

**Locating the Global in the Local: Ethnographic Fieldnotes on Citizenship Education Praxis
in Elite School Classrooms in Lahore, Pakistan**

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ABSTRACT

This classroom ethnography study identifies the dialectical relationship between global citizenship education models and localised pedagogies in three English-medium elite schools in Lahore, Pakistan. This research used ethnographic fieldnotes as the main source of data to investigate the ways in which concepts of global citizenship are put to practice, negotiated, and recontextualised in everyday classroom interactions. This study questions the tension between universalist global citizenship education (GCE) discourses propagated by the global curriculum system and the local realities of Pakistani classrooms, where national identity, Islamic ideals, and social stratifications are used to inform citizenship education. Classroom observations recorded approximately 80 hours of teacher-student interactions and pedagogy strategies, curricular content, and the micro-politics of citizenship identity formation in the fieldnotes. Results indicate that elite schools serve as institutions of the process of "glocalization" in which teachers plan to mediate between the global skills required by international curriculum, and the local levels of sociocultural expectations. The paper shows that citizenship praxis in these classrooms both reinforces elite privilege and provides possibilities of critical involvement in transnational issues. Such an ethnographic narrative can lead to the understanding of global educational agendas being translated, opposed, and changed in postcolonial contexts to demonstrate the complex strata of global-local citizenship identities between the educational elite in Pakistan.

Keywords: Classroom Ethnography, Global Citizenship Education, Elite Schools, Fieldnotes, Glocalization, Pakistan, Citizenship Praxis

INTRODUCTION

The adoption of global citizenship education (GCE) as a normative construct in the discourse of international educational policymaking has produced a considerable amount of debate when it comes to its applicability in different socio-cultural contexts. Although Target 4.7 of Sustainable Development Goal 4, developed by UNESCO, imposes global citizenship as the key to quality education, critical scholars challenge the stance whether such universalist schemes adequately consider local epistemologies, political economies, and cultural peculiarities (Ellis, 2015; Jiyoona, 2024; Pashby & Sund, 2020). This is an especially intense conflict in postcolonial countries such as Pakistan, when elite English-language schools act as transnational spaces and develop international curricula, but are simultaneously pushed into the context of national identity projects and religious regimes (Dean, 2005).

Pakistan elite schools are a unique sector of education that educates a small fraction of the population but create a disproportionate number of future policymakers, business leaders, and cultural elites (Dean, 2005; Rizvi, 2009). These schools generally adhere to the International Baccalaureate (IB), Cambridge, or hybrid curricula expressly covering international citizenship goals, producing pedagogical spaces in which global and local citizenship discourses intersect, overlap, and sometimes conflict (Halai & Durrani, 2018). The investigation of the process of citizenship education in these elite classroom spaces must go beyond the analysis of the curriculum to consider the praxis of citizenship teaching and learning (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2019; Spradley, 2016).

The scope of the current ethnographic study resolves a crucial gap in the current literature on the concept of citizenship education in Pakistan, which has mostly used an analysis of curriculum documents and interview methods (Muhammad, 2019; Rauf et al., 2021; Rauf, Muhammad, & Siddique, 2024). This study offers a rich description of citizenship education in the real-life context of unorganised, contentious, and fluid classroom environments, which is achieved by using classroom ethnographic fieldnotes as the main source of data (Emerson et al., 2011; Musante & Dewalt, 2010). The research questions in the study were as follows:

1. How do teachers in elite Lahore schools enact global citizenship education within their classroom practices?
2. In what ways do students negotiate between global citizenship frameworks and local identity markers?
3. What patterns of inclusion, exclusion, and power characterize citizenship learning in these elite pedagogical spaces?

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: GLOCALIZATION AND CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION

This study uses glocalisation as its theoretical lens and acknowledges the fact that global processes are never mediated by an unstructured global/local dichotomy that creates hybrid forms that cannot be easily designated as global or local (Roudometof, 2016; Waghid, 2023). The conceptualisation of glocalisation according to Robertson (1995) is characterised by the focus on interpenetration between globalising and localising tendencies, where the global is constructed by specific local articulations, and transnational flows shape the local practice of the world to a greater degree. When applied to citizenship education, glocalisation theory addresses how universalist frameworks of GCE, as propagated by organisations such as UNESCO and IB, have to be translated, adapted, and transformed when translated into particular national, institutional, and classroom contexts (UNESCO, 2015).

As both global and local institutions, elite schools in Pakistan act as paradigmatic spaces of glocalisation, simultaneously acting as branches of global pedagogic communities and as venues entrenched within the social hierarchies of Pakistani communities (Dean, 2005; Pasha, 2015). These schools have to find a balance between preparing students to enter the global university system and the global market and meet the demands of the national curriculum and values of Pakistani culture and religion that are inherent in parents (Rizvi, 2009). Such positioning establishes what literature describes as the pedagogical borderlands, the spaces where numerous citizenship discourses interact, compete, and hybridize (Buendía et al., 2003).

The definition of the term citizenship is postulated here as performative and relational, neither static nor essentialised (Halai & Durrani, 2018). In line with Isin's (2008) articulation on acts of citizenship, this study focuses on the way citizenship identities are practiced in elementary classrooms in relation to language usage, choice of curricula, and the interaction between students and their teachers (Hammersley

& Atkinson, 2019). The classroom is also a critical place to notice that youngsters belonging to Pakistani elite classes bargain to join a variety of potentially conflicting citizenship groups: local, national, religious, and global (Dean, 2005).

Ethnography follows this theoretical orientation methodologically by emphasising the close observation of social practices in their natural context (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2019). Micro-processes of making abstract citizenship concepts concrete, contested, and meaningful, in particular interactional moments, are recorded in ethnographic fieldnotes (Spradley, 2016). This practice does not indicate citizenship education as imparted knowledge, but as one that is continuously socialised by institutions, power relations, and individuals.

METHODOLOGY: CLASSROOM ETHNOGRAPHY

Ethnographic Approach and Duration

The research methodology used in this study is the classroom ethnography, which is a qualitative research design focused on understanding the culture of education by using immersive extended fieldwork (Emerson et al., 2011; Hammersley & Atkinson, 2019). Classroom ethnography is a participant observation in schools or classrooms that perceives classrooms as a cultural space where teachers and students build their meanings, practices, and identities together (Gordon et al., 2001). The study adhered to the main provisions of ethnography: long fieldwork, use of diverse techniques of data collection based on fieldnotes, holistic contextual understanding, self-awareness of researcher role, and inductive analysis (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2019).

The fieldwork lasted six months in this qualitative observational research study (Pink & Morgan, 2013). Fetterman (2019) confirms that comprehensive ethnography takes six months to two years of continuity in the study of the targeted culture to adequately learn about it and get understanding in the data collection. The six-month period ensured that enough time to observe with in the field was spent, thus capturing both the routine patterns and variations in the practices of citizenship education at the various curricular units and school events (Emerson et al., 2011; Gordon et al., 2001).

Research Sites and Participants

To factor in the different types of institutions in the stratified educational setting of Pakistan, three schools in Lahore (English-medium) were sampled intentionally to reflect the different categories of schools in Pakistan. School A is based on the International Baccalaureate Primary Year Programme (IB PYP), School B is based on the Cambridge International Curriculum, and School C is based on a hybrid curriculum of national requirements and elements of the Cambridge Curriculum. All three schools accept students from the families with upper and upper-middle-income and explicitly sell their international education of being a global citizen.

Within each school, one Grade 7 Social Studies classroom (12-13 years of age) was chosen as the main observation site. Grade 7 is one of the crucial stages in terms of citizenship identity formation and correlates with the curriculum unit, especially in dealing with the global citizenship theme in all three institutional settings. There were 26-28 number of students in each classroom and three teachers with experience between 8-15 years.

Data Collection: Ethnographic Fieldnotes

In the given research, ethnographic fieldnotes represent the sole instrument of data collection because they are standard in educational ethnographic research, in which observational data are favoured over interview data (Spradley, 2016). Fieldnotes can capture situated, embodied, and interactional aspects of classroom life that can never be accessed using retrospective interviews or the analysis of documents on its own (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2019). The researchers made participant observations of 4-5 hours per week in the three respective classes, which amounted to about 80 hours of observation (Emerson et al., 2011; Pink & Morgan, 2013)

Fieldnote collection was based on 4-part framework proposed by Spradley (2016): condensed accounts, expanded accounts, journal entries, and analysis/interpretation notes. Observations in the classroom were recorded in abbreviated, condensed forms, as they occurred through written accounts. The condensed notes were elaborated into the expanded accounts that observations produced, recreating classroom events, verbatim transcripts of conversations where feasible, descriptions of physical space, behaviour of the participants, and background information in less than 24 hours of every observation (Spradley, 2016). The journal entries identified the emotional reactions of the researchers, emerging questions, and reflexive thoughts about positionality (Spradley, 2016). Theoretical learning and understanding of the transformation throughout the analysis and interpretation were registered as notes (Spradley, 2016). The evolving theoretical insights and connections with the current literature have been recorded.

The role of the researcher was more of observer-as-participant, who tried to remain analytically distant and formed enough rapport to make naturalistic observations (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2019). Special attention was paid to the following during fieldnotes: teacher explanations of the concepts of citizenship; curricular materials (textbooks, videos, etc.); questions and comments of students; discussions about local, national, and global issues in the classroom; assessment activities; and informal interactions with peers (Spradley, 2016). Language use was also carefully recorded, including code-switching between English and Urdu, the use of Islamic terms, mentioning Pakistani and international examples, and students using global citizenship terms (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2019).

Data Analysis

Iterative inductive coding schemes typical of ethnographic analysis have been used to analyse fieldnotes (Emerson et al., 2011; Hammersley & Atkinson, 2019). The first round of open coding revealed emergent themes linked to global-local conflicts, pedagogies, negotiations of student identity, and institutional settings (Spradley, 2016). Initial codes were then clustered into bigger analytical themes, which included curriculum mediation practices, identity work, dynamics of privilege and power, and the formation of globalised citizenship. Analyses of patterns across three sites could reveal similarities and specificity of the sites, which allowed for comparative conclusions without ignoring the specifics of the context (Pink & Morgan, 2013).

Researcher Positionality and Ethics

Since the researchers are Pakistani teacher education researchers with experience in elite school settings, the researchers had an insider's knowledge but also offered an analytical distance due to university affiliation (Creswell & Poth, 2024). Reflexive journaling tracked the influence of the researchers on observational focus and judgments related to interpretation based on their own assumptions regarding citizenship and the observational focus and interpretive judgments related to the level of education (Angrosino, 2016; Campbell & Lassiter, 2014; Delamont, 2016). The other ethical procedures encompassed

institutional authorisation, parental consent, assent of students, protection of the researcher in the classroom through the use of pseudonyms, and continued discussion of the researchers' presence in the classroom (Creswell & Creswell, 2018).

RESEARCH CONTEXT: ELITE SCHOOLS IN LAHORE'S EDUCATIONAL LANDSCAPE

In Pakistan's hierarchical education system, elite English language schools have a special status (Dean, 2005). Compared to public schools, which cater to the education needs of the majority population with Urdu-medium instructions based on the national curriculum, elite schools are not only quasi-transnational institutions that provide internationally benchmarked curricula and predominantly English language instructions, but also international standards of the facilities and cultural capital in accordance with international professional elites (Rauf & Muhammad, 2024, 2025; Rauf, Muhammad, & Masood, 2024). The annual fees in these schools equal the average Pakistani annual household income, which limits access to the top 5 percent of the socioeconomic range (Halai & Durrani, 2018; Rahman, 2004).

These three schools are illustrative of this elite stratum and reflect the diversity of institutions. School A is an IB World School that emphasises global citizenship in its mission statement and b to the transdisciplinary framework of the IB Primary Years Programme which focuses on international mindedness. The campus of the school has images of the globe and the flags of various countries, and corridors with the works of students on the goals of the United Nations Sustainable Development (UNESCO, 2015). School B is based on the Cambridge curriculum and places more importance on academic rigor and British educational traditions but also implements global perspective units in the curriculum. School C tries to cover both the national needs and requirements of the international standards in which it uses Cambridge materials, but it also tries to ensure that it matches the Punjab Textbook Board requirements (Halai & Durrani, 2018; Rahman, 2004).

The elite schools of Lahore serve families representing business owners, high-level government officials, military personnel, and leaders of multinational corporations, as well as established landed elites. Families have transnational connections through overseas education, professional relations, and relatives in diasporas. Parents choose elite schools not only on the basis of academic excellence but also on social networking, cultural capital, and international higher education preparedness. This puts institutional pressure on schools to achieve not only international educational quality and performance but also the maintenance of Pakistani/Islamic identity.

These elite institutional cultures were evident in the Grade 7 Social Studies classrooms observed in this study. The classroom characteristics included 26-28 number of students, interactive whiteboards, air conditioning, a wide range of learning materials, and English as the language in which all subjects were taught. The teachers were high achievers, most of whom also possessed international qualifications and engaged in professional development, which was based on international best practices. Students were proficient in English and were not only familiar with the events which were taking place worldwide but were also exposed to foreign media and international travel.

FINDINGS: CITIZENSHIP PRAXIS IN ELITE CLASSROOMS

Curriculum Mediation: Navigating Global Frameworks and Local Realities

In accordance with fieldnotes, similar trends were observed, wherein teachers promoted active mediation between the stipulated global citizenship curriculum frameworks and perceived local relevance. In School A, Ms. Zainab presented an IB unit about Rights and Responsibilities and made it very clear why the

Universal Declaration of Human Rights is important: we are in an Islamic country, and that we need to make sense of rights strictly through an Islamic lens. Islam pre-empted rights by 1400 years before the UN." This doubling came up in each of the units, with Ms. Zainab steadily discussing the concept of global citizenship and using both Islamic and Pakistani referents.

Teachers used complex measures to address the possible conflicts between the global citizenship models of pluralism, critical thinking, and universal human rights and the demands of local areas in terms of religious identity, national attachment, and cultural values. According to fieldnotes, strategic selection occurs when teachers select parts of the textbook, additional material, and discussion topics to meet global curriculum goals and also meet local sensitivities without including what might be considered controversial material. Mr. Hassan at School B would skip all the sections of Cambridge texts on gender equality in the Western context and replace text on women's success in the historical experience of the Islamic world with indigenous-produced ones.

Language use is another mediation process. Teachers used both English and Urdu as their code-switches in their speech because the former is a language of global citizenship and global discourse, and the latter is a language of local identity and emotional connection. It was observed that the global citizenship vocabulary, including sustainability, diversity, global competence, etc., was usually presented in English, and conversations about Pakistani identity, Islamic values, and national challenges attracted the inclusion of Urdu phrases. This linguistic display supports the links between global citizenship and foreign/elite worlds with local citizenship and a native/grounded world.

Fieldnotes further noted instances of direct teacher censure in global citizenship frameworks. In one of the discussions in a staff room, which was recorded in fieldnotes, Ms. Ayesha (School C) commented: "These Western ideas about global citizenship do not necessarily suit us. They desire to educate their children to ask about everything, but we also must teach respect for parents, teachers, religion." These comments demonstrated the sensitivity of teachers to the situation between progressive pedagogy (associated with global citizenship programmes) and conservative social norms in Pakistani progressive elite families.

Identity Negotiations: Students Navigating Multiple Citizenship Communities

One of the main themes in the fieldnotes was student identity work, where observations showed how students aligned themselves with rival citizenship structures. Students displayed an advanced ability to switch comprehensively between citizenship identities within classroom contexts, expectations of their teachers, and student dynamics. In a School A discussion on climate change, it was easy to get students to take on the language of global citizenship, where they said they were all global citizens responsible for the planet, but discussions about the Kashmir conflict led to strongly nationalistic Pakistani identity declarations.

Citizenship identity is gendered, and the fieldnotes have been able to reveal some patterns. Hybrid citizenship identities that considered both global awareness and local rootedness were most frequently expressed by female students: "I am a Pakistani and Muslim, first of all, I want to study abroad and explore other cultures." Male students were found to be more attached to nationalist discourse, especially on geopolitical matters involving India. These tendencies indicate that citizenship education in elite schools produces dissimilar influences on gendered citizenship subjectivities.

Peer interactions recorded in the fieldnotes indicated that the students were policing each other's citizenship claims. In a Model UN simulation, when a student in School B gave a vigorous pro-world government speech, the others put him to task: "So, you would relinquish the sovereignty of Pakistan? It is not acting

like a good Pakistani.” These incidents have made classrooms of citizenship education a place where students can actively construct boundaries that define acceptable citizenship identity in high-status peer cultures.

Students also showed themselves being aware of the privilege and privileged status in Pakistani society of citizenship. In one instance observed through fieldnotes of a service-learning discussion at School A, the following was the conversation between students: “Student 1: We need to help poor children obtain an education. Student 2: It is not right that we possess all, and they have nothing only because of the place of birth.” Although these instances indicated the development of a critical cognition of structural inequality, teachers usually shifted these conversations to individual charity instead of structural investigation.

Pedagogical Practices: Cosmopolitan Aspirations and Conservative Boundaries

Pedagogical practices were observed in classrooms and contained cosmopolitan-based educational philosophies advocated by international education systems and Pakistani elite-conservative social boundaries. Both schools followed student-centred pedagogues: collaborative learning, project-based assignments, and classroom discussions, in line with constructivist practice, which was embedded in the IB and Cambridge models. Teachers facilitated the debates, encouraged the students to ask questions, and used various world resources, as observed in the fieldnotes.

However, it was found that fieldnotes also presented uniform limits surrounding critical questioning. There has been an open discussion of world politics, whether it is poverty, environmental actions, or human rights, but there were still no analogous examples of critical political evaluation of Pakistani state policies, military, or religious organisations. When the student in School C asked why Pakistan is at the bottom of the global educational ratings, the teacher nudged the student: “We have problems but should concentrate on our own self to make the world a better place.” This tendency indicates that the development of citizenship education in elite schools facilitates some types of critical thinking but also defends established authority.

The practices of assessment observed at various sites showed how global citizenship learning is assessed and justified. Schools A and B used IB and Cambridge rubrics that focused on inquiry skills, a multifaceted approach, and international consciousness. The fieldnotes provided details about students getting high marks on their presentations on UN Sustainable Development Goals in the complex language of global citizenship. Nevertheless, these tests seldom measured students with knowledge of local citizenship issues or critical thinking of structural imbalances in Pakistan.

Another pedagogical aspect recorded in the fieldnotes was technology integration. Videos and virtual and online resources were habitual in all three schools to enhance the classroom through access to the world. However, fieldnotes revealed these international links as working in one way only - the Pakistani elite students studying the world, not the other way around, meaning learning about the world through Pakistani experiences. This strengthened the trends of Pakistani elite students as consumers of world culture, not as the source of knowledge appreciated in world cultures.

Material Culture and Spatial Politics

A record of fieldnotes on the physical surroundings of classrooms showed how the material culture and spatial organisation expressed orientations towards specific citizenships. The classrooms of School A had world maps projected, images of various places in the world, and pieces of work by students on international topics. Conversely, School C classrooms were decorated with Pakistani flags, maps with Pakistan in their

centre, exhibitions dedicated to national icons, and Islamic calligraphy. School B was somewhere in the middle with both national and foreign images.

Textbook analysis, as a part of fieldnotes, revealed differences in the content of textbooks, IB-specific textbooks, and nationally aligned textbooks. IB texts include various examples of the world, questioning, and multicultural images. Cambridge texts are evenly distributed in global and local content. The texts were nationally focused and promoted Pakistani history, Islamic civilisation, and national stories. Micro-level curriculum decisions that constructed the knowledge of students about citizenship were reflected in teachers' decisions about the priorities in texts used in teaching.

The allocation of time in classrooms was also recorded in fieldnotes as a measure of citizenship priorities. International issues (climate change, global poverty, international organisations) are identified at all three sites and are taught much more time than local civic concerns (municipal governance, local environmental issues, community organising). This time distribution implies that elite school education on citizenship prepares students to interact with world problems and international community organisations instead of local politics.

Power, Privilege, and the Reproduction of Elite Citizenship

The fieldnotes showed that citizenship teaching in elite schools provides global awareness to students and simultaneously recreates the privilege of classes at the same time. Elite positioning is reflected and supported by the concept of citizenship education based on global interaction, international career, and transnational mobility. Fieldnotes recorded the teachers and students by assuming that international university education, overseas travel, and fluency in the English language are conditions that differentiate elite Pakistani experiences from majority experiences.

This dynamic was reflected in the service-learning programs that were seen in all three schools. According to fieldnotes, students had a great interest in charity work, which included gathering donations to help victims of floods, attending an orphanage, and conducting a fundraiser. However, these programs put students in the role of good elites who benefit less lucky individuals rather than fellow citizens working on shared political initiatives. The teachers' approach was based on perceived personal responsibility and sympathy, and not on structural analysis and solidarity.

It was also found that there was a lack of substantive interaction with Pakistan's internal diversity. Although Pakistan is ethnically, linguistically, and religiously pluralistic, the diversity in the classroom was discussed in reference to international settings almost exclusively, such as learning other countries' cultures, whereas the provincial discrepancies, minorities, and non-national identities in Pakistan were discussed at a very low level. This trend implies that elite citizenship education encourages the embrace of cosmopolitan relationships with other (distant) individuals and avoids closeness to marginalised groups in Pakistan.

Critical Moments: Disruptions and Possibilities

While fieldnotes showed predominant trends of glocalised citizenship education which replicated elite positioning, it was also observed that there are instances of disruption and alternative possibilities. In School B, there was a long debate when children were told about climate justice and global inequality in carbon emissions. Several students wondered why rich nations and people (such as themselves) were the perpetrators of environmental harm that disproportionately disadvantaged poor communities. Although the teacher eventually transitioned to the individual-level approach of eco-friendly behaviour, the discussion showed that students were capable of rigorous structural analysis based on pedagogical support.

The second critical moment occurred at School A, when the topic of refugees and migration was studied. The Pakistani Afghan refugee study was investigated by students with fieldnotes showing that students felt especially poignant; they have lived here for decades, and we still refer to them as refugees. Why should we not consider them as Pakistanis? Such discussions created an opportunity to investigate the border of citizenship, national belonging, and how Pakistan treated marginalised community issues that are not usually included in the curriculum.

The fieldnotes also indicated that there were individual students who opposed the predominant structures of citizenship. A student in School C was the one who continuously criticised the narratives of nationalism, including the militarization, which suggested the idea of regional peace collaboration. While these roles could lead to peer critique, they enable citizenship education classrooms to be heterogeneous in terms of perspective and offer space for critical citizenship imagination.

DISCUSSION: THE PARADOX OF GLOCALIZED ELITE CITIZENSHIP

This ethnography paper exposes elite school citizenship education in Lahore as a multidimensional location of glocalisation, where global citizenship models are adopted, modified, and challenged at the same location. The results shed light on three fundamental paradoxes of glocalised citizenship praxis.

Elite schools encourage cosmopolitan opening to global diversity and preserve limited national and religious identity allegiance. This tension finds a way out in the strategies of compartmentalisation by both teachers and students: in certain areas, global engagement in some domains (environmental issues, cultural appreciation, using international careers) becomes normal, whereas in other areas, Pakistani/Islamic specifics (political loyalty, moral values, interpreting history) are insisted upon. Such selective cosmopolitanism allows cherry-picking elites to enjoy global opportunities but still has local legitimacy.

Second, education on citizenship in these schools makes use of progressive pedagogies that prioritise the thinking of criticality and student agency, but whose operations are constrained by conservative systems upholding the status quo. Students are taught to doubt, scrutinise, and challenge, but under highly restrictive conditions that hardly raise questions of authorities, elite class status, or any dominant faith. This generates what could be called bounded criticality, analytical capabilities that only apply to disengaged or remote matters and not to systems that directly sustain the status quo of elite locations.

Third, the concept of elite citizenship education simultaneously introduces opportunities for students to participate in the global arena and recreate the structural inequalities within Pakistan. These schools provide opportunities for personal development and intercultural empathy by training elite students to be transnational and global workers. However, this international focus might reduce the devotion to civic engagement and united solidarity with the marginalised group of Pakistani people. Elite students emerge as global citizens who will strengthen instead of disrupting their position of privilege in the classes.

These contradictions are indicative of larger contradictions in global citizenship education (UNESCO, 2015). The GCE framework created by UNESCO encourages global values such as human rights, sustainability, and intercultural understanding, but all implementations must happen to specific political economies, cultural systems, and power structures which define how these values are understood and implemented. The elite schools of Pakistan are those in which GCE can provide a resource for cultural distinction, a GCE that is a kind of elite credentialing that simultaneously specifies cosmopolitan refinement and comprehends Pakistani genuineness.

The research also contributes to the methodology in that it portrays the ability of ethnographic fieldnotes to grasp processual, interactional, and embodied aspects of citizenship education. Curriculum analysis reveals the intended learning of citizenship and interviews the espoused belief, whereas the fieldnotes record citizenship learning in the form of classroom talk, material culture, pedagogical decisions, and student-teacher interactions (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2019). Such an ethnographic methodology helps uncover differences between the official language and reality in life, which shows the micro-politics of identity formation of citizenship (Fetterman, 2019; Spradley, 2016).

CONCLUSION

This ethnographic work on citizenship education in the elite schools in Lahore shows that the global is already local, and it is made up of specific institutional settings, cultural logics, and relations of power. Instead of conceiving global citizenship education as an idealised set of practices that are applied more or less faithfully, this study uncovers citizenship praxis as inherently glocalised—that is, hybrid bodies that have been formed in the realm of interpenetrated global and local elements to create unique elite citizenship subjectivities.

In Pakistan, elite schools are contact zones in which rival citizenship discourses are circulated, negotiated, and hybridised. Teachers act as mediators of culture between the demands of institutions, curriculum, parental expectations, and personal obligations to citizenship. With this kind of education, students become multi-layered citizens of Pakistan, Muslims, and global citizens in a manner that reproduces their elite status.

The findings of the study challenge reductionist accounts about global citizenship education either as a progressive change or as Western cultural imperialism. Rather, adaptive processes where global structures are tactically adopted, selectively adopted, and made locally significant are expressed in elite citizenship education in Pakistan, which limits the specific possibilities of citizenship. These complicated processes require a long period of ethnographic focus on citizenship praxis in everyday interactions within a classroom.

This study has several implications. More reflexivity is necessary in the way citizenship curricula reproduce or problematise existing inequalities, specifically in elite educational settings. Instead of thinking about global citizenship education that is prioritised to propagate progressive values, teachers could critically consider the question of whose citizenship is centred and privileged, which patterns of civic engagement are encouraged, and what structural inequalities go unquestioned.

The implications of the findings for policymakers are that curriculum frameworks are insufficient in determining citizenship learning outcomes. The citizenship curriculum entails multifaceted mediations that depend on the culture of institutions, teacher practices, beliefs, local politics, and students. Effective citizenship education can only be achieved by providing teachers with the ability to negotiate these complexities instead of merely requiring specific curricular items.

This work shows the usefulness of classroom ethnography in learning more about citizenship education outside the discourse of intended curriculum. Future studies could use such ethnographic methods in different types of schools in Pakistan and other postcolonial situations to learn how citizenship education works differently from one end of educational stratification to another. Comparative ethnographic research might help shed light on how class, religion, language, and geography are incorporated into citizenship aspirations in learning institutions.

This research also has limitations, such as providing information about three schools in one city, which does not allow generalisation of the results to the entire educational environment in Pakistan. The six-month period is a relatively short period of immersion in ethnographic practices which would otherwise take a year or longer. The reliance on fieldnotes alone, despite its methodological consistency, implied the rejection of interview information, which could have provided more information about the participants' views.

Finally, this ethnography reveals elite citizenship education in Lahore as a site where global aspirations and local realities, cosmopolitan openness and bounded identities, critical pedagogies, and conservative limits coexist in productive tension. These tensions are not problems to be resolved but rather constitutive features of citizenship education within globalised postcolonial contexts. Understanding such complexity requires sustained ethnographic engagement with citizenship praxis as lived, embodied, and negotiated in everyday spaces where young people learn what it means to be citizens of their local communities, nations, and the world.

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