the world.”

The same message to parents and teachers also says the exhibit provides “a fresh perspective on the topics of diversity and peace, exploring the values and attitudes our children need to get along with others who are different from them, such as tolerance, empathy, appreciation, and respect for others.” These envisioned qualities of global citizens are relevant especially within the context of domestic cross-cultural relations in Korea, given the growing

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<sup>4</sup> Captions to each display in the exhibit are provided by the museum in both English and Korean. All quotations in this article are taken verbatim from the museum’s English language captions unless otherwise noted as literal translations from the captions in Korean.

numbers of children in Korea now being raised in families with at least one non-Korean parent and at risk of discrimination and exclusion<sup>5</sup> in a country in which political and social belonging has long assumed ethnic and cultural homogeneity. The qualities of tolerance, empathy and respect converge with many conceptions of citizenship in contemporary political theory that emphasize the importance of the moral and civic character of good citizens as necessary in sustaining democracy (Sandel 1996).

Although the exhibit offers visitors flexibility in the paths they take from activity to activity, the intended sequence begins with displays focused on self-awareness and self-esteem, then proceeds to displays on interpersonal communication, and then eventually shifts to displays concerned with global issues. Early in the exhibit, the displays and activities encourage youngsters to look inside themselves before they look outward at peer and family relationship and ultimately at the outside world. In one activity, ‘Discover Your Mind: How Do You Feel?’ children are invited to put on ‘thinking caps’ to consider how external events can affect their respective states of mind. As the caption to youngsters notes: “We all have feelings – all kinds of feelings. Put on your thinking cap and discover how you feel.” Scenes for the children to look at (drawn illustrations, rather than photographs) include an amusement park, a disaster scene revolving around a fire, a child afraid of thunderstorms at night, a funeral, and two friends saying goodbye at an airport. Children are expected to identify the emotions or changes in mindset that accompany each scene. Nearby animated video clips are shown of two children’s books by a British author, Emma Damon, entitled ‘All Kinds of Feelings’ and ‘All Kinds of People’ that encourage youngsters to embrace cultural differences as well as a wide range of emotional states.<sup>6</sup>

Other displays and activities early in the exhibit, particularly in a section of the exhibit called ‘Peaceful Forest,’ encourage children to take quiet and reflective looks inside themselves. A ‘Pondering Pond’ within this section recreates the atmosphere of a lily pond with fish as Mozart piano music<sup>7</sup> plays in the background.<sup>8</sup> This section of the exhibit combines an

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<sup>5</sup> Marriages between Korean men and women from Southeast Asian countries have increased dramatically in the past five years, especially in rural areas, and now account for 11 percent of all marriages within South Korea. Children within these so-called multicultural families currently account for about 1 percent of children under age 19 in South Korea, and demographers have predicted that more than 10 percent of all children in South Korea could be of mixed ethnicity by 2020. While relatively few of these 108,000 children (as of November 2009) have yet entered school, the national education ministry reports that the dropout rate among children of mixed ethnicity stands at 15.4 percent – more than 22 times the national average (Seol, Lee and Jo 2006; Fackler 2009).

<sup>6</sup> The museum created the multimedia display, which presents the text of the story using Korean audio in English video subtitles.

<sup>7</sup> The exact composition is the Mozart Sonata for 2 Pianos, D Major, K. 228.

<sup>8</sup> The image of water rippling from lily pads conveys a serene ambiance, although many children I observed going through the exhibit seemed to find the imaginary pond more ‘cool’ than contemplative – youngsters seemed to enjoy stepping on the images of fish and walking on the image of water. Children visiting the exhibit with their parents, with adults guiding individual youngsters through the displays and activities, appeared more likely to follow the intent of the displays and activities than children visiting with school groups.

emphasis on meditation and mind concentration with awareness of the natural environment – another line of thinking often associated with global citizenship. Background illustrations behind the ‘pond’ highlight the natural world – ducks, ladybugs, butterflies, frogs, bears, and apples on trees – along with an illustration of a boy drawn with his finger over his lips who reminds the museum visitors to be quiet. Nearby mind concentration exercises within the ‘Peaceful Forest’ include a labyrinth and a game challenging youngsters to move a ring along a curved rod without touching the rod. By encouraging mental focus, this section of the exhibit converges with more sweeping understandings of citizenship related to competence and competitiveness (van Gunsteren 1998).

Further into the exhibit, other displays and activities help children make a progression from self-awareness to outward awareness. For example, a display called ‘Discover Your Mind – Expression Bench,’ features two multidimensional wooden faces in which children can rotate sets of eyes, noses and mouths to reveal different kinds of emotions. The display aims to help youngsters make connections between reading one’s face and reading one’s mind. As the Korean language caption says: “If we look at the face, we can see the mood and the feeling of another. If we know the mind, we can understand another person better.” The expressions one sees when rotating the various parts of the faces include surprise, curiosity, sadness, fear, puzzlement, and laughter. Knobs below the two faces register verbally (in Korean) what the faces seem to be saying, allowing children to match the facial expressions with the verbal reactions. The expressions (as they translate from Korean into English) indicate: “I like it!” “Surprise!” “My heart beats!” “I don’t like it.” “I’m scared.” “I’m happy.” “I’m sad.” “I’m angry.”

The exhibit includes a depiction of an ‘alien friend’ whose blue image functions as a logo of sorts throughout the exhibit and whose role seems to work across themes of imagination and interpersonal communication. The ‘alien friend’ is introduced in a display that shows animation of the ‘alien’ supposedly arriving to earth from outer space and then invites youngsters to show the ‘alien’ how people on earth get along with each other.<sup>9</sup> A nearby display, ‘Let’s Imagine: Use I-Care Language,’ asks children to help the ‘alien friend’ learn appropriate words to express kindness by inserting discs into the alien’s friend’s mouth. The available discs contain captions (with Korean equivalent phrases) such as: “It’s OK.” “Everyone is special.” “I understand.” “Do you want to go first?” “Thank you.” “Do you want some?” Yet another display nearby, ‘Compliment Echo,’ encourages youngsters to speak into a device that echoes whatever the children say back to them. While at face value such etiquette might appear to be nothing more than good manners, the emphasis on interpersonal communication corresponds with models of citizenship oriented toward values and behavior.

<sup>9</sup> The display does not mention that ‘alien’ in English signifies the legal status of a non-citizen – and Koreans use the term 외국인, *waegukin*, or ‘foreigner,’ rather than ‘alien.’

Given its original emphasis on peace and cultural diversity, the exhibit presents a conception of peace as well as a conception of global citizenship. Curator Hyunah Ko said that when she first thought about the meaning of peace while designing the exhibit, “what I had in mind was any ‘absent’ situation against negative situations – for example, no wars, no fights, no hatred, etc.” Later, Ko said, she came to think about peace in more affirmative and actively engaged contexts of “the inner situation of the individual person as well as relationships with others and countries,” a perspective on peace readily linked with envisioned values and behaviors of good citizens. To be more specific while also retaining simplicity in language, keeping in mind the perspective of a child, Ko said her working definition of peace shifted in the course of preparing the exhibit from “peace is the absence of war” to “peace is loving myself as well as others.”

The exhibit conveys this view of peace with displays and activities that depict not only serenity and harmony but also discord and disharmony – and behaviors which good global citizens would seem to avoid. A display station entitled ‘Find Peace Breakers,’ for example, illustrates to youngsters various ways many people fail to act peacefully: robbers taking a woman’s handbag, a boy with a doll being mocked, a child drowning, and motorists arguing with each other. Other scenes in the display show alternatively, and in the same situations, ‘peace breakers’ and ‘peace makers.’ For example, the display shows a group of children harassing a child with orange skin and green hair, and then, below a wooden flap separating the two illustrations, all of the children happily sharing a snack together.

By encouraging young people to think carefully about how they should – and should not – approach interpersonal relationships, the exhibit progresses from global citizenship as outward awareness to global citizenship as cross-cultural empathy. Several displays and activities in the latter stages of the exhibit maintain the themes of self-awareness, self-esteem and cross-cultural empathy while also encouraging visitors to think about their respective roles in an interdependent world. While some displays and activities seem to champion individuality, others emphasize individuals blending together, and still others aim to bridge the gap between individual and community, a dialectic that has captured the attention of a generation of political philosophers. A ‘Face Mosaic’ display, for example, invites visitors to pose for a photo – taken by an automated camera – which is then displayed on a video wall that composes the picture with hundreds of photos of other children and adults who previously visited the exhibit. The individual, then, is portrayed as retaining a distinct identity while also embedded within communities that work across group differences. Such displays hearken to political theorist William Galston’s conception of liberal citizenship and its cardinal virtues of individualism and diversity (Galston 1995: 43-44).<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> On the other hand, the exhibit is silent (perhaps considering its targeted age group) about how to overcome what Galston considers the greatest vice of self-government: the “propensity to gratify short-term desires at the expense of long-term interests and the inability to act on unpleasant truths about what must be done.” (Galston 1995: 46)

Themes of imagination also run through the exhibit in ways that aim to encourage young people to think creatively for themselves. An ‘imagination village’ depicted on a large wall shows otherworldly images such as the following: people living in harmony with aliens, a small elephant the size of a pet, green aliens flying sideways, and children with non-human characteristics – mouths that look like beaks instead of lips, blue skin, green skin, a child whose head looks like raspberry sorbet, children on spaceships, and so forth. Hyunah Ko said she asked the illustrator for the exhibit to draw images of children, animals and aliens looking “absolutely natural being there with others.” The illustrations in this section of the exhibit echo Kwame Anthony Appiah’s view that “cosmopolitanism shouldn’t be seen as some exalted attainment: it begins with the simple idea that in the human community, as in national communities, we need to develop habits of co-existence: conversation in its older meaning, of living together, association.” (Appiah 2006: xix)

Toward the end of the exhibit, the emphasis shifts to international awareness and understanding. A display called ‘Peace Reporter’ allows youngsters to record themselves on camera while standing in front of large still photographs depicting various past or present hotspots around the world – the Berlin Wall, Jerusalem, the Korean DMZ – and act as reporters describing these locations. (Informed participation in this activity, as is the case for several stations in the exhibit, requires the youngsters to be briefed by an adult to gain sufficient background.) Nearby, an activity station called ‘Wings of Peace – Flying Car’ allows children to “drive” a car into the sky and encounter several hot-air balloons in which selected figures from recent history are shown riding: Albert Schweitzer, Alfred Nobel, Mother Teresa, Abraham Lincoln, Mohandas Gandhi, and specific to Korea, independence activist Kim Koo. Youngsters can ‘steer’ the car to each person’s hot-air balloon and press the horn, which then brings up on-screen images of the selected person along with basic biographical information.<sup>11</sup>

Taken at face value, the contents of the exhibit might come across as far removed from some of the more commonly articulated concepts of global citizenship as moral responsibility for the good of humanity and all life on earth, as well as participation in the shaping of key decisions made by governing institutions such as the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund and the World Trade Organization. For many of today’s political and social activists, the notion of global citizenship requires sustained voice and activity in the international political arena or, at the very least, ongoing efforts to resolve some of the world’s most serious problems, ranging from environmental degradation to the persistence of poverty to the continued threat of nuclear weapons (Edwards and Gaventa, 2001). At the same time, growing numbers of self-described global citizens have emphasized that the first steps of their own activist trajectories traced back to self-awareness and a clear understanding of well-defined roots, not only within a particular community but also with respect to one’s senses of identity,

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<sup>11</sup> The walls near this section of the exhibit also display well known quotations from these individuals.

individuality and moral purpose. While an exhibit on global citizenship geared toward teenagers or adults might focus more directly on pressing global issues, or at the very least offer detailed illustrations of how the world has grown more interdependent than before, the primary focus of the children's museum exhibit on concepts of awareness and cross-cultural empathy can be validated as conducive to helping youngsters open their minds to begin thinking about social and political community in more expansive terms than their immediate surroundings and thereby begin to take on habits and dispositions that will lead to more political expressions of citizenship later in life.

### THE EXHIBIT IN RELATION TO CONCEPTIONS OF CITIZENSHIP

The emphasis in the exhibit on citizenship as encompassing values and behaviors, rather than citizenship as formal legal status, is consistent with numerous academic conceptions of both citizenship and global citizenship. As understandings of cosmopolitanism have gained momentum in public discourse as well as the fields of political philosophy, political sociology and international relations, many scholars and practitioners have uncoupled the concept of global citizenship from the formal, institutional relationships associated with citizenship of the nation-state. Rather than the conventional definition of citizenship as a sorting mechanism separating insiders from outsiders (Brubaker 1992) or a contractual view of citizenship as “a continuing series of transactions between persons and agents of a given state in which each has enforceable rights and obligations” (Tilly 1996: 8), global citizenship is now commonly conceived as a series of practices voluntarily adopted by individuals who choose to think of themselves as implicated in multiple political communities around the world (Schattle 2008). Civic republicanism, in particular, anchors the meaning of citizenship in attitudes, mindsets and social mores – ‘habits of the heart,’ as Alexis de Tocqueville so eloquently noted – freely taken up by actively engaged persons contributing to political, social and civic life in multiple political communities, from neighborhood associations to transnational advocacy networks (Keck and Sikkink 1998; Tarrow 2005).

While many civic republicans, true to Aristotle's view that the *polis* ideally should contain no more than 10,000 citizens, have maintained that such notions of citizenship, reliant upon motivated and responsible individuals, are only feasible within relatively small face-to-face political communities (Miller 1999), increasingly notions of civic republicanism have been cast as expandable into the international arena. As Isuelt Honohan has noted, “it may be possible to conceive of some development towards a cosmopolitan citizenship from the bottom up, through increasing webs of relationships of overlapping economic, environmental and cultural interdependencies, rather than depending on the prior existence of a world state.” (Honohan 2002: 286) Likewise, much of the recent literature has attempted to shift the center of gravity

of ‘cosmopolitanism’ away from abstraction or universalism and toward ‘actually existing cosmopolitanism,’ meaning everyday encounters across myriad national, socioeconomic, ethnic, linguistic, religious and cultural boundaries (Cheah and Robbins, 1998).

Such ‘bottom-up’ notions of cosmopolitanism are compatible with the exhibit’s emphasis on envisioned values and behaviors of good citizens. The exhibit essentially casts global citizenship as a trajectory or life course that starts with self-awareness and self-esteem, then progresses into cross-cultural empathy and engagement within immediate political and social communities, and then enlarges into international awareness and understanding. Moral philosopher Martha Nussbaum outlined a similar trajectory in her conception of ‘world citizenship’ that helped catapult cosmopolitanism into the center stage of contemporary academic debate. Nussbaum, however, seems to position cross-cultural engagement as the first step in the trajectory, which then leads to heightened self-awareness and ultimately helps everyday citizens acquire the capacity to support and, at times, participate in endeavors of international collaboration aimed at solving global problems (Nussbaum 1996: 9-11).

While critics have argued that Nussbaum’s account of world citizenship placed too much emphasis upon abstract allegiance to humanity-at-large and too little weight on more immediate political communities (Barber 1996; McConnell 1996), more recent approaches have situated cosmopolitanism as located between abstraction and universalism on the one hand and the often fractious debates of multiculturalism and identity politics on the other, thereby opening the way for individuals embedded within particular communities and identities to work across entrenched differences (Hollinger 2002). As Kwame Anthony Appiah has succinctly noted, the new cosmopolitanism takes seriously not only the value of all human life but also the value of particular human lives (Appiah 2006: xv). Some of the displays in the Samsung museum exhibit work across these various accounts of cosmopolitanism. The ‘Face Mosaic,’ for example, simultaneously evokes universal aspirations of shared humanity and ‘overlapping communities of fate’ (Held 2000) and subtly encourages people to reach out to others who come across as strikingly different from them.

That said, the exhibit’s definition of ‘global citizen children’ as those who “love themselves and respect others through understanding” amounts to what historian Derek Heater would locate at the vague end of the spectrum of definitions of world citizenship. For Heater, the more precise definitions of the concept focus on recognition of international law as well as advocacy or participation in supranational forms of governance (Heater 1999: 136). However, conceptions of global citizenship since the end of the Cold War have operated increasingly beyond the sphere of politics and government. Oxfam International’s influential definition of ‘global citizenship,’ for example, frames global citizenship as a series of personal qualities similar to those envisioned by the creators of the Samsung Children’s Museum exhibit. Oxfam’s envisioned qualities of good global citizens include “aware of the wider world... respects and values diversity... outraged by social injustice... is willing to act to make the

world a more sustainable place... take responsibility for their actions” (Oxfam 1997: 3). Once again, defining ‘global citizenship’ in terms of values and behaviors reflects a broader understanding of citizenship as a set of habits, practices and dispositions rather than as a passive legal status. Even Derek Heater does not insist upon legally or politically-centered definitions of world citizenship, noting that much of what counts today as cosmopolitan thinking stems from “moral consciousness which can, perhaps justifiably, use the vocabulary of citizenship.” (Heater 1999: 137)

While the exhibit at the Samsung Children’s Museum is closely aligned with conceptions of citizenship as a series of practices, its related underlying concern with fostering social inclusion also converges with important elements of citizenship as status, or as the late political theorist Judith Shklar put it, citizenship as ‘social standing,’ not just a matter of individual agency or empowerment but critically tied to political rights for groups struggling for greater recognition and respect (Shklar 1991: 1-2). The exhibit also corresponds with what Adrian Oldfield has called ‘citizenship as admission,’ which is concerned with “how can groups suffering the prejudice against some kind of social stigma have the stigma removed and be admitted to the human world that everyone else lives in.” (Oldfield 1998: 75) Considering the backdrop of Korea’s ongoing transition to a more inclusive multiethnic society – and growing public concern about overcoming racism and discrimination within the society – the envisioned qualities of global citizens that are communicated in the exhibit also relate with the goal of promoting an inclusive model of Korean domestic citizenship, with William Galston’s twin liberal virtues of individualism and respect for diversity, and in which T.H. Marshall’s trilogy of universal civil, political and social rights are upheld at least within the polity (Galston 1991; Marshall 1963).

At the same time, the exhibit comes across as agnostic on the question of whether a truly inclusive and democratic model of citizenship in a multicultural polity ought to confer differentiated membership rights upon particular minority groups (Kymlicka 1995; Young 1989), a debate that has been particularly salient in Canada and across Western Europe but has also begun to take significance amid demographic changes within the Republic of Korea. (Choe 2007). In the exhibit’s display on ‘peace breakers’ and ‘peace makers,’ in which one pair of illustrations shows contrasting images of children first harassing (thereby rejecting and excluding) a child who looks different from them and then reaching out to the same child, the harmonious image appears to show the children together eating *tteok*, the traditional Korean rice snack. Some might construe this particular illustration as subtly conveying an image of social belonging as akin to assimilation within traditional Korean culture, rather than as mutual interaction and exchange across cultural differences, although the rest of the illustrations throughout the exhibit show children in neutral settings that could be practically anywhere on earth, thereby prompting a different line of critique: that global citizenship is depicted as all too amorphous or abstract rather than as practical and relevant within contemporary Korean

society. Likewise, some might question whether the surreal illustrations in displays such as the ‘imagination village’ lean too heavily toward portraying global citizenship as remote fantasy, rather than as within the grasp of everyday life. There is also the lingering question as to whether the illustrations of aliens and surreal beings in sections of the exhibit might have the unintended effect of leaving young people thinking that anyone who appears different from them must be *radically* different and therefore can be regarded and treated as a stranger rather than as a fellow citizen. In the end, the exhibit leaves open to question the extent Korea is gradually becoming fertile ground for a model of multicultural citizenship.

## CONCLUDING REMARKS

The contents of the ‘Global Citizen’ exhibit interact most directly with ideals related to global citizenship as awareness and cross-cultural empathy. While the displays and activities do not focus as directly on more expressly political concepts of global citizenship, such as moral responsibility for humanity and active participation in the decisions of key governing institutions, the exhibit nevertheless carries political salience if citizenship is understood not so much in terms of formal national membership but rather as voluntarily adopted practices related to civic engagement and social inclusion. In this regard, the emphasis placed in the exhibit upon building good communication skills, healthy interpersonal relationships and heightened interest and curiosity in the outside world – as well as senses of creativity and imagination – can help young people grow into citizens who display understanding and concern for overlapping communities at home and abroad. Although it might be an exaggeration to suggest that the Samsung Children’s Museum exhibit is actually shaping global citizens, the exhibit at least attempts to instill values and behaviors that can serve as the first steps in a life course of global citizenship. What is more, the various elements of the exhibit, taken together, yield meaningful alternative perspectives on how notions of citizenship and cosmopolitanism are taking on growing salience in everyday life, beyond the arenas of politics and government.

In walking through the exhibit, one gains perspective on ‘citizenship’ as the acquisition and ongoing cultivation of certain habits, dispositions and personal qualities. While the exhibit enlarges the territorial and contextual boundaries imposed upon citizenship by some contemporary political and social theorists, the messages communicated in the exhibit hearken to liberal understandings of citizenship that emphasize individualism and respect for diversity as well as civic republican understandings of citizenship that emphasize deliberation and decision making among motivated and responsible citizens who know and trust each other to act in the best interests of a political community (Miller 1999: 77-78). Most likely it will not be clear for many years whether the exhibit has been successful in helping young children acquire

the habits, dispositions and qualities it associates with global citizenship, but at the very least, the exhibit can be regarded as planting seeds in which today's children growing up in Korea might acquire the capacities to emerge as tomorrow's actively engaged citizens working for peace among different ethnic and cultural groups within their immediate local communities, as well as more widely on the Korean peninsula and beyond.

The exhibit also frames an important trajectory from awareness to cross-cultural empathy to international understanding – a trajectory that parallels a ‘concentric circles’ approach to cosmopolitanism starting with one’s individual mindset in the center and then radiating outward from more immediate communities to more distant ones (Heater 2002: 44-52).<sup>12</sup> This is strikingly different from the exclusive, exclusionary and passive ways in which so many everyday people still instinctively think about the meaning of citizenship, even as notions of global citizenship continue to become more visible in public discourse, so the considerable emphasis the exhibit places upon self-awareness and self-esteem is not to be underestimated. As the exhibit tries to impress upon its young visitors, if you can accurately understand your own mindset, then you can also begin to understand the mindsets of others. And if you can gradually learn to ‘read’ others accurately – and ‘tune in’ appropriately to the people most immediately around you (family, peers, teachers, and so forth), then perhaps you can also ‘tune in’ and respond to other concerns facing your local community, your country, and beyond. This is one of the keys to global citizenship as the concept is interpreted and communicated today.

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<sup>12</sup> David Held has taken a different approach in his advocacy of global citizenship, suggesting that political communities are better thought of as “multiple overlapping networks of interaction.” (Held 1999: 91)

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