

Research in Global Learning

Methodologies for global citizenship
and sustainable development education

Edited by Douglas Bourn



UCLPRESS

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Contents

<i>List of figures and tables</i>	ix
<i>List of contributors</i>	xi
<i>List of abbreviations</i>	xv
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	xvii
General introduction	1
<i>Douglas Bourn</i>	
Part I: Relationship of policy to practice	11
1 Grounding PISA: comparing views of the PISA global competence questionnaire across the centre and periphery in Israel	15
<i>Heela Goren</i>	
2 Ethnography and sustainable learning in Jamaica	35
<i>Romina De Angelis</i>	
3 Bridging practice and policy through post-positivist realism: understanding primary school teachers' agency for global citizenship education in South Korea	53
<i>Kyoungwon Lee</i>	
Part II: Opportunities and constraints within different education systems and the role of teachers	71
4 Understanding global learning through the lens of global citizenship education in Kazakhstan	75
<i>Natalya Hanley</i>	

5	Global learning as a pedagogical approach to develop the purpose and value of primary science education <i>Amy Strachan</i>	93
6	Global learning enabling teacher voices in one Greek primary school: mixed methods including action research and interviews <i>Giannis Efthymiou</i>	111
7	Framing the ‘other’: examining social studies textbooks in Pakistan using critical discourse analysis <i>Aamna Pasha</i>	131
	Part III: Global citizenship, internationalisation and sustainable development in higher education	147
8	The value of multiple case studies in researching internationalisation of higher education <i>Monika Kraska Birbeck</i>	151
9	Global citizenship education in higher education in Ghana: the added value of case study to global learning <i>Simon Eten Angyagre</i>	167
10	Analysis of teacher education curriculum in Turkey regarding education for sustainable development <i>Nese Soysal</i>	185
	Part IV: Perspectives and voices of young people and students	203
11	A longitudinal study on Chinese international students’ perception of global citizenship during study in the UK <i>Xi Tao</i>	207
12	Personalised and dynamic: life experiences tailor how young people engage locally and globally <i>Stephanie Mitsuko Kukita</i>	225

13	Global citizenship and inequality: voices of Caribbean young people in London and Tobago	237
	<i>Yvette Allen</i>	
	Conclusion: research in global learning	255
	<i>Douglas Bourn</i>	
	<i>Index</i>	259

List of figures and tables

Figures

3.1	A revised model of understanding the achievement of agency.	60
5.1	The theoretical framework informing the global learning approach to primary science.	96

Tables

5.1	Attitudinal survey comparing stakeholder attitudes towards embedding global learning in primary science (adapted from Bamber et al. 2013)	99
5.2	Links between primary science programmes of study in England (DfE 2013) and Sustainable Development Goals (UN 2015)	103
5.3	Stakeholder groups and global perspectives in science	104
10.1	Programmes from which data were collected	190
10.2	Course and coursebook analysis on ESD	192
10.3	Content-based ESD courses	196
10.4	Examples of courses based on ESD	197

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List of abbreviations

BERA	British Educational Research Association
DfE	Department for Education (UK government ministry for England)
ESD	Education for Sustainable Development
GCE	Global Citizenship Education
IB	International Baccalaureate
(I)NGOs	(International) Non-Governmental Organisations
ITE	Initial Teacher Education
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
P4C	Philosophy for Children
PAR	Participatory Action Research
PISA	Programme for International Student Assessment
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals
STEM	Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

Acknowledgements

This volume is a result of a series of conversations and seminars held with a range of doctoral students and academics both in the UK and internationally. Several of the chapters also build on presentations given at past conferences organised by the Academic Network on Global Education and Learning (ANGEL) or at the Development Education Research Centre at University College London. This important network has played a major role in supporting and encouraging the promotion and publication of outputs of early career researchers. I would like to thank colleagues within University College London who have helped with supporting the research journey of many of the authors of these chapters.

General introduction

Douglas Bourn

Making sense of an increasingly complex and interconnected world has become a feature of educational policies and programmes in recent years. Themes such as global poverty, climate change, combating xenophobia and racism, and a desire for a more peaceful and just world have become popular, mainly in response to pressures from society and the influence and impact of social movements. The engagement of these themes within education by both policymakers and practitioners is, however, not new. Since the 1980s, there have been initiatives under the headings of global education or learning; development education; and global citizenship education or education for sustainable development (Bourn 2015; Hicks and Holden 2007; Gadsby and Bullivant 2010; Hartmeyer and Wegimont 2016; Ishii 2003; Kirkwood-Tucker 2009; Petersen and Warwick 2015; Davies, Sant et al. 2018).

Policy support for these themes within education has, however, tended to be in high-income countries and often those who are donor aid countries. Very often, support for learning about global and international issues has been linked to policies and programmes that have a close connection to development programmes. In Europe, an example of this is the European Commission through its Europe Aid programmes, which have consistently supported and funded projects under the label of development education since the 1980s.

In more recent years, due in part to the influence of UNESCO and the Sustainable Development Goals, themes such as global citizenship, education for sustainable development and human rights education have gained increased visibility and support. This has resulted in engagement in these themes from policymakers and practitioners in some lower and middle-income countries (Bosio 2021; Davies, Ho et al. 2018; Hantzopoulos and Bajaj 2021). Another initiative that demonstrates the interest in learning about global issues has been the PISA (Programme for International Student Assessment) Global Competencies initiative of

the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) in 2018, which is discussed in this volume by Goren.

However, engagement in the field in terms of academic research and debate has been less evident. There was no academic journal focused on this educational field prior to 2008.¹ Up to 2010, the number of doctoral studies in the English language related to themes such as global learning and global citizenship could probably have been counted on the fingers of one hand.

Influenced by the heightened interest in learning about global issues since then, there has been a radical change not only marked by an increase in the publication of doctoral studies, but also the expansion of a number of academic journals or special issues of well-known educational journals and books on themes such as global citizenship education, development education, global learning and global social justice. This growth has been helped by the creation of the Development Education Research Centre at UCL-IOE in 2008 and in 2017 the Academic Network of Global Education (ANGEL). Since then, further research centres have emerged in Canada, Italy, Portugal, Spain and the United States.

Not surprisingly for a relatively new educational field, many of the publications have tended to focus on conceptual areas or on providing evidence for initiatives by civil society organisations. The field has also been predominantly based on perspectives from North America and Western Europe. A weakness, then, has been the lack of empirical research-based studies and perspectives from Africa, Asia, the Middle East and Central and South America. There has also been no study to date that looks at different methodological approaches.

This volume aims to address these gaps and weaknesses in the field by:

- Promoting a range of methodologies and approaches to research in global learning.
- Highlighting research from different regions of the world.
- Showcasing examples of research in different sectors of education and the relationship to both policy and practice.
- Demonstrating the importance of research to building a constituency of evidence on the value of a pedagogical approach for global social justice to achieving a more just and sustainable world and the broader social relevance of this field of learning and education.

Doctorates in philosophy or education provide an important indicator of growth in empirical research. However, this research is rarely published

in accessible forms that can be of value to policymakers and practitioners, as well as other researchers. All of the chapters in this volume are in some form based on, influenced by or revisiting themes addressed in the authors' own doctoral-level research. The research upon which these chapters are based was conducted between 2014 and 2021 and therefore the literature referred to in many of the chapters dates from this period or earlier.

This volume has four main themes: the relationship between policy and practice; opportunities and constraints for teachers; internationalisation, global citizenship and sustainable development within higher education; and the voices of students and young people. These four themes have been chosen, first, because a feature of global learning, and its related areas of global citizenship education and education for sustainable development, is the extent to which they have emerged as responses to policy agendas or grown from practice. Second, the themes have also been heavily influenced by broader ideological forces; a key theme, therefore, is the extent to which global learning has been able to work through or round these forces. A third theme is that of higher education, which has become an area for some of the debates around global learning and global citizenship in recent years. For example, to what extent is there evidence of these themes being seen as more than just marketing tools for universities to demonstrate their global reach? Finally, there is broader anecdotal evidence that many young people are interested in global and sustainability themes. Many policymakers and civil society organisations have targeted young people and students as potential forces for change but to date few studies have directly sought their views and opinions. The three chapters covering this theme demonstrate the importance of making a distinction between the process of learning and how views evolve and change.

The research upon which the chapters in this volume are based addresses these questions through reviewing a range of empirical evidence from teachers, academics, young people, students and policymakers, as well as document analysis of both policies and educational textbooks and other resources.

Global learning: an important component of formal education

A range of terms will be referred to in this volume: global education or learning; development education; global citizenship education;

environmental education; and education for sustainable development. Most of these terms come from a common root of promoting the value of learning about global and sustainability issues and themes. There has been discussion elsewhere about differing interpretations of these terms (Bourn 2015; Hicks and Holden 2007; Nolet 2016; Oxley and Morris 2013; Petersen and Warwick 2015) and several chapters in this volume discuss some of these debates. To enable the reader to make sense of this complex web of concepts and their differing interpretations, the aim here is merely to summarise the linkages and connections that demonstrate a high degree of commonality of perspectives regardless of the dominant term being used. This commonality can be summarised as:

- Recognition of the importance of promoting a global outlook within all aspects of learning.
- Having social justice as a key values base.
- Addressing power differentials and inequalities in the world.
- Encouraging active engagement in society to secure social and environmental change.
- Promoting concern and care for the environment.
- The contribution of human rights to a more just society.
- Learning should be participatory, interactive and include dialogue and reflection and challenging assumptions.

In summary, this is an approach to education that has as its common root a sense of common humanity and protection of the planet, together with posing approaches to learning that challenge common orthodoxies and promote a sense of global social and environmental justice.

For example, Lee in her chapter on South Korea uses the term global citizenship education because it is the term used by the government there in its promotion of the area within schools. In teacher education in Turkey, Soysal frames her research around education for sustainable development because that term is increasingly being used within that area of education in that country. De Angelis also focuses on environmental education and education for sustainable development with regard to her research in Jamaica because that field has a degree of influence within schools. Goren's research is based on an analysis of the term global competence as defined by the OECD. Allen, Kukita

and Tao use the term global citizenship because they are particularly interested in young people's perspectives on their sense of a global outlook and identity. Strachan uses the term global learning because in the English context this term was used within two major national educational programmes. Efthymiou uses the same term but for different reasons; he sees it as the most appropriate term for reviewing teachers' pedagogical approaches. Pasha uses the term global education because she views it as an umbrella term and one that is particularly relevant to the social studies curriculum in the country of her study, Pakistan. Finally, global citizenship education is the dominant term used by Kraska Birbeck, Eten Angyagre and Hanley. For Kraska Birbeck and Eten Angyagre, this is because the focus of their studies is higher education and here the term is gaining increasing influence, particularly when viewed alongside internationalisation. Hanley, on the other hand, uses it as an approach to learning about global issues but does so in making connections to the differing approaches to global citizenship.

In summary, within these variations in terminology a distinctive educational field can be identified that is now bringing together academics, policymakers and practitioners within the following themes:

- Recognising and addressing the global context within which learning takes place and the interconnectedness of systems and people's lives.
- Understanding and learning about different perspectives and voices from around the world and seeing how powerful forces can affect what and how people learn.
- Recognising the interdependency between the natural environment and the social world in educational terms.
- Transformative learning – the idea of transforming educational settings rather than just studying them and considering teachers and educators as agents of change.
- Encouraging the promotion of a pedagogy that is learner centred, participatory and encourages critical thinking.
- Supporting an approach to learning that welcomes and supports learners taking their understanding further into forms of social action.
- Endorsing the adoption of an overarching umbrella term covering a range of educational traditions and a body of knowledge on global issues.
- Recognising a pedagogical framework to learning and learning about interdependent local and global problems.

Why research?

Education is an essential aspect of the lives and cultures of all societies and communities around the world. Educational research therefore can play an important part in the contribution of learning, understanding different approaches and impact and influence on policy. As Biesta (2020) notes, there is an assumption that a purpose of research is to make education better, but as he further suggests there is a need to make a distinction between explanation, understanding and emancipation. A feature of the field of global learning is its relationship to broader social purpose.

For many engaged in the field of global learning, it is this emancipatory role, often linked to the ideas of Paulo Freire, that have been particularly influential. To Freire, education should have a liberatory focus, enabling people to read the world, critically reflect on it and through knowledge and understanding seek to change it (Freire 1985).

Global learning as an educational field is all about societal impact. Research in global learning must have social relevance and is much more than knowledge for knowledge's sake. But as mentioned in this introduction, global learning has been heavily reliant on policy development and practical application. It has been criticised for having a weak theoretical basis (Andreotti 2006; Marshall 2007; Reimers 2020) and for many years was seen to be on the margins of mainstream educational practice (McCollum 1996).

An important feature of much of educational research, which is reinforced in this volume, is the engagement and application of practitioners, particularly teachers. As some of the chapters also demonstrate, application of action research can have a direct impact on practice.

Several of the chapters in this volume are based on research undertaken by doctoral students at University College London's Faculty of Education. The Development Education Research Centre (DERC) within the university has played a major role in supporting many of these students through providing opportunities for seminars, personal supervision and opportunities to network with fellow researchers. These former students also benefitted from the excellent research tradition within University College London and its Faculty of Education. The authors of the chapters where research was initiated outside of DERC have all benefitted from engagement with the Centre by presenting their research at seminars and conferences. This space for early career researchers to share the outcomes of their work is a very important part of building a robust research community on global learning.

Types of research

Educational research is usually based on gathering data. It can take many forms, quantitative, qualitative, narrative or ethnographic, and can also have a participatory action component. Quantitative data, for example, is about gathering statistical data, often based on questionnaires or similar approaches. Qualitative data is usually concerned with non-numerical data and is usually the result of interviews or focus groups. Narrative forms of research are usually trying to capture journeys of individuals, their own stories. Ethnographic research is more observational and participatory action research includes some forms of intervention by the researcher to engage the subjects of the research in constructing the processes and outcomes of the research.

Educational research can also take three forms: positivist, interpretive and critical. One chapter reflects on a post-positivist perspective. The emphasis on interpretive and critical research will be evident in all of the chapters in this volume. In various forms, the chapters show the particular influence of critical perspectives on the basis that educational research around global learning is incomplete unless it recognises the political and ideological contexts in which the research takes place and also its social impact. The environment in which the research takes place and the different ways the evidence can be interpreted are important themes relevant to global learning. Critical theory will also aim to highlight power differentials, and the extent to which the research can assist in social change and transformation.

Another element that can be seen in several chapters is participatory research with a focus on doing research with people and communities rather than doing research *to* or *for* people and communities. There is also an assumption that participatory research will lead to change and development of communities and groups involved in the research. Participatory research is also seen as a way of empowering communities.

Voices and perspectives from all regions of the world

The field of global learning, as suggested earlier, has been dominated by perspectives from North America and Europe despite its emphasis on promoting a range of voices and approaches. A range of publications and resources have included voices from the Global South (Bosio 2021; Kwapong et al. 2022; Moraes and Freire 2020). Themes from decolonisation can also be seen in writings of Pashby et al. (2021) and Swanson and Gemal (2021).

But there have to date been relatively few publications that bring together empirical research from different countries and regions of the world. The chapters in this volume aim to address this imbalance by providing not only chapters on different countries and regions of the world but authors who come from these areas and who reflect a range of non-Western perspectives. For example, there are chapters that address approaches and views on global learning from Ghana, Pakistan, Kazakhstan, Brazil, Trinidad and Tobago, Jamaica and China. In addition, countries such as Turkey, Israel, Greece and Poland are also covered within the chapters.

The one chapter on England, by Strachan, also looks at an area of global learning that is rarely covered within research, namely, learning within science lessons in primary schools.

Structure of the volume

The four themes identified form the basis of the structure of the volume, which is arranged around four main parts:

1. Relationship of policy to practice;
2. Opportunities and constraints within different education systems and the role of teachers;
3. Global citizenship, internationalisation and sustainable development within higher education;
4. Perspectives and voices of young people and students.

Each theme is prefaced by some introductory observations from the volume editor on the significance of the specific research for both methodologies and the value of the content in relation to global learning.

The volume ends with a concluding chapter by the editor which situates the research within broader discourses in and around global learning, and highlights the importance of the evidence for broader educational and societal debates about global and sustainability issues.

Note

- 1 There have been three journals with more of a professional practice focus and some academic input: *The Development Education Journal*, which ran in the UK from 1995 to 2006; *Policy and Practice: Development Education Review* based in Ireland, which began in 2005; and *ZEP: Journal of International Educational Research and Development Education* based in Germany, which has been in existence since 1978.

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Part I

Relationship of policy to practice

The field of global learning and related areas such as global citizenship and education for sustainable development have tended to evolve as a result of policy initiatives promoted at the national or international level. There has been a considerable body of literature covering these fields in relation to policy influences. These include Wegimont (2020) and Alasuutari (2011). Studies have looked at the influence of international bodies (Hatley 2019); the influence of particular national strategies (Kim 2019; Kuleta-Hulboj 2020); and the relationship of policy to practice (Forghani-Arani and Hartmeyer 2011).

The impact of these policy influences in relation to global learning has to date not been debated in any degree of depth. Two chapters in this part of the book directly address research in two important policy areas: the OECD and their global competencies initiative through the example of Israel and UNESCO through their promotion of education for sustainable development in Jamaica. Another chapter looks at the influence of policies in South Korea, which is a country that has been among the leaders in promoting global citizenship within schools. However, the approach has tended to be a top-down one and this chapter explores the extent to which the policy framework provides opportunities for a sense of teacher agency.

The countries that form the context for the research in these three chapters are very different in terms of their history, level of engagement and approaches to global learning. Each of these countries has very different educational, social and political traditions that have informed the evidence identified in these chapters. Understanding these different contexts is a key theme of the chapters, which is addressed through very different research methodologies.

The three chapters also show contrasting ways in which research can be conducted, one using a comparative case study approach, another more of a case study approach applying post-positivist realism, while the third is ethnographic. The three chapters demonstrate that different methodologies need to be considered depending on what is most appropriate to obtain the evidence to meet the aims of the research.

Heela Goren's chapter on PISA global competencies in Israeli schools takes a comparative approach, examining schools in two very different settings. The research re-enforces the importance of understanding differing contexts, particularly when the evidence that emerges is very different. The research upon which the chapter is based used a thematic analysis approach based on focus group interviews.

Romina De Angelis's chapter aims at enriching methodological approaches within the literature on educational ethnography and education for sustainable development through a study of the school and the surrounding community. The chapter outlines the distinctive contribution such a methodological approach can provide to understanding the role of the school and the community in response to national curriculum initiatives. The inconsistencies and contradictions between national policy initiatives and grassroots practice are a major feature of this chapter. The chapter also identifies the potential value of more bottom-up initiatives that can empower communities; it is this tension between the desire from policymakers for quick solutions and more longer-term empowering approaches that forms a major theme of De Angelis's research.

Kyoungwon Lee's chapter seeks to explore primary school teachers' pedagogical decisions in relation to global citizenship education in South Korea through understanding teacher agency within a wider context and rethinking teacher education in terms of pedagogical approaches to global citizenship education through post-positivist realism. This methodology enables the conditions for teacher agency to be explored, together with showing how global citizenship education can be interpreted in different ways. South Korea may have been one of the leading countries in the world promoting global citizenship within schools but there has been criticism that the national policy drive has not empowered teachers to develop their own approach. Lee's research addresses these questions, demonstrating that the relationship between policy implementation and practice within schools is complex. Her research included a series of interviews and focus group discussions with a number of primary school teachers. A feature of the research process was to encourage a process of personal development and self-reflection by the teachers through a series of workshops.

All three chapters highlight the tensions and conflicts in fields such as global citizenship and education for sustainable development in terms of the relationships between policies and practices. There is a need for much more research that independently examines the agendas of policy-makers in terms of how national educational priorities are implemented, adapted and supported. These chapters provide a valuable starting point in this process.

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Grounding PISA: comparing views of the PISA global competence questionnaire across the centre and periphery in Israel

Heela Goren

The 2018 round of the OECD's Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) included a measure of global competence, which aimed to assess the extent to which pupils around the world are prepared to engage with global society and its challenges. The measure is said to have been developed in response to UNESCO's Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), as a way to assess goal 4.7, which calls for global citizenship education to be made available to all pupils. The aim of this chapter is to show how pupils' formal educational spaces as well as other parts of their environment can have a profound influence on the way they construct their own understandings of global society and imagine their place in a globalised world. In the chapter, I briefly introduce the purported aims of the measure; present some critiques voiced by others regarding the framework; and provide and discuss findings from focus group discussions and individual interviews with Israeli pupils and teachers, highlighting their distinct interpretations of some of the items from the measure. This chapter problematises the 'one-size-fits-all' or universalist assumptions underlying the global competence assessment, and calls attention to the importance of understanding contextually unique bottom-up perceptions of the term as a way of accommodating differences in the needs of different populations while promoting equality of opportunity for global engagement.

In the chapter, I focus on the following overarching research question: How does the sociopolitical context of Israel and elements of different educational settings shape the way pupils and teachers understand and relate to the PISA global competence questionnaire? I examine this question through a critical comparative analysis of seven focus groups, each consisting of five to six pupils aged 15–16, and interviews with 11

teachers conducted in two schools in Israel. One of the schools is situated in a large, central city (Tel Aviv), while the other is in a smaller peripheral city (Valley City, pseudonym). Four interviews were conducted in the former school and seven in the latter school. The data are analysed using thematic analysis, which is useful in identifying commonalities across data without obstructing the unique facets of individual cases (Braun and Clarke 2006).

Theoretical framework and literature review

This chapter is situated in the field of comparative education research. It responds to a recent shift towards contextually grounded comparisons that consider the multitude of factors that shape and impact the way education policies are framed, formed and enacted in different settings, as well as how the local navigates the global. This shift is not representative of the entire field, and others have rightly argued that the ‘new paradigm’ in comparative education holds large-scale comparative measurements in high regard and is characterised by a desire to ‘discover’ best practices at the national level for the sake of ‘successful’ transfer (Auld and Morris 2014). As such, the growing calls for contextualisation and nuanced interpretations to which this chapter responds could be viewed as a pendulum-swing reaction to the foregrounding of data in research studies.

Background: PISA global competence framework

In 2018, the institutionalisation of global citizenship education by UNESCO and the OECD led to the most large-scale attempt to assess and compare the global competence levels of pupils through PISA. The measure developed by PISA was based on the following definition of global competence (OECD 2018, 5):

a multidimensional capacity ... [through which] globally competent individuals can examine local, global, and intercultural issues, understand and appreciate different perspectives and world views, interact successfully and respectfully with others, and take responsible action toward sustainability and collective well-being.

The measure breaks global competence down into four dimensions or abilities (OECD 2020, 60): examine issues of local, global and cultural significance; understand and appreciate the perspectives and worldviews

of others; engage in open, appropriate and effective interactions across cultures; take action for collective wellbeing and sustainable development. According to the OECD, each of these dimensions consists of four key areas: values, attitudes, skills and knowledge.

Two instruments were developed for the assessment:

- A *cognitive* test focused on cognitive aspects, including knowledge and cognitive skills of three dimensions of global competence: examining issues of local, global and cultural significance; understanding and appreciating the perspectives and worldviews of others; and taking action for collective wellbeing and sustainable development.
- A set of questionnaire items collecting self-reported information on pupils' awareness of global issues and cultures, skills (both cognitive and social) and attitudes, plus information from schools, teachers and parents on activities to promote global competence. The student questionnaire covered all four dimensions of global competence. (OECD 2020, 66)

It is important to note that the report for the test states that the cognitive test measured cognitive skills and knowledge, and the questionnaire measured knowledge, cognitive skills, and social skills and attitudes – while values, the fourth area, is said to be beyond the scope of the assessment. A total of 27 countries participated in the cognitive part of the test, and 64 participated in the questionnaire.

The cognitive part of the test included short reading sections, after which pupils were asked to provide written answers to a few questions.

The framework specified four major knowledge domains that were deemed relevant to pupils regardless of their specific socio-cultural background. The scenarios were developed to cover one of those domains with the objective of achieving the widest coverage across the test units. The major knowledge domains were 1) culture and intercultural relations; 2) socio-economic development and interdependence; 3) environmental sustainability; and 4) institutions, conflicts and human rights. (OECD 2020, 67)

The cognitive part of the test is beyond the scope of this chapter, but it is important to note the disconnect created in the framework between these 'knowledge domains' and values, and perhaps even more so between the knowledge domains and pupils' sociocultural background.

The student questionnaire, which many more countries opted in for, was distributed (with some changes) to school principals, parents, teachers and pupils – but this chapter will only address the parts distributed to pupils. The pupil questionnaire included 15 sets of questions, five of which included only a single item or were aimed at collecting background information (i.e. how many languages do you speak at home and with whom; how many foreign languages are offered at your school; and do you have contact with people from other countries and where?). The remaining ten included multi-item constructs, which will be elaborated later in this chapter.

Critiques of the measure

Although the results of the PISA global competence assessment were only released in October 2020, several in-depth critiques have already been published, each focusing on a different aspect of the framework and test. These critiques are based on the framework presented in 2018, which also included the questionnaire items. Auld and Morris (2019) conducted an analysis of policy documents related to the framework as well as the framework itself. They show how the conception of global competence by the OECD evolved over time, from a broad and abstract economically oriented term to one that is presented using humanitarian discourse while still informed by economic underlying motives. Auld and Morris argue that this evolution was strongly influenced by the OECD's wish to position itself as the most suitable agency to monitor progress on the SDGs. As part of this process of changing conceptions, UNESCO's vision of global competence needed to be reduced to what could be operationalised and quantitatively measured.

Engel et al. (2019) problematise the underlying and explicit assumption presented in the framework that there is a 'global consensus' on global competence, implying that the OECD's position is to simply meet this demand and supply a product to countries so that they can measure a universally agreed-upon concept. They also call attention to global inequalities, largely ignored in the measure, which seems to include an inherent assumption that everyone has the opportunity to become globally competent, and the only question is whether they have adopted the appropriate dispositions. Finally, they critique the Western liberal bias in the framework, which is often attributed to PISA and the OECD but is perhaps even more relevant or obvious in the case of soft skills and specifically global competence. This critique is elaborated by

Grotlüschen (2018), who traces the discourse of global competence within the OECD over time through a variety of sources and reveals a process through which the voices and perspectives of the Global South (i.e. religious, emotional and bodily aspects of global competence) were present in the early stages, and were gradually eliminated from the discourse after being deemed ‘not scientific’. This critique and those presented earlier all echo those of Ledger and her colleagues (2019), who outline in detail the social and political ideologies that are favoured and embedded in the framework.

Simpson and Dervin (2019) present a slightly different argument; they posit that while the OECD claims to be measuring ‘global competence’, the framework actually concentrates on intercultural competence, a term that has long been at the centre of theory and practice. They argue that the way the goals of the assessment are framed, and the way questions are worded, ignores much of the criticism lodged against intercultural education – namely, that phrases like ‘other cultures’ or ‘other backgrounds’, scattered within the framework and the test itself, discursively promote an ‘ideology of difference and exclusiveness which can lead to a differentialist bias’ (Simpson and Dervin 2019, 674).

The critiques presented thus far are based on documentary analysis conducted by scholars with a key focus on policy. However, a recently published study was performed in a similar manner to the study I will present in this chapter; it focused on the way pupils perceive and understand the questions and items of the PISA questionnaire. Chandir (2020) used a methodology of survey encounters in Australia, which included group discussions and interviews with individual pupils, to gain grounded insights regarding the articulation of the constructs and items. Her research identified ambiguity in the phrasing of questions and assumptions inscribed in the test regarding the tools and resources available to students. She argues that these differences in how the test is interpreted by pupils can have severe implications for the evidence produced through the test. This is an argument that I will also elaborate on.

The questionnaire in practice

As mentioned previously, the PISA global competence measure included two main parts: a cognitive test comprised of texts that pupils were required to answer questions about, together with a questionnaire. My findings only concern the questionnaire, as it was the only part available to the public while data were being collected. Furthermore, in practice,

Israeli pupils were only exposed to six of the ten constructs that comprise the full questionnaire. Pupils in all 64 participating countries answered the following constructs:

- Knowledge of global issues (e.g. how easy do you think it would be for you to perform the following tasks on your own: explain how carbon dioxide emissions affect global climate change).
- Perspective-taking (e.g. how well does each statement describe you: I try to look at everybody's side of a disagreement before I make a decision).
- Adaptability (e.g. how well does each statement describe you: I can deal with unusual situations).
- Intercultural communication (e.g. imagine you are talking in your native language to people whose native language is different: to what extent do you agree with the following: I give concrete examples to explain my ideas).
- Interest in other cultures (e.g. to what extent do the following statements define you: I want to learn how people live in other countries).
- Activities at school (e.g. do you learn the following at school: I learn about different cultures).

The division of the Israeli Ministry of Education (MoE) in charge of making adaptations to the test opted out of the remaining four constructs (as did the UAE):

- Attitudes towards migrants (e.g. how much do you agree with the following statements about immigrants: immigrant children should have the same opportunities for education that other children in the country have). In addition to Israel and the UAE, France, Malaysia, Peru and Singapore also opted out of this construct.
- Agency regarding global issues (e.g. to what extent do you agree with the following statements: I believe my behaviour can impact people in other countries).
- Respect for people from other cultures (e.g. how well do these statements describe you: I respect people from other cultures as equal human beings).
- Capacity to take action (e.g. are you involved in the following activities: I participate in activities in favour of environmental protection).

The governmental agency charged with modifying and distributing the test in Israel, the Israeli National Authority for Measurement

and Evaluation in Education (INAMEE), explained that constructs were removed from the questionnaire at the advice of legal advisors:

Any questions that [are perceived to] ask about political views or private feelings that might endanger personal privacy and were not asked in an educational context were removed by the legal advisors. (Goren 2021, 159)

This demonstrates that although values are claimed by the OECD to be ‘beyond the scope’ of the PISA global competence framework, some questions were indeed deemed political (meaning value-laden) in the Israel context. Another aspect of the PISA test in Israel that is important to mention is that Haredi (Orthodox-Jewish) pupils, who comprise 10 per cent of the public education system, were not sampled – this is noted in a footnote in the PISA report which indicates that the findings for Israel are not representative. Israel is the only nation for which this is noted explicitly, although questions have been raised by others as to the extent to which data from other nations (i.e. China) can be considered representative. The reason the INAMEE provided for Haredi pupils not participating in the global competence cognitive test was also quite telling; they claimed this part of the test (which consists of reading excerpts regarding human rights, environmental issues and refugees) did not include enough items that aligned with this group’s values or worldviews. This also speaks to the contextual and dynamic meaning of ‘values’, and undermines the OECD’s claim that the test simply did not address them.

In my focus groups and interviews, I presented pupils and teachers with a translated version of the full questionnaire. They were given a printed version to look through for ten minutes, and then I went through each set of questions with them to obtain their impressions. This provides insights into the rationale behind the Israeli decision to opt out of the parts that pupils were not exposed to.

Geographic periphery and centre in Israel

The centre–periphery dichotomy in Israel is historically constructed, and nearly absolute. From the establishment of the state, settlers were sent to the outskirts of the country to secure the borders by building towns and villages. The towns built for the purpose of becoming satellite areas for the smaller villages on the borders were called development towns, a term that has remained salient in Israeli public and policy discourses. Olim (Jewish migrants) who came from (Western) Europe were

generally sent to the larger, more central cities and centres of population, and those who came later, from African and Arab nations as well as Eastern European Jews who arrived in the 1900s, were often sent to the development towns. This led to deeply entrenched ethnic differences, as well as neglect, stereotypes and disadvantage (Tzfadia 2006; Yiftachel and Tzfadia 2004). Historically and to this day, the population in the development towns is part of the lower strata of Israeli society socially, economically and professionally (Tzfadia 2006).

One of the ways in which the geographic centre–periphery dichotomy profoundly impacts pupils is through their educational achievements and trajectories, mediated by the opportunities available to them (Ayalon et al. 2008). This situation is not unique to Israel, as many countries have disparities in resource allocations and experience difficulties recruiting teachers for schools in low-income areas; however, due to Israel's small size and the historical placement of different ethnic groups in specific areas, these differences are particularly apparent (Lewin-Epstein and Semyonov 2000).

Pupils' place of residence is often an indicator of their social class but also has an independent role in shaping their self-perceptions and identities, as well as their aspirations and the opportunities afforded to them (Prince 2014; Roscigno et al. 2006). One way in which the local aspects of pupils' physical environment ties into their perception of global society and global competence is through the extent to which pupils are exposed to global phenomena and factors within their physical environment. It has been suggested that pupils who reside in global cities, cities which house international companies, hold international cultural events, and have an effect on global processes in political, financial or cultural terms (Carter 2005), could be more open to the themes associated with global competence and to imagine more global futures for themselves (Goren and Yemini 2017; Maxwell and Aggleton 2016; Yemini and Maxwell 2018). This does not mean that only pupils in global cities can develop mobile or global imaginaries for themselves; Hardgrove et al. (2015) in a study of British young people's conceptions of their possible future selves found that exposure to a variety of trajectories and paths contributed to the development of pupils' motivations to explore and enact similar trajectories. This suggests that an active policy of exposing pupils to a wide range of possibilities and opportunities can counteract the effects of their immediate settings.

This positions the global city as an area of residence as a mediating factor in the relationship between social factors and global competence

in that it facilitates exposure to global influences for populations from different backgrounds. This leads on to this study's comparative focus on pupils from different socioeconomic backgrounds residing in a global city as per Carter's (2005) definition: 'those cities where there is an accumulation of financial, economic, political and cultural headquarters of global importance' (266) versus pupils from a peripheral city where those characteristics do not apply. In this chapter I argue that the educational gaps between periphery and centre, as well as the different facets of globalisation that pupils in different areas encounter and the extent to which they feel their surroundings are 'global', shape how pupils and teachers engage with and attribute meaning to global educational concepts – particularly those related to the PISA global competence questionnaire.

It should also be noted that the Israeli context generally engenders particular understandings of some of the concepts which comprise the global competence questionnaire; as a divided ethnonational country with discriminatory immigration laws highly favouring Jews, and at least 20 per cent of the population belonging to the Arab minority (which itself can be divided into several groups), the meanings of immigration, multiculturalism and diversity are impacted. Furthermore, the continued occupation of the Palestinian Territories draws criticism both from outside and within, causing certain connotations to be attached to terms like boycott, conflict and human rights. However, findings regarding these aspects are beyond the scope of this chapter.

Research sites and data collection methods

This chapter draws on a critical comparative analysis of focus groups with students and interviews with teachers conducted at two schools, one in a large central city (Tel Aviv) and the other in a smaller peripheral city (VC). The data are analysed using thematic analysis, which is useful in identifying commonalities across the data without obstructing the unique facets of individual cases (Braun and Clarke 2006). In the study, a methodology of survey encounters (see Chandir 2020) was used, wherein pupils and teachers were presented with the PISA global competence questionnaire and asked to comment on the phrasing of the items, the way they would have responded to them, and whether they felt the items in the questionnaire could accurately measure global competence.

Selected research sites

The Periphery: Valley City (VC) – pseudonym

The city chosen as the ‘peripheral’ case is relatively large (with approximately 100,000 residents), but is characterised by a lack of industry or high-paid jobs, limited public transportation within and outside the city, a large percentage of first- and second-generation Olim (Jewish migrants), and a mix of old and new buildings and residents. Located 40 kilometres from Tel Aviv, and about a 45-minute drive away, some of the city’s residents commute to the centre via train, bus or car on a daily basis. For the purpose of the study, it was important for me to select a relatively large city, with a diverse population (in terms of socioeconomic status [SES]) comprising various professions, and which is not considered wholly impoverished or disadvantaged. This is because I aimed to show that differences in perceptions of global competence are shaped by spatial and geographic factors beyond family income.

The centre: Tel Aviv (TLV)

The city representing the centre in this study is Tel Aviv (TLV), one of the largest cities in Israel and the most cosmopolitan city in the country. TLV was founded in 1909, and has nearly 500,000 residents, of which over 50,000 are pupils spread across nearly 200 schools. There is a wide variability in the SES of the city’s residents, as is the case in many metropolitan areas.

Indeed, TLV’s schools cater for different socioeconomic groups including Jewish and non-Jewish immigrants, children of refugees and pupils of varying religious backgrounds (Oplatka 2002). In TLV, as in other cosmopolitan cities, immigrants often reside in clusters (Pamuk 2004) and attend schools that cater for lower- and middle-class populations, while schools catering for pupils of high SES remain largely homogenous. This phenomenon is a result of the homogeneity within different neighbourhoods that characterises TLV and other cosmopolitan cities (Mehmedbegovic 2007; Yemini 2014). TLV is the global financial and cultural centre of Israel, and is home to the majority of the embassies other countries hold in the state. This is due to the disputed nature of Jerusalem, which was only recognised by the United States as the capital of Israel in 2018, and remains unrecognised by many other nations (Dumper 2019). The school chosen to represent the case of TLV caters for a mid-SES population and is in the centre of the city.

I chose this school to correspond with the school in the periphery, as its population is not homogenous, as opposed to some schools in the

city that cater for a disproportionate population of immigrants or Arab pupils (in comparison to the city's population). The school has approximately 700 pupils, ranging from 13 to 18 years of age, and the pupils who participated in the study were between the ages of 15 and 16. The teachers interviewed also taught in the corresponding classes.

Data collection

Interviews

I conducted 11 interviews with teachers, seven from the school in VC and five in TLV. I presented the teachers with a translation I created of the PISA global competence questionnaire, which consists of 15 constructs (groups of items), and asked them to review each question and tell me where they thought their pupils would be ranked, which terms might be difficult to understand or translate, and how they thought their pupils' answers might differ from those of pupils in other places, whether in Israel or abroad.

Focus groups

Overall, six focus groups were conducted, with five to six pupils in each. The pupils were all in the ninth grade, and their ages ranged between 15 and 16. I chose this age group because PISA is distributed to 15-year-old pupils, and I wanted to present the global competence measure to the appropriate audience. I presented pupils with the translated PISA global competence measure, as I did with the teachers. Prior to the focus groups, I showed the translated questionnaire to the homeroom teacher to allow her to examine the translation and share comments or notes about unclear phrasing. None of the homeroom teachers commented on the translation.

Each focus group lasted 40 minutes (the duration of a class session), and they were held in the library or the schoolyard during the school day, during the pupils' homeroom class with the participating teacher. I asked the teachers to select the pupils and diversify the groups in terms of gender and SES as much as possible – I phrased this request in terms of parental professions (as per Wardle et al. 2002). I also asked the teachers to try and recruit some pupils of immigrant (Olim) descent for each group, which they did. Each group contained between one and three pupils who had one or both parents born abroad. All participating pupils were secular, Jewish, citizens of Israel (there were no religious participants in this part of the study due to the choice of schools from the state-secular system, which has very few religious pupils).

Findings and discussion

Immigration

Immigration has unique meanings in the Israeli context, which shapes the way it is perceived in different areas based on the ‘types’ of immigrants pupils encounter and the contexts of these encounters. As previously mentioned, most migrants to Israel are those of Jewish descent, who arrive as part of the Law of Return – a law which enables every person deemed to have Jewish roots to immigrate to Israel and upon their arrival gain citizenship, as well as different benefits including financial assistance and classes that help them acclimatise both culturally and in terms of language. In addition to these migrants – who are termed ‘Olim’ (a word with a positive connotation that means to ascend, in this case to Israel) – a minority of immigrants in Israel are foreign workers of international companies and organisations; some are foreign caretakers and agricultural or other blue-collar workers from the Far East and Eastern Europe; a few are international pupils without Jewish roots; and others are refugees from several countries in Africa (mostly Sudan and Eritrea) (Rajjman 2010). These immigrants each differ in terms of their legal status and the rights they are awarded, but the most prominent difference is between the Jewish Olim who are naturalised upon arrival and the remaining groups (Elias and Kemp 2010).

The dispersion of these different types of immigrants (including Olim from different regions of the world) is also quite varied, with some areas or cities serving as major hubs for one type of immigrant or another, while in other areas some types may seldom appear; for example, out of 72,000 French Olim who came to Israel between 1989 and 2018, over 40 per cent are almost equally dispersed between the cities of Netanya and Jerusalem, and an additional 35 per cent are in seven other large cities.¹ This leaves just 18,000 French Olim who reside in the entire remainder of the country. Another example is that the vast majority of the 53,646 Sudanese and Eritrean refugees who came to Israel during 2013 reside in the south of TLV (Müller 2018).

When presented with questions from the construct of the PISA questionnaire that deals with attitudes towards immigrants, pupils and teachers at both schools enquired as to ‘what type of immigrants’ should be taken into account when answering items concerning the rights immigrants and their children should have, and the extent to which they

should be 'allowed' to maintain their cultural practices. A short discussion in one of the focus groups in VC demonstrates this:

Me: How much do you agree with the following statements about immigrants – Immigrant children should have the same opportunities for education that other children in the country have.

Pupil 1: immigrants like anyone who came from somewhere else?

Pupil 2: Olim don't count I think

Pupil 1: yeah that's why I'm asking, but also, I think it's different from the refugees/workers whatever you want to call them

Pupil 3: infiltrators

Pupil 1: whatever, but I don't think their kids can even go to school here, I don't think they bring them

Pupil 2: ok but if they do then do you think they should?

Pupil 1: I don't care, they can take my place

Pupil 3: not mine

This exchange has several layers. First, there is a distinction between Olim, who are naturalised soon after entering the country and gain citizenship and full rights, and immigrants who are not of Jewish descent. Second, the exchange shows a lack of awareness of immigrants who come for purposes outside of work and are not refugees, and a lack of knowledge of the fact that there are in fact immigrant children at some schools. The comment made by Pupil 3, who referred to refugees/migrant workers as infiltrators (*mistananim*), also reveals the negative views attributed to this group. This line of discussion arose each time this question was reached in the interviews with teachers and pupils, within each of the schools. Eventually, most respondents stated that children of immigrants should go to school like other pupils and have the same rights, outside of the right to vote. As one pupil from TLV noted:

I don't understand this question, but I don't think it's because there aren't immigrants here, I know there are immigrants – but how can we let them vote? I think it's like a trick question because you come off as racist but also, legally, where does this exist? I mean the rest of them [in the construct] are fine, yes, they should do whatever they want, yes, I don't care if they're not Jewish, but I don't want them to decide what we do here. I don't think anyone, anywhere, would say something different, we have citizenship for a reason.

In the peripheral school (VC), pupils were especially adamant that in coming to live in Israel (as opposed to coming to work here), people should make an effort to assimilate culturally, because they came to the country to become Israelis. This is of course relevant mostly to Olim, who become citizens upon arriving in Israel and thus the issue of rights is less relevant for them. Even pupils who were second-generation migrants (two out of six in each of the focus groups) agreed that assimilation was important, but noted that there are cultural practices in their homes that their fellow pupils may not be aware of.

In the TLV school, there were fewer second-generation Olim, but the pupils and teachers seemed more resistant to support full cultural assimilation. They stressed how holidays of different cultures are celebrated and discussed at the school, and how pupils are encouraged to share stories about their cultural practices from home and feel comfortable doing so. There was also more awareness among pupils in TLV about the existence of non-Jewish migrants – whether employees of international companies, refugees from African countries, carers from the Philippines, Thailand and India, and others. Pupils in TLV were not only more aware, but were quicker to identify the immigrants in their city as global influences. Several pupils in the TLV focus groups discussed the cultural practices of the Philippine workers who look after their grandparents, together with community efforts and protests to support and promote the rights of refugees as well as work-migrants and their children. In VC, only teachers mentioned foreigners as global influences, and their ‘influence’ on pupils’ everyday lives was called into question and seemed limited. The teachers in TLV conceded that their views and experiences involving migrant populations are probably not representative of the city, and that in the south of TLV, where there are many more refugees and work-migrants, experiences (as well as political views and stances) may be highly different.

The diverging understanding of what immigration means in the context of the test versus in the context of Israel or of pupils’ everyday lives echoes the argument made by Auld and Morris (2019, 681): ‘that the OECD’s conception of global competencies is an ahistorical and depoliticised entity, focusing on the cognitive domain through the measurement of pupils’ understanding’. The wording of the questions themselves is, as Auld and Morris state, depoliticised and ahistorical – but the lived experiences are not – making these questions difficult to grasp and understand. Furthermore, if pupils were given the questions not as a base for discussion but simply as a test, they would each have answered in accordance with their own understanding and perspectives,

producing data that would be essentially worthless in actually reflecting their overall views towards immigrants or immigration.

Diversity and multiculturalism

Diversity and multiculturalism are two additional concepts that are scattered throughout the global competence measure, and are arguably harder to define. While immigration has legal implications and a legal definition (which in Israel is distinct from other OECD member states and the EU states specifically), diversity and multiculturalism are abstract terms that are much more likely to be shaped by contextual factors, and have vastly different meanings even in different communities within the same national, regional and municipal context (Ahmed 2006). In the PISA questionnaire, pupils are asked about their tolerance and views towards people from other cultures and about the diversity of their schools. When presented with these questions as part of my focus groups and interviews, pupils and teachers alike expressed uncertainty regarding the *types* of diversity the questions are referring to and what counts as ‘other’ cultures.

When presented with the set of questions concerning activities at the school related to global competence, and specifically the item ‘I participate in events celebrating cultural diversity throughout the school year’ (construct 14) in TLV, teachers and pupils cited school efforts to be inclusive of all cultures and make room for pupils to learn about other cultures through celebrations of holidays such as Ethiopian Sigd or Russian Novy God (New Year). In VC, where there are many more children of Olim, no such efforts were mentioned.

Based on the VC participants’ lack of mention of these multicultural efforts, it would appear that children of immigrants, who are often portrayed in the literature as a distinct social category even if they are born citizens of the country they reside in, are assimilated into the core group in the Israeli (Jewish) context. At a national level, this could stem from the solidarity that has developed as a result of the intractable conflict in Israel, which could reduce the functional necessity of ‘us’ vs ‘them’ dynamics within the Jewish population. However, as I mentioned above, a different picture emerged in TLV. It is interesting that these multicultural efforts to foreground holidays and practices were only mentioned in TLV as elements of diversity and multiculturalism, and I would argue that this could be attributed to the individualism and liberalism that are more characteristic of progressive TLV than the periphery.

The issue of cultural diversity in Israel becomes more complex when the different ethnicities within Israeli Jewish society are addressed. In response to items such as 'I am interested in finding out about the traditions of other cultures' (construct 7) and 'I learn about different cultures [at my school]' (construct 14), teachers from VC enquired whether the Mizrahi Ashkenazi distinction was relevant to the question, while pupils at both schools and most teachers in TLV did not address it. This difference might stem from the historical composition of the periphery in Israel and the feelings of marginalisation and neglect that are often attributed to the Mizrahi Jews in the periphery, who suffer from a double or intersectional marginalisation, leading to this issue being more evident there (Tzfadia 2006; Yiftachel and Tzfadia 2004).

Two constructs in the questionnaire address multiculturalism (constructs 7 and 9). The first (construct 7) measures interest in learning about other cultures, and the second (construct 9) measures respect for people from other cultural backgrounds. Initially, questions from both of these constructs elicited similar responses and queries among teachers and pupils at both schools regarding the Arab-Palestinian population. While in many nations multiculturalism can refer to the cultures of immigrant groups, in Israel, multiculturalism is (also) embedded within the nation's citizens – mostly associated with 'Arab-Palestinian' and 'Jewish' cultural traditions, but also within each of these contexts as I mentioned previously.

When I presented pupils and teachers with these constructs concerning 'other cultures', multicultural encounters were understood as interactions the (Jewish) pupils had with Palestinian-Arabs; multicultural appreciation was reduced to whether they enjoyed hummus, where they ate it and if they themselves descended from Arab countries. When I asked them to think more broadly, teachers usually turned to the main cultural groups within the Jewish population – Mizrahi and Ashkenazi Jews – while pupils more often turned to either religious sects (Haredi, Leumi-Dati, Secular) or cultures of Olim. This was true both in the centre and the periphery and could reflect a generational difference regarding which groups are considered part of the social core, and which are peripheral to it. However, stark differences also arose occasionally between the settings (VC and TLV), and within the schools. One teacher in VC, referring to the item 'I give space for people from other cultures to express themselves' (construct 9), said:

What do they mean? If my pupil sees these questions I don't know if he'll think of Arabs in Israel, world cultures, the Ethiopian or

Russian pupils in his class or his grandmother's caretaker from the Phillipines – and the response about each of these other cultures would be different.

Another teacher from the same school reacted quite differently to the same item:

It's kind of a theoretical question, isn't it? There are some schools probably in Tel Aviv, where there are immigrants, and then they actually know if they give people from other cultures the opportunities to express themselves, but I don't think we have that here because all the pupils are Israeli.

This demonstrates an issue that could appear in different settings across different national and local settings, and among different people in the same setting – that 'other cultures' is a highly contextualised term that can be understood in a myriad of ways. The first teacher at the VC school stated that there are too many cultures at her school to assess which one pupils would think of first, whereas the second teacher from the same school had a completely different understanding of what 'other' means. To the latter, all of her pupils are Jewish Israelis, regardless of where their parents or grandparents were born, and thus questions about how pupils might treat people from other cultures were perceived to be theoretical.

Moreover, a response from a pupil in VC which was more representative of the common connotation reflects another aspect of this issue. He asked: 'do they mean Arabs [by people from other cultures]? I don't respect the opinions of people who don't respect me.' Thus, the findings reveal that pupils and teachers alike had different cultures in mind when encountering these items, and this could shape their responses greatly.

Conclusion

Taken together, the findings of this study illuminate the ways that educational and environmental settings at the national and regional level can influence the ways that can deeply affect pupils' opportunities to engage with global society, their attitudes towards and perceptions of global competence, and where they place themselves in relation to the world. This also sheds light on the problematic nature of measuring global competence using supposedly universal measures and constructs, as these measures inevitably encapsulate values, cultural assumptions and

terms with different semantic meanings across contexts – even within the same nation.

At the regional level, the findings show that perceptions of global competence are greatly shaped by the existence and types of manifestations of factors like diversity, cultural centres and venues, and industries, in addition to other socioeconomic factors, levels of income and parental occupations. Pupils and teachers at each of the schools had different connotations for the words and phrases used in the PISA global competence questionnaire, particularly with regard to items dealing with immigration and intercultural encounters – suggesting their responses to these items would be of no use in assessing their views in a universal way. These regional differences are not unique to the Israeli context, and could manifest in any national setting where varying types of immigrants or cultures can be found in different areas.

At the national level, Israel's unique characteristics manifested, according to pupils and teachers, in the unique patterns of (incoming) immigration that is mostly limited to Jews – another factor that, particularly in the periphery, was perceived to limit the extent to which Israel could be considered part of the global polity. The perception of Jewish people as part of a single collective also seemed to blur the extent to which participants recognised diversity in their environment, and thus the extent to which they felt their environment was global. Furthermore, the Israeli-Palestinian conflict also shaped the extent to which some pupils felt they could define themselves as globally competent (or respond positively to certain items), as they felt this clashed with their belonging to a nation with an ongoing occupation.

Overall, the findings have methodological implications that highlight the importance of directly engaging with pupils and teachers across and within national settings when assessing the validity or quality of standardised measures, as this can illuminate varying connotations or interpretations of items. The social and political ideologies endorsed, favoured and promoted by the test have been explored and critiqued in several recent studies (Auld and Morris 2019; Grotlüschen 2018; Ledger et al. 2019); however, these studies concentrated on critical readings of the questions by scholars, rather than the direct understandings of pupils. Consulting with experts, scholars or policymakers from different national settings is insufficient, as they can be unfamiliar with the experiences of particular groups and hold uniform views of their population. In these cases, using the nation as the main unit of analysis would cause these immense differences between contexts within the nation to be overlooked.

Note

- 1 Fohorilis, Ynet, 2018. www.ynet.co.il/articles/0,7340,L-5297264,00.html (Hebrew)

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2

Ethnography and sustainable learning in Jamaica

Romina De Angelis

This chapter presents methodological contributions to education for sustainable development (ESD) from an ethnographic study on social, transformative and sustainable learning in Uphill school and community in Jamaica. The focus is on the aspects of social, transformative and sustainable learning for multifold reasons. The experience of living in disadvantaged communities in developing countries means that the daily challenges faced by people are related to larger discourses on sustainability. At the same time, daily community practices could inform such discourses to spur change. Ethnography offered the best way to explore community members' culture, perspectives and practices in relation to sustainability to contribute to addressing gaps within the ESD scholarship.

To counter dominant Western ethnocentric intellectual traditions, research methodologies and policy arrangements, ESD experts urged scholars and policymakers to explore diverse sustainable learning perspectives from developing countries, in order to inform learning and practice in more inclusive and participatory terms (Bowers 2011; Kahn 2008; González-Gaudiano 2005; Jickling 2005; Lumis 1998).

The UNESCO (2014) final report on the Decade of ESD also restated the need for more harmonisation in terms of 'holistic, integrative and critical ways of tackling sustainability issues' (10).

Building on the Decade of ESD and the Millennium Development Goals, Agenda 2030 (UN General Assembly 2015), together with its Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and the UNESCO (2017) reflections on the progress of ESD through the Chairs programme, confirmed the crucial role of education in promoting sustainable development and lifestyles. In the reflections, Professor Arjen Wals suggested pursuing research that would 'focus on the understanding and design of learning processes and learning environments that are conducive to advancing

socioecological sustainability, as well as on the monitoring and evaluation of these processes and environments' (UNESCO 2017, 21).

The central questions raised by ESD contributed to the choice of the research site and methodology. These questions related to exploring local contributions, linking them to national and international ESD frameworks and overcoming the intellectual and methodological limitations of Western traditional approaches.

The choice of Jamaica as a site of fieldwork derived from Down's remarks regarding a disconnect between ESD as part of schooling and its relevance to local community values and needs (Down in Diamond et al. 2011, 14).

The gaps identified within the ESD scholarship in Jamaica and internationally defined the focus of the doctoral study, which explored the following areas:

- (i) how local knowledge, values and practices in Uphill school and community interact with dominant Western approaches to ESD;
- (ii) how diverse local and Western perspectives challenge each other and inform academic and policy ESD discourses of the – as yet unexplored – lessons that this experience reveals.

To overcome the limitations of predominant Western methodological research traditions that explore learning mainly within the school perimeters, the study explored learning spaces beyond the school settings in the whole community.

The theoretical framework that guided the data generation and analysis draws from and combines the notions of social, transformative and sustainable learning theories. Social learning was applied to consider the role of various types of relationships in shaping the learning that occurred in Uphill school and community. To evaluate the nature of the learning, concepts pertaining to transformative learning in a sustainability context were employed, permeated by a Freirean approach which embraces socially emancipatory aspects (Freire 1970; Taylor 1998).

To explore local perspectives, values and practices through the conceptual framework mentioned above, ethnography helped 'reveal the multiple truths apparent in others' lives' (Emerson et al. 1995, 2) to inform and reduce 'gaps' between ESD policies and practices.

Extending the area of exploration beyond school settings to the whole community helped uncover the relationship between conceptual and practical sustainable learning in school and the perspectives and daily practices in the community.

Ethnography

This chapter draws on a doctoral study positioned within the anthropology of education and considers aspects of educational ethnographies. This section also considers conducting fieldwork in other-than-Western settings and including both school and community in the fieldwork site.

Ethnography originated from the anthropological study of culture and the social meanings attributed to research participants' activities and understandings in a particular context:

Ethnography is the study of people in naturally occurring settings or 'fields' by methods of data collection which capture their social meanings and ordinary activities, involving the researcher participating directly in the setting, if not also the activities, in order to collect data in a systematic manner but without meaning being imposed on them externally.

(Brewer 2000, 6)

Ethnography is centred on comprehending and representing lived experiences (Willis and Trondman 2000). It uncovers symbolic meanings, structures, words and practices internal to research participants' experiences in a particular culture (Wolcott 1980). It does so by providing a reflexive and relevant theorisation of experiences embedded within larger contemporary historical, cultural and contextual features of the settings explored. It is crucial to have a 'critical focus' (Willis and Trondman 2000, 9), where issues of power relations inform meaning-making.

Ethnography allows the dissemination of socioculturally different experiences that can provide comparative instances to learn from to re-envision aspects of human life (Willis and Trondman 2000).

Approaches to ethnography and education

Historically, ethnography developed from the British and North American anthropological traditions of the twentieth century. Within the former, social anthropology was initially focused on the study of people and their cultures in British colonies. In the latter, based on the sociological work of the Chicago School, there were studies of the marginalised sections of US society within urban industrial cities (Brewer 2000; Gordon et al. 2001).

An important aspect of the approach adopted in this study is its affinity to the methodological techniques used within the anthropology of education, especially in rural communities. This approach allows

one to construct knowledge about the community and its learning processes as a whole (Delamont and Atkinson 1980; Spindler and Spindler, 1974, 1987). Cultural and social anthropology's focus on learning issues – while acknowledging the influence of psychological perspectives and studies on individuals' learning processes – is connected to larger social processes in the settings. These include formal learning in schools and culturally informed practices in informal contexts (Froerer 2011).

In contrast, educational ethnographies were based on empirical studies of schooling as part of the sociology of education. Such studies were conducted by researchers trained in sociology and did not encompass investigations of the rural and community contexts within which schools were embedded (Gordon et al. 2001). There were studies about communities, although their main focus was sociological (Delamont and Atkinson 1980). The study this chapter is based on drew from educational ethnographies to bridge a gap in the anthropology of education tradition (Gordon et al. 2001; Wax et al. 1971), by providing a sound conceptualisation of the findings, which uncovered structural issues useful for broader policies (Ball 1981).

Unlike many studies in the anthropology of education and educational ethnographies (Anderson-Levitt 2012), this study included within the focus of investigation both a school (Uphill school) and the surrounding community. In doing so, both community members and students were understood as learners. This decision addressed gaps in the literature on educational ethnographies related to the problematic equation of education with schooling (Anderson-Levitt 2012). The confusion between education and learning with schooling has left the territory linked to spaces, people and activities outside the formal school environments unexplored, often considered irrelevant to the learning processes under study. The role of educational ethnographies studying non-school settings has been reconsidered to unveil the connections between local and global contexts and educational policymaking (Anderson-Levitt 2012; Blum 2008).

The need to broaden the context of learning identified in the literature coincided with the focus of the research on Uphill school. Its pedagogical methods are embedded within its community, suggesting the need to investigate learning in the community as a whole. This aspect recalls Levinson et al.'s (1996, 162) assertion about the cultural production of students in indigenous communities, where '[t]heir identity, therefore, is entirely bound to their learning experiences, which are in turn influenced by the structuring features of the social environment'. Levinson et al.'s (1996) perspective emphasises how ethnographic methods can

help researchers gain an in-depth understanding of the dynamics taking place inside and outside school environments by combining interviews and observations of subjects belonging to minority communities. As noted in Gordon et al. (2001), these studies reveal that awareness of the local values of a specific community of people is fundamental to comprehending their behaviours. Equally important is establishing a balance between maintaining a focus on the aspects of investigation (according to pre-established theoretical notions) and ‘unlearning’ personal preconceived ideas that could affect the interpretation of community members’ actions (Blum 2008).

Rationale for ethnography

Ethnographic techniques are effective in exploring and conveying research participants’ meanings, through examining interactions and participant observation of their daily practices (Emerson et al. 1995). Through observing and engaging in these practices in Uphill school and community, two main research areas were investigated:

1. how local knowledge, values and practices in Uphill school and community interact with dominant Western approaches to ESD;
2. how diverse local and Western perspectives challenge each other and inform ESD discourses of the – as yet unexplored – lessons that this experience reveals.

Accordingly, ethnography provided a pertinent methodological framework for the epistemological and ontological assumptions inherent to this study (Crotty 1998; Pole and Morrison 2003). Namely, as expressed by Crotty (1998, 32), in a constructionist perspective: *‘all knowledge, and therefore all meaningful reality as such, is contingent upon human practices, being constructed in and out of interaction between human beings and their world, and developed and transmitted within an essentially social context’* (emphasis in original). Ontologically, in the current study ethnography allowed the exploration of understandings of sustainable learning in a social world, to which research participants attributed their own interpretations. In contrast to a qualitative case study, within ethnography *‘ethnographers play [an] important role as research instrument’* (emphasis in original) (Suryani 2013, 123), and both participants’ and researchers’ views are captured in the final account (Hoey 2014). Ethnography can be defined as a process and a product (Agar 2008), resulting from a protracted immersion in the settings and relationships with participants,

which can hardly be matched by the (usually shorter) timescale of case studies (Parker-Jenkins 2018).

Ethnography conforms with the intention of conducting research that is fundamentally relevant to the people involved (Denzin et al. 2008). Of particular importance is the use of a critical methodological perspective, whereby the adoption of a 'moral lens' enables the researcher to establish a participative relationship with community members. The said moral lens can be established through the researcher's contemplation of questions about who the research is for, what difference it will make, how it will be done, how to establish its worth and who will be its beneficiaries (Denzin et al. 2008, 9).

It is crucial to discuss conducting research in other-than-Western communities. Despite Uphill community not being strictly 'indigenous', its context required a sensitive approach where Western preconceived notions could not be taken for granted. Uphill school and community members' identities were tied to their rural settings and their values to a history of enslavement, combined with contemporary global influences and the local mixed Rasta(farian) and dancehall culture. These features entailed consideration of participants' understanding of reality and of human and environmental knowledge and sustainable practices, and how these were manifested in their daily activities and interactions (Denzin et al. 2008). The ethnographic approach in this study aimed to be of a dialogical, constructive and mutually transformative nature. On the one hand, there are quasi-clear differences in the juxtaposition of Western educational systems and local ways of learning related to local places and a sense of community. On the other hand, contextualisation and problematisation of the same are unavoidable (Tuck et al. 2014). Developing an understanding of local ways of learning necessitates caution to avoid producing stereotyped definitions (Tuck et al. 2014). This study sought to identify how sustainable learning was conceived in Uphill school and community and in what ways this local conception related to a transformative view of the relationship with the environment.

It is necessary to consider the difficulties related to outlining a methodological framework that is sensitive to ongoing debates on issues of representation of local knowledge within the current literature (Tinker 2007). In the effort to overcome ethnocentric perspectives on the existing dichotomies between 'Western' and 'local' knowledge systems, researchers far too often reinforce essentialist positionings by simply transposing legitimacy from Western systems of thinking to the holistic, communitarian and natural perspectives attributed to indigenous knowledge systems (Giri and van Ufford 2004). This study intended to give a voice to 'other'

ways of perceiving the relationship between humans and the environment. Nonetheless, it did not aim to do so without problematising this division in the first place. Through exploration of participants' perspectives, the study analysed the complexities involved in establishing contextual representations that overcome the polarised view of Western versus local knowledge systems. An effort was made to thoroughly include participants in the process of 'self-representation' (Spencer 1989, 159) and to explore learning beyond the school boundaries.

The choice to extend the exploration of learning to outside the school premises is in line with the literature on indigenous knowledge and sustainable learning of a transformative nature. The latter emphasises the importance of considering a learning environment beyond the school unit to include, at least, relationships and interactions with local communities. For instance, Dewey's approach presupposes that communities play a crucial role 'at all stages of idea development' (Dewey 1958, 64; Prawat 1999) in learners' formulation of new ideas.

In various non-Western societies – understood in this context as “indigenous” knowledge systems’ (Merriam and Kim 2008, 72) – learning occurs in non-institutionalised settings and for the benefit of the whole community. They require exploring different ways of constructing knowledge (Denzin et al. 2008) and there is increased emphasis on the learning that occurs in daily activities for the holistic development of individuals (Merriam and Kim 2008; Urrieta 2013). The investigation of sustainable learning beyond school settings in Uphill community also aimed at informing ESD internationally. As Down argues in Gentles and Scott (2009, 1), '[t]he planetary crisis ... requires a radical shift from education that is narrowly confined to the classroom to one that places students in community’.

In the course of the investigation, participants' perspectives were explored, together with daily actions and interactions within and between the school and village community in relation to the notions of social, transformative and sustainable learning. Ethnography's emphasis on everyday actions and their 'situated meaning(s)' in a specific context (Pole and Morrison 2003, 5) helped reveal how social, transformative and sustainable learning occurred in Uphill school and community. Ethnography unveils how social arrangements influence community members' actions and it brings to light their views as 'insiders' (Pole and Morrison 2003, 8). The protracted period of ethnographic fieldwork provided insight into wider social dynamics between the community and external actors. It helped to explore in detail the levels of learning taking place in Uphill school and community and to uncover specific aspects

that bolstered and hindered sustainable learning. Ethnography is aligned with an understanding of sustainable learning where the emphasis is on learning processes rather than outcomes (Smith 2002), and on the relationships among learners, the community to which they belong and their surrounding environment. Ethnography highlights broader connections with ESD policy discourses at the local and international levels (Blum 2008). This aspect implies an understanding of ethnography which Pole and Morrison (2003) – drawing on Brewer and Wolcott – define as ‘big’ ethnography, encompassing both methodology and methods. This definition refers to fieldwork as the researcher’s intention and engagement with the specific place and situation under study.

Research tools and strategies

The ethnographic approach in this study included the use of participant observation, purposeful conversations, interviews, focus groups and attending local events to generate data. A combination of varying degrees of participant observation was employed in four stages of fieldwork. Overt observation (Hammersley and Atkinson 2010) was used in the school, to ensure the highest level of transparency. Uphill school members were accustomed to local volunteers’ participation and observations by experts and judges, who periodically conducted evaluations to appraise various (often environmental) projects. Observations ensured minimum interference and maximum participation in their daily activities. The school principal was the main ‘gatekeeper’ in the school. She provided advice on when and how to conduct observations and participate in events, as well as introducing my role to the whole school (Pole and Morrison 2003).

In Uphill village, the gatekeeper was my host (who was also the school cook), who introduced me to the neighbourhood and community. Here, a more ‘sensitive’ attitude was adopted while conducting observations with community members, in view of the power relations implied in my role as a – (white) foreign, middle-class and educated female – researcher and to ensure a relaxed atmosphere (Pole and Morrison 2003). This approach entailed participating in life in the village by being careful about taking notes while doing so. This choice stemmed from the intention to witness local practices to the greatest extent of authenticity and to avoid making community members feel uncomfortable in my presence (Schensul and LeCompte 2012). Whenever I felt the urge to record fieldnotes to maintain the richness of important details over time, I excused myself from the group by following their local custom of simply

announcing 'soon come!' (Gobo 2008). Community members often used this phrase to make an exit from a social situation, which could mean either leaving for a brief period of time and shortly rejoining or leaving for an undefined amount of time without being questioned.

Carrying out observations while undertaking various activities in the community also facilitated achieving the greatest extent of integration in the community (Atkinson et al. 2007; Bernard 2011; Schensul and LeCompte 2012). Active contribution in daily activities was considered essential for all those regarded as family and community members. The aforementioned activities included: cleaning of the 'yard' (e.g. house); doing the dishes; feeding the chickens and the pigs in the backyard; putting garbage in a pile and burning it; 'catching' (e.g. collecting) water in tanks from the outdoor pipe; looking after children while parents were partying; preparing the settings for and cleaning after parties; washing, treating, combing and 'parting' community members' hair; buying groceries in the nearest town, and so on. Employing an ethnographic approach constituted a double-edged tool. On the one hand, living within the community for one year and having adjusted to their lifestyle quite quickly represented a challenge in trying to make the 'familiar strange' and seeing the whole environment in a new light (Hammersley and Atkinson 2010). This exercise was facilitated by regularly reminding myself of the research focus. On the other hand, my past experience of living in communities in India taught me that great efforts are required by newcomers to understand how decisions are taken and enacted on a daily basis. Prior experience also taught me to wait before drawing conclusions on the meaning of local community members' actions, as these only become clearer after a long period of time (Emerson et al. 1995). Understanding local community members' perspectives can be achieved only through having a thorough knowledge of local culture, customs and belief systems (Spencer 1989). This aspect constituted a challenge to make the strange familiar, and I tackled it by maintaining a curious, patient and mindful attitude, which are all qualities required by ethnographers (Hammersley and Atkinson 2010).

Having introduced the tools used for data generation, the following section provides more information on ethical issues.

Ethical issues and difficulties

Ethical concerns were manifold, and I addressed them by following the British Educational Research Association (BERA) (2011) and Association of Social Anthropologists of the UK and the Commonwealth (ASA)

(2011) guidelines and by taking a considerate approach towards research participants. The three main ethical areas were obtaining informed consent, language and communication, and sensitivities related to local cultural customs. Most research participants belonged to a rural community, whose traditions needed to be acknowledged and respected.

Prior experience in rural communities in India helped me develop a set of qualities crucial to sensibly approach living in Uphill school and community. These qualities included receptiveness and being non-judgemental towards expressed and tacit behaviours, alongside following their code of conduct in various contexts.

For interviews that were conducted with students who were minors, I sought consent from their guardians and guaranteed anonymity. Students were reassured that they could withdraw from the study at any time. Personal relationships established with individual students by spending playtime together in the school and in the village helped my understanding. However, my 'multiple roles' with the participants at different times (as they perceived me as a teacher, community member, outsider and researcher) required an effort to maintain balance and concentration.

Power relations were inherent in the interaction with community members and local stakeholders. Being a Western, educated and female researcher constituted an innate barrier when trying to establish equal relationships. My ability to grasp key aspects of the culture and to speak the local language helped establish trustworthy relationships. Difficulties also occurred in conveying the purpose of the study to Uphill community members, who have no familiarity with conducting PhD research. For this purpose, I sought support from the school principal, who explained it to them using local expressions. With illiterate participants, instead of signing consent forms, I informed them orally that participation was voluntary and they could withdraw at any time.

Reflexivity

Implicit in the nature of ethnography is the acknowledgement that there is no separation between the researcher, the data generated and the research outcomes (Hammersley and Atkinson 2010). Researchers' personal and theoretical orientations inevitably influence their views, shape their fieldwork notes and interactions with participants and result in the 'co-creation' of meanings (Hammersley and Atkinson 2010). I was aware of how – before being a researcher – I was a white, educated, middle-class female, Italian, in my thirties, with prior experience living in Global

South rural communities, interested in sustainable learning issues and their connection with spirituality, trained in foreign languages and dancing, and so on. These elements played a crucial role in how I interacted with participants and how they perceived me. Some of my personal features contributed to creating a 'gap' and unavoidable power relations between us, which determined the way we interacted and the information generated (Brockmann 2011). Other characteristics allowed me to blend with locals and adjust to and – to an extent – identify with their language, habits and daily practices. My background in foreign languages helped me quickly learn the Jamaican patois; my ten years of training in different dance styles made me easily pick up their dance moves and my experience in Indian rural communities allowed me to contribute to basic aspects of life in the village as other members did. These aspects contributed to being granted access to various gatherings and discussions (Hammersley and Atkinson 2010).

I tried to counter tendencies towards ethnocentrism and exoticisation of the settings through the relationships with research participants. In this way, we co-constructed knowledge together and I developed a better subjectivity (Macfarlane 2009) through in-person and phone interactions during and after the fieldwork. During these interactions, I shared my interpretation with participants at various stages and then took their feedback into consideration in my analysis. As advanced by Macfarlane (2009), who proposes a virtue-based approach to ensure research integrity, trustworthy relationships with participants and the researcher's sense of virtue are at the core of being open to cultural diversity and avoiding excessive ethnocentrism and exoticisation.

Organisation and analysis of material during and post fieldwork

Organising material from interviews and fieldnotes represented a challenge in terms of time, effort and maintaining the research focus. Taking field, and 'out-of-the-field' (Delamont 2002, 62), notes was complex while conducting participant observation and required referring to research participants using pseudonyms. Writing quick 'jottings' (Emerson et al. 1995) often entailed withdrawing from activities according to the customs used by community members to excuse themselves (Delamont 2002; Emerson et al. 1995; Gobo 2008).

Notes were expanded into detailed descriptions daily, to avoid producing inaccurate accounts (Emerson et al. 1995; Gobo 2008;

Hammersley and Atkinson 2010). Descriptive fieldnotes were recorded together with analytical, interpretive, ‘theoretical’, ‘methodological’ and ‘emotional’ notes (Gobo 2008, 210–12), which included personal impressions and evaluation of methods (Delamont 2002). Fieldnotes focused on what research participants considered meaningful and the note-taking and analysis continually informed each other.

I thoroughly analysed the fieldnotes through open and focused coding. I assigned codes, categories and themes to sets of fieldnotes (Emerson et al. 1995). I labelled these by using theoretical notions and wording used by research participants (Basil 2003). Conceptual maps clarified connections among categories and themes, as well as gaps. Further analysis led to themes and patterns that were consequently expanded into thick descriptions.

The interpretative process integrated theoretical and reflexive considerations, unravelled cultural and contextualised meanings, and revealed links with broader ESD discourses.

Content analysis of documents

The range of documents considered included the Jamaican national primary curriculum, the ESD policy framework in Jamaica, the Jamaican National Development Plan and the National Environmental Education Action Plan for Sustainable Development in Jamaica (1998–2010). Content analysis of policy documents on ESD at both national and international levels helped highlight how the themes identified from the data generated during fieldwork related to broader structural arrangements and what potential implications these relations bear for policymaking (Pole and Morrison 2003). This triangulation technique validated, assessed the trustworthiness and deepened the understanding of the themes determined from observations and interviews (Bowen 2009). It also outlined aspects that are relevant to the ESD scenario in Jamaica, beyond the specific region of the ethnographic study. The investigation of relevant documents contextualised participants’ meanings within a structural background and provided more comprehensive economic, social, political and historical perspectives within which data could be interpreted. This analysis also highlighted the role played by national and international agencies and stakeholders and their changes over time (Bowen 2009).

The policy discourses on ESD were investigated to identify how the findings from the research study can enrich the international dialogue

on sustainable learning by including models from the Global South, not merely as instances to learn about, but also to learn from, in a constructive and dialogical way.

The findings from the content analysis of policy documents were then presented in the form of thick descriptions to complement the findings from the interview transcripts and fieldnotes. Thick descriptions constitute an appropriate way to best illustrate the connections arising between the participants' perspectives and theoretical perspectives, along with providing reflective and reflexive processes for the interpretation and discussion of results (Dobson 1999; White et al. 2009).

Coding

This section presents how the three main themes identified in the findings were gradually determined.

Before determining 'issues around learning', 'issues around values' and 'issues around leadership' as the three main thematic areas from the findings, several other categories were identified from the previous coding. In the case of 'issues around learning', this main theme was established after having first classified categories from observations and interviews, which included 'meaning of environmental care for teachers and students', 'envisioning of the environment', 'practising environment', 'resistance to learning', 'thieving' and 'sustainable learning through competitions'. Subsequently, some of these categories were allocated as subthemes of 'issues around learning' as they all constituted different aspects of the sustainable learning processes occurring in Uphill school and community. In the case of 'thieving', this category was later discarded as a separate one, in that its content became pertinent to broader issues related to the theme of issues around learning. Two categories were also merged into a single subtheme in the case of 'meaning of environmental care for teachers and students' and 'envisioning of the environment'. The latter eventually encompassed the views on the environment of all research participants, rather than being limited to only teachers and students.

Similarly, 'issues around values' was identified as a theme that emerged from the categories of 'modelling behaviour (of students from adults)', 'modelling behaviour (of adults from the West)', 'local cultural values', 'survival and get-rich-quick mentality', 'local counter-culture and values' and 'local religious values'. In this case, both the 'modelling behaviour' categories were then discarded, as their content was included in the practices embedded in the broader subtheme of 'local cultural values'.

In the case of ‘issues around leadership’, this main theme was drawn from the category of ‘leadership’ that stood out from the data since the very early stages of analysis. In this case, the category of ‘teachers’ sense of ownership and camaraderie’, which at first had not been grouped with any other category, later became a subtheme of leadership. Similarly, another separate category was also discarded, which was labelled as ‘vision’, and its content was then embedded within the issues around leadership.

For both the fieldnotes and interviews, when the main thematic areas emerged, the outcomes from the various phases of analysis were shared with some research participants to ensure that the interpretations reflected their issues of concern and that they felt included and represented in the study in a dialogical way. In some instances, these conversations helped make further connections among the data. This was enabled by keeping regular contact through instant messaging and video calls after the fieldwork was concluded.

Conclusion

Combining ethnography with an analysis of Jamaican national sustainable development and ESD policies together with the primary curriculum through the lens of social, transformative and sustainable learning revealed that there were a set of inconsistencies between the reality on paper and that of Uphill school and community. Such inconsistencies were found in the unfeasibility of some activities and contradictions between the content of policies and the local context. Contradictory aspects were found in relation to the lack of government provision of resources as well as in relation to local cultural practices.

Inconsistencies between the curriculum and local realities also reflected broader contradictory tendencies between the national and international levels. These brought to light that the tendency towards assigning individual responsibility to people to act sustainably without adequate provision of resources percolated through the framing of ESD policies from the Global North.

Perspectives on the notion of environment in Uphill school and community were linked to local survival needs and a lack of opportunities to act sustainably. Linking the local and national contexts uncovered that the national focus on profit-making and economic growth reinforced local attribution of instrumental value and transmissive approaches.

Transformative aspects were found in the activities initiated by civil society organisations such as the Jamaica Environment Trust (JET), which took a more bottom-up approach.

Exploring learning beyond school helped bring to light how the local practices to which students were exposed in Uphill community curbed the sustainable behaviour promoted in school. Issues of attitudes of resistance towards acting sustainably were also observed, which stemmed from a lack of incentives.

A common thread was observed among learning issues in Uphill school and community, where (with the exception of civil society organisations' activities) a market-oriented model dominated, with the presence of transformative elements. Transformative aspects of sustainable learning could be observed in ESD policy and curriculum language, but they were not reflected in actual practices.

Regarding local values, the search for short-term material gains was interpreted in combination with the external forces of globalisation, where in an attempt to model the Global North, a 'get-rich-quick' mentality was widespread and affected sustainable learning and practices.

The aspect of leadership was of particular interest, where the Uphill school principal embraced the features of the current system based on competitions and rewards, through transmissive learning, although her fundamental perspectives were aligned with a transformative approach. A sense of camaraderie among teachers was observed as an aspect related to effective leadership and supportive of transformative practices.

Finally, the following issues were identified through the use of ethnography: the lack of ESD as a discrete subject; lack of priority for ESD at the national level; gaps between ESD policy language and sustainable learning practices observed at the local level, which reflect the influence of international donor agencies who are not concerned with local people's values and needs; while people's disempowerment and lack of government support fuelled attitudes of resistance, although the government promoted more individual responsibility for environmental protection and sustainable actions.

The issues listed above demonstrate that employing ethnography as a methodology within ESD research in schools and communities in the Global South has the potential to expose aspects of local realities that urgently need to be addressed to ensure effective sustainable learning policies and practices.

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3

Bridging practice and policy through post-positivist realism: understanding primary school teachers' agency for global citizenship education in South Korea

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The United Nations (UN), through a range of programmes such as the Millennium Development Goals and Sustainable Development Goals, has shown a strong commitment to global education and this in turn has had a significant impact on the development of national policies, such as those in South Korea (hereafter Korea). The Korean government has interpreted this interest in global perspectives into formal education through multicultural education, education for international understanding and education for sustainable development. Former UN Secretary General Ban Ki-Moon, who came from Korea, played an influential role in this. At the 2015 World Education Forum held in Korea, the President of Korea made a declaration of commitment to global citizenship education (GCE) within the national education curriculum.

This commitment was developed through a professional development programme for teachers, the GCE Lead Teachers (LTs) programme. The programme was designed to educate teachers to train other teachers in the same region. This delivery method introduced the term GCE (Pak and Lee 2018), but teachers seemed to only understand the term superficially. According to research from the Korean Educational Development Institute (2015), teachers appeared confused about the meaning of GCE because the term was introduced without discussing the concept in relation to the existing terms such as multicultural education, education for international understanding and education for sustainable development.

Global citizenship is framed by competing interpretations, as shown in different typologies of global citizenship and GCE (e.g. Andreotti 2006; Camicia and Franklin 2011; Gaudelli 2009; Marshall 2011; Oxley and

Morris 2013; Schattle 2008; Shultz 2007; Stein 2015). This highlights the importance of conceptual discussion when putting GCE into practice. In the absence of a conceptual discussion, competing interpretations in understanding global citizenship can be disregarded. The ambiguity of conceptual understanding could facilitate the re-enforcing of existing dominant views, especially when strong leading agency exists as in Korea. As briefly introduced above, GCE policies in the formal education of Korea were strategically led by the government of Korea, which put the GCE LT programme, a teacher education initiative, at the centre of diffusing and implementing policies (Pak and Lee 2018). Teachers acted as policy diffusers in this government-led approach, which raises doubts as to whether teachers understood the rationale for teaching GCE given the ambiguous understanding of GCE. In pedagogical approaches, it is important to consider the rationales that inform and justify the act of teaching (Alexander 2008); thus, understanding and discussing diverse interpretations of GCE cannot be dismissed.

Similarly, Ball et al. (2011) suggest that policies should provide the space in which teachers can make meanings within possibilities available in practice. In this government-led approach in Korea, teachers seem to remain as policy subjects who deliver policies as they are and fail to move on to the role of agents who enact policies through interpreting and translating policy concepts. This fundamentally questions the role of teachers in education, who are limited to a technical role of transmitting knowledge and values in a given curriculum without engaging in a pedagogical process of evaluation and translation. This tendency seems to be reinforced through current educational policies which prioritise accountability, standardisation, competition and economic productivity (Sahlberg 2011).

Current educational reforms tend to emphasise teacher agency (Pantić 2015; Priestley et al. 2015), which confirms that teachers are one of the key agents in education. However, the mere emphasis on teacher agency rarely means that the teacher voice is recognised. Considering the above-mentioned neoliberal ethos in education, teacher agency is understood in terms of having the capacities and will to lead and implement educational reforms. Ironically, this rejects the idea of teachers as agents while limiting the role of teachers to a passive one of delivering policies; in order to emancipate the teacher voice there needs to be a rethinking of teacher agency.

This chapter seeks to understand how teacher agency for GCE functions in relation to GCE policies in Korea. The themes identified in this chapter are based on my doctoral research. Employing post-positivist

realism as a methodology, this chapter discusses the findings in relation to causal mechanisms and social conditions, which will eventually inform policymaking so as to emancipate teachers as agents. The following section discusses post-positivist realism.

Research methodology: post-positivist realism

Post-positivist realism offers a powerful methodological base in that it balances both positivist and constructivist approaches (Panhwar et al. 2017). It follows the positivist view that there exists an ontological reality independent of human experience, but also allows for an open interpretation of reality, as in the constructivist view. That is, post-positivist realism sees human experience as a partial reflection of reality, not as reality itself (Fletcher 2017), which implies that empirical data could either present a partial reality or refract reality. Unlike traditional realism which predicts a society based on the observable regularities of events, post-positivist realism highlights causality rather than finding regularities based on observable events. According to the post-positivist realist perspective, observable events may be manifested in different forms (Psillos 2007). Due to inherent causal powers and liabilities from the past, they may be prevented, disguised or facilitated at the empirical level. In this sense, a reality which human beings experience and observe requires in-depth analysis of the causal mechanisms and social conditions which lead to empirical reality, in order to be able to resolve problems.

Therefore, understanding empirical data closer to reality necessitates a translation tool which enables a researcher to discuss causality based on empirical data (McPhail and Lourie 2017). Post-positivist realists start with existing theories and concepts which have been validated over time as previous attempts to explain reality. Researchers can gain knowledge from existing theories and concepts selected based on rational judgement of social events in order to develop a better in-depth explanation of reality (Danermark et al. 2002). The validation of rationality also helps researchers to infer generalised points with more certainty regardless of fallibility, although post-positivist realism sees knowledge itself as fallible (Khazem 2018).

Since this chapter explores teacher agency for GCE when GCE is promoted as a national policy, post-positivist realism, which emphasises causality in order to understand reality, provides a robust methodological platform to analyse more trans-factual knowledge from empirical data. That is, this chapter aims to discuss causal mechanisms and social

conditions in relation to national policies and contexts, and how these are expected to have an impact on policy direction.

Employing post-positivist realism as a methodology, this research started from existing assumptions regarding teacher agency for GCE. Teachers are encouraged to be global citizens to teach global citizenship (Andreotti 2010) or to experience a wider world for the richer delivery of content (Merryfield 2000); there is an expectation that teacher education in GCE will eventually transform individual teachers. Accordingly, teacher education in GCE mainly focuses on the individual level of teachers (Yemini et al. 2019). Thus, teacher agency for GCE seems to be understood in terms of teachers' capacities to teach global citizenship, which easily attributes blame to individual teachers for poor engagement in GCE when GCE is officially implemented in formal education, as in Korea. Teacher agency as capacities resonates with a neoliberal ethos in which accountability is emphasised under the pressure of educational demands (Sahlberg 2011). This seems to dismiss the purpose of formal education as a public good, whereby education is responsible for making sense of the impact of global perspectives in learners' lives and for providing the opportunities to experience and learn about this (Bourn 2018).

Thus, applying abduction and retroduction, distinctive modes of inference in the post-positivist realist methodology (Fletcher 2017), this chapter reconceptualises teacher agency (abduction) and accordingly analyses causal mechanisms based on the reconceptualisation (retroduction) to address the following research questions: how does primary school teachers' agency emerge when delivering GCE in Korea and what are the implications for teacher education in GCE?

Research methods

The employment of a post-positivist realist methodology rarely limits research methods, as evidenced in other studies (e.g. Fletcher 2017; McPhail and Lourie 2017). Since post-positivist realism is epistemologically open to employing any theories and concepts to find the best explanation of an ontological reality, different research methods can be used in accordance with the nature of the research questions (Danermark et al. 2002). This research seeks to understand teacher agency for GCE while exploring teachers' understanding of global citizenship and GCE, as well as their GCE practice. This approach required a qualitative research design to gain insights into teachers' lived experience and their rationale for pedagogical decisions regarding GCE practice. Thus, I decided to

interview teachers in a semi-structured way, which provides guidance for the interview questions but leaves room for exploration with open-ended questions. Also, I added focus group discussions to explore teachers' personal perspectives regardless of their GCE practice.

To ensure the feasibility of the long-term qualitative data collection, nine primary school teachers were recruited from Seoul, Korea who met the criteria of having a minimum of two years' teaching experience in state primary schools located in Seoul. Additionally, the teachers had to demonstrate plans to teach GCE-related issues in the academic year regardless of their understanding of global citizenship and GCE. Data collection was spread over eight months and resulted in data being obtained from eight teachers.

The data collection started with an initial interview to understand the baseline of individual teachers' experience and perspectives on global citizenship and GCE, followed by another interview after their teaching of GCE-related topics, which they chose and designed. Individual teachers had three sets of teaching and follow-up interviews, which aimed to provide an understanding of teachers' pedagogical decisions in practice. There were also focus group discussion sessions under three different topics spread throughout the period of data collection; these aimed to provide an understanding of teachers' personal perspectives. The teachers discussed difference, cultural diversity, and education in relation to social justice in the respective sessions. The content was prepared in advance to open up participants' perspectives and encourage reflection with reference to the suggested procedures of Open Spaces for Dialogue and Enquiry designed by Andreotti (2011).¹ These procedures are designed to tackle hidden assumptions and dominant ideas as well as to reflect on participants' own ideas while engaging with others, which resonates with the emancipatory approach adopted in this research. Although these procedures provided the structure of the discussions, the content was prepared in relation to current social issues such as Yemeni refugees.² Each session of the same topic was run twice with a limited number of four participants to facilitate interactions and participation.

There were no criteria to ask the teachers about their GCE experience, but recruiting teachers willing to commit to data collection over several months was not helpful for ensuring that they had different ranges of GCE experience. I ended up recruiting teachers with GCE experience, which could have resulted in data bias. Since GCE is a part of the national curriculum in Korea, it was necessary to also gain an understanding of teachers who do not have experience in GCE. Hence, 15 teachers who claimed no experience in GCE were additionally selected to supplement

the data. In a single set of semi-structured interviews, these participants were asked about their understanding of global citizenship and GCE. In the interview questions, the term GCE was used since the participants were aware of the term because of relevant policies and the national curriculum. When further interviewing them, I used GCE themes which they mentioned such as cultural diversity and global talents, or those which they did not mention such as social justice because of their unfamiliarity with the conceptual understanding of GCE.

Reconceptualisation of teacher agency

As mentioned above, existing explanations of teacher ‘agency’ appear to more closely resemble teacher ‘capacities’. Teachers are encouraged to broaden or transform their epistemological views to teach GCE at an individual level, which implies that teachers who have been teaching GCE before the introduction of GCE policies already possess teacher agency for GCE, however they happen to understand global citizenship. Under this assumption, teachers with teacher agency for GCE should be able to actively engage in teaching GCE because they are equipped with relevant capacities which suggest the promotion of relevant teacher education.

Since eight out of the nine participants had been teaching GCE in practice, data collection was expected to focus more on their perspectives and evaluation of the national curriculum and teacher education. While collecting data, however, these participants tended to express difficulties with contextual factors such as their colleagues, headteachers and curricular standards, which should be considered alongside capacities when approaching teacher agency for GCE.

As a post-positivist realist methodology allows a researcher to redescribe empirical data using existing theories and concepts (Fletcher 2017), the concept of teacher agency was reconsidered. Capacities are the important factor in GCE practice, as also evident in the empirical research data. However, as shown in the teachers’ pedagogical decisions mediated by other factors, agency should be understood in terms of the power relations among different actors’ agency. This allowed me to recognise structural will.

Agency in relation to structure is a longstanding debate in academia, particularly within sociology. Some influential theorists such as Dewey, Bourdieu and Giddens offered insights on how human agency affects social structure. They all discussed that potential social changes could be brought about by human agency, but interestingly they also argued

about how human agency maintains and reproduces social structure (see habits [Dewey 1922/2002], habitus [Bourdieu 1977] and practical consciousness [Giddens 1979]). From these theorists, agency is understood as engagement in certain ways rather than capacities. Influenced by them, Emirbayer and Mische (1998, 970) further developed this concept of agency as follows: ‘the temporally constructed engagement by actors of different structural environment – the temporal-relational contexts of action – which, through the interplay of habit, imagination, and judgement, both reproduces and transforms those structures in interactive response to the problems posed by changing historical situations’.

This concept of agency helps in understanding agency as an emergent phenomenon which eventually will contribute to both reproduction and transformation of structures. Further discussing Emirbayer and Mische’s concept of agency, Priestley et al. (2015) highlight an ecological approach to agency which emerges through temporal reflexive evaluation of contexts based on actors’ beliefs, values, discourses, social structures, resources, and so on. In this sense, agency is not possessed but emerges from a self-reflexively communicative process within given contexts. This altering character of agency based on contexts explains each actor’s decision-making process.

However, this concept of agency appears to neglect the pressure of collective agency from other actors on individual actors. Although this concept of agency also recognises the historicity of factors, agency seems to be understood in temporal snapshots, which disregards the historical understanding of structural factors. Hence, this reflects only the empirical level of a reality, which merely explains a reality already filtered by social mediation from a post-positivist realist view. Analysing causal mechanisms from the empirical level requires a translation tool of temporal snapshots in order to understand causal mechanisms and social conditions.

Therefore, I reconceptualised this in the concept of *figured world*, defined as ‘a socially and culturally constructed realm of interpretation in which particular characters and actors are recognised, significance is assigned to certain acts, and particular outcomes are valued over others’ (Holland et al. 1998, 52). The concept of figured world is similar to Bourdieu’s concept of field (1984/2010) in that they both recognise virtual space existing with their own valued ideas and principles in the power dynamics constructed by social positions. However, Holland et al. put forward an anthropological view which focuses on how a figured world is interpreted by individual human beings and how a figured world affects individuals’ activities, while Bourdieu focused more on how the

space of power dynamics works and is maintained by actors' participation. In this sense, a figured world provides a better tool to explore individuals' interpretations of certain power dynamics in given structure, which this chapter aims to do.

Drawn from the discussion above, Figure 3.1 shows how individuals' agency emerges in the power dynamics of collective agency that individuals recognise. Acknowledging the power relations in place while achieving agency, this concept of agency notes the history of an individual agent, the history of structure, and the interplay of both histories.

Agents' retrospective-prospective process of self-reflexivity is based on the histories of their communicative interactions with social dimensions such as structures and culture, which highlights that agency emerges from personalised meanings and evaluations of social communications but cannot be reduced to temporal achievements. This occurs in the temporal passage of past experiences, future possibilities and present contextualisation based on agents' beliefs, motives, aspirations, dispositions, competences, and so on (Emirbayer and Mische 1998). Similarly, Holland et al. (1998, 46) term this 'history-in-person', which results from the heuristic development of agency through

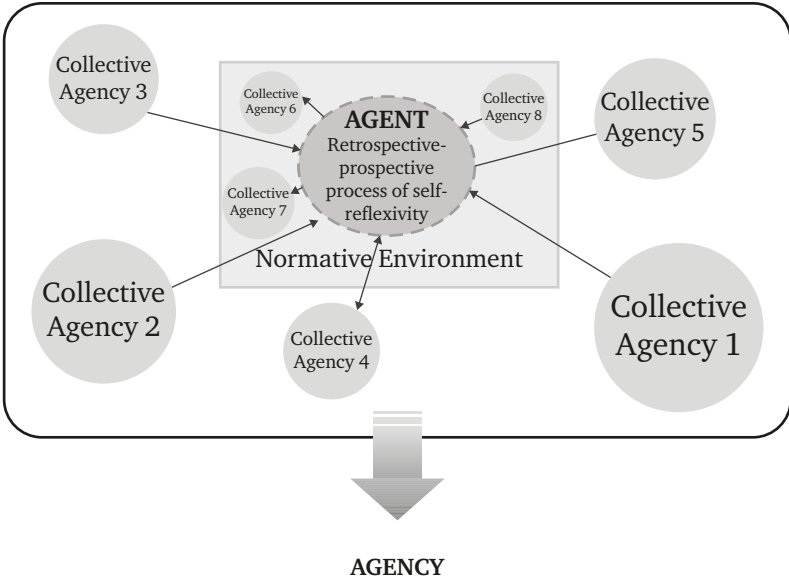


Figure 3.1 A revised model of understanding the achievement of agency. Source: Author.

improvisations in a certain situation and repeated appropriation of heuristics.

Also, the achievement of agency is mediated by the conceptual and material environment surrounding agents. The normative environment refers to contextual structures to which agents directly belong. It is generally or sometimes even a lawfully defined environment that anyone could clearly categorise. Thus, individuals tend to take these conceptual and material environments for granted as norms but still have subjective interpretations of collective agency in a normative environment. Besides collective agency in a normative environment, individuals can recognise other forms of collective agency outside of a normative environment based on their experiences and beliefs. Due to the intensified global mobility of people, items and ideas, individuals tend to recognise more diverse forms of collective agency.

These forms of collective agency which individuals perceive in a figured world could be presented differently to each individual according to their subjective distance from each form of collective agency, but the power dynamics of collective agency exist in terms of the leverage on the context, as posited in Holland et al.'s (1998) discussion on artefacts. Artefacts recall personal and social connections to the power dynamics of collective agency, which reminds us of individuals' interpretations and informs the power dynamics which they learnt from their experiences. Artefacts could be anything such as positions, objects, texts and ideas. Based on their reminders, individuals' agency emerges in the self-reflexive process of evaluating significance (illustrated as different sizes of circles in Figure 3.1) and impact (illustrated as arrows and lines between agent and collective agency in Figure 3.1).

To use this concept of agency as a translation tool of the research, it is necessary to narrow down the discussion to teacher agency. The concept of teacher agency can be understood as teachers' decision-making process in practice. Teachers' retrospective-prospective process of self-reflexivity for pedagogical decisions is likely to rely on their individual past experiences (Priestley et al. 2015). For example, their personal capacity, beliefs and values, influential to decision-making, all result from past experiences, which emphasises why the institutionalised mode of teacher preparation is commonly accepted. As Priestley et al. also point out, however, professional development comprises only a small proportion of teachers' professional experiences compared to everyday school experiences such as school culture and relationships with colleagues. This implies that the leverage of collective agency in a normative environment could work more directly on teachers whose decisions can be

more easily mediated. Furthermore, a professional identity involves both personal and professional aspects, influenced by meanings found in personal and professional life (Beijaard et al. 2004). Therefore, it is relevant to attempt to understand teachers' history-in-person as a part of narratives of their lived experience inside and outside their profession.

Additionally, formal education provides a specific context connected to a wider structural context including curriculum, educational policies and political forces, which mediates teacher agency as institutionalised education. Its normative features might not allow teachers to take different paths, which positions teachers as subjects who lose their own voice when exercising agency, rather than as agents (Ball et al. 2011).

Each individual teacher might perceive different forms of collective agency, but not in a normative environment. They are already embodied in the profession. For example, developing a teacher identity in formal education could mean understanding socially accepted standards, such as the role of teachers, teachers' social status and being a 'good teacher'. As Pantić (2015) suggests, there are other potential variables of teacher agency such as levels of power and trust in teachers' relationships, perceptions of school cultures and headteacher's leadership, opportunities for participation, policymaking and broader educational policy. Outside a normative environment, teachers could randomly perceive more diverse forms of collective agency based on their experience of broader social forces and sociocultural contexts.

Guided by this reconceptualisation of agency, the data were reappraised to include the power relations observed between teacher agency and the agency of other actors, as enabled in post-positivist realism. The data were initially coded with emergent subthemes under the different categories of history-in-persons (the history of an individual agent), normative environment (the professional side), and outside of the normative environment (the personal side), in order to understand how these different categories play roles in a figured world of GCE practice. The data were further analysed in relation to structural contexts, which are discussed below.

The context of Korea

At the beginning of this chapter, I briefly overviewed how GCE was introduced in Korea in 2015. This section discusses the general educational context, as well as GCE policies in formal education in Korea.

Traditionally, Korea tended to regard education as critical within a Confucian class society. Confucianism emphasises the manifestation

of moral virtues which require constant self-cultivation through learning (S. Kim 2008). Prioritised as moral agents, Confucian intellectuals were socially respected and entitled to the role of teachers, advisors, ministers or government officials, which implies that Confucian scholarship played a role as a medium of social mobility, although this was limited to social class. This close connection between Confucian knowledge and social mobility contributed to developing an exam-oriented educational system and subsequent elitism. This tendency has continued in the modern society of Korea, along with rapid economic development based on human resources, and has contributed to producing a more competitive society under the prevalence of neoliberalism.

With the introduction of *segyehwa* (globalisation) policies in the 1990s, neoliberalism has predominated over education in Korea. Scholarship is evaluated by the immediate impact on economic values such as funding and employability (S. M. Hong 2012). Educational policy seems to highlight individuals' competitiveness and market values, as exemplified in 'global leadership', which shows the elitism of neoliberal agents in a global market (S. H. Hong and Ryoo 2013).

Another legacy of Confucianism results from seeking the achievement of social harmony through Confucian values: collectivism. Collectivism was reinforced through experiencing Japanese imperialism, the Cold War and the military dictatorship which lasted until the 1980s. This was instrumentalised in response to an emerging global market, as shown in *segyehwa* policies. They were promoted as providing a national vision which combines national competitiveness with corporate and individual competitiveness, with the explicit goal of becoming global leaders (Bureau of Public Information 1995). That is, there is no clean distinction between Korea's national aspirations and global aspirations. Instead, they are mutually re-enforcing, as is found in GCE policies in Korea. According to the annual educational plan of the Ministry of Education (2016), GCE is promoted as one of five core strategies to become a leading country of education in the world. This clarifies that GCE is a linear extension of *segyehwa* policies.

Hosting the World Education Forum 2015 represented the Korean government's initial active involvement in GCE. The GCE LT programme was initiated to run the Forum successfully and has continued every year since. Although this was not the first time that global perspectives were included within the national curriculum, the 2015 national curriculum officially introduced the term GCE under the category of multicultural education. Global citizenship is, moreover, implicitly manifested as one of the core aims in the Korean curriculum. At the centre of GCE

policies in Korea, the Asia-Pacific Centre of Education for International Understanding (APCEIU) has taken up the main role as a key partner of GCE,³ including in the GCE LT programme and other teacher education programmes for GCE. Its influence on GCE in Korea confirms the linear and unilateral flow of GCE policies from the Ministry of Education and APCEIU to schools and teachers (Korea Institute for Curriculum and Evaluation 2017).

How teacher agency for GCE emerges

When analysing data from the main group of teachers who participated in the research, the empirical data appears to confirm the existing explanations of teacher agency in terms of capacities. This group consisted of teachers who had been engaging in GCE before participating in this study, and they tended to have lived experience where they were exposed to tensions, conflicts and, more importantly, moments of self-reflection through volunteering programmes and working abroad in the past. They discovered global citizenship in relation to their role as teachers, mentioning the importance of global citizenship in relation to teaching philosophy. For them, GCE could be related to anything because any pedagogical acts such as questioning and planning can convey global citizenship if teachers centre global citizenship in their teaching philosophy. For example, they flexibly integrated subjects or changed curricular content under a theme of global citizenship based on their own interests, or according to the curricular content. Although ideological orientations might vary, the current curriculum was full of global citizenship elements to be identified and developed, as long as teachers could view them through a lens of global citizenship. This provides strong evidence that teacher agency for GCE is achieved when individual teachers are equipped with relevant capacities to read global citizenship, as promoted in individual teachers undergoing an epistemological shift.

However, another group of teachers who claimed neither interest in nor experience in GCE seemed to achieve teacher agency for GCE regardless of their capacities. Although they rarely perceived themselves as the agents of GCE, the inclusion of global perspectives in a national curriculum required them to teach GCE elements, which they naturally realised while being interviewed. As mentioned in the research methods section, the interview questions were carefully approached using general themes of GCE based on the teachers' understanding of global citizenship such as global talents, cultural diversity and environmentalism. There might

have been less depth compared to the group above, but these teachers still made pedagogical decisions while following curricular content which included GCE as a cross-curricular learning theme.

Due to a longstanding national curriculum system which provides prescriptive guidelines, teacher professionalism tends to be strongly connected to following a curriculum and the content of textbooks which reflect the national curriculum (So and Kang 2014). Although teachers' autonomy over the content of the curriculum has increased as a result of curriculum revisions, the detailed guidelines of the national curriculum mean that teachers are easily disciplined according to the predominant neoliberal ethos in education. For example, Korean parents' relatively extreme education fever is motivated by the role of education in maintaining or elevating social class, which manifests through sending their children to prestigious universities (J. Kim et al. 2005). Under this pressure of accountability, it seems normal to teach the curriculum as it is, which is the case for this group of teachers. Hence, for them, GCE tends to be understood as segregated themes and topics which either lag behind other curricular subjects such as maths and English relatively in importance, or else help learners to develop global talents.

Unlike the first group above, the local seems to be disconnected from this group's understanding. This group of teachers understood GCE in the clear division of the local and the global space, which made it difficult for them to understand it in relation to social justice; as one of the teachers articulated: 'I cannot see the connection between GCE and social justice. GCE reminds me, probably because of the word *global*, of something which spreads outward to the world. On the contrary, social justice, to me, seems to point at justice in my region and country.'

No members of this group were able to relate GCE to social justice, which appears to indicate that the terminological orientation of GCE is divorced from their daily lives unless in relation to individual competitiveness. Considering that this group achieves teacher agency for GCE in accordance with the national curriculum, this implies that this disconnection between the local and the global is commonly manifested throughout the curriculum. This could contribute to preserving social injustice hidden or taken for granted in our daily lives given the ubiquitous impact of globalisation (Bourn 2014). Also, learners' everyday encounters could be pedagogically more relevant than discussing abstract ideas of events physically distant from learners (Rizvi and Beech 2017), which suggests the importance of pedagogical approaches to GCE.

As shown by teachers who achieved teacher agency for GCE regardless of their interests or capacities, the curriculum seems to work as a

strong artefact to remind teachers of their role. This is consistent with other teachers who have been participating in GCE. The difference is that these teachers restructured the curriculum according to their interests while following the national curricular standards. This suggests that the curriculum reflects collective agency which shapes the role of teachers in a normative environment, but there is an explicit lack of pedagogical approaches towards GCE in the curriculum.

Furthermore, according to the interviews following the GCE-related classes, their teacher agency was constantly mediated and negotiated by other artefacts in the normative environment; these artefacts reflect collective agency and social expectations regarding the role of teachers, such as those held by students, parents, colleagues and headteachers. These artefacts are closely related to what being a teacher means in Korea and teachers learn the social legitimacy of their role through these artefacts, which shapes their teacher identity (Beijaard et al. 2004).

That is, the findings show that teacher agency for GCE emerges based on teachers' lived experience, which combines their role as teachers with global citizenship, while following given curricular content and under the social mediations of artefacts which remind teachers of power relations in connection with other actors. This highlights that teacher agency for GCE is closely related to structural will as well as individual capacities. Thus, the idea of teachers as agents necessitates structural will inclusive of all agents, including teacher voices. This suggests that policies could bring better opportunities for social changes through GCE when space is provided for teachers to emancipate their agency.

Causality

According to these findings, the normative environment of teacher agency for GCE provides teachers with the space to achieve their agency for GCE through including GCE within the national curriculum. However, this seems superficial, as shown by teachers who demonstrated no interest in GCE. Rather, although global citizenship has been introduced as one of the core aims in the national curriculum, the findings show that the normative environment projects collective agency, putting GCE at the periphery of the curriculum. The ambiguous position of GCE within the curriculum leaves teacher agency for GCE as an individual responsibility, which conceptualises teacher agency as comprising capacities.

The unilateral flow of GCE policies from the government and APCEIU to schools and teachers easily oppresses teacher agency, limiting

the space for teachers' voice in education, which encourages teachers to remain as policy subjects and not policy agents. Furthermore, the absence of pedagogical approaches in a government-led approach to GCE dismisses the contested nature of global citizenship and fails to offer the space to discuss diverse perspectives on global citizenship in formal education.

Holland et al. (1998)'s concept of figured world, which assigns different significance to ideas, actions and actors, reveals that good teaching does not necessarily include GCE in relation to social justice which challenges taken-for-granted assumptions and takes actions to achieve a better society. That is, the socially expected role of teachers tends to be detached from social justice. Hence, teacher agency for GCE easily fails to connect GCE practice with social justice, which results in GCE superficially teaching global perspectives that are divorced from the local.

Conclusion: implications for teacher education

This chapter explored Korean primary school teachers' agency for GCE, using a post-positivist realist methodology. The distinctive features of post-positivist realism, which allows inference of trans-factual knowledge from empirical data based on existing theories and concepts, enabled this chapter to reconceptualise teacher agency and translate empirical data in relation to a given structure. The employment of post-positivist realism exposed the causal mechanisms and social conditions of achieving teacher agency for GCE: the ambivalent position of GCE in the curriculum and the role of teachers detached from social justice.

Social justice can be understood in various ways, personally, culturally and socially, but social justice is closely related to a response to a material reality of injustice which people actually experience. In this regard, teaching social justice involves bringing a sense of social change for a better world (Bourn 2014), which requires the space to discuss diverse perspectives and understand the impact of engagement. Similarly, Freire put forward the concept of critical pedagogy which 'opens up a space where students should be able to come to terms with their own power as critically engaged citizens' (Giroux 2010, 717), which suggests rethinking teacher professionalism in relation to social justice.

In order to do this, the current structural challenges which make teacher agency for GCE static and superficial should be noted. Pedagogy does not only comprise techniques used to deliver a given curriculum but also involves understanding the values and principles which inform,

crystallise and justify a classroom act of teaching (Alexander 2008). In this sense, pedagogical approaches to GCE need to provide teachers with the space to understand what they teach and to justify why they teach it, where teachers' voice counts as the voice of agents, rather than subjects. It is to this end that teacher education for GCE ought to aspire.

Notes

- 1 The structure of the procedures follows exposure to different perspectives, informed thinking, reflexive questions, group dialogue questions, simulated situation of decision making and reflecting. These procedures also allow private exercise and reflection, which was done in written form to avoid coercive consensus and to understand participants better.
- 2 When collecting data, the Yemeni refugee issue was socially noted. Yemeni asylum seekers in Malaysia, where the religious culture is relatively similar to Yemen, were denied permission to stay longer in Malaysia and moved to Jeju, the biggest island in South Korea. Visas were not required, due to the governmental promotion of the island as an international free trade region.
- 3 APCEIU is an independent organisation founded under the Agreement between UNESCO and the Government of Korea. It has been leading GCE in the Asia-Pacific region and beyond through continuous funding from the Korean government (Cho 2017).

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Part II

Opportunities and constraints within different education systems and the role of teachers

The themes developed in the chapters in this part of the book reflect different methodological approaches to reviewing ways in which global learning themes are reflected within schools. In addition, the chapters highlight the opportunities in this field of learning for both empowering teachers and providing imaginative pedagogical opportunities regardless of the policy constraints.

There has been a growing body of research on global learning themes within schools. Examples include research by Hunt (2012) on primary schools and her later research for the Global Learning Programme (Hunt 2020; Hunt and King 2015). There have also been studies on global learning themes within schools in Australia (Reynolds et al. 2019), South Korea (Alviar-Martin and Baidon 2021), Spain (Calvo 2020), Ghana (Eten Angyagre 2020), Canada (MacDonald-Vemic et al. 2015) and Ireland (Kavanagh et al. 2021). Tarozzi and Mallon's (2019) research provides a valuable overview of approaches across Europe.

Much of this research has, however, tended to focus on curriculum opportunities or interest and engagement from teachers. The research that forms the basis of the four chapters in this part of the book, while building on these studies, all go one step further not only in looking at a range of methodological approaches but also in covering themes that to date have not been the subject of many research studies.

Each of the four education systems that provide the context for these chapters – Kazakhstan, England, Greece and Pakistan – present different challenges for teachers. What is noticeable in the four contexts is that despite a lack of obvious and overt policy support for global learning themes, there is enthusiasm and support from individual teachers for promoting learning about global and sustainability themes. This interest

builds on points identified in the earlier chapter by Kyoungwon Lee on the importance of global learning providing a sense of agency for teachers. This can be seen in three chapters in this part of the book by Giannis Efthymiou, Amy Strachan and Natalya Hanley, which report that the combination of relevant subject matter with learner-centred approaches gave teachers a sense of empowerment and enthusiasm for not only what they taught but also how they taught.

Global learning themes have become more common within formal education in recent years. Terms such as global citizenship and sustainable development are part of the curriculum in many countries. The interpretation and application of these terms may vary from country to country but they provide certain openings and opportunities. Hanley's chapter also shows that the type of school can also influence what and how global themes are taught. She noticed that themes in and around global citizenship were more popular in elitist schools and those which were using the International Baccalaureate.

Methodological approaches for research should reflect the aims of the studies. For example, Aamna Pasha's chapter is based on an analysis of social studies textbooks for schools in Pakistan. To analyse the roots and forces that influence these textbooks, Pasha was influenced by the work of Foucault, who took a critical discourse analysis approach. Both Hanley's and Efthymiou's research includes elements of action research where the teachers are themselves involved in testing out ideas and approaches to delivering global learning and global citizenship themes within the classroom. Hanley's research looks at three different types of schools, while Efthymiou analyses evidence of global learning practices by a range of teachers within one school.

Another feature of this part of the book is the different methodologies used to conduct the research, which range from critical discourse analysis to comparative case studies, interviews with a range of teachers, and an analysis of a particular school. Pasha's use of critical discourse analysis to discuss how knowledge is constructed within social studies textbooks provides openings for revealing a range of ideological influences, the continuing legacy of colonialism, and the relevance and connection between themes within Islam and global citizenship. Strachan's research on primary school science not only shows the relevance of global learning within the subject but also, through interviews and classroom observations, she is able to construct a distinctive pedagogical approach that has applicability beyond her subject area. Hanley's research examines three types of schools to determine their similarities and differences and what this means for how global citizenship themes

are reflected within the classroom. Finally, Efthymiou's research is deliberately a mixed methods approach as it aims to identify a range of data from a specific case study. Combining quantifiable data with interviews and classroom observations provides a well-rounded understanding of teachers' views, experiences and practices within one primary school.

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Understanding global learning through the lens of global citizenship education in Kazakhstan

Natalya Hanley

Over the last three decades, there has been an increasing interest in globalisation, which has brought changes, challenges and opportunities to the area of education, particularly within secondary schools. The concept of global learning was constructed around different pedagogical approaches and methods that help young people 'to respond to the challenges of an interconnected world, to take responsibility for, and to advocate for global solidarity and social justice' (Scheunpflug 2008, 19) and understand their place in a globalised world while they are learning about global issues (Giroux 2011). It aims not only to educate global citizens about the competitive world (Khoo 2011) but also focuses on how to promote global social justice, diversity and sustainable development (Bourn 2015a). It has created the impetus to encourage young people to become more engaged with global issues and challenge them with practical implementations and actions in their local communities. In this context, global citizenship education (GCE) can be seen as an interchangeable concept, covering the same areas of learning and focusing on global and local issues and themes. At the same time, it creates the space to address the roots of global social justice and encourages learners to engage with global/social issues from the perspectives of active global citizens. The interpretation, multi-faceted perspectives and understandings of each area of GCE are formed according to the peculiarity of the historical development and/or the current political and cultural understanding of the country (Andreotti 2010; Mannion et al. 2011).

The aim of this chapter is to discuss the value of a comparative case study approach applied in a three-year research study on global learning through the lens of GCE in Kazakhstan. Specifically, the chapter discusses how this approach has contributed to understanding the different interpretations of GCE, including education for the global elite within

the context of a particular country. It presents a comparative analysis of outcomes after the GCE programme was implemented within three secondary schools with different educational systems.

The chapter begins by providing an overview of Kazakhstani education and its historical development within secondary schools. Then, examining a comparative case study, it discusses insights from interviews and introduces various perspectives on GCE within different secondary school systems and curricula in Kazakhstan.

Understanding the Kazakhstani educational background

As part of the USSR for almost 75 years, Kazakhstan shared the Soviet Union system of education. The Soviet education system guaranteed free primary, secondary and higher education, which allowed the Soviet Union to achieve a high level of literacy across the whole country. However, the whole education system was seen as an ideological monopoly of the Soviet party system (Kissane 2005), which was designed to fulfil the needs of the country's political and economic situation. Education was controlled by the central authorities to develop a widespread sense of Soviet identity, patriotism and citizenship (Kulzhanova 2012). Turlugulov (1973) suggests that education was intended to 'broaden and concretize the knowledge of students in patriotic history' and to 'develop in students a feeling of passionate love and loyalty to the Soviet fatherland' (4–5). Some scholars viewed Soviet education as an instrument of indoctrination (Lisovskaya and Karpov 1999), where the legacy of Marxism, as the Soviet's belief system, was strongly attached to the understanding of national identification (Likhacheva et al. 2015).

The disintegration of the Soviet Union at the beginning of the 1990s brought about a sudden transformation for Kazakhstan. Carrère d'Encausse (1992) compares the process of disintegration with decolonisation when 'each of the nations need to decide the way to go' (43). The entire idea of identity and citizenship – which was developed as one solid idea of belonging to the Soviet Union (Fierman 2006) – became problematic, especially for the generation growing up during a period of deep crisis in worldview between the old and new regimes. Questions of identity and citizenship were raised not only by local Kazakhs but also by those ethnic groups who moved to Kazakhstan during different historical events like Sovietisation, political repression (deportation) and evacuation during World War 2 (Bridges and Sagintayeva 2014). The representatives of different ethnic groups and Kazakhs had the

opportunity to find their national identity and sense of belonging and citizenship without losing sight of the nationalistic interests of the country (Kissane 2005).

Kissane (2005) argues that the events of December 1991, when Kazakhstan declared independence, unleashed confusion in the political system which impacted on secondary school education. The changes led education policymakers to rethink the Soviet-inspired educational system and the national curriculum (Chapman et al. 2005), and so this period is also associated with opportunities to promote the national Kazakh culture and language (Fierman 2006) and find a new way forward for Kazakhstani education as part of a global world. Despite the strong link between the multicultural and multilinguistic composition of the country and issues of national identity and citizenship, Kazakhstani education is still seen as the main instrument for building Kazakh patriotism. Although there is no explicitly practised concept of 'citizenship' or 'citizenship education' in the school curriculum in Kazakhstan, it can be seen through different subjects like language, literature and history. Furthermore, Fierman (1997) and Kissane (2005) have acknowledged that Kazakhstan, like many other post-Soviet countries, is struggling 'between strong national determination and a global view of its identity' (Kissane 2005, 65). This might be because the idea of national identity and citizenship was promoted as one solid idea of Soviet belief. Fierman (2006) suggests that the definition of 'nation' was 'given by Stalin [and] linked between territory and language and was widely accepted in the USSR' (99). Therefore, even though the national curriculum has been 'internationalised' in order to enable the country to be competitive in a world economy, the concept of Kazakh citizenship education still focuses on patriotic beliefs with respect to Kazakh culture and Kazakh history (Mun 2014).

Responding to issues relating to citizenship understanding and national identity, this study proposes GCE concepts that might address, first, the relationship between GCE and patriotic citizenship in Kazakhstan and, second, force a rethink of the place of Kazakhstani citizenship in the global market and global economy (Yakavets 2014).

Why global citizenship education?

The scope of the literature on global learning and GCE suggests that the term is defined according to different views and perspectives, with a focus on engaging with global issues and themes within

various disciplines, pedagogies and contexts (Bourn 2020; Hunter 2013; Tarozzi and Torres 2016). This study suggests that bringing the idea of global citizenship and GCE into the discussion can not only contribute to expanding the perspective of global learning and citizenship but can also respond to educational needs in the Kazakhstani context. For example, James (2005) believes that developing global citizenship helps to address global and national issues by building appropriate values such as tolerance, acceptance, respect and cooperation (Bourn 2015b). Scholars such as Rapoport (2009) and Banks (2004) suggest that GCE educates the future citizen for 'active participation in a democratic society' (Kerr 2000, 209) and 'prepare[s] students to be ethical and responsible citizens and human beings in this globalized world' (Leask 2015, 30).

All of the schools which agreed to participate in the current research could be seen as the 'elite' that were open only to privileged students. The term 'privileged' refers not just to their financial privilege (Kolmakov 2005), but also to their intellectual level which include skills and achievements (IBKAZ n.d.; NIS 2013). Several research studies show a connection between GCE and elite schools (Gardner-McTaggart 2016; Howard et al. 2018). For example, Rothenberg and Scully (2002) argue that GCE brings potential social change to the role of the elites in local society, while Howard et al. (2018) argue that GCE programmes have been placed within various international and elite schools, aiming 'to prepare students to become productive, thoughtful and engaged citizens in a globalized world' (499). At the same time, GCE is seen as a means of reinforcing Western values, norms and ideas in the local society, 'not for reasons of equity or global citizenship, but rather in pursuit of relative advantage' (Gardner-McTaggart 2016, 1).

However, critical forms of GCE (Andreotti 2014), critical democracy (Camicia and Franklin 2011) and critical cultural awareness are seen as approaches which help to question Western-based values and ideologies. They particularly help to identify new ways to develop GCE, raising specific values and ideologies in the context of each particular country, their culture and interconnection within the global world (Andreotti 2014). GCE also helps to develop a critical understanding of the proposed approaches, alternative epistemologies and practical implementation which are relevant to local context (Niyozov and Dastambuev 2012). In other words, it helps to find new and multi-conceptual ways of constructing knowledge (Tarozzi and Torres 2016) rather than maintain the simple or noble ideal of global citizenship.

Methodology

To investigate the various perspectives on GCE within the context of secondary schools in Kazakhstan, the research employed a comparative case study approach with intervention. The practical implementation of the GCE programme was seen as the act of intervention and the main object of comparison. The main advantage of using comparative case studies in this research is in its dual-focused approach: to trace the elements of school curricula, pedagogical practices and GCE programme implementation through each case and to contrast one case with another (Bartlett and Vavrus 2017). This approach allowed the study to focus on similarities and differences between cases that helped to provide an understanding of the different interpretations of GCE.

The case study approach investigated the complex interaction of many factors such as school curricula, policies and practices, and teachers' professional and personal opinions about GCE before and after the intervention within a daily educational experience context. It helped to obtain a deep and rich description of the complex situation existing within each school (Creswell 2013; Yin 2009) through understanding the ways that the GCE programme had been implemented.

The comparative case study approach contributed to the understanding of different perspectives on GCE, as well as the tension and potential contribution of GCE programmes to the Kazakhstani secondary curricula within the elite space. Using a comparative contrast approach, this study contrasted individual cases, which helped to distinguish a 'descriptive holism' (Skocpol and Somers 1980, 192), highlighting their unique aspects as well as presenting the big picture. This approach enabled identification of the similarities and differentiations of the education system of each school and the processes within it (NRC 2003). Furthermore, the study was able to understand teachers and students' variety of interpretations of GCE concepts in general, as well as within each school with different educational systems.

To study the multiple perspectives in the various case studies from the research participants' (teachers and students) perspective (Cohen et al. 2011), three phases were included in the field research study. Phase 1 investigated the features of global learning within the schools' curricula, subjects and topics using document analysis of collected materials from three cases (lesson plans and textbooks) and semi-structured interviews with six teachers. Phase 2 focused on the practical implementation of a GCE programme within subject curricula such as history,

world history, English and Russian languages. Using the initial prepared material, a short session of teacher training was provided, together with material which covered the topics related to the research study (e.g. GCE concepts, GCE pedagogy, understanding of global issues). Working with the teachers, three topics were incorporated into their teaching disciplines. Having the freedom to modify and develop the lesson plans according to their personal understanding of GCE concepts, their work experience and professional skills, teachers were encouraged to implement the lessons in their daily teaching practices. Phase 3 examined the outcomes after the GCE programme was implemented in each school. This stage aimed to investigate and understand the multiple perspectives on GCE from shared experience during the practical implementation. After the intervention, data were collected via a second round of semi-structured interviews with the same six teachers and six focus group interviews with 70 students (5th–10th grades).

A brief illustration of three schools with different educational systems in Kazakhstan

To investigate the different perspectives and understandings of the GCE concepts using a comparative study approach, the research focused on schools with different educational curricula. A number of schools were invited to take part in this study. However, only three of them, Private school (PS), Nazarbayev Intellectual school (NIS) and International Baccalaureate (IB), who represented three different educational curricula, National (PS), National and International (NIS) and IB, decided to participate in the research.

The main characteristic of all three schools was the aim to educate a new generation of elite intellectuals (IBKAZ *n.d.*; NIS 2013). Each school was seen by parents as a highly effective way to invest in their child's future and provide them with the opportunity to receive an international education within Kazakhstan. It also included future prospects to study abroad or at any local prestigious university (Kolmakov 2005). NIS and IB schools were highly academically selective and competitive educational institutions which aimed to produce elite graduates for the local and global labour markets (Haigh 2002). The students of NIS and IB who participated in the research were the more 'gifted' and 'talented' students from all levels of society who had been selected by the schools' competitive examinations (Gardner-McTaggart 2016). These schools were different from the PS school, which was seen as a school for the upper class of

society who could afford to pay the tuition fees. This means that ‘elite’ in the context of NIS and IB schools can be seen as ‘high standing’ with a ‘prestigious reputation’ (Howard et al. 2018).

Although the PS was a private school, it followed the national curriculum. However, teachers had opportunities to offer various academic areas of interest such as humanities, languages, sport and art. This meant that the pedagogical approaches, lesson plans and subjects they chose to teach varied according to the school’s particular focus (Abenova 2018).

The NIS was launched by Kazakhstan’s Ministry of Education and Science as one of the important social, political and economic initiatives in 2008 (NIS 2013). Focusing on both a national and international curriculum (Shamshidinova et al. 2014), this project was intended to act as an experimental innovative educational programme with the primary goal of ‘development, monitoring, research, analysis, approbation, introduction and implementation of modern educational programme models at several levels of the education system from pre-school through to high school’ (NIS 2013, 5). By establishing at least one programme in each province, NIS aimed to provide a quality education across the whole country and later on to facilitate a ‘smooth translation of the accumulated experience to mainstream secondary schools in Kazakhstan’ (Khasseneyeva 2018, 25). This means the NIS project plans to become a nationally widespread programme integrated into the main state secondary schools.

Finally, the third school, International Baccalaureate (IB), offered a different curriculum, approaches, pedagogical requirements, mission and vision (IBKAZ n.d.), which did not have anything in common with the two schools described above. However, several research studies have found many similar and overlapping concepts and ideas between the IB programme and GCE (Dvir et al. 2018; Hughes 2020).

Using examples from the data, the next section discusses two particular topics on the global perspective within different schools’ curricula, together with teachers and students’ perspectives on global citizens. Specifically, the comparative analysis highlights the similarities and differences in teachers and students’ perspectives on the practical implementation of the GCE programme within different school contexts in Kazakhstan.

Findings

This section presents the teachers and students’ perspectives on GCE. The outcomes are organised according to two main themes: global

perspectives in school curricula and perspectives on global citizens. To present the findings, each school is identified as follows: Private school (PS), Nazarbayev Intellectual school (NIS) and International Baccalaureate school (IB). Each teacher is identified with a letter (e.g. Teacher A) where Teachers A, E and F are English teachers, Teachers B and C are teachers of history and Teacher D is a Russian teacher. The findings on students' focus group interviews include information on the class grade (e.g. 10th and 7th grades).

Global perspectives in the schools' curricula

Interviews with the teachers and students indicated that the term GCE was familiar to many of them through different forms of global perspectives such as global issues or global context (Teachers E and F, IB) and for some through the understanding of cosmopolitanism (Teacher B, PS), global citizenship and the UN programme of Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) (Teacher C, NIS). Although all the teachers from the different schools had different views on global learning within the lesson plans, they all admitted the significance of its presence within the school curricula. Some specifically highlighted that educating students about global issues today will help them to find their role not only in their own country in the future (Teacher F, IB), but also their identity in the global world (Teacher D, NIS). Others emphasised that educating students to think deeper about global issues, including neofascism, racism and fascism propaganda (Teacher B, PS), might encourage students to participate in 'changing the global picture together' in the future (Teacher A, PS). One teacher believed that the GCE programme should take place in secondary education in all subjects so students understand that they have responsibility for their actions. For example, they should ensure that their inventions 'cannot shoot and kill other people' (Teacher C, NIS).

However, the research analysis suggests that the presence of different forms of global perspectives in the school curricula directly impacted how GCE was implemented in various subjects. The NIS developed a combined curriculum (national and international) that introduced global perspectives in different subjects. It made the subjects more connected with the 'modern world' and focused on 'practical knowledge which will be useful in the future' (Teacher D, NIS). Furthermore, the school became a member of UNESCO's Associated Schools Network (ASPnet) (UNESCO n.d.(a)) which links educational institutions across the world to respond to Target 4.7 of the SDGs (UNESCO n.d.(b)).

Various global issues which were integrated in the different lesson topics of subjects like history and the Russian language allowed the promotion of principles of global citizenship and GCE in the school. For example, the teacher of the Russian language subject shared that her subject does not focus on the language only. The topics taught are related to the contemporary world, including lack of water and climate change. The GCE concept helps not only in discussing the issues which exist in the world but also in being a part of the solutions that might address these problems. 'Without it, it is impossible to talk about the future' (Teacher D, NIS). Another teacher believed that 'Global citizenship is everywhere' as 'it is all about us' (Teacher C, NIS). She specifically highlighted 'us' as people who have the same rights (to have freedom in speech and freedom in choosing their own religion) and who are all equal to each other.

In contrast, the private school followed the national curriculum governed by the Minister of Education of the Republic of Kazakhstan. My research re-enforced the perception that the national curriculum is a highly centralised top-down educational system (OECD 2015) which does not leave much freedom to bring changes or innovation at the lower levels of the hierarchy. As one teacher commented:

The Academic Curriculum of the Republic of Kazakhstan's Minister of Education gives very clear topics and the number of the classes for each of them which we must cover. The teacher cannot change the academic plan when you make your thematic plan for the year. Although it can be changed only within 30%, it still has a mandatory number of topics you must cover for the certain period of time. Therefore, it makes changes impossible to happen. (Teacher B, PS)

From the teachers' perspective, although GCE was important and should be included within the national curriculum, the study did not find any personal interest or current involvement in including elements of global perspectives or issues in education programmes. Each subject within the national curriculum was so overloaded with a number of lessons and topics which the teachers had to cover in the limited time available that it almost eliminated the opportunity for teachers to include any of the global issue topics in their lesson plans.

In our school curriculum we do not cover these topics. However, if the Minister of Education supports the idea and the textbook will be issued, then we can introduce the Global Citizenship

programme once a week. Of course, the programme should be applied gradually. I think it is necessary to do if we together want to change the global issues. (Teacher A, PS)

Not many subjects within the existing school curriculum were found to mention global perspectives or global issues. Analysis of the textbooks focused on examining those which the teachers used in their subjects. The textbook which explored global issues (*World History*, 11th grade) offered a very simplistic view and proposed very simplified solutions. The tradition of using textbooks in secondary school education comes from the Soviet period where education was highly centralised by the government-run system. Textbooks became the instrument for promoting Soviet ideology and propaganda (Ferro et al. 2003). On one hand, the national history curriculum ‘has been oriented towards fulfilling its major social goal of developing pride in USSR’s past and shaping school students into loyal Soviet citizens’ (Tsirlina-Spady and Stoskopf 2017, 15). School textbooks were the ‘right’ way to educate the younger generation in order to promote ‘necessary’ qualities and ideology, which was influenced by the political perspectives of the current government and ideological conceptions (Ruyatkina 2014). Although the situation began to change in the 1980s when educational policies became more open and the system more flexible (Brodinsky 1992), textbooks still play a key role in education. One of the teachers said:

Our textbooks are terribly written ... the facts did not match the truth ... and I do not know how they were allowed to publish it. Now there are textbooks which are mainly oriented on the national politics of the country. (Teacher B, PS)

On the other hand, current textbooks are still viewed as an instrument which helps the modernisation of the educational process by implementing a set of activities aimed at all children in school education (OECD 2014). The set of activities implemented, which includes resources for teaching and education, is seen as improving methods of teaching with the implementation of innovative technologies, upgrading teachers’ skills and revising the curricula (OECD 2014). However, the English teacher mentioned that the textbooks are too informative, not very flexible and do not have much practical teaching material. Therefore, they are forced to either go back to a book which was published in 1996 or use

additional material which includes better lesson materials with bright pictures, music and dances (Teacher A, PS).

In contrast, the teachers in the IB school were active in contributing their own input to the school curriculum. The teachers highlighted the differences between IB and other schools from their own work experience within state and IB schools. Teacher E simplified the major educational problems in the Kazakh state schools by comparing them with the IB school system:

The education programme has a slight difference because here [IB] we have the different content of learning. We do not rely on textbooks, which allows us to learn any topic from different perspectives: from global perspectives and not only how the topic is seen by our Kazakh textbook authors ... [When I taught] at the state schools we had only one textbook of Rayapova and we followed only it which offered too many topics and not much time to cover them. Here we have enough time for each topic. (Teacher E, IB)

The idea of stepping away from using textbooks is seen as an opportunity to bring changes which could benefit the global area of education for students. Teachers can shape the lesson plans for a year, and therefore they can impact the curriculum by integrating global issues into their subjects. The IB curriculum gives teachers the opportunity 'to create lessons in connection with other topics and connect them with reality ... with real life' (Teacher F, IB). 'All teachers gather together and decide which issues are relevant at the present time' (Teacher E, IB). They have the freedom to choose a number of global issues for the coming year, and therefore are able to closely follow real events which are happening at the present time. The teachers shared that they had been covering the following topics: child labour, refugee crises, plastic pollution, air pollution and so on.

The teachers also mentioned that including 'real-life' content related to the issues existing in the world in their lesson plans encouraged children not only to learn about them, but also to be involved in and participate in the solution-making process. It helped the students to live in the real world: to understand what is going on in the world and not believe fake information which is appearing on social media, and to accept and appreciate the country they currently live in (Teacher E and Teacher F, IB). By bringing these issues to the classroom, the teachers showed that it is impossible to stand aside and not be involved. Their

personal attitude towards global problems showed their passion in developing this area of their subjects. One of the teachers said:

To be honest, as a human being I worry about global ecological problems. I have a son who is growing up and therefore, it would be great to see that this problem is sorted out together with the inhabitants of this earth. (Teacher F, IB)

Perspectives on global citizens

Although the IB curriculum did not use terms like global citizenship or global citizen, these conceptual elements were found during the teachers' interviews as follows: global skills, global knowledge, intercultural communication, critical thinking, sense of belonging and solidarity in global action, values and responsibility. However, the research found that the idea of global citizenship versus local citizenship was confusing. One of the teachers shared:

[My colleague] and I touched on the topic about patriotism [when we were discussing global citizenship] [*from the context of the interview, notes of author*] and she asked: 'What is patriotism for you?' I said that it is to love your country, value your culture and language and so on. I remember I was confused about it and the topic of the citizenship ... I remembered that it was something not right, something was limited ... I valued something 'own': own country, own land, own culture and then I put everything else as the second, 'other'. For me it is still important to preserve what our ancestors left for us plus to value and accept other cultures ... I think that in order to accept something which is outside of our country, the people should start respecting what they have here. (Teacher E, IB)

At the end of the discussion, the teacher tried to summarise her perspective on global and local citizenship as the following credo: 'Education should be global, but *vospitanie* ('upbringing' [English translation]) – national.'

Similar confusion seemed to appear within two of the classes in NIS when the characteristics of global citizens were discussed and if the students could consider themselves as global citizens. Many students agreed that global citizens have certain characteristics, including respect for other traditions, understanding justice, being tolerant, caring about

others, and thinking about global issues and the ways to solve them. They also said that a global citizen is:

‘[one] who thinks not only about him/herself and their own country but also problems of all the world and how to solve them’.

‘a patriot of planet Earth not only one country’.

‘[one] who has a voice and expresses their thoughts’. (Student group interview, 10th grade)

However, when asked if they consider themselves to be global citizens, many students thought that patriotism and global citizenship could not co-exist. The majority of students agreed that they cannot identify themselves as global citizens because they are patriots or citizens of Kazakhstan (Student group interview, 7th and 10th grades). Specifically, they highlighted their responsibility to ‘think about the future of our country’ (Student group interview, 10th grade) and the position of being ‘neutral’ to be able to make just decisions within situations of global conflict (Student group interview, 10th grade).

This confusion might have arisen from the historical and current understandings of national and global citizenship, which included various influences and ideas. Historically, being a part of the Soviet system, the question of identity had become very vague (Gazaliev 2014). The idea of Soviet political isolation created Soviet patriotism relating to the need ‘to resist potential foreign aggression’ (Martin 2001, 150) and protect ‘Soviet achievements from external enemies’ (Tromly 2009, 302). The citizens of Soviet countries from different ethnic groups lost the ability to communicate in their own languages and the Russian language became the common language for everyone (Mehisto et al. 2014). They lost their ethnic traditions and everything became shared.

When the Soviet Union collapsed, Kazakhstani people lost not only their citizenship but also their sense of identity. As a result, the current generation knows very little about themselves, their sense of belonging or their values and identities (Gazaliev 2014). This hugely affects their understanding of who they are in the global world although the findings suggest that national determination within the national identity in Kazakhstan is still strong. Therefore, although patriotism was prevalent, this research study found an overall confused picture of understanding the interconnection and interdependency of the local and global.

Conclusion

This chapter focused on a comparative case study approach and how this approach helped to investigate the various perspectives on GCE within a Kazakhstani context. It identified the similarities and differences between different secondary schools in relation to two main themes: global perspectives in school curricula and perspectives on global citizens. Through a comparative analysis of teachers' and students' perspectives on the GCE programme, its implementation and outcomes, the different interpretations of GCE within the Kazakhstani context were discussed.

The research's comparative analysis suggested that the concepts of GCE were familiar to teachers across all the schools through different forms of global perspectives such as global issues, global context, cosmopolitanism, global citizenship and the UN programme of SDGs. Similarly, they all agreed that global learning is significant and should be present within the school curricula. However, the ways in which the GCE programme was integrated into their subjects and whether or not this programme will be practised in their classes in the future were very different for each school. It depended on the school curricula (bottom-up or top-down), presence of global learning in the school curriculum, school programmes, as well as the degree and willingness of teachers to participate in the process of incorporating global perspectives into their subjects (Carano 2013).

Furthermore, the understanding of the concepts of global citizenship and patriotism was found to be confused in some case studies. Global citizenship was understood in NIS as a single place (Yates 2009), where people are equal and together address global issues. Moreover, national identity was strongly highlighted as the set of human values, patriotism, citizenship responsibility and human feelings within the IB school. However, the majority of the students within the NIS school viewed patriotism as prevalent and this seemed to be seen as existing above or not related to global citizenship at all. The teacher of IB school summarised her understanding in the following credo: 'Education should be global, but *vospitanie* – national'. Nevertheless, such a confused understanding of the interconnection and interdependency between local and global perspectives within GCE might need more study in the future.

Finally, it is important to discuss the 'elitism' component of the secondary schools in relation to GCE in this study. While agreeing that GCE should be taught in the elite schools where 'the privileged, if enlightened, form a cadre of potential allies for social change' (Rothenberg and Scully

2002, 2), GCE should also be a part of the state school curriculum. This would allow students from state schools ‘to develop the sense of identity, which is based around equity and intercultural understanding’ (Gardner-McTaggart 2016, 11). Considering the example of PS school in this study, the issues with the lack of global perspectives within the curriculum and limited ability to integrate GCE into the inflexible and very strict school programme will apply to 95.5 per cent of schools (OECD 2015) which follow the same national curriculum in the country. Also, there is a danger that GCE might become a privileged opportunity only available to the elite students (Goodman 2001) in Kazakhstan, which would only allow one part of society to become involved in global resolutions to problems and to participate actively in global action. In this context, more research is required, which might include defining ‘elite’ schools in Kazakhstan.

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Global learning as a pedagogical approach to develop the purpose and value of primary science education

Amy Strachan

Introduction

Sustainable development is widely accepted as referring to ‘development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs’ with the aim of bridging the gaps between environmental, economic and social concerns (United Nations 1987, 41). An understanding of basic science concepts and skills is arguably fundamental to understanding the complexities of our planet, underpinning sustainability literacy and action (Arnott and Lemos 2021). However, Kioupi and Voulvoulis (2019) argue that science knowledge in isolation is not sufficient. They go on to identify that the complexity of sustainability as a concept makes it challenging to translate into educational learning outcomes.

The Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) Agenda of the United Nations (UNESCO 2015) provides a framework of universally accepted actions to help our global society to achieve justice, prosperity and environmental security. Within goal four, which focuses on the importance of quality education, target 4.7 specifically focuses on the requirement of learners to gain the knowledge and skills to promote sustainable development. This raises important questions around how the formal curriculum can support SDG 4.7 rather than fostering a neoliberal agenda focused on individualism and competition (Jickling and Wals 2008). Within the context of England, where there has been a growing concern about the weakened status of primary science education after the removal of primary national curriculum tests (Ofsted 2021), this motivated a research study to explore how teachers could be supported to reconsider the purpose and value of science education using

a global learning approach. As part of a professional doctorate, this research was underpinned by my positionality as a primary science education lecturer and professional learning facilitator, thus focusing on a subject-specific perspective regarding the implementation of a global learning pedagogical approach. An embedded mixed methods approach was used with the view of examining attitudes towards a global learning approach to primary science while implementing workshops and working with case study schools to consider the opportunities and challenges of this approach.

Supporting the recommendation of Pashby and Sund (2020) to be aware of the importance of decolonising the curriculum, and building on the importance of rethinking the concept of powerful knowledge (Deng 2021), this chapter shares research findings informing opportunities for how a global learning pedagogical approach can support educators to reflect upon and frame a primary science curriculum in relation to SDG 4.7 in a way that challenges traditional notions of science education and supports young people as global citizens.

The purpose of science education

Biesta (2013), in discussing the purpose of education, identifies three domains which are useful when considering what kind of education is needed for a global citizen. As a ‘qualification’, education can be considered in terms of ways in which it qualifies students to do certain things; as ‘socialisation’, it can be related to the ways in which individuals can become part of traditions and practices; and finally, as ‘subjectification’, education can be thought of as that which enables individuals to become ‘agents of their own actions’ (Biesta 2013, 739). These domains, as Biesta (2020) points out, cannot be separated and have a complex relationship, but from a ‘global learning’ and ‘global citizenship education’ perspective, they can be used to consider SDG 4.7 within a specific subject, as well as providing information about the knowledge and skills required to promote sustainability and global citizenship.

Critical engagement with sustainability and global citizenship education provides an opportunity to engage with ‘the complexities, diversities, uncertainties and inequalities of globalization’ (Andreotti 2010, 238). There can be many constraints on schools but there is evidence of effective pedagogical tools within the framework of global citizenship education. Bosio (2021) proposes that along with the UN’s 2030 Agenda, a framework informed by critical pedagogy (promoting social justice and

democracy) is required. Substantive and disciplinary knowledge alone, which are the focus of the primary science curriculum in England (Ofsted 2021), is not enough. In line with Biesta's domains, a sustainable global society requires children to gain the knowledge, capacities and dispositions required for them to use substantive and disciplinary knowledge as responsible global citizens. While this chapter supports the notion of science education playing an important role in developing 'disciplinary knowledge which allows for learning about the diverse ways that science generates and grows knowledge through scientific enquiry' (Ofsted 2021, 9), the research explores how stakeholders can be supported to consider the wider purpose of science education, investigating how a global learning approach to the subject can provide a space for young people to use substantive and disciplinary knowledge to understand themselves and others in relation to their global home.

Theoretical approach

From both a researcher and practitioner perspective, this research draws together two areas of concern. The first concern is the status of primary science education, specifically in England, which has been weakened over recent years due to the focus on high-stake accountability testing and the greater focus on the discipline areas of English and mathematics (Ofsted 2019, 2021; Wellcome Trust 2019). Research in 2020 revealed that when taught weekly, science in England was taught for only an average of 1 hour and 24 minutes per week (Wellcome Trust 2020). The same research revealed that from a sample of 853 science leaders in primary schools, only 31 per cent thought that the senior leadership team saw science as 'very important', in contrast with 88 per cent who thought that their senior leadership team saw English as being 'very important'. This issue has been exacerbated by Covid-19, during which educational recovery has focused on English and mathematics (Ofsted 2022), leaving gaps in pupils' science substantive and disciplinary knowledge, which may impact on their ability to understand and act responsibly in relation to the complexities of our planet. The second concern is the challenge of operationalising SDG 4.7 and the wider UN 2030 Agenda within the formal curriculum, as discussed in the introduction. Subsequently, these issues motivated the consideration of how to support teachers to reconsider the nature of science and the reasons to 'work scientifically' (DfE 2013, 5) with the aim of seeking to demonstrate the impact

of implementing global learning as a pedagogical approach, along with reflecting on ways to move forward with the promotion of a primary science education which has value and purpose.

At the micro level, the research was influenced by the work of Pajares’s (1992) exploration of teacher beliefs and attitudes, Priestley et al.’s (2015) ecological model of teacher agency, and Shulman’s (1987) research on knowledge bases, in order to consider the potential for practitioners to be supported as ‘agents of change’ (Bourn 2015). From a pragmatic perspective, Priestley’s ecological model was used to consider how agency is achieved by teachers in their day-to-day practice by exploring what enables or impedes the process of implementing a new pedagogical approach (in this case, global learning). At the meso level, the research was underpinned by an examination of models of professional development (Kennedy 2014), pedagogical approaches and the influence of organisations and professional communities (Lave 1991). Finally, at the macro level, the research considered the constraints and opportunities of policy frameworks, including the science national curriculum in England (DfE 2013) and the Sustainable Development Agenda (UN 2015). This framework, summarised in Figure 5.1, informed the global learning approach to primary science and the professional development model supporting schools and teachers.

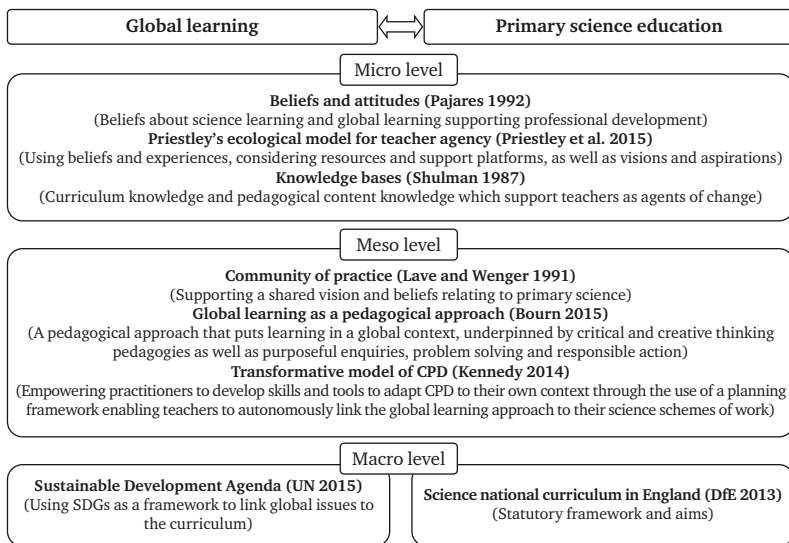


Figure 5.1 The theoretical framework informing the global learning approach to primary science. Source: Author.

A global learning approach to primary science

A feature of the SDGs, specifically within target 4.7, is their recognition of the purpose of education as supporting learners with the knowledge, skills and values to contribute to a more sustainable, just and peaceful world (UNESCO 2021). The SDGs also provide a framework for a vision of education which enables learners to connect their own identity and sense of place in the world with global issues. Evidence, however, suggests they do not currently have a high enough profile in schools in England (Bourn and Hatley 2022). This is reflected in primary science, within which the focus is on curriculum content and accountability measures, with a lack of promotion of the broader purposes and role of science education in sustainable development. Global learning is defined as a pedagogical approach that puts learning in a global context, fostering critical and creative thinking, self-awareness, open-mindedness towards difference, understanding of global issues, and action and optimism for a better world (Bourn et al. 2016); it aligns with target 4.7. It has been used to underpin the approach to primary science, including four main principles:

- **Opportunities for critical and creative thinking** through harnessing dialogic learning strategies that enable children to consider different perspectives and assumptions in their science learning (for example, using Philosophy for Children¹ and Open Spaces for Dialogue and Enquiry² within science learning contexts).
- **Self-awareness and open-mindedness to difference**, through framing science learning in local and global contexts to elicit and value children's experiences and traditions as well as share those of others.
- **Understanding global issues and power relationships** through contextualising science learning in relation to the SDGs, sharing relevance and providing a wider purpose for science learning.
- **Creating optimism and action for the future** by providing opportunities for children to apply and reflect on their science learning in relation to innovation and responsible decision-making in their daily life.

Methodology

The research study was underpinned by a pragmatic research philosophy, based on the assumption that the methodological approach depends on how well the purpose can be achieved, ensuring that new knowledge

supports action in relation to values and goals (Tashakkori and Teddlie 1998). The research paradigm, in fact, reflects the researcher's beliefs about the nature of science and the purpose of science education, as a human endeavour in which questions are answered using a variety of approaches, knowledge is developed which is open to revision in light of new evidence, and disciplinary skills are used to address questions and solve problems related to the natural and material world.

The research used an embedded mixed methods research design (Creswell and Plano Clark 2011), with a quantitative attitudinal survey (Table 5.1) and qualitative semi-structured interviews. These explored and informed the use of a professional development framework to support schools, teachers and pre-service teachers in the integration of a global learning approach to science education. Professional development sessions implementing a global learning approach to primary science were then undertaken with three case study schools. Reflective journal entries and semi-structured interviews with respondents from the case study schools were used to capture attitudes, challenges and opportunities for global learning in primary science.

An attitudinal survey, based on Thurstone scaling, was developed by Bamber et al. (2013) to measure the attitudes of educators towards global learning. The attitudinal survey was adapted for this research by including a science-specific lens to compare the attitudes of stakeholders who delivered or influenced the delivery of primary science education (see Table 5.1). These included 30 senior leadership team members, 30 primary science advisers, 30 leaders of primary science, 30 primary school teachers and 30 pre-service primary teachers (150 respondents in total). This enabled a comparison of how positive different stakeholder groups were towards global learning in primary science education. Attitudinal values were ascertained by calculating the mean of all items ticked (see Table 5.1 for weightings of each item). The sample groups were then analysed and compared to identify any patterns in attitudes towards global learning in primary science.

Semi-structured interviews were then conducted with a sample of each group ($n=5$) to explore the challenges and opportunities around integrating a global learning approach into the subject area (a total of 25 key primary science stakeholders: senior leadership team, advisers of primary science, heads of science, teachers and student teachers). Reflective journal entries and semi-structured interviews were then carried out in the three case study schools in order to explore the implementation and impact of global learning professional development workshops and planning tools on primary science teaching and learning, considering the

Table 5.1 Attitudinal survey comparing stakeholder attitudes towards embedding global learning in primary science (adapted from Bamber et al. 2013)

Weighting	Statement
6.31	I think it's really important for young people to know what's going on in the world
1.00	Having a global dimension to my science lessons is totally pointless and would detract from my important learning
6.85	Global learning is absolutely essential for the development of myself and those I teach
2.00	Global learning is a low-priority issue on the scale of what is important in my life and my work
3.08	While creative thinking is important there are things in science which take a higher priority
5.69	Global learning adds to pupil learning of science
4.00	I think global learning is significant but honestly don't know if it is more or less important than mathematics or English
5.38	Young people should be aware of different perspectives in science
2.08	Global learning is too complex to engage with
2.46	Incorporating global learning in science is beyond the role/scope of being a teacher
1.00	I hate the whole idea of teaching about global learning in science
4.23	While global perspectives in learning could be important, the concept may need further clarification to be usefully applied to the science curriculum
6.85	I am very passionate about global learning
5.15	Global learning is possibly one way to promote critical thinking in science lessons

enabling and embedding factors affecting teacher agency, as per Priestley et al.'s (2015) ecological model.

The study's ethical considerations included the following: participation in the study was voluntary and the aim of the study was explained to all participants; participants and schools were assured of their anonymity in the presentation of the findings; and ethical clearance for the study was obtained in line with the British Educational Research Association's (BERA) ethics guidelines.

In line with a pragmatic mixed methods approach, the use of a quantitative survey captured an overview of attitudes towards global learning in primary science education and its potential as a pedagogical approach, while semi-structured interviews provided a richer insight into the constraints and opportunities of its application. Implementing the global learning approach in three case study schools, over a year-long period, provided a deeper analysis of the application and realities of the approach. Data (including teacher interviews, planning and work samples) was used to inform an amended framework supporting a global learning approach to primary science education. Thematic analysis, as per Braun and Clarke (2006), enabled the data sets to be organised in a way that enabled them to be analysed in relation to each other. The findings, therefore, considered ways in which practitioners could be supported to connect core curriculum objectives to global dimensions, SDGs and global learning pedagogical strategies.

Findings

A total of 150 individuals (30 in each group) participated in the first part of the study. Participants completed the attitudinal survey before participating in the Global Learning in Primary Science workshops. The teachers participated in a series of activities that supported them in mapping the SDGs and pedagogical strategies onto their science schemes of work, situating activities within the framework of the English national curriculum for science (DfE 2013).

All stakeholder groups (pre-service teachers, teachers and advisers) were generally positive in their attitude towards global learning in primary science (a score of 4 was set as signifying a neutral stance, so anything above that was deemed as positive) with an average value of 5.604. There was little variation in the mean inventory score for each group: pre-service teachers (5.67), teachers (5.574) and primary science advisers (5.212). The findings, however, demonstrate that pre-service teachers included the highest percentage of respondents indicating an interest in pursuing further professional learning related to global learning in primary science (83 per cent), compared with only 27 per cent of advisors expressing this interest. This is consistent with the idea that constraints such as accountability, timetabling and emphasis on English and maths in the English primary curriculum deter engagement (Wellcome Trust 2019). However, while the pre-service teachers were not yet working within a school system, and therefore were not yet affected by many of these constraints, it is a positive finding that the next

generation of teachers are motivated to engage in this field of professional development.

Considering specific items of the survey, the pre-service teachers had the most positive attitude towards the importance of global learning, with 100 per cent agreeing with the statement 'I think it's really important for young people to know what's going on in the world'. Similarly, no students agreed with the negatively framed statement 'I hate the whole idea of teaching about global learning in science' and no student agreed with 'Having a global dimension to my science is totally pointless and would detract from my important learning'. While this stakeholder group was not explored during the case study aspect of the study, these findings reveal the importance of supporting these attitudes with Initial Teacher Education (ITE) programmes that nurture these attitudes in relation to the core content framework and teacher standards which frame their training.

When examining the semi-structured interview responses in relation to the survey results, the findings revealed some of the reasons underlying the stakeholders' attitudes. Compared to other stakeholder groups, the advisers were statistically the least positive group, with only 27 per cent sharing an interest in further global learning in primary science professional development. The interviews identified that many of these respondents believed that global learning in primary science would only be successful with secure science subject knowledge underpinning the approach. Respondents in this stakeholder group expressed caution that a global learning approach may detract from the progression of core science knowledge and skills. This group was also concerned about the time constraints in delivering the objectives set out in the programmes of study in England (DfE 2013).

The semi-structured interviews also revealed that most respondents' beliefs about the potential benefits of global learning in primary science were frequently related to attitude development and engagement (using words such as enjoyable, motivating, interesting). While this is encouraging, supporting teachers to consider the wider purpose of science education beyond promoting positive attitudes and engagement towards learning beyond the curriculum content (involving thinking about the subject beyond the curriculum content) is an important area of consideration.

Case study schools

Global learning in primary science professional development workshops was implemented within the three case study schools. This was informed and developed through an iterative approach after the semi-structured

interviews, providing teachers with the strategies and planning tools that aligned with the approach. The researcher then followed the implementation of the approach in the three schools through asking teachers to write reflective journal entries and conducting semi-structured interviews with teachers within each school, as well as obtaining planning notes, display evidence and children's work samples. Teachers within the case study schools of this research reflected positively on the global learning in primary science approach and articulated an interest in developing an understanding of the purpose of science learning beyond achieving attainment descriptors.

As identified in [Table 5.2](#), the three case study schools were able to identify explicit links between their programmes of study and the SDGs. It is evident that depending on the context used to deliver the programmes of study, links between science and sustainable development were not always the same. For example, Schools B and C both incorporated global learning into their Year 2 'Uses of everyday materials' topic: School A focused on the responsible consumption of materials, whereas School B focused on the use of materials for industry, innovation and infrastructure. This highlights two points of consideration: first, the importance of teacher and school autonomy in making links relevant to their learners and, second, the need to ensure that teachers have a thorough understanding of all goals, in order to integrate the most appropriate goal into the content of their teaching.

While the professional development workshops modelled and explored a range of pedagogical strategies which aligned with the four main principles of the global learning approach to primary science, all case study schools made greater use of the more accessible strategies and related resources. For example, all schools used Explorify,³ an online database of science-related resources, to support the strategy of critical thinking as these resources are readily available online for all science programmes of study. However, when strategies required teachers and schools to adapt resources and construct their own resources specific to an area of science, such as P4C⁴ and Open Spaces for Dialogue and Enquiry,⁵ they were not used during the period of data collection. This may be a result of time constraints but may also be due to the changing nature of how teachers seek online resources and social media links which can be immediately implemented in the classroom (Ortlieb 2018) and have been tried and tested. As the brainstorming session with the schools demonstrated, along with the reflective interviews, it took time and collaboration to determine themes that supported the development of core science knowledge and skills while being relevant and motivational to

Table 5.2 Links between primary science programmes of study in England (DfE 2013) and Sustainable Development Goals (UN 2015)

School A	School B	School C
Year 1 Everyday materials – SDG 12 (Responsible consumption)	Year 1 Everyday materials – SDG 9 (Industry, innovation and infrastructure), SDG 12 (Responsible consumption), SDG 14 (Life below water)	No links identified
Year 2 Uses of everyday materials – SDG 12 (Responsible consumption)	Year 2 Uses of everyday materials – SDG 9 (Industry, innovation and infrastructure)	No links identified
Year 3 Animals including humans – SDG 2 (Zero hunger)	Year 3 Plants – SDG 2 (Zero hunger)	Year 3 Plant, animals including humans – SDG 15 (Life on land), SDG 2 (Zero hunger)
Year 4 States of matter – SDG 13 (Climate change)	Year 4 States of matter – SDG 6 (Clean water and sanitation)	Year 4 Living things and their habitats – SDG 2 (Zero hunger)
Year 5 Life cycles – SDG 2 (Zero hunger), SDG 15 (Life on land)	Year 5 Forces – SDG 7 (Affordable and clean energy), SDG 9 (Industry, innovation and infrastructure), SDG 13 (Climate change)	Year 5 Earth and space – SDG 9 (Industry, innovation and infrastructure)
Year 6 Properties and changes of materials – SDG 13 (Climate change), SDG 12 (Responsible consumption)	Year 6 – Living things and their habitats – SDG 3 (Good health and wellbeing), SDG 6 (Clean water and sanitation)	Year 6 – Animals including humans – SDG 3 (Good health and wellbeing)

the children. Strategies and resources were introduced and embedded in two ways: those trialled in the global learning in primary science workshops and those highlighted on established online platforms, for example, the Explorify website and Practical Action STEM challenges,⁶ which were cohesive to the global learning approach. What was evident from my own reflective diary was that practitioners being able to trial the activities and strategies in the workshops with other colleagues enabled

them to explore their own understanding, as well as consider where and how they might be implemented in practice.

From the reflective interviews with respondents in all three case study schools, it was evident that they often articulated that after doing the activities in the workshops, they were ‘excited’ about integrating them into their own planning and teaching, identifying where and how they would be useful. When respondents conveyed their enjoyment and engagement in doing the activities themselves, seeing their relevance in relation to issues they were passionate about, they also showed enthusiasm for considering where to implement them in their own teaching.

Another important aspect of the workshops and survey of the global learning in primary science approach was the dual necessity for security in both science disciplinary knowledge and an up-to-date understanding of global issues and SDGs. The item of the attitudinal survey ‘whilst global perspectives in learning could be important, the concept may need further clarification to be usefully applied to the curriculum’ demonstrated that some stakeholder groups believed that further clarification is needed, while others did not (Table 5.3).

Again, while it is discouraging to note that the senior leadership team respondents did not agree with this statement, it was encouraging to see that 57 per cent of advisors agreed that with further clarification, global perspectives in learning could be usefully applied to the science curriculum. This certainly suggests that while advisors are often driven

Table 5.3 Stakeholder groups and global perspectives in science

	Advisors	SLT	HOD	Teachers	Pre-service
Whilst global perspectives in learning could be important, the concept may need further clarification to be usefully applied to the science curriculum	17/30 (57%)	0/30 (0%)	10/30 (33%)	14/30 (47%)	12/30 (40%)

by the constraints of curriculum frameworks, there are opportunities to promote and consider the application of global perspectives to a formal subject discipline.

Discussion

This study identified that a range of factors contributed to the likelihood of primary practitioners implementing a global learning approach to their science curriculum. It was clear that becoming ‘agents of change’ within the boundaries of policy framework was important to most stakeholders.

At the macro level, aligning the global learning approach and its underpinning principles with wider curriculum aims provided a secure starting point, specifically in relation to target 4.7 which underpins our responsibility to equip all learners with the knowledge, skills and values base to contribute towards sustainable development. The UN SDGs (UN 2015) also provided a framework informing and linking science learning to global issues. However, this research identified that where stakeholders’ beliefs and attitudes about the purpose of primary science education did not align with a global learning approach, it was often due to policy frameworks, accountability measures and an understanding of the purpose of primary science being a foundation for future education and careers. A recommendation, therefore, is to encourage policy frameworks and accountability measures to include learning beyond knowledge and skill acquisition to support changes to key stakeholder engagement.

At the meso level, developing shared vision and values across establishments provides a secure foundation for a curriculum which challenges traditional notions. Not only does this nurture a school culture for collaboration, shared expectations and leadership support, but it opens space for exploring and enquiring about how teaching and learning can go beyond measurable attainment. In relation to Kennedy’s transformative model of professional development (2005, 2014),⁷ this supports the notion of increasing the capacity for professional autonomy, which as Kennedy highlights can only ever be transformative if it is translated into agency to make a positive change to practice. Creating global learning in a primary science community of practice in which stakeholders develop a shared consensus of the global skills underpinning science education will support mutual responsibility, accountability and shared understanding of the approach. Embedding sustainable development and global learning into the ITE framework and teacher standards can also inform ITE

module guidance and subject-specific teaching and assessment. Finally, having science subject leads within schools that champion global learning and sustainability education will provide the leadership, accountability and shared expectations of related practice in primary science teaching and learning, driving a consistent and sustainable integration of a global learning approach.

At the micro level, supporting practitioners to reflect on their beliefs about primary science with the aims of a global learning approach gives them the impetus to explore and develop their practice, building security in their pedagogical content knowledge and subject knowledge in relation to both primary science and global learning issues. Gaining confidence in these areas, as the research demonstrates, enables teachers to become agents of change, developing a primary science curriculum fit for future global citizens. Schools and teachers should be nurtured as professional agents of change, with the skills and confidence to make decisions about the context of science learning that suit the needs of their global learners.

Conclusion

This study explored how a global learning approach could be used to reconsider the purpose and approach to science in primary schools, building on an isolated knowledge-rich curriculum. In relation to the pragmatic mixed methods research methodology, it was important to compare the enabling and impeding influences of different stakeholder groups using an attitudinal survey and semi-structured interviews, as well as to explore the nuanced implementation of the approach within three different case study schools. Using a pragmatic approach enabled me to consider the realities of each stakeholder group and their priorities (often relating to policy frameworks and expectations) in relation to developing and improving primary science education. The qualitative aspect of the research provided an opportunity to allow all participants, including myself as a researcher, to re-evaluate the purpose of primary science education for all children, the related pedagogical approach, and the specific adaptations and implications for each school setting.

While the findings highlighted the importance of teacher training and professional development to support trainee and practising teachers to meet the managerial and policy demands of a subject, this research also identified ways in which practitioners could be supported to challenge the traditional notions of the purpose of primary science

education, connecting global skills and disciplinary knowledge to promote the broader purposes and role of science education in sustainable development. With an understanding that a teacher's beliefs influence their agency and motivation to promote learning in line with a global learning approach that supports the personal, ethical, cultural and political interests of society (Filho 2018; Sterling 2011; Thomas 2016), the research identified the importance of a shared vision for primary science and the opportunities and challenges to successfully incorporate such an approach.

Currently, teachers in England face great challenges in terms of delivering a science education fit for purpose. This involves responding to the requirements of delivering the science curriculum and ensuring children meet the specified age-related expectations set out in the policy framework (Standards and Testing Agency 2018), while finding ways to ensure science learning is meaningful and will enable young people to develop the skills, attitudes and values that they will need to demonstrate global dexterity in a turbulent and unpredictable world.

The research presented in this chapter suggests that there is an opportunity, even within the constraints of a knowledge-rich curriculum and its discrete subject areas, for teachers to mobilise around SDG 4.7 while fulfilling the requirements of policy frameworks.

Notes

- 1 Philosophy for Children (P4C) is an approach to teaching and learning aimed at developing four core types of thinking: caring (thinking of others), collaborative (thinking with others), critical (making reasoned judgements) and creative (creating new ideas) through philosophical enquiry.
- 2 Open Spaces for Dialogue and Enquiry (Andreotti 2007) is a participatory teaching methodology which aims to provide an open, safe space for learners to explore their own and different perspectives in order to think independently and make informed and responsible decisions about their thinking and actions.
- 3 Explorify is an online database of free evidence-informed activities mapped to all areas of the primary science curriculum in England. <https://explorify.uk>.
- 4 Philosophy for Children (P4C) was used in primary science learning to develop caring, collaborative, critical and creative thinking through enquiry of philosophical questions with a science lens, for example, 'what is a weed?'
- 5 Open Spaces for Dialogue and Enquiry was used in primary science to enable children to bring their own knowledge and questions to science-related enquiry questions, for example, 'can we grow all of our food in our gardens?'
- 6 Science, design and technology resources fit the English curriculum and engage children in real-world issues, including climate change, renewable energy, food security and disaster preparedness.
- 7 Kennedy (2005, 2014) theorised models of professional development, highlighting that transformative models of professional learning increased autonomy and agency through collaboration to understand one's own practice and that of others, enabling the enactment of positive change.

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6

Global learning enabling teacher voices in one Greek primary school: mixed methods including action research and interviews

Giannis Efthymiou

This chapter reflects on the methodological design of research that examined how teachers in one Greek primary school adopted global learning as part of their wider pedagogical ethos. The chapter will discuss the findings, which present possibilities of change that emerged for teachers through their engagement with global learning. Theoretical influences from the field of critical theory, more specifically, critical pedagogy and postcolonial theory, drive my conceptualisations of global learning. However, these are placed in the reality and lived experiences of the teachers, and influences from the philosophical tradition of pragmatism frame the wider methodological design. Having been influenced to a significant degree by Gert Biesta's (2017) work on teachers and their role in education, the prominent axiological drive of this research is based on trusting '*teachers' educational wisdom*'. It is on this basis that the methodology of the research was structured, which included a transformative mixed methods design incorporating two research phases. This chapter presents and discusses one aspect of the findings from the first research phase, which involved a case study of a Greek primary school. The design of the case study was influenced by features of participatory action research (PAR), which within the limits of this research was approached as a philosophical tradition rather than a methodological approach. The case study was positioned in a three-cycle PAR design, with each cycle involving the following three cycles: plan, act/observe, reflect. Findings presented in this chapter discuss conclusions from the 'reflect' stage of the first two cycles of the PAR, which included semi-structured interviews with teachers from a Greek primary school. These demonstrate how teachers' engagement with global learning enabled them to undertake a

journey of struggle towards their conscientisation and to challenge normative practices of the neoliberal structure as evidenced in the teaching profession (Apple 2018; Freire 1996; Sterling 2010). Further to this, the findings refer to notions on how global learning, and wider initiatives of global citizenship education (GCE) underpinned by critical notions, can offer spaces and possibilities to re-examine ontological and epistemological depictions informing research methodologies in an era of conscious deconstruction of colonial practices. Lastly, and considering the methodological uniqueness in studies that adopt a transformative mixed methods design, due to such research relating to historical and cultural experiences of oppressed communities, this chapter further extends the academic debate of such methodologies (Creswell and Plano Clark 2011; Mertens 2021).

Global learning: a pedagogy of interruption

Global learning is part of the educational landscape of approaches that seek to respond to increasing notions of interconnectedness and globalisation noted across contemporary societies in formal education. It, however, moves beyond discourses relating exclusively to cosmopolitanism and interconnectedness, and further seeks to offer alternative responses to an unjust global society. Positioned and dominantly influenced by critical pedagogy and postcolonial theory, global learning – as with the theoretically similar GCE – directly relates to issues of global social justice (Bourn 2022).

Although recognising that GCE and global learning pose identical theoretical influences and I treat them as interchangeable fields, I have chosen to frame my understanding of the teaching of global issues within the concept of global learning. GCE remains a more commonly used definition and offers a common understanding across a range of stakeholders, such as schools, non-governmental organisations or supranational institutions, especially following the use of the term as part of the United Nations' (UN) agenda of Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) (Scheunpflug 2021; United Nations 2015). Alternatively, global learning seems to be used more evidently when it is placed in the context of the work of teachers (Peterson and Warwick 2014). The field dominantly grew within the context of the UK, following theoretical narratives from Bourn (2015, 2020a), who tried to extend the field of development education, and challenge perspectives that focused on elements of white salvation and reinforced colonial stereotypes of White/Western superiority.

Recent work from the context of the United States also uses the term global learning. There seems to be a trend, however, that this is dominantly used within the higher education setting to reflect on how globalisation and internationalisation have affected the higher education curricula (Zhou 2022). For instance, in one case, researchers discuss how reflection on the UN's Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) could enable undergraduate students to engage with global issues and develop a better understanding about our world's interconnectedness and the competencies that one should acquire in today's globalised context (Mitchell et al. 2020). Nevertheless, global learning in this chapter is not understood as simply learning about the world, which focuses on skills and competencies needed in a global society, nor as a framework solely relating to global themes informing curricula design.

Instead, global learning is understood as a pedagogical approach that aims to achieve global social justice. I place global learning within the framework of those approaches that enable individuals to seek democracy in contexts of neoliberal and colonial dominance. I see democracy as a process rather than simply as a form of government, placing democracy within the ancient virtue of cosmopolitanism (Starkey 2017). This sees democracy as an ongoing process of communication between the voices of Others and the constant changing of social habit to ensure that those voices are heard (Appiah 2007; Dewey 1916; Giddens 2002).

Globalised contexts and democracy: transforming the Aesthetic

More and more research in the wider field of GCE has been taking an anti-neoliberal stance (Bourn 2020b; McCloskey et al. 2021; Pashby et al. 2020). This refers to the conscious process of explicitly challenging notions of dominance emerging from colonial practices and neoliberal/neoconservative ideologies. As such, further to seeking to consciously challenge the voice of dominance – the Northern superior construct – global learning seeks to enable voices of those who have been silenced by it to be heard. These discourses are significantly influenced by Freire (1996), who in his seminal *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* saw possibilities of emancipation of the oppressed through the process of 'conscientisation' or critical consciousness. This refers to the realisation of the oppressed that their voices, their beings, their whole entities have been oppressed; their reality has been regulated by the agenda of their oppressors. It is only by realising their oppression that the oppressed experience an ideological awakening, a realisation that thus far they have been a part of

someone else's story; it is at that moment, according to Freire, that their journey towards liberation starts (Freire 1974).

Research in the field of global learning, both in formal and informal education, as well as research that has been focusing on community empowerment, demonstrates the possibilities towards one's conscientisation through engagement with such approaches (McCloskey et al. 2021). Global learning essentially enables individuals to reflect on the wider sociocultural context that recognises the inherent interconnectedness between local and global. Most importantly, however, it locates the importance and significance of local communities in valuing their lived experiences and allows them to recognise their role in influencing society as we know it (McCloskey et al. 2021). Global learning enables individuals to identify the importance of their own single stories, rather than accepting the single story of the dominant status quo, influenced by neoliberal and colonial narratives. As depicted by Giddens (2002) in his volume on globalisation, the process of 'democratisation of democracy' can only be achieved when the voices of the civic sphere share their voice and influence the ongoing discourse in search of democracy in spaces of ongoing interconnectedness and globalisation.

Apple (2018) positions this in a more timely framework, which actively depicts the unethical power of the neoliberal construct, or the oppressors, as discussed in the writings of Freire (1996). Versions of 'thin democracy' – according to Apple (2018) – or a 'distorted democracy' – according to Freire (1996) – dominate this reality and it is this type of democracy that we all live in. What we need, however, if we wish to remain true to our commitment to challenging normativity, is multiple versions of 'thick democracy', which represent the voices of those consciously resisting notions of thin democracy (Apple 2018). Global learning is one of these frameworks that, due to its theoretical influences, could enable marginalised and oppressed communities to find their voice, face their oppression, deny the dominant version of colonial, thin democracy, and essentially engage in an ongoing struggle of speaking their version(s) of thick democracy (Bourn 2022). Of course, any such initiatives that seek to challenge dominant perspectives of the colonial structure and the status quo require struggle; one's 'struggle for democracy' (Apple 2018).

Spivak (2012), a feminist postcolonial scholar, also explores the possible processes by which individuals can regain their consciousness in today's globalised context. However, she specifically locates the nature of dominance in the colonial construct, which has been our reality since the Enlightenment era. She calls this construct the 'Aesthetic', which describes the role of the colonial construct in forming the lives of

the people. It describes our role and existence in an unconscious reality that has been forced upon us, a reality that has been created to fit the Aesthetic perspectives of those in power. Spivak argues for the conscious undoing of this unconscious reality, which limits one's scope of action within the limits and purposes of those in power. Although recognising Spivak's direct positionality in a postcolonial framework, I use her term of the Aesthetic to describe both colonial and neoliberal structures oppressing the lives of people today.

As noted by Freire (1996), an individual's emancipation relates to their ideological awakening, their conscientisation. This has influenced discourse in the field of transformative learning, and essentially an individual's conscientisation is viewed as relating to their epistemological transformation. Bateson's (1972) theory of transformative learning places the process of conscientisation, or 'epistemic learning', in a three-stage process. His theory of the three loops of transformative learning presents the following three stages: learning or first-order learning, meta-learning or second-order learning, and epistemic learning or third-order learning. Each of these loops of learning present a nested system with learning being the central loop and epistemic learning being the outer one. Sterling (2010) has explicitly explored how global learning could enable one's conscientisation by placing its process within Bateson's loops of transformative learning. Learning or first-order learning refers to most of the learning that happens, and it explicitly refers to the learning of the Aesthetic. Meta-learning is an individual's conscious effort of doing things different to first-order learning, whereas epistemic learning refers to an individual's conscious effort of challenging it. This is the type of learning that results in epistemic transformation, achieved through an individual's conscious effort to challenge notions of first-order learning.

As mentioned already, however, any such undoing of the unconscious dominant reality of the Aesthetic requires struggle (Apple 2018). An individual's struggle for the undoing of the colonial and neoliberal realities does not guarantee escape from it, however. This is due to the immense pressure and power of the dominant status quo, and of our explicit role in being part of the Aesthetic (Spivak 2012). As such, the struggle to challenge the Aesthetic can only be seen within a framework of ongoing possibilities of struggle (Apple 2018; Sterling 2010).

Discourses about democracy presented here do not refer to democracy as a form of government, but as a process that enables the voices of all to be heard, a process of challenging the normativity dominating and oppressing the lives of all (Apple 2018). Global learning encompasses this theoretical positionality and places the struggle for democracy in

a cosmopolitan framework; a world that is inherently divided into the powerful and the powerless (Andreotti 2011). Global learning aims to challenge the colonial Aesthetic, empower marginalised communities and resist policies that aim to strengthen thin democracy. Global learning is understood as a pedagogy of global interruption, a possibility for individuals to find their voice, to gain their consciousness and strive to challenge the normative Aesthetic (Bourn 2022; Spivak 2012; Verma and Apple 2021).

Global citizenship education: the case of Greece

Global learning has been framed as a pedagogical approach that can reinforce cosmopolitanism in an interconnected world, as well as enable possibilities of struggle and interruption of the construct of the Aesthetic (Bourn 2022). This theoretical discourse in the case of this research was placed under examination in the reality of teachers in Greek primary schools.

Following the years of sociopolitical turmoil, Greece's formal education system seems to be stabilising, and is currently undergoing a stage of Europeanisation and internationalisation (Traianou 2019). The modernisation of the country's education, however, seems to be solely based on frameworks that essentially target the work of teachers and which have been intensified under policies of neoliberal accountability and regulation (Chalari 2020).

Further to this, and despite the significant impact that globalisation has had in the context of Greece, educational approaches that seek to respond to the increasing interconnectedness of our society are still rare in the Greek context (Skliri and Karakatsani 2020). The limited research emerging from the context does not place approaches of GCE in a systematic pedagogical framework that could enable possibilities to address cosmopolitanism in formal education, as well as reinforce spaces where individual voices can contribute to the bottom-up democratisation of democracy while undergoing struggle to challenge notions of the normative Aesthetic.

Instead, fields and terminology such as interculturalism and intercultural education seem to be preferred when it comes to framing educational responses that seek to address increasing notions of globalisation and the need to address cosmopolitanism as part of the teaching and learning process. These, however, focus on abstract notions of citizenship and cultural respect – which seem to be mainly assimilative and

as noted by earlier research are not informed by critical frameworks (Kakos and Palaiologou 2014). More recently, research has been using the term GCE more consistently than before. Nevertheless, GCE still does not seem to be placed in critical frameworks, but is rather influenced by moral depictions and approaches that seem to be mostly placed in moral frameworks of GCE (Doulami 2020; Oxley and Morris 2013). These reflect on issues particularly relevant to the education tradition of GCE, such as issues relating to human rights or attempts to conceptualise one's citizenship in a cosmopolitan context. However, and despite their relevance to GCE, such depictions fail to systematically challenge issues of inequality evident across our societies, which have emerged through the practices of the Aesthetic. Critical ideological depictions of GCE are noted in a small number of doctoral research studies, fundamentally influenced by Freirean approaches. However, and despite placing their conceptual frameworks within critical ideologies, these are not reflected in the methodological design, and essentially fail to enable the voices of individuals to be heard (Seira 2020; Sounoglou 2016). A more recent research study has explored issues of GCE and its relevance to issues of justice and emancipation. The research concludes that these issues can be found in school textbooks and that justice and emancipation could be a possibility. Nevertheless, these are solely examined in school textbooks, which historically have been used by the neoliberal structure to regulate official knowledge, and voices of teachers are not taken into account (Vavitsas 2022).

This has resulted in two main issues. First, GCE in the case of Greece's formal education has not escaped the narrative of normativity and seeks to explore issues relating to citizenship through the construct of the Aesthetic and mainly through moral and abstract dimensions. Critical approaches of GCE that could enable possibilities of struggle for finding democracy in moving towards a world of global social justice are to a great degree still absent. Second, research in Greece in the intersection of GCE and teaching is limited, as most of it focuses on peripheral examination of the issue, such as content analyses of school textbooks and teachers' perceptions on the topic. Voices of teachers – whose role is being actively intensified by the neoliberal construct, especially more recently (Chalari 2020) – are largely ignored. Even when research aims to reflect on how teachers could embed GCE as part of their teaching, this is still delivered from the 'critical' viewpoint of the knowledgeable researcher and notions of criticality are offered to teachers as blueprints of correction of their malpractice.

The themes in this chapter are based on research which aims to address the extent to which global learning – a critical GCE approach – could enable teachers in a Greek primary school to address cosmopolitanism through a more critical lens. I position this criticality within the fields of critical pedagogy and postcolonial theory. Further to this and having noted the increasing effect of the neoliberal construct in the lives of teachers, this chapter further seeks to examine the extent to which global learning could enable teachers' engagement in a journey of struggle towards the ongoing vision of thick versions of democracy. This forms the hypothesis of this research.

Teachers' educational wisdom: the axiological drive

Global learning – positioned in a critical agenda of addressing cosmopolitanism and challenging the construct of the Aesthetic – framed the theoretical stance of this research, which was positioned in the reality of teachers in Greek primary schools. Having reflected on my own identity as a teacher and currently as a teacher educator, I agree with Apple (2014) about the importance of ensuring that any theory needs to be related to the lives of the teachers, become relevant to their lived experiences, and essentially enable them to struggle for thick democracy in an era of immense neoliberal oppression.

Biesta's (2006, 2017) work on democratic education and teachers' role in teaching frames my positionality to approaching this issue. Similar to Dewey (1916) and Giddens (2002), Biesta also places democracy – which he explores not as a form of government but as a process – in a context of plurality and difference and identifies the importance of communication between people to continuously re-examine the meaning of democracy. Having built on Deweyan approaches, and also drawing on influences from Arendt (1990), Biesta argues that democracy is essentially based on the continuous interaction of human beings and their beginnings, and how individuals respond to each other's beginnings by bringing their own. He relates the notion of 'beginning' to birth, when a new entity arrives in the world. Democracy can be found in spaces where human beings can bring their own beginnings. Nevertheless, democracy can only exist as a process if one's beginnings are taken up by other beings, and are responded to by someone else's new beginnings. Essentially, democracy according to Biesta (2006) is a conscious political praxis where individuals interact with one another on the basis of everyone's unique stories, in a global context of plurality and difference.

Further to discussing the process of democracy, Biesta notes that if an individual tries to control how they respond to their beginnings this would mean the end of democracy. To a great degree this could also be related to work by Freire (1996), where he talks about the process of dehumanisation, and how the oppressors oppress the oppressed in their own version of democracy.

This framed my consideration when it came to exploring how my hypothesis – discussed in the previous section – could frame the methodological design of this research. Despite my depictions of critical approaches of GCE, I did not want to enforce my version of GCE on teachers. If I did that, ultimately I would oppress their responses to my beginning; hence, the process would stop being democratic. Instead, I could bring my beginning to them – my belief in global learning, a critical pedagogical approach to addressing cosmopolitanism – and give them space to explore this as part of their own lived experiences and explore their responses to my beginning.

Biesta (2017) also argues, in his rediscovery of teaching, that any theories that limit the scope of education to future aims essentially fail to find education. According to him, the only place where we can find education is in the sphere of the ‘here and now’, in the pragmatic reality and lived experiences of teachers. It is not about the promises of idealistic notions or about populist regulation. It is about educating in the here and now, and this can only be a possibility if we trust teachers’ educational wisdom to do so.

The abovementioned two elements – namely, the limitless interaction between people’s beginnings and trusting teachers’ educational wisdom – formed the axiological stance of this research and framed my positionality of global learning. I brought to the context of Greek primary schools my beginning of global learning, as a response to gaps identified in the literature. Nevertheless, and having argued against approaches of GCE that dictate how teachers should implement it, I placed my beginning of global learning in the here and now – in the framework of pragmatism – and it was up to the teachers how they would respond to this beginning.

Methodology: a transformative mixed methods design

The research on which this chapter is based focused on the examination of how teachers in a Greek primary school embedded global learning as part of their practice and the extent to which this could enable possibilities of change. Having been influenced by notions of democracy and the

extent to which an individual's beginnings could control their responses to these beginnings, I further reflected on Biesta's (2010) argument for the need of moving beyond methodological frameworks that are solely based on paradigmatic expectations. Placing my research in a mixed methods design enabled me to ensure that methodological decisions were based on fitness for purpose, rather than predefined methodological decisions that essentially could oppress participants in predefined frameworks (Tashakkori and Teddlie 2010). Furthermore, as per the axiological stance framing the research, I was mostly interested in teachers' educational wisdom in adopting global learning as part of their practice. My rationale to bringing global learning as my beginning into teachers' professional space in the case of the Greek primary school was based on my commitment to social change and transformation, after having noted the inherent oppression that teachers in Greece's context encountered; a context that further to its neoliberal agenda seemed to largely ignore the voices of others and more critical depictions of cosmopolitanism. Further, this was framed within my commitment to work closely with teachers, who I saw as being members of an oppressed community of practice. I wanted to immerse myself in their context of oppression and alongside them struggle on the journey of challenging normative agendas (Mertens 2021). Hence, a transformative dimension or design – not paradigm (Biesta 2010) – framed my overall mixed methods study.

The study included two distinct research phases, both of which were qualitatively driven. The first research phase included features of quantitative data, which supported inferences from the qualitative data. Both sets of data were collated concurrently in this phase. The second research phase included only qualitative data and was only designed following preliminary findings from the first phase; hence, it was auxiliary to it and offers supportive findings. Research phase 1 incorporated a case study, which was influenced by features of participatory action research (PAR) (Kemmis et al. 2014). The design incorporated three cycles of action: plan – act & observe – reflect (Kemmis and McTaggart 1988). The data collection focused on teachers' practice in adopting global learning as part of their wider pedagogical ethos in each of the three stages of action which lasted for a period of 20 months. Qualitative data collection involved participant observation (individual or in team-teaching), focus group discussions, interviews (individual and group) and a narrative response, which covered all three cycles. Quantitative data collection involved two Likert-type questionnaires administered to teachers in cycles 1 and 2 of the PAR. Considering the limits of this chapter, and the key role that interviews played in my findings, I only focus on the findings

from interviews with the teachers from the Greek primary school that took place as part of the reflect stage of the first two cycles of the PAR.

Reflexive thematic analysis was used to analyse the interviews (Braun and Clarke 2019). In the early stages of analysis, inductive reflexive thematic analysis was adopted, and following several layers of reflection over a period of a year the theme of change was identified as the dominant theme emerging from the findings and teachers' interviews. This change is framed within the theoretical framework that was discussed at the beginning of this chapter and is related to Bateson's (1972) three orders of learning.

Teachers' engagement with practices of global learning through all cycles of the PAR demonstrated their struggle to democratise democracy. Further to the teachers adopting more critical responses to addressing cosmopolitanism as part of their practice, this level of criticality extended to challenging notions of normativity and oppression evidenced in their professional practice. Placing the case study within a PAR design further enabled me to note each of these stages of change of the teachers (Kemmis et al. 2014).

Bateson's (1972) three orders of learning influenced the representation of each of the PAR cycles. Teachers at the Greek school already demonstrated their commitment to meta-learning by wanting to do things differently in terms of how they would teach about today's global society. They willingly wanted to embed and systematically reflect on notions of global learning; hence, they were already moving 'towards meta-learning'. This framed the first cycle of the PAR. The second cycle demonstrated teachers' active resistance to notions of normative practice; hence, this was framed as moving 'towards epistemic learning'. In the next two sections, I present and discuss the findings from the first two cycles of this case study. Pseudonyms have been used for all teachers of this research.

Teachers' struggle towards meta-learning

Interviews with the three teachers as part of the reflect stage of the first cycle of the PAR demonstrated that teachers' engagement with global learning was based on the rationale of teaching about global issues and responding to increasingly prevalent notions of cosmopolitanism. Teachers identified the explicit need for formal education to address wider identities in today's contemporary society, moving beyond national borders.

students [need] to learn from a really early stage to care not only about themselves but to move from the 'I' to 'us', and start thinking that their choices today will be affecting their tomorrow. (Marina)

Teachers in the Greek case study primary school decided to adopt global learning as part of their practice for the exact same reason I designed the research in the first place. They could see the need for formal education in Greece to respond to increasingly prevalent notions of cosmopolitanism, reflect on more global identities, review individuals' positionality in various geopolitical contexts beyond national borders, and essentially enable students in today's formal education to consciously consider their decisions within a more global, interconnected world.

Nevertheless, despite their comments, their commitment to addressing such issues more consciously as part of their wider teaching and learning ethos was depicted through abstract notions of citizenship and moral idealistic notions (Oxley and Morris 2013):

students [need] to learn to care about participating in public life, participating in school activities, later in activities within one's society, but also within a European and global level. (Natalia)

As noted from the literature review, notions of GCE in the Greek context are dominantly guided by school textbooks and abstract notions of normativity. Responses to notions of citizenship focus on moral issues such as human rights; however, they fail to systematically engage with the reasons why there are still places in the world where human rights are not a given for all. Teachers, however, cannot be considered responsible for not embedding more critical notions of GCE as part of their practice. It is the Aesthetic through practices of regulation that has prescribed teachers' reality and oppressed them in doing things in a certain way, and through means available from the Aesthetic itself, such as textbooks. As explored in the literature, even more recent research exploring issues relating to GCE identifies issues of emancipation through analysing school textbooks on citizenship education (Vavitsas 2022). How can emancipation truly emerge from means of the oppressors such as the school textbook? Textbooks do not allow for an individual's beginnings in the world, as they seek to control their responses. This is the effect of the Aesthetic; that even emancipation is offered disguised in the means of the oppressors, which eventually leads to further oppression of voices of the people.

To further build on the effect of the Aesthetic in the professional lives of the teachers in the case study school, I reflect on another theme

that emerged from the interviews with the teachers in this cycle of the PAR. Several teachers mentioned that some of their more experienced colleagues tend to resist new pedagogical initiatives, such as global learning. Alternatively, more experienced teachers reported that colleagues new to the profession focus on career progression and do not fully embrace such pedagogical initiatives. My reflection here is not about gaining a better understanding of which group of teachers presents barriers to another, but instead to expose the unethical practices used by the oppressors, who seek to individualise practitioners. In a research project in the context of Cyprus – which presents great similarities to the Greek one – an action research initiative concluded that school textbooks that are part of the wider neoliberal practices in the Cypriot context have led to teachers' 'socio-political alienation' (Koutselini 2012). When asked to reflect on barriers to adopting global learning as part of their practice, comments from the teachers in the Greek case study school focused on their colleagues, and demonstrated issues of individualism and professional alienation, which are practices reinforced by neoliberal practice.

Overall, however, teachers as part of the first cycle of the PAR demonstrated conscious effort towards doing things differently compared to normative practices. They identified the need to reflect on wider notions of cosmopolitanism, something that they acknowledged is absent in the assigned curricula. Global learning, and their willing arrival in the field, enabled them to consciously move from first-order learning to second-order learning or meta-learning (Sterling 2010).

Teachers' struggle towards epistemic learning

This section reflects on findings from the interviews with teachers from the Greek case study school as part of the reflect stage of the second cycle of the action research. Six teachers were interviewed as part of this cycle. The reflect stages of the first and the second cycles of the PAR were conducted two months apart, and during that time teachers at the Greek school had been incorporating global learning as part of their practice, recognised as the plan and act/observe stages of the PAR.

The theme of change still framed the wider inferences emerging from the interviews with the teachers. Teachers reflected on wider notions of teaching about global issues and responding to cosmopolitanism through having adopted global learning as part of their pedagogical approach. Compared to the first cycle of the PAR, where teachers identified the moral need to adopt practices of global learning to respond to the

lack of GCE approaches in the Greek context, in this cycle the teachers reflected on more personal dimensions of change. Having reflected on notions of global learning, this enabled them to explore their positionality in today's global context, as citizens of this context themselves.

Things have changed for the best; I feel that I have now become a more active citizen myself. It might be that I was doing it [reflecting on the teaching of global issues] without realising – it was unconscious; whereas, now I am implementing such notions consciously. (Melania)

Teachers' willingness to respond to the need to teach about global issues and respond to issues of cosmopolitanism encouraged them to arrive in the field of global learning, and as a school community to enrol on the funded professional development programme. Having had the chance to reflect on a range of approaches as part of the two cycles, global learning further enabled them to rethink their own selves in juxtaposition with the themes that they were teaching. Having repositioned themselves in this new cosmopolitan reality, this further enabled them to reposition their purpose of teaching and learning, and what schooling should eventually be all about:

First of all, I have changed personally. Having engaged with global learning initiated thinking at a personal level; also, it further made me think more critically in terms of our role as teachers, and what are we essentially doing at the school. (Pandora)

Such reflections went deeper and foregrounded teachers' personal identity within their professional spaces. The personal change that all the teachers spoke about did not relate to them acquiring new skills, but to them approaching their role through a different ideological positionality. This change concerned the teachers who were speaking their true reality and voicing their individual stories. The teachers integrated their unique political entities, their role as human beings, into professional spaces that continuously seek to oppress them and force them to teach the reality of the oppressors (Apple 2018; Freire 1996). One of the teachers, Kornilios, explicitly referred to the issue of refugees and how propaganda – which he recognised as a tool of conservative ideologies – was used to exclude these marginalised groups from the Greek context. He referred to how a global learning ethos could enable people to recognise such patterns and essentially struggle to challenge them.

We forget that refugees leave their country because of the atrocious war conditions, and sadly, propaganda and fake news gain ground. Fake news has emerged from conservative ideologies, ideologies that support ‘political correctness and morality’. (Kornilios)

Similar to Kornilios, another teacher, Viviana, commented on the need for global learning as a tool of resistance against ‘conservative and right-wing ideologies that build on the fears of every citizen’. These teachers did not acquire these political positionalities through their engagement with global learning; however, global learning enabled them to integrate their personal viewpoints into their professional settings; a professional space that continuously oppresses them. Global learning enabled them to be the humans that they were, and to bring this human version of themselves into their professional context that was consciously seeking to dehumanise them. These teachers were regaining their consciousness and having adopted global learning as part of their practice enabled them to do this.

Further to global learning having enabled teachers to bring their real entities to the classroom – as much as they could, of course, in spaces of neoliberal oppression – they further changed their teaching and learning practices. These changes demonstrated their adaptation to a new professional reality that enabled them to position a wider global learning ethos as part of their practice.

Let me give you an example of how we were going about implementing global learning. I was teaching description of a picture; the features that we need to use, key phrases. I chose a picture from the demonstrations about George Floyd and Black Lives Matter, and students needed to describe that picture. Athina also used it and explored it further as part of religious education, then the art teacher used it as part of her lesson. (Nepheli)

This is just a short depiction of how teachers collaborated together and moved beyond the limits of the school textbook to deliver the aims of the assigned national curriculum. Compared to the first cycle, despite teachers’ acknowledgement of the importance of global learning in today’s schooling, they identified other groups of teachers as barriers to fully adopting such practices. These were placed in the reality of sociopolitical alienation promoted by notions of neoliberal oppression (Koutselini 2012). In this second cycle, and through their shared commitment to adopting global learning as part of their pedagogical approach, the teachers did not refer to any such barriers. Alternatively, they came together in

professional communities of collaborative practice to deliver their shared vision and commitment to teaching about global issues in today's world and challenging narratives of the Aesthetic.

A common trait that was evident among all the teachers is that on this journey towards conscientisation, of bringing their own selves to their professional spaces, the textbook became a supportive learning resource instead of a control mechanism. Textbooks in the context of Greece's education are intrinsically linked to the education process. To date, there is limited research that explores issues of power relating to the use of school textbooks in Greece's formal education. Teachers as part of the second PAR cycle took ownership of their educational wisdom. They did not simply deliver the curriculum through the assigned textbook; they either completely set it aside or used it as a supportive resource to guide the learning process for their children.

It was more productive to apply a global learning lens than simply teaching about present simple and present continuous. Prior to stopping using the textbook – because as you understand I needed to set the textbook aside – we were doing this really boring, standard lesson. (Nepheli)

Interestingly, Nepheli was one of the teachers who other than teaching in the explored case study school also taught in a different school community. She identified that in the case study school, she was able to teach based on her educational wisdom. However, in the other community she was not able to do this; she was oppressed to continue teaching from the textbook. Going further than replicating research that shows that global learning can be implemented in supportive school environments that actively seek it adopt it as a whole-school approach (Hunt 2020), this research further demonstrates that global learning enabled teachers to gain their consciousness within the limits of the setting. It allowed them to be humans; to bring their own realities to a diverse and plural global context.

Findings from the interviews with the teachers as part of the second cycle of the PAR demonstrated teachers' conscious struggle towards epistemic transformation. Global learning enabled them to be the humans who they had always been. Teaching is a neoliberal process that consciously oppresses individuals through various mechanisms such as an assigned curriculum, a textbook or by alienating their professional voices. In the case study school, global learning enabled teachers in this Greek context to resist such mechanisms. Their commitment to embedding global learning as part of their practice, in order to respond to

increasingly prevalent notions of cosmopolitanism, changed them in two main ways. First, they engaged with practices for teaching about global issues through a more critical lens. Second, and more importantly, global learning enabled teachers to undertake a journey of struggle: their journey of conscientisation to rediscover their own selves and bring their own beginnings to their professional spaces.

Conclusion

This chapter demonstrated how global learning enabled teachers of a Greek primary school to engage in a process of conscientisation. Global learning enabled teachers to find their voice, bring their own stories to their professional spaces and as such consciously struggle to resist patterns of neoliberal oppression enforced by the Aesthetic.

Global learning enables the voices of individuals of oppressed, silenced and marginalised communities to be heard, as noted across the literature of the field. In the specific case of this research, this was situated in the intensified professional lives of teachers. Global learning, however, enables for a deeper epistemological transformation, that of research methodology itself. Global learning enables us to question the extent to which methodological notions are influenced by the Aesthetic and the extent to which we unconsciously embed such notions in our research frameworks. The possibility of acknowledging the realities of silenced communities – in this case teachers – requires us to become the enablers of those who need to be heard, who struggle to find their voice. My voice is heard, even within an oppressed reality; I make my voice heard by being in the privileged position of writing this chapter, for instance. I argue that research needs to provide space for those who cannot be heard to be finally heard. As a researcher and privileged member of the academic community, global learning enabled me to guide my methodological design based on the voices of my participants, rather than on my beliefs about what constitutes academically valid research. Frameworks of validity were of course adopted, and are essential in all research; however, these need to be closely interlinked with axiological depictions that frame the researcher's methodological decisions. In the era of colonial and neoliberal dominance, all practices of the status quo will need to be carefully examined, including research methodologies. Global learning could offer fresh thinking in terms of structuring methodological designs that are positioned at the heart of enabling single stories to be heard, not my story, but their story.

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Framing the 'other': examining social studies textbooks in Pakistan using critical discourse analysis

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This chapter describes the value of critical discourse analysis (CDA) in examining how the 'other' is framed in social studies textbooks in Pakistan. It builds on part of my doctoral research wherein global education themes were identified based on prevalent literature around global education and the social, political, historical and geographic realities of the context. Grade 5 textbooks from across the country, published by the government and private publishers, were analysed to examine the discourses around the selected themes.

CDA provides tools for examining the ways that language and texts contribute to creating a reality. Under this approach, knowledge is considered as being historically contingent rather than universal and objective. The field of social studies meanwhile is a study of the nature of society, amalgamating areas of social science (economics, psychology, sociology, political science) and humanities (history and geography) (Baildon and Damico 2011). The study of society and its elements is not clear of ambiguities; it is neither linear with mutually exclusive categories of knowledge, nor is it static. Instead, it is marked by overlapping facets and is dynamic in that it is continuously evolving. Socioeconomic and political realities, as well as religious and nationalistic agendas, have played a part, over time, to shape the field, which is why CDA can prove to be a valuable methodology for analysis.

The research process involved coding sections of text within the textbooks to build a framework of recurring categories and classifications, enabling me to identify patterns and trends within the data. The theoretical approach and the methodology will be discussed in the subsequent sections.

Theoretical approach

Foucault, a post-structuralist philosopher of the twentieth century, argued that human knowledge is locked in an intimate relationship with power (1977). Knowledge, rather than being universal and objective, is instead historically contingent. It is produced within institutions, encouraged by economic and political motives. Universities, journalism and the armed forces are some of the dominant (but not exclusive) institutions within which the production of truth are centred. While institutions may be the source of production, it is society, Foucault argued, within which truth is negotiated. Each society has its regime of truth(s), its 'general politic of truth, that is, the type of discourse it accepts and makes function as true' (Foucault 1984, 73). It was within societies, he reasoned, that systems and procedures were developed to inculcate and transmit values considered to be true.

In today's globalised world, societies extend beyond immediate borders and so institutions partaking in the construction of knowledge extend beyond boundaries. Pakistan, as a case in point, has been subject to immense external influence as a result of its geopolitical positioning. The country continues to be a large recipient of international loans and aid (Khushik and Diemer 2018; Sheikh 2017) which has compelled it to make structural reforms to abide by the neoliberal globalisation agenda of these loans. Within the domain of education then, what is prioritised and propelled rests on economic and political motives and is not free from the politics of power. Michael Apple, throughout his work on education and power, echoes that 'what something is, what it does, one's evaluation of it, all this is not naturally preordained. It is socially constructed' (1990, 17). Apple (1990) argues that it is social interests that determine what makes its way into school textbooks. Teachers and textbook authors, he suggests, participate in selective tradition, that is, maintaining and retransmitting certain knowledge over other knowledge. He sees texts as participating 'in creating what a society [or parts of a society] has recognized as legitimate and truthful' (Apple, 1990). This chapter is premised on an examination of textbooks as they are not simply "delivery systems" of "facts"; they are at once the results of political, economic, and cultural activities, battles, and compromises ... they signify – through their content and form – particular constructions of reality, particular ways of selecting and organizing that vast universe of possible knowledge' (Apple 1990, 19), and encapsulate what the dominant culture considers legitimate knowledge. Foucault's work lays the theoretical underpinnings for discourse analysis positioned to examine

language. It regards the use of language as a form of social practice and focuses on the relationship between discourse and society.

Background: social studies in Pakistan

The teaching of social studies in postcolonial states like Pakistan arose and was influenced by the need for nation-building and modernisation (Batra 2010). In Pakistan, the development of social sciences was a result of American influence on Pakistan and the country's close political proximity to the United States (US) during the Cold War. There was a dependence on the US at this time in terms of economic and military aid, which extended into educational development. Disciplines such as public administration (1950s), sociology, social work, applied psychology (1960s), anthropology, area studies, strategic studies (1970s), peace and conflict studies, and women studies (1990s) were established with US assistance (Krishna and Krishna 2010). The extent of this influence is stressed by Zaidi (2002), who emphasises how the curriculum of some of these courses was drawn entirely from US texts and 'mainly American, and some other Western political scientists, anthropologists and management advisors were sitting at the heart of academic and administrative Pakistan' (3647). This can be seen as a form of governmentality in which education is used to, in this case, secure the interests of the US, its Western allies and of global capitalism more generally (Tikly 2004).

Before 1958, the curricula contained separate subjects of history, geography and civics. Thereafter, under the military regime, history as a subject was removed and, in its place, 'Muasharati Uloom' or social studies (for Grades 3–8) was introduced, together with Pakistan studies for Grades 9–12. Both subjects are an amalgamation of history, economics, civics and social studies (Aziz 1993, as cited in Naseem 2006). To encourage national unity and develop civic attitudes, citizenship and character education was proposed. The aim of these two subjects was to prepare knowledgeable and loyal citizens with values of honesty and integrity (Dean 2008). Following this period, with growing regional discontent, political undertones began to emerge in social studies coinciding with the nationalisation of education. This was a more active part of the history of social studies in the country, in terms of research being conducted in a variety of areas. In the subsequent phase of Zia Ul Haque's regime in the country, the subject of 'Pakistan studies' was introduced at different educational levels and made compulsory in 1985 (Hashmi 1999). This phase was most significantly marked, however, by the inclusion of

Islamic ideology across education, with social studies bearing the brunt of these changes (Lall 2008). Economics, for instance, began to take on the term Islamic economics, while research in history focused more on the Islamic dimension of history (Zaidi 2002).

Educational policies that followed the 1979 policy framework somewhat reduced, but always retained, the focus on Islamic tenants and have remained committed to the vision of building strong nationalistic values. With the end of the Cold War and the changing relationship with the US, the research focus shifted inwards. Alongside this, the large international donor base played a dominant role in determining the research agenda (Zaidi 2002). National and international educational policy agendas have worked in tandem to stir focus and priority.

What is evident from this tracing of the history of social sciences in Pakistan is that it is not divorced from the political ideologies of the time. Foucault used the term 'biopower', within the concept of governmentality, to describe techniques that target an entire population to delineate, monitor and manipulate them. An educational system is a classic example of this with educational policy formations demonstrating the enactment of biopower. In Pakistan, the emphasis within social studies has been on normalising nationalism based on religion. The purpose of presenting Islam as a national ideology has been to sanctify successive governments' political role in society, rouse social forces in Pakistan against India and the West, and to unify the Muslim world (Ahmad 2004). There is a focus, or a form of governmentality, that, according to Naseem (2006), 'focuses on capitalism, an authoritarian state, supremacy of religiosity and a militarized culture' (464).

In summary, this section highlights the way in which internal policy agendas use the social studies curriculum as both the product and propagator of the ideology of Pakistan, while external policy agendas have also played a role in many ways over the years.

Social studies today

At present, social studies is taught until Grade 5, after which the subjects of history and geography are introduced which combine to form Pakistan studies at Grade 8. Within social studies, the following disciplines or themes are included: citizenship, economics, government, history, geography and culture. The textbooks analysed in this study were

based on the curriculum for social studies (Ministry of Federal Education and Professional Training, 2017) that outlines the following mission: ‘to engage all students in a rigorous, authentic, students centred learning environment that fosters social understanding and civic efficacy in our multicultural, national and global societies’, with a vision to ‘enable students [to], understand multiple perspectives, think critically, communicate effectively and collaborate in diverse communities to understand the past, engage in the present and impact the future’ (Ministry of Federal Education and Professional Training, 2017, 2). The vision focuses on abilities of communication, collaboration, critical thinking and perspective taking, all for the purpose of engaging with the present and impacting the future.

The learning outcomes expect students to ‘understand the importance of living in harmony with each other by accepting differences (social and cultural)’, and also approach issues of social conflict from a micro perspective by asking students to ‘recognize the causes of disagreements at the personal and peers’ level, the household and neighbourhood levels’ (Ministry of Federal Education & Professional Training 2017, 12). These outcomes offer a space to explore the nature of conflict, acknowledgement of differences and the need for respect and harmony within diversity.

Although there is a far greater emphasis on knowledge and skills, there is a passing mention that the curriculum should help enable the valuing of equality, social justice, fairness, diversity and respect for self and opinion of others. The current 2020 single national curriculum of Pakistan for Grade 4 to Grade 6 retains the same vision and largely the same mission but states the main purpose of social studies to be:

to instill the necessary knowledge, skills, attitudes, and competencies to mold students into informed, concerned and active national and global citizens. They will be able to understand all forms of human diversity and a respect for others irrespective of color, ability, disability, gender, and social/economic status. (Ministry of Federal Education & Professional Training 2020, 6)

The stated rationale of accepting differences is poignant, but it only considers social, economic and differences of ability, while leaving out cultural, ethnic and religious distinctions. Ironically, these are the very differences that need to be addressed the most in the context

of Pakistan. This leaves the impression that the approach emphasising learning to live with others primarily aims to align with global trends without addressing the unique challenges and diversity of Pakistani society.

Furthermore, the aims of the most recent curriculum begin with the following three that centre on the notion of a singular identity:

- An understanding of their identity as Pakistanis, with a global outlook.
- An appreciation for the multi-cultural society of Pakistan and the diversity of the world, showing a commitment to social cohesion.
- Recognition of the learner's own identity as a proud Pakistani while maintaining respect for other identities.

This study examines the way in which the 'other' is being framed in textbooks in order to understand the way in which young students are being prepared to live harmoniously with others.

Methodology

Discourse analysis adopts a qualitative, interpretive and constructionist approach for analysing text. While discourse analysis is broad, critical discourse analysis (CDA) is a branch within discourse analysis that stems from a critical theory of language which sees the use of language as a form of social practice. What makes discourse analysis 'critical' is that the 'language in use is always part and parcel of, and partially constitutive of, specific social practices, and that social practices always have implications for inherently political things like status, solidarity, distribution of social goods, and power' (Gee 2011, 33). CDA is valuable for reflecting on dominant discourses, encouraging critical evaluation of that which is considered the norm.

Within CDA, Fairclough (1995) distinguishes between two general types; one which pays close attention to language and linguistic features of text, which Gee (2011) refers to as discourse with a lowercase *d*; and the second, influenced strongly by Foucault, which focuses on the historical and social contexts of the text, which is distinguished as Discourse with an uppercase *D*. In crux, CDA with an uppercase *D* is an interdisciplinary approach to understanding and demystifying power relations and ideology by exploring the relationships between discursive practices, events and texts while examining wider social, cultural, political and

economic contexts (Wodak and Meyer 2001). This approach addresses questions such as: What can/cannot be said in a certain time and place? What are the conditions of the emergence and transference of such discourse? And what consequences does it have for the shaping of society? (Jäger and Maier 2009).

How exactly is CDA done? It is important to point out here that no specific method or design for CDA studies exists (Wodak and Meyer 2001). The researcher must identify strategies, tools and methodologies that work best for their research project.

Limitations exist with all approaches and CDA is no exception since it dismisses the complexity and interplay of the multiple discourses that recipients are exposed to. This holds true particularly in a globalised world where individuals are subjected to several different discourses which they learn to navigate around, ignoring, accepting or rejecting discourses as they see fit. It is important and realistic to acknowledge from the outset that there isn't a simple, one-to-one relationship between the text and its reader, or the discourse and its recipient (Breeze 2011). The analysis of textbooks is only one form of discourse and does not encompass all of students' discourse exposure.

Fairclough (1989, 1995) offers a model for CDA that consists of three interrelated processes of analysis which are tied to three interrelated dimensions of discourse. These three dimensions are:

1. the object of analysis (including verbal, visual or verbal and visual texts);
2. the processes by which the object is produced and received (writing/speaking/designing and reading/listening/viewing) by human subjects;
3. the sociohistorical conditions that govern these processes.

The work of James Paul Gee has been illuminating in illustrating the 'how' of discourse analysis. Gee, an American researcher in the area of psycholinguistics, discourse analysis, sociolinguistics and literacy, argues that all discourse analysis must be critical as language is itself political. Gee (2011) outlines 'seven building tasks' of language that he explains thus: 'whenever we speak or write, we always (often simultaneously) construct or build seven things or seven areas of "reality"' (24). He clarifies that we create our reality in the world through language. These are outlined below, along with the Discourse Analysis questions that, Gee suggests, can be asked to exemplify each one.

- i. *Significance*: How is this piece of language being used to make certain things significant or not and in what ways?
- ii. *Practice (activities)*: What practice (activity) or practices (activities) is this piece of language being used to enact (i.e. get others to recognise as going on)?
- iii. *Identities*: What identity or identities is this piece of language being used to enact (i.e. get others to recognise as operative)? What identity or identities is this piece of language attributing to others and how does this help the speaker or writer enact his or her own identity?
- iv. *Relationships*: What sort of relationship or relationships is this piece of language seeking to enact with others (present or not)?
- v. *Politics*: What perspective on social goods is this piece of language communicating (i.e. what is being communicated as to what is taken to be 'normal', 'right', 'good', 'correct', 'proper', 'appropriate', 'valuable', 'the ways things are', 'the way things ought to be', 'high status or low status', 'like me or not like me', and so forth)?
- vi. *Connections*: How does this piece of language connect or disconnect things; how does it make one thing relevant or irrelevant to another?
- vii. *Sign systems and knowledge*: How does this piece of language privilege or dis-privilege specific sign systems (e.g. Urdu vs. English, technical language vs. everyday language, Islam vs. others, Pakistani identity vs. other identities etc.) or different ways of knowing and believing or claims to knowledge and belief (e.g. science vs. the humanities, science vs. 'common sense', biology vs. 'creation science')?

Global learning, while providing knowledge about the global world society, needs to be matched with skills and values to deal with contradictions and complexity in order to translate this thinking into action. Social studies itself is interdisciplinary, recognised as an amalgamation of social science (economics, psychology, sociology, political science) and humanities (history and geography) commonly intended to help students understand society and promote civic engagement and competence (Baildon and Damico 2011, 1). This requires development not just in crucial areas of understanding, but also in associated skills and values.

In this study, the methodological approach was divided into three distinct parts to effectively analyse the knowledge, skills and values presented in the textbooks. The aim was not only to simply examine the inclusion of the 'other', but rather to examine the construction of the discourses that shape students' understanding of the 'other'.

Findings

There were several key findings from the 12 social studies Grade 5 textbooks analysed in this study. First and foremost, the findings reveal that discourses around other people and cultures were homogenised and reductionist. Benhabib (2002) suggests that ‘culture has become a ubiquitous synonym for identity, an identity marker and differentiator’ (Benhabib 2002, 1). Within the Pakistani context, I would contend that this statement requires an extension: culture is synonymous with religion, which is in turn an identity marker. An assumption evident in all the textbooks analysed is that culture is informed solely by religion, and therefore that a commonality in religion signifies a commonality in culture.

There is a lack of acknowledgement of ethnicity or religious sects, and provincial distinctions are swept aside by stressing that there is one unified religious approach. This tactic is perhaps the result of the desire to forge a strong national identity through a sense of collective belonging. The desire for collective unity extends not only to building national integration, but also to uniting Muslims globally. There is significance attached to the strong relations that Pakistan has with other Muslim countries as opposed to just other countries globally. Most textbooks highlight Pakistan’s strong links with other Muslim-majority countries, thereby connecting positive relations to religious affinity. The framing of the ‘other’ is thus narrow and shallow. Differences outlined across the country are restricted to elements of food, clothing, handicrafts and music/art. All other values and practices are presented as homogenous based on religious affiliation. Inherently, Pakistan’s policy focus on a singular identity formation for national unity has deep impacts on the goal of preparing learners for a global world in which they connect with those different from themselves in many ways.

It is important to try and understand why this narrative exists in the first place. This can be explained in two ways: the first is linked to British policies in India in the era of colonisation, in which there was a heightened religious consciousness that resulted in new socioeconomic structures replacing previous forms of identity politics based on tribes, regions, lineages and ethnicities (Panjwani and Khimani 2017). This had deep-rooted impacts that ultimately led to the formation of Pakistan based on religious affiliation. The persistence of this narrative might be the reason for the homogenous articulation of culture as religious association. However, the geographic and historical interchange of people, ideas and

material culture has had a decisive bearing on Pakistan. The country holds the seat of one of the world's oldest civilisations centred at Mohenjo-Daro in Sindh and Harappa in Punjab. A shared religious affinity has not been able to transcend the emotional affinity with local and regional cultural traditions (Jalal 2014). The 'us' is rigged with more turmoil as geographical displacement, at the time of partition, fanned claims surrounding the theme of sacrifice for the cause of Pakistan and made this a strong identity marker. Muhajirs, a migrant refugee group, were uprooted from their natural physical and cultural environment. Because of the sacrifice made, there are strong claims made by Urdu speakers of being the rightful inheritors of the promised land, preserving the cultural and religious identity of India's Muslims (Khan 2016). The claim of sacrifice as the basis of rights has been a powerful source of inspiration for the Muhajirs.

The second reason is rooted in the Islamic ideology of one ummah – an Islamic community centred around a religious nucleus. The purpose is the creation of a kind of supranational community of faith based on unity and equality of Muslims from diverse cultural and geographical settings. The idea of an 'ummah' was, at the time of the Prophet Muhammad, meant to serve as a solution for the strong social and political structures of Arabia, particularly the strong tribal identities. The ummah was meant to be the supreme identity superseding all other identities held (Stacey 2018).

However, this universalisation of a dominant Muslim Sunni group experience and culture, and its establishment as the norm, ignores the deep-seated sectarian struggles prominent in Islamic history and in the history of the country. In Pakistan, sectarian strife has been used for political gain and in the politics of identity for marginalised social groups. The politics and power dynamics of sectarianism was further muddled in the wake of the Afghan Jihad and the Iranian Revolution (Kamran 2009; Mahsood 2017).

The subcontinent has a long and complex cultural and political past, and its history is intricate, spanning over several thousand years. Combined, these are met with the complications of a globalised world and Pakistan's current geopolitical role in the world. Against this backdrop, there is a naivety in the fallacy of the creation of a singular identity, of 'forcing people into boxes of singular identity ... to understand human beings not as persons with diverse identities but predominantly as members of one particular social group or community' (Sen 2006, as cited in Ross 2007, 287).

The only one exception to this focus on association with others based on religious affinity is with regard to China. Paradoxically, China is mentioned more often than any other country in all textbooks. Over the course of its history, Pakistan has sought to make strategic alliances, such

as those with the US during the Cold War or the War on Terror, those with Arab states and more recently with China. Close relations with China have remained a key agenda of Pakistan's foreign policy. In global politics, this relationship between the two countries is a significant one. Pakistan functioned as China's backdoor during its years of diplomatic isolation, and as the frontline in Beijing's struggles with the Soviet Union during the late stages of the Cold War. Today, Pakistan lies at the heart of Beijing's plans for a network of ports, pipelines, roads and railways connecting the oil and gas fields of the Middle East to the mega-cities of East Asia. Pakistan's coastline is a crucial piece of China's propulsion as a naval power, extending its reach from the Indian Ocean to the Persian Gulf and the Mediterranean Sea (Small 2015, 1). At the same time, Pakistan has acted as a conduit for China as it navigates its growing interests in the Islamic world. For Pakistan, China provides the best possible ticket out of instability and economic weakness. China has been Pakistan's diplomatic protector, its chief arms supplier and a heavy investor.

The textbooks echo the depth and importance of the relationship between the two countries through the way China is described and the number of citations of China. The following is an excerpt of the way China is described:

The Chinese culture is very different to other countries of the world. As a society, the Chinese learn to be respectful to elders, parents, children, and the environment. The artistic nature of the Chinese people is evident in their age-old crafts and heritage. Chinese food is very popular all over the world. It is cooked with traditional Chinese spices and is healthy to eat. Chinese ancient herbal medicine is still practiced for curing diseases of all kinds. (Riaz 2019, 69)

The selection of countries in the textbooks is guided by the relations these have with Pakistan in terms of the geopolitical or economic position they hold in the country's current reality. An obvious example is that of China, which plays a pivotal role in both these aspects. Thus, the very existence of the 'other' is bound to neoliberal political and economic confines.

The mention of China is in sharp contrast to that of India or even Bangladesh, which was formerly a part of Pakistan. These countries and cultures are largely absent from almost all the analysed texts. The politics of omission might be explained as a way of encouraging insularity of thought or perhaps as implying irrelevance. In examining the issue of irrelevance, it might be fair to conclude that this strategy attributes little

value to Pakistan's neighbour, with whom it has strong historical connections, and which is today an emerging power in global politics.

While there is an absence in mentioning India, the 'West' is framed with immense complexity. Positive aspirational values are associated with the 'West'. An explanation of why these values and behaviours (such as punctuality, discipline, being law abiding) are aspirational is lacking. These values and behaviours are deemed positive and aspirational simply because they exist in the West without a more complex discussion around what these values bring to individuals and society. The 'West', however, is simultaneously identified as influencing aspects of Pakistani culture more negatively, including their food, clothing and music choices. It is the 'West' that seems to dominate global culture with no other culture being referred to in texts.

In addition, access to the 'other' is presented as allowing for a one-way flow, where information about the world is coming in but not going out. That is, the implicit message is that Pakistanis have no influence on others, but other cultures seem to have a threatening influence on Pakistani culture and tradition.

The discourse around other specific countries based on their relationship with Pakistan paints a limited picture of the complex interactions of the country, positioned not only in terms of understanding other races, cultures, ethnicities or religions, but from a geopolitical perspective of either advantage (China) or threat (India). Saigol (2005) argues that the state creates a sense of threat and enemies within and outside of its borders as a way of developing a strong notion of the 'self' brought together by people's common resistance to these perceived threats. It is fair to conclude that the selection of countries in the textbooks is guided by the relations these have with Pakistan in one of two ways. The first is in terms of the geopolitical or economic position they hold in the country's current reality. An obvious example is that of China, which plays a pivotal role in both these aspects. This first aspect trumps the second, which is of religious affinity to other Islamic countries. Countries like Afghanistan or Bangladesh are not explored because of the complicated political reality and history, which is given greater meaning than a connection through religion.

Conclusion

The use of CDA is linked to the study of the social world; the relationships of language and discourse in the construction and representation of this social world, and a methodology that allows researchers

to describe, interpret and explain such relationships (Rogers 2004, 1). Foucault did not seek to identify what is truth and what is false; instead, he was interested in the construction of that 'truth'. He argued that statements and practices constituting objects of our knowledge are socially and historically produced. Foucault called this a discursive formation, whereby objects and statements are understood in a certain time and place, in a specific way, denoting certain 'truths' in particular ways. Textbook discourses are part of this discursive formation used by institutions and elites who construct what counts as true, exerting power and control (Foucault 1984). What constitutes as truth then is a social construct.

The language of the texts in this study presents cultures and religions in a homogenised manner which discourages acknowledgement and acceptance of an 'other'. Under this approach, students are ill-prepared for the diversity that defines the global world. Moreover, learners are not supported in understanding what characterises local realities; both in terms of the singular way of viewing and practising religion and also of viewing and interacting with minority groups within Pakistan, such as Christians and Hindus, who form a portion of the population.

The textbooks by and large create narrow frames of reference for the 'other' as the world is presented in binaries: Islamic and non-Islamic cultures, Western and Eastern cultures, Chinese and 'other' cultures, civilised and uncivilised nations. The construction of the other lacks layers and discounts the existence of multiple identities. The absence of discourse on ethnicity, sects and nations and the critical unidirectional view of globalisation creates an insulated perception of the other. This selective representation reinforces and normalises those who yield social and political influence and dismisses all others. Certain identities are absent from the discourse and this has adverse effects on both how they are seen and how they see themselves.

The notion of understanding the 'other' does not only encompass superficial cultural awareness, but more explicitly includes an appreciation of diversity, an acknowledgement of commonality, and an understanding of multiple identities and the dynamic nature of cultures that are effected and transform as a result of invasion, colonisation or globalisation (Klien 2001, as cited in Davies 2006; WMCGC 2002, 56). This would include an appreciation of the diverse ways of living, including social, economic, judicial and other structures so as to enable students to navigate in a global world, being respectful of and able to pick up cultural nuances, but also being critically reflective of it.

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Part III

Global citizenship, internationalisation and sustainable development in higher education

This part of the book looks at research on global learning themes within higher education. This is an area of education where there is evidence of increased interest in global and sustainability themes. There has been a number of recent research studies looking at ways in which internationalisation, global citizenship and sustainability have become part of the policies and practices within universities. These include Bosio's (2020) study on global citizenship within universities in the United States, UK and Japan. There has been research looking at global perspectives, focusing on a number of professionally based degree courses (Bourn and Shiel 2009; Murdan et al. 2015). A feature of a number of studies has been the emphasis on definitional debates and more philosophical questions (Andreotti et al. 2015; Pashby and Andreotti 2016). On sustainable development, several publications have examined course developments and the impact of policies (Barth et al. 2016; Shepherd 2015; Sterling et al. 2013). Studies have also been conducted on sustainable development and teacher education (Álvarez et al. 2019; Andersson et al. 2013; Bourn et al. 2017; Evans et al. 2021), often with a main focus on student teachers' views and curriculum opportunities and comparing policies across countries. But there has been little research reviewing the specific impact of policies on teacher education.

What makes the chapters in this section distinctive is the range of methodological approaches used, as well as recognising the importance of specific national and cultural contexts and the importance of analysing documents.

Monika Kraska Birbeck's chapter looks at the interrelationship of internationalisation and global citizenship through four case studies on four contrasting universities in Poland, Brazil, the UK and the United

States. Internationalisation of higher education is a global phenomenon but one that is affecting universities across the world in different ways. Documentary data examined include institutional strategies, missions and visions and other major documents delineating directions for each institution. These are complemented by interviews with staff who deal with internationalisation issues within each higher education institution. Thematic data analysis was undertaken to identify themes and draw conclusions. The contextualised case studies presented in this chapter add value by providing a deeper and more nuanced understanding of what internationalisation means for institutions operating in different global contexts. The location and associated set of conditions not only influence but also shape approaches to internationalisation and the opportunities to internationalise. In essence, contextualised case studies are crucial for conceptualising what internationalisation of higher education means for individual institutions and the value it creates for them.

Simon Eten Angyagre's chapter looks at one university in Africa in greater detail to further develop these themes and particularly the relationship between global forces and indigenous knowledges. His research is an in-depth and contextual case study of one institution. The value of such an in-depth case study can be seen here through the analysis of evidence from several areas, including policy, teaching, students and research. Like other chapters in this volume, a feature of the evidence is the influence of colonialism in terms of shaping both policies and practices. Linked to this is the relationship between internationalisation and globalisation and the context in which the university operates.

The [final chapter](#) in this part of the book by Nese Soysal looks specifically at education for sustainable development (ESD) and the ways in which it is influencing teacher education in Turkey. A feature of this chapter is recognising the specificity of the context, in which the area of ESD is seen within a very centralised system for training teachers. This chapter focuses on a document-based analysis of relevant policies in Turkey, examining how they have evolved over time. In referring to her previous research in this area, Soysal notes the different ways in which ESD is being reflected within initial teacher training programmes.

All three chapters take a case study approach, but their methods are slightly different, one looking in depth at an institution, another looking at multiple studies and the third comparing new data with earlier research.

Higher education is becoming one of the main arenas for the development of research, policies and practice in areas in and around global learning. It is an area where there has been significant development in

terms of implementation of ideas and policies. Universities have become important laboratories for global learning, for gathering evidence on the extent to which global themes are being seen as important by both academics and students and above all as a place to test out new ideas.

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The value of multiple case studies in researching internationalisation of higher education

Monika Kraska Birbeck

Research into the internationalisation of higher education is an ever-important undertaking because so much of contemporary university activity is related to it. Evoking both positive emotions and critical reactions (Knight 2008), the thinking about internationalisation has been changing over the last two decades or so. More research into the conceptualisations and mechanisms governing internationalisation is unveiling a complex picture of this process and how it has been influencing and shaping modern-era higher education institutions around the world. One of the important factors in understanding internationalisation is the unique context in which universities operate and how it can shape opportunities. A case study is not only a justified methodological approach to researching internationalisation, but it is even more valuable for unveiling the particularities that govern this process. This chapter will therefore showcase four case studies of universities in Poland, Brazil, the UK and the United States and analyse how their approaches to internationalisation are influenced by their context and institutional particularities. The chapter will begin with a theoretical insight into the changing nature of internationalisation and provide an overview of methodology. After a brief introduction of the four universities, the chapter moves on to explore themes about internationalisation that emerged from the cases.

Theoretical framework – changing approaches to the internationalisation of higher education

It has been widely acknowledged that contemporary universities are under pressure to internationalise (Bourn 2011; Rumbley et al. 2012). This obligation stems from political, economic, social and technological

demands, which have been enforcing change in higher education institutions' operations, teaching and research (Robson 2011). These changes have been driven by many external factors, including national and regional policies and global initiatives.

Internationalisation has been associated with a top-down push by governments and senior management that leads to quantification of results, standardisation, competition for resources and prestige, marketisation of education and educational outcomes that should, in turn, lead to greater employability of graduates. Internationalisation has been associated with and understood as various sets of numbers and targets for international students, exchange students, partnerships (for mobility or recruitment recruitment), transnational education (TNE), campuses abroad, international summer schools and other short-term programmes, academic entrepreneurship, positions in international rankings, publications in international journals, and teaching and learning in Global English (Knight 2008). Another facet of internationalisation encompasses forging links with other universities, exchange of people and ideas, enrichment of the curriculum (i.e. internationalisation of the curriculum) and enhancement of educational provision quality in other forms of internationalisation at home (Knight 2008).

In addition, economic pressures on universities over the last two decades or so have exerted a profound impact on higher education and have been the topic of much discussion and academic analysis (Foskett 2010; Hazelkorn 2017; Humfrey 2011; Marginson 2011; Turner and Robson 2008; Van der Wende 2017). Many universities around the world are under pressure to internationalise in order to secure funding, which makes them susceptible to marketisation – a process where higher education institutions are viewed as a provider of services (i.e. teaching and learning) and products (i.e. tradeable degrees, skills and competencies) (Molesworth et al. 2010). As a result, universities are competing for students, staff, positions in rankings and access to funding. This more neoliberal form of internationalisation is pushed by many governments but at the same time there are ongoing discussions in academia, among professional staff and in the popular media about how higher education should prepare students to enter the labour market and secure employment after graduating (McCowan 2015). The neoliberal policy imperatives are visible in linking internationalisation to funding (e.g. student recruitment or research grants) (Knight 2008; Turner and Robson 2008) or to the employability agenda (e.g. curriculum for employment) (Hammond and Keating 2018).

The popular definition of internationalisation by Jane Knight as ‘a process of integrating an international, intercultural, or global dimension in the purpose, function or delivery of postsecondary education’ (Knight 2008, 20) has been expanded, changed and adapted to reflect the changes in thinking about it. For example, Yemini advocates for internationalisation to instil ‘in learners a sense of global citizenship’ (Yemini 2015, 21). Internationalisation affects how universities operate abroad and at home, as well as at an institutional level (i.e. internationalisation of higher education institutions) and educational/pedagogical level (i.e. internationalisation of the curriculum).

In recent years, questions about the reasons for and impact of internationalisation are being asked more frequently (De Wit et al. 2015; Robson 2011). Critical voices about internationalisation for profit are being juxtaposed with those of sustainability, equality and fostering global citizenship (Pashby and Andreotti 2016). There is a visible shift in the understanding of what internationalisation is or should be like. Arguments for the internationalisation of higher education for society (Brandenburg et al. 2019) focusing more on global engagement are becoming more and more relevant and pressing.

In addition, voices from outside the Global North, the West and alternative approaches in academia and the sector are arguing that there is no one-size-fits-all in terms of internationalisation and that there is a variety of equally valid approaches that stem from local contexts (Marginson and Sawir 2005; Rumbley et al. 2012). Instead, it is becoming more and more imperative to find a unique way of engaging in internationalisation that works for each institution in their specific operating contexts.

Context

Marginson and Rhoades (2002) argue that universities, even though they are subjects and agents of globalisation (Scott 1998), operate in a GLO(bal)NA(tional)(lo)CAL environment because their actions are always embedded in three dimensions: global, national and local. At the global level, they are influenced by economic flows as well as the global or universal cultures embodied in scientific research and intellectual values (Scott 2011); at the national level, higher education is embedded in governance and funding by national governments; while at the local scale, universities are engaged with local communities and the day-to-day operation within their locality.

In an era of higher education globalisation, universities are always embedded in contexts (Marginson and Sawir 2005) and ‘knowledge is often the product of complex negotiation between global “theory” and local “practice”’ (Scott 2011, 66). In this way, higher education’s reaction to globalisation in the form of internationalisation is very much context dependent.

There are concerns that globalisation leads to isomorphism in the internationalisation of higher education, that is, more and more institutions strive to achieve a ‘world-class’ or ‘global’ status (Van der Wende 2017). However, Rumbley et al. (2012) notice that while internationalisation is a truly global phenomenon, it is also ‘experienced’ in many ways by institutions across the globe. Consequently, although universities try to emulate approaches to internationalisation, they vary and are dependent on local contexts (de Wit and Hunter 2015). Language, academic development, historical conditions and dependencies are some of the contributing factors to the different applications of internationalisation because ‘like higher education itself, although increasingly influenced by and acting in a globalised context, [internationalisation] is still predominantly defined by regional, national and institutional laws and regulations, cultures and structures’ (de Wit and Hunter 2015, 54).

Methodology

This chapter argues for the usefulness and importance of studying internationalisation of higher education by means of contextualised case studies. Case studies capture the nuance that allows us to understand the why and the how of internationalisation in practice at institutional levels. They also bring internationalisation to life – by showcasing individual practice, they illustrate the complex dynamics of processes and point to the reasons behind them. For readers, the case study approach hopefully provides an interesting account of ‘how the others are doing it’ to deepen understanding and to draw lessons, as appropriate, because it ‘aims to capture the complexity of relationships, beliefs and attitudes, within a bounded unit, using different forms of data collection and is likely to explore more than one perspective’ (Hamilton and Corbett-Whittier 2013, 10).

This chapter brings together four case studies of universities in four countries and looks at their approaches to internationalisation. As a result, readers are able to get a glimpse into four different contexts to see the particular institutional approaches taken, but they can also make

educated assumptions about the higher education institutions in the respective countries. The countries selected are Poland, Brazil, the UK and the United States, and the universities were chosen based on set criteria to ensure a wide variety of approaches.

Contextualised case studies are an important research method to study internationalisation because they uncover the specific and the particular, the nuances in the factors that govern internationalisation and illuminate the conditions that drive them. To understand the complexity of internationalisation as a phenomenon, one must look at the granular level encapsulated in the study of different cases and not necessarily in a comparative perspective. This is in line with Van der Wende's (2017) observation that 'international comparative higher education research does not sufficiently cover the study of the dynamics of internationalisation and globalisation in and around higher education' (Van der Wende 2017, 16).

Approaches to internationalisation in the four case studies below were analysed by looking at the institutional discourse around internationalisation. Documentary data analysed included institutional strategies, missions and visions and other major documents delineating directions for each institution. These were complemented by interviews with staff who deal with internationalisation issues within each higher education institution. Thematic data analysis was undertaken to identify themes and draw conclusions. The case study institutions were anonymised.

Introducing the four case studies

The four institutions that informed this study are as follows:

- The case study in Poland is a major public higher education institution located in the capital city of Warsaw with a long history, good national reputation and about 40,000 students. It has been an active participant of internationalisation processes in Poland.
- The case study in Brazil is a small, private, not-for-profit institution with a religious affiliation located in a major Brazilian metropolis. The university has been active on the global internationalisation scene for a long time, making it the pioneer of internationalisation activities within Brazil.
- The case in the United Kingdom is a specialised university located in London, with a very international student population and world reputation for excellence in its specialisations.

- The case study in the United States is a large campus of a public university system on the West Coast located close to a major metropolis. The university has a diverse student population of about 40,000 students, with around 50 per cent First Generation College Students and no particular ethnic group in the majority.

Themes emerging from the contextualised case studies on internationalisation

When looking at the conceptualisations of internationalisation and implementation practices, the following themes emerge from analysing the four case studies:

- internationalisation is seen as an imperative from above;
- internationalisation as an enhancement of education and employability;
- fostering global citizenship;
- tensions that accompany internationalisation;
- finding their own ways to internationalise.

I will now analyse these themes and how they are portrayed in the case studies.

Internationalisation as an imperative from above

In Poland, Brazil and the UK, internationalisation of higher education is a national priority, written into government policies and attached to funding tools. In the Polish university, many aspects of internationalisation are embedded in the process of Europeanisation, especially when it comes to conceptualisation and operationalisation. This is because the European Union and Europe are the main points of reference – the European Union in terms of policies and funding, and Europe in terms of cultural, historical and academic links. Europeanisation, perpetuated by the Bologna Process, is operationalised by participating in the Erasmus+ mobility programme for students and staff, reformulating learning outcomes to be in line with European standards and participating in research collaborations with institutions abroad.

In Brazil, higher education policy and funding are very centralised, and many activities are controlled by CAPES (Coordenação de Aperfeiçoamento de Pessoal de Nível Superior – Coordination for the

Improvement of Higher Education Personnel). This governmental agency produces rankings and benchmarks for universities in order to allocate funding and one of the main criteria is academic international mobility for postgraduate students (PrInt – Programa Institucional de Internacionalização for 2019–23) and a mobility programme for undergraduates (Science without Borders – SwB). However, in the Brazilian case study the outgoing mobility numbers are lower than the incoming ones but mobility is important for ensuring high scores in the CAPES rankings.

In the UK, the imperative for internationalisation is primarily driven more by income-generating targets set by the government and each individual university developing research and collaborating in research consortia, and less so by increasing student mobility numbers. In the UK university, one of the goals of internationalisation is to bring in financial benefits in order to ensure financial sustainability of different ventures. In addition, the imperative to internationalise is also driven by the unique location in a global city and opportunities that this creates.

The United States does not have similar mechanisms in terms of national policies to set directions for higher education institutions to follow in terms of internationalisation. However, traditionally, internationalisation of higher education in the United States has been understood as a means to building economic competitiveness, strengthening geopolitical significance and national security, and enhancing social cohesion within the country (Engel and Siczek 2017). These parameters are more in line with enhancing education as a result of internationalisation, which is another theme that emerged in the case studies.

Internationalisation as an imperative to enhance education

Apart from national policies that oblige institutions to work towards certain criteria, there is an imperative for universities to enhance the education they offer to make it fit for purpose in the twenty-first century. Internationalisation is seen as a means to achieve these goals, especially through mobility and developing global competencies at home.

As alluded to above, universities in the United States focus more on internationalisation of education aspects in terms of developing global skills and competencies to prepare students for the twenty-first century (Engel and Siczek 2017). Student mobility is important, incorporating not only studying abroad but also other forms of experiential, non-classroom-based education.

In Poland, there is a strong conceptual and practical relationship between internationalisation and educational reform; in fact, one is the result of the other. The Europeanisation process resulted in reformulating learning outcomes to be more in line with European standards and in order to meet the EU guidelines. In addition, student mobility, especially within the Erasmus+ programme, is an important aspect by which to measure the advancement of internationalisation.

In the Brazilian case study, student mobility is the cornerstone of internationalisation activities and there is a substantial effort to bring students to the university. As a result, the numbers of incoming exchange students tend to exceed the number of outgoing exchange students, which has led to the implementation of Portuguese for Foreigners and Winter School courses, as well as teaching regular modules in English.

The UK university is committed to offering an international experience to all students because of its unique student composition, where 50 per cent of the population comes from outside the UK. This takes shape mainly in terms of internationalisation of the curriculum and internationalisation at home, with some focus on increasing international mobility (from 3 per cent to 6 per cent). Internationalisation of the curriculum and internationalisation at home are more of a priority because international students and home students from various ethnic and cultural backgrounds create unique opportunities for rich and challenging cultural debates and learning opportunities. Internationalisation must therefore provide opportunities for students to share and engage with their stories, as well as to engage with their global and international selves. Demands for the curriculum to be agile enough to challenge pre-conceptions and to engage students come from both staff and students who pressurise for the decolonisation of the curriculum. Such an engaging curriculum would also enhance student attainment. In essence, internationalisation at the UK university is understood as a commitment to developing globally networked professional experts in the field who are critically engaged with their own global story.

Internationalisation as a prestige-building exercise

Another imperative for engaging in internationalisation is related to prestige seeking, the ambition for world recognition as a leader in the field. This is probably most prominent in the UK and US case studies, where institutional strategies use bold language to talk about ambitions, leadership in designated fields and, in one case, destiny for greatness. The UK university strategy is global in its focus because it defines

institutional drive as being a source of influence in areas of expertise in the UK, Europe and beyond. It recognises the university's unique location in the global city of London and emphasises its interconnectedness with the city to create global influence. The Polish university's ambition is to be a regional leader, whereas the Brazilian one does not include any references to such ambitions apart from listing positions in international rankings on its website and talking about them behind the scenes.

Tensions around internationalisation

Another theme that emerges from the case studies is that of the tensions that internationalisation brings to the surface in the researched institutions. These tensions are usually situated along ideological lines and the different interpretations of what internationalisation stands for. For example, when understood as an economically driven process to secure funding through student recruitment, and so a neoliberally inspired process driven by management, internationalisation often results in disconnections with academics focusing on delivering education and enhancing its quality (Kraska 2022).

A good visualisation is provided by the Brazilian university example, where the neoliberal desire for building prestige caused tensions around the types of partnerships that are being established. As a result, signing agreements with many institutions has been replaced by a more strategic and conscious process of choosing partners that can offer meaningful and deep cooperation based on principles of equality. There is an urge to be treated as an equal contributor and not merely a market, a provider of resources or local knowledge.

In the pedagogy/education realm of university activity, a good representation of the tensions is provided in the US case study. Framing internationalisation as a way of enhancing the employability of students by equipping them with the necessary skills and competencies clashes with viewing it as a process of developing more critical and deep knowledge and understanding of the world and its problems. This tension is more visible in another theme that emerged from the analysis: internationalisation as leading to fostering global citizenship.

Internationalisation as fostering global citizenship

Internationalisation has been linked to global citizenship in higher education and, as one of the interviewees in one of the case study institutions put it, 'GC [global citizenship] is the reason why there is

internationalisation of HE' (senior academic universitywide director). Gacel-Ávila (2005) and Yemini (2015) claim that internationalisation and global citizenship are interdependent and interconnected. Jorgenson and Shultz (2012) point out that global citizenship is 'certainly drawn into the realm of internationalisation agendas, [but] it tends to direct education efforts toward other educational and institutional goals' (Jorgenson and Shultz 2012, 2) because, as Haigh claims, 'internationalisation is about helping learners understand that they are citizens of the world' (Haigh 2014, 14).

Global citizenship in higher education tends to be understood in terms of educational outcomes (Jorgenson and Shultz 2012) and as attaching different meanings, that is, being a 'floating signifier' (Mannion et al. 2011), under neoliberal, liberal or critical prisms (Kraska 2022).

The case studies reveal that a liberal approach to global citizenship, which is largely based on cosmopolitanism (see more in Kraska 2022), is a part of the institutional discourse on internationalisation. The conceptualisation of this approach includes learning about and understanding the world, raising intercultural awareness, building global competence, cultivating multiculturalism, fostering dialogue and respecting differences.

The more neoliberal approaches to global citizenship are visible in references to global skills, being successful on the labour market, being able to work in diverse teams, having the cultural competency to facilitate that, and becoming a professional who has the confidence to face the future, regardless of location. These references to employability are particularly strong in the Polish, UK and US case studies. In the Polish and Brazilian cases, multilingualism is seen as a very important global skill and an attribute of a global citizen, but there is no such consideration in the UK and US institutions. On the contrary, there are many critical voices about marginalising foreign language education and not seeing it as important to build students' understanding of the world.

The case studies also illuminate more critical approaches to internationalisation and global citizenship, especially in terms of local contextualisation of the processes of globalisation. The responsibility theme, so important for critical conceptualisations of internationalisation and global citizenship (Kraska 2022), is understood in different ways in the case study universities. In Poland, it is linked to a responsible public service and applying critical thinking. The US, UK and Brazilian institutions include references to taking responsibility for your learning about the world's complex issues, including global social justice and socio-environmental sustainability, and exercising your own agency to make

change. In Poland and Brazil, these are coupled with criticism of exploitation, marginalisation and neocolonialism.

Institutions finding their own way to internationalise

Institutions finding their own way to internationalise is another theme that emerged from the analysis. This is because the global, regional, national and local operating contexts, institutional particularities, people involved and their creativity in pursuing internationalisation result in many different approaches to internationalisation (Kraska 2022).

In the Polish university case, being situated between East and West seems like an appropriate metaphor to describe the uniqueness of approaches to internationalisation. On the one hand, the university tries to imitate internationalised universities from the West in terms of student and staff mobility, partnerships and recruitment of international students, and so follows a recognised pattern of internationalisation for middle-income countries (Klemenčič 2015). The West is also a traditional direction for ambitions for collaboration. On the other hand, there is a number of historical, cultural and linguistic links with countries to the east of Poland. This is exemplified by the numbers of international students from Ukraine, Belarus, Russia and Kazakhstan who come to Poland, learn Polish and then study in this language. As a senior director stated, 'We project more to the East than to the West.' In addition, given the fact that Poland is a middle-income country, where the 'Polish language is difficult' (academic) and 'Poland not perceived as an attractive country' (academic), where 'everyday problems preoccupy the mind' (senior academic director), there is a recognition that internationalisation cannot just involve imitating what others are doing. There is a need for the institution to find its own way to handle the process because 'we cannot compare apples with pears' (senior international director) and compete on the same terms in rankings and other benchmarking exercises (Kraska 2022).

At the Brazilian university, there is also a duality of approaches to internationalisation in terms of following the North and the West (e.g. prestige and rankings) and finding its own way. This is driven by its location in the Global South and related conditionalities, including confusion, disagreement and discontent regarding internationalisation on Western terms, more as a client of internationalisation (Altbach and Knight 2007; Leal and Moraes 2018). Hence, it is in Brazil where decoloniality has emerged 'as an epistemological approach capable of contributing with

the critical analysis of internationalisation' (Leal and Moraes 2018, 18), which regards the regional, cultural and educational heritage as an asset that provides direction for meaningful internationalisation. In summary, internationalisation at the Brazilian university is a process of finding a balance between the pursuit of recognition and bringing in international students and becoming an equal partner in international collaborations.

In the UK case study, the diversity of staff and students and the location in a global city are seen here as unique strengths and drivers of internationalisation. With a vast percentage of the student population coming from outside the UK, the university focuses more on diversifying the classroom rather than increasing the incoming numbers. Also, internationalisation at home and internationalisation of the curriculum become even more of an imperative. Both approaches are responses to the unique context and institutional particularities of the UK university.

The context, location and unique diversity of the student population also shape approaches to internationalisation at the US university. The student diversity has global roots but on the West Coast it is considered native and local. Additionally, because most students are descended from the immigrant working class, have hyphenated identities but are unaware of their global mindset, and many are First Generation College Students, this diversity seems to ironically be one of the great obstacles to internationalisation. Focusing on assimilation in US society and working their way through college hinders students' impetus to go abroad. Any problems created by their biculturalism or multiculturalism and diversity are approached through the prism of the US context, which is in line with an observation by Peck and Pashby that 'the USA has historically taken a "melting pot" approach where immigrants are expected to (and perhaps desire to) assimilate into American society and customs' (Peck and Pashby 2018, 53).

On the other hand, it is the physical locality of the US university that enhances the 'bubble effect'. As it is mainly a commuter campus, located in an affluent area, students and staff come to campus when they need to and then leave. They bring with them their hyphenated identities and create a microcosm where world problems are seen through the US prism, where 'immigrants, those with multicultural backgrounds, or the many Americans who do not have membership in dominant cultures ... have no choice but to be "cross-culturally literate" on a daily basis' (Zemach-Bersin 2012, 95–6). This creates a bubble and may inhibit attempts at internationalisation in terms of outward mobility but also internationalisation of the curriculum and internationalisation at home.

Conclusion

The four case studies presented above provide some important insights into how local contexts influence institutions' approaches to internationalisation, thus emphasising the need for more contextualised case studies. The nuances revealed by employing this research approach are crucial in conceptualising what internationalisation of higher education means for individual institutions and what value it creates for them.

In this chapter, the case study research method illuminated not only how, but more importantly why, different universities approach internationalisation in different ways. As the themes revealed, the imperatives for engaging in the process of internationalisation vary across the different countries from national policies and targets (Poland, Brazil and the UK) to ambitions to be world leaders (UK and United States), enhancing the quality of education and developing education fit for purpose in the twenty-first century in terms of skills, competencies and employability (all to varying degrees), as well as fostering global citizenship.

The cases have also emphasised the need for institutions to find their own way to internationalise that considers the following four factors: operating context, institutional practicalities, people and their creativity in implementing internationalisation. The insights from individual cases present critical arguments for institutions to follow their own path and caution against making comparisons with other institutions on the journey. This is because internationalisation is a means, not an end, of achieving a better university and there are many different paths to get there. Internationalisation encourages change or provokes a debate about how and why to change. As with any change, internationalisation is causing tensions or bringing them more to the surface of a debate about the state and future of higher education. The case studies give those tensions a more personal dimension, allowing them to be better understood by explaining their context.

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Global citizenship education in higher education in Ghana: the added value of case study to global learning

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The prevailing understanding and practice of global citizenship education are predominantly limited to education systems in the Global North, with less focus on contexts in the Global South (Andreotti and De Souza 2012; Parmenter 2011). Although scholarship and theorisation on global citizenship in the Global North are mostly driven by ethical and social justice concerns towards the South, these theorisations are generated within and for education systems in the North. Consequently, not much is known about the theoretical and practical ramifications of implementing global citizenship in the education systems in the Global South. In order to generate specific understandings on what global citizenship might mean in education systems in the South, it is imperative to produce interpretations that are rooted in the political, sociocultural and historical specificities of such contexts. Pursuing this through research requires methodologies that are conducive for generating context-specific knowledge of what global citizenship might mean in such less-studied contexts. In this respect, the case study approach to research lends itself to producing in-depth knowledge and multifaceted understanding of the subject of research and allows for focused analyses and interpretations of the studied phenomenon (Harrison et al. 2017; Simons 2014). According to Bradshaw and Wallace (1991), the case study approach to research is useful when researchers lack sufficient knowledge of a case to position it in a theoretical perspective, or when a case does not fit existing theories and is unique in its representation of a set of circumstances or phenomena, deserving intensive study and special treatment. They further note that: 'Case study research is especially valuable when investigating the Third World or other relatively less studied regions that do not fit Western-oriented theoretical perspectives' (Bradshaw and Wallace 1991, 155).

By focusing on a case or a set of cases, the case study approach 'reveal(s) the multiplicity of factors [which] have interacted to produce the unique character of the entity that is the subject of study' (Yin 1989, 82). In the study that this chapter reports on, leveraging the strengths of the case study approach facilitated the use of multiple data sources and techniques, enabling a nuanced investigation of curriculum internationalisation and global citizenship as the conceptual foci of the study. By using multiple data collection procedures and analytical techniques, it was possible to triangulate and corroborate the findings across different data sources (Grauer 2012). This aided in generating contextual, in-depth and multi-faceted understanding of global citizenship as it applies to the institution and its broader historical and sociocultural context.

By underscoring the suitability of the case study approach for researching global citizenship in less-studied contexts, I am by no means suggesting the case study approach to research is atheoretical. Neither do I mean to imply findings from my enquiry cannot be extrapolated to other cases or contexts. Short of statistical generalisability, qualitative case studies usually aim for analytical and theoretical generalisation (Maxwell and Chmiel 2014; Yin 2010). As such, the findings from the research are applicable to universities operating within political, socio-cultural and historical contexts that are similar to those of the case study institution. By highlighting the suitability of the case study approach, the aim is to emphasise that the approach 'help(s) inform general theory and explain conditions that deviate from traditional theoretical explanations' (Bradshaw and Wallace 1991, 155). Given that the mainstream conceptualisation of global citizenship (education) derives from a Western intellectual tradition, there are bound to be conceptual complexities when applying it in non-Western spaces owing to contextual differences. In that sense, the case study methodology in my research was significant in shedding light on the complexities associated with global citizenship in the specific context of higher education in Ghana.

Based on research conducted on the topic of curriculum internationalisation and global citizenship in higher education Ghana, my goal in this chapter is to discuss the global citizenship themes that emerged from the research. In undertaking this, I first explore critiques the concept of global citizenship has been subjected to and the different interpretations resulting from such critiques. Drawing on these critiques, I make a case for the appropriation of global citizenship within the epistemological and ontological traditions of African societies. I proceed to give a brief outline of the theoretical and the methodological approaches used in the study. This is followed by presentation of the findings, in which I outline three

broad global citizenship themes that are reflected in policy and curricular processes at the institution. These themes are: (1) the vision of the case study institution to become world class and research intensive; (2) preparing students to work in international employment spaces; (3) teaching topics that address the uneven impacts of globalisation on African societies. My discussion of the findings begins with an interrogation of the institution's vision to become world class relative to its historical role in Ghana's development and the broader postcolonial development needs of Africa. I also situate the emergent global citizenship themes within prevailing interpretations of the concept. The concluding section outlines key factors that need to be considered when implementing global citizenship in the context of African higher education.

The imperatives in contextualising global citizenship

Theoretically, there are different interpretations and approaches to global citizenship and many typologies have been developed to articulate the dynamics that underlie these approaches. Among these interpretations are technicist instrumentalist (neoliberal; entrepreneurial) approaches, liberal humanist (liberal; transformationalist) approaches, as well as critical and post-critical (radical; anti-oppressive) approaches (Andreotti 2014; Marshall 2011; Oxley and Morris 2013; Pashby et al. 2020; Schattle 2008; Shultz 2007; Stein 2015, 2021). The rationale that underpins a given approach to global citizenship depends on multiple factors, including the educational and instrumental agendas at play as well as other political, sociocultural and historical considerations. For example, whereas liberal and neoliberal interpretations are often geared towards fostering skills and values that prepare students to become entrepreneurial citizens for the global economy, critical and radical interpretations envisage a role for students in the advancement of global social justice. Moreover, the critical approaches to global citizenship have been advanced as critiques of the dominant liberal and neoliberal interpretations that originate from Western humanistic traditions. These critiques often highlight the neocolonial and hegemonic agendas behind Western approaches to global citizenship that often seek to entrench Western norms and promote Western-centric perspectivism around the world (Bowden 2003; Howard et al. 2018).

As part of these critiques, critical education scholars have argued that, beyond its Western-centric focus, the conceptualisation of global citizenship should also draw on knowledge traditions from the non-Western

world. This is significant for engendering interpretations that reflect the diverse epistemological and ontological traditions as well as address the historical and contemporary conditions of global societies (Howard et al. 2018). Behind such calls is a recognition that there is merit in conceptualising global citizenship to engage with different political, sociocultural and historical experiences across the world. Such an approach holds the potential of diversifying understandings of what global citizenship means and promotes an ‘ecology of knowledges’ approach to addressing global challenges (Santos 2016). In undertaking this, decolonial, post-colonial and anticolonial thoughts are instrumental to the way global citizenship is theorised, particularly for imagining global citizenship otherwise (Andreotti 2015; Stein and Andreotti 2021). In demonstrating the relatedness of postcoloniality to global citizenship and the centrality of non-Western perspectives to the global citizenship debate, Torres and Dorio (2015, 6) have observed that:

The significance of a postcolonial understanding of GCED [global citizenship education] is a concept of global citizenship that does not rely solely on the often untranslatable political traditions of the global North and Eurocentric concepts, practices and institutions, but, encompasses the dynamics of social, economic and spiritual relationships, organisations and egalitarian formations whose roots are found within the global South.

The above reflection articulated by Torres and Dorio (2015) suggests that there are invaluable contributions that epistemological traditions in the Global South can bring to the discourses of global citizenship. Therefore, in advancing a vision for global citizenship in Global South contexts such as sub-Saharan Africa, it becomes imperative to draw on their situated epistemologies and ontologies to firmly demonstrate the relevance of the concept in those contexts.

For the context of sub-Saharan Africa, which is positioned marginally in the international discourse on global citizenship, the philosophy of Ubuntu can provide some epistemological and ontological insights for advancing the normative values of global citizenship. I propose that Ubuntu as a social and ethical framework offers a contextualisation narrative for the appropriation of global citizenship in educational spaces in sub-Saharan Africa, taking into consideration its ethical and moral imperatives. As part of the cultural formation of African societies and as an African indigenous way of being, Ubuntu is ‘borne out of the philosophy that community strength comes of community support, and that

dignity and identity are achieved through mutualism, empathy, generosity and community commitment' (Swanson 2015, 35). In its fundamental form, the essence of Ubuntu is distilled in the dictum 'a person is a person through other people' (Eze 2017, 99). This dictum defines personhood as a condition that transcends individuality to encompass other humans in a communal sense. Based on such a communitarian ethos, Ubuntu seeks out a way of living that is centred on principles of human interconnectedness, cooperation and interdependence, around which communal support is galvanised (Graness 2018; Swanson 2007). Arguably, the communitarian ethos that Ubuntu inspires positions it firmly within discourses of global citizenship and can provide an African ontological and axiological framework within which global citizenship can be promoted in educational systems in African societies.

Theoretical approach

In the research that this chapter reports on, I employed a critical global pedagogical framework as a theoretical approach to investigating curriculum internationalisation and global citizenship education at the case study institution. The rationale informing this framework is the recognition that a context-specific understanding of global citizenship education in African higher education requires foregrounding the colonial foundations of education in Africa as it plays out in discourses of internationalisation and global citizenship. This also requires identifying the continuities of coloniality in contemporary internationalisation and global citizenship practices in higher education. For the purposes of addressing issues on global coloniality and pedagogical processes, as well as the skills requirements for global citizenship, the proposed critical global pedagogy draws on three theoretical perspectives from the fields of postcolonial theory (Andreotti and De Souza 2012; Young 2016), critical pedagogy (Giroux 2010, 2020) and pedagogy for global social justice (Bourn 2015, 2018).

Methodological framework

The methodological framework within which the study was undertaken is a qualitative case study design. This was adopted to enable an investigation of curriculum internationalisation and global citizenship education as contemporaneous and ongoing activities at the case study institution

(Yazan 2015). As a case study, the research questions were purposely framed to capture the views and experiences of key actors within the institution as well as reflecting institutional domains that relate to the university's curriculum, including institutional policy, academic programmes (teaching and learning), as well as teaching and learning support services. Accordingly, the following questions were developed to address the research goal:

1. How do institution-wide and faculty policy statements at the university reflect dimensions of curriculum internationalisation and global citizenship?
2. What are the experiences and views of lecturers and institutional heads on the university's curriculum internationalisation efforts within a global citizenship discourse?
3. How do students view and experience curriculum internationalisation and global citizenship within the university's curriculum?
4. What are the challenges to internationalising the university's curriculum within a global citizenship discourse?

To address these research questions, research participants were drawn from five faculties across the institution, including the Business School, the School of Law, the School of Information and Communication Studies, the School of Education and Leadership, and the Institute of African Studies. In selecting the faculties for the study, purposive sampling was used to determine their suitability for my research topic. As such, each faculty was selected based on its active engagement with internationalisation, as demonstrated in their internationalisation profile as well as their vision and mission statements.

I employed different data collection methods to source information from both primary and secondary data. Semi-structured in-depth interviews were conducted with lecturers and institutional heads. Students comprising both domestic and international students were engaged in focus group discussions. I also conducted document analysis on publicly available policy documents, including the institution's Strategic Plan (2014–24); the Strategic Plan of the School of Law; vision and mission statements of departments/faculties as stated on their official websites; a report on 'Strategies for the internationalisation of [the case study institution]'; *Rules & Tools for Effective Teaching: A Handbook for Faculty at the [Case Study Institution]*; and course outlines for selected courses.

Findings

Though my investigation covered curriculum internationalisation and global citizenship as two interrelated concepts, for the limited scope of this chapter, I focus on the global citizenship themes that emerged from the research. In doing this, I first outline the policy vision of the institution to become world class and research intensive and how this informs its internationalisation strategy. The rationale for doing this is based on the premise that a conducive institutional policy framework is an important prerequisite for teaching global citizenship in the institution's curriculum. With a focus on the curriculum of the institution, I proceed to address the various ways in which global citizenship themes are reflected in academic programmes in the selected faculties.

Vision to become world class and research intensive

The case study institution has a vision of becoming a world-class research-intensive institution within a stipulated period (2014–24). In line with this, it has formulated strategic objectives around creating a world-class mindset among its constituents. It also aims to strengthen research and academic collaborations with international partners. The institution's vision to become world class and research intensive has penetrated to the faculty level, where individual faculties have carved out their vision and mission statements along the lines of the wider institutional vision. Awinpang, who heads the School of Business at the university, corroborates this by noting that the school's vision is derived from the institution-wide vision of the university:

So our vision of wanting to become a world-class business school and developing global leaders is within the context of the vision of [Case study institution] of wanting to be a world-class research-intensive university. (Awinpang-01)

As further corroboration, a review of policy statements for almost all the faculties that participated in the study shows that their vision and mission statements have been developed to reflect the wider institutional vision of the university. While many of these faculty-level mission statements are focused on meeting international standards and gaining global recognition, their educational aims are couched around developing world-class students and global leaders. The global dimensions in

the faculty vision and mission statements notwithstanding, my research revealed that there were no specific teaching and learning guidelines to aid lecturers to undertake teaching in a way that will reflect these global aspirations.

Regarding specific actions the institution is pursuing to achieve its vision, the findings show it is running a few Centres of Excellence that undertake research in specific disciplinary fields focusing on the African subregion. The institution is also actively involved in academic and research collaborations with institutions in over 30 countries, mostly in the Global North. Many of these partnerships and collaborations are in the forms of staff and student exchange programmes, as well as research and academic collaborations. From interviews with some lecturers and institutional heads, there was an indication that these partnerships are mostly funded by institutions based in the Global North. As a result, many of the partnerships are characterised by asymmetrical power relations that often lead to a unidirectional flow of Western research and academic perspectives to the case study institution. Coupled with the institution's colonial foundations, these partnerships and collaborations have over time resulted in the benchmarking of its teaching and research against standards of higher education systems in the Global North. This has contributed to the predominant use of Western epistemological paradigms and theoretical frameworks in the teaching and research that occur at the institution.

The findings of the study further reveal that some lecturers deplore the level to which the pursuit of international standards has overshadowed and inhibited local innovations, resulting in undue exogenous influences in the institution's curriculum and research activities. In that light, an important question worth asking is the extent to which the university's pursuit of world-class status promotes or hinders teaching, research and knowledge production that address African localities, histories and cultures. The lack of focus on African indigenous knowledge systems in teaching and research at the institution, for example, comes through in an interview with Awinimi, a lecturer at the School of Information and Communication Studies:

I think it's a lopsided balance in terms of the [ideas and education that are] imported rather than what we can also export to the world. Things we can borrow from our own knowledge systems to explain the concepts that we trying to teach ... because there is this thing that has been said about a person being a better-bred person when they can find their locus within something, and here we are

Ghanaians, Africans, training pseudo American minds, you know, because of the kind of content that we [are] exposing them [students] to. (Awinimi-01)

It is clear from Awinimi's narrative, along with views shared by other participants in separate interviews, that there is contestation over the extent to which the curriculum of the institution is internationalised and how this impacts the education the institution delivers. This again raises important questions on the kind of skills and values the institution is equipping students with and how its vision to become world class is contributing to fostering students' global skills that address the sociocultural and historical realities of African societies. In efforts to understand the kinds of global skills that are being fostered in students, I examined the presence of global citizenship themes in the institution's curriculum. The section that follows captures some of the global citizenship themes that emerged.

Preparing students for work in international employment spaces

The dominant narrative around which research participants attributed prominence to global citizenship education is its suitability as an educational approach for preparing students to work in both local and international employment spaces. Be it local or international contexts, there was a widespread recognition among study participants that globalisation and its impacts has brought about increased diversity in employment spaces and opened up the international employment space to Ghanaian university graduates. This narrative was articulated mostly by lecturers as justification for the need to include global citizenship themes in the courses they teach. Even though ongoing efforts to include a global dimension in teaching and learning are not couched in the specific language of global citizenship education, there was a general acknowledgement that some efforts are being made to train students to be able to work in globalising contexts. In articulating this point in an interview, Awinpang, who heads the School of Business at the university, noted that:

There is now a global fluid mobility of persons and skill set across the globe and as a Business school we cannot pretend to be living on an island, so whatever students we train here in Ghana will either be moving across the world to sell their skill set or will be forced to compete with others who are moving into the Ghanaian employment space. (Awinpang-02)

Some students in the focus groups corroborated the views shared by their lecturers. They articulated the significance of global citizenship education along the lines of their future professional aspirations to work in international employment spaces. In that regard, the relevance of global citizenship education is seen in terms of its potential to equip them (students) with skills and values that enhance their capacity to work in multicultural contexts. Though students did not attach the specific descriptor of intercultural awareness and understanding to the knowledge and skills they deemed relevant for work in multicultural contexts, they expressed an interest in acquiring knowledge and understanding of the cultures and histories of other societies. This interest is shown in a narrative expressed by a student in the School of Law:

So I think as an aspiring global lawyer, you are not just supposed to be concern[ed] about just your history and the way of life of your people but you should think globally and embrace ideas from other cultures and other jurisdictions. (Alahari-01)

Building on participants' recognition of the need to prepare students for work in international and multicultural contexts, one of the key objectives of my research enquiry was to look for evidence of the specific skill set and values that lecturers seek to equip students with in their teaching. Analysis of the evidence shows that the teaching of courses across different faculties usually aims at developing a range of skills and values in students, some of which fall within the study's conceptualisation of global skills. A key defining feature of this skill set is a consideration of the impacts of globalisation on professions around the world and the need for a skill set that transcends specific professions. Concerning this, a lecturer at the School of Education and Leadership noted that:

There is what we call twenty-first-century transferrable skills ... where we expect that, at least no matter the course that you are doing, you should be able to have good communicative skills, problem-solving skills, analytical skills and all that. (Awintuma-01)

As indicated in an earlier section in this chapter, one of the focal faculties for the study has a stated vision of 'becoming a world-class business school developing global leaders'. This vision is said to be driven by the need to address leadership challenges across various sectors on the African context. As such, many of the skills and values the School of Business seeks to equip students with are largely focused on leadership skills:

For us we are looking out for students that come out and are oriented to issues of leadership because across the world leadership is one of the major challenges, especially within the African continent. Leadership issues are key ... so for us it's about leadership. (Awinpang-03)

In the context of the vision of developing global leaders, the School of Business has designed and is running a number of academic programmes that aim to develop leadership and managerial skills in students, some key examples of which are a BSc in Public Administration and an MSc in Clinical Leadership and Management.

Addressing the impacts of globalisation on African countries

Study participants, particularly students, showed an interest in the topic of globalisation and how it is framed in discourses of global citizenship education. They were keen on seeing the curriculum of the institution teach topics that address the impacts of globalisation on African societies, the exploitative impacts of global capitalism on African countries and the links this has with poverty and conflict on the continent. It is important to note that these views were mostly expressed by international students from the United States, who offered a comparative perspective based on their educational experiences back in the United States. Their perspectives were particularly critical of some academic courses they were taking at the case study institution at the time, focusing on how discussions in these courses addressed globalisation and relations between Africa and countries in the Global North. The following two extended quotes from Tampuri and Abugri serve to demonstrate these perspectives that featured in the focus groups:

In my American politics class, I sometimes get upset because I feel like, they paint America to be like this perfect government, and am like, if we were taking this class in America, like we would just be bashing everything ... there has to be some sense of like realness ... like this is what America is like and this is what America has done to all of these other countries, you know what am saying. This is the power that it had over Africa or the globalisation part of it... (Tampuri-01)

I can relate to you, I have a class ... and the professor who is talking about globalisation ... and to my utter dismay, he was talking about

globalisation ... and the class was specifically focused on Africa ... he wasn't kind of, he didn't pinpoint the relevance [of globalisation] to Africa ... its effects and how it is played out in the African context. (Abugri-01)

Still within the domain of the impacts of neoliberal globalisation on African countries, domestic students were particularly concerned with the incidence of xenophobia and conflict in some African societies, with questions around the growing sense of disunity among citizenry across African nations. Though these domestic students did not draw direct connections between globalisation and the incidence of conflict in Africa, they were able to articulate their roles as global citizens in engaging in activism to bring awareness on the conditions that foment conflicts in some African nations. For example, Azubilla, a student at the School of Business, gave a specific example of some activism work that Ghanaian youth had done through social media to raise awareness on the conflict crisis in Sudan at the time:

Considering how we as Ghanaians can contribute to issues pertaining to the world. Take for instance the issue with Sudan. I don't know if you can remember the situation where the media itself was quiet about their long suffering. So the first 30 tweets about that were actually from Ghanaians. And it was on the hashtag, 'pray for Sudan'. (Azubilla-01)

Comparing the perspectives articulated by both domestic and international students, the findings suggest that though domestic students were concerned about xenophobia and conflict in Africa, they did not link these phenomena to historical colonialism and the processes of globalisation. International students on the other hand made direct connections between global capitalism and the state of deprivation in Africa. This may be due to the different levels of exposure both groups of students have had in their educational experiences on topics related to the dynamics of globalisation around the world, as is suggestive in the narrative authored by Tampuri.

Discussion of findings

In the following sections, I will undertake a brief discussion of the findings presented in relation to the institution's vision to become world class as well as the global citizenship themes that feature in its curriculum.

Vision to become world class

In order to understand the rationale driving the vision of the case study institution to become world class, it is useful to position its role in a historical perspective. The university is one of Ghana's flagship universities and has historically played a leading role in meeting the human capital needs of the country. This is confirmed in a study conducted by Cloete et al. (2011), who found that the dominant institutional narrative within which the case study institution constructs its mandate is along the lines of its role and historical contribution to the socioeconomic development of Ghana. However, the recent adoption of a vision to become world class presupposes the institution is moving towards aligning its teaching, research and community engagement functions with trends in global higher education. This implies a shift from being a developmental university to a world-class and research university (Cloete et al. 2018; McCowan 2019).

As an African institution with a history of a colonial formation, the university operates in national and regional contexts whose economic, sociocultural and political developments have been shaped by historical colonialism, but which also continue to bear the brunt of the uneven impacts of internationalisation and globalisation. Based on these historical antecedents and their continuation in internationalisation and globalisation in contemporary times, it is imperative to interrogate the relevance of the pursuit of a world-class status by an institution that operates within such postcolonial conditions. Such a critique is particularly relevant when considered in light of calls for African universities to be decolonised and for indigenous knowledge forms to be mainstreamed into research, teaching and learning in these institutions (Dei 2014; Le Grange 2018; Maringe and Osman 2022; Nkoane 2006).

In addressing the question of the relevance of the pursuit of world-class standards by African universities, Kamola (2011) suggests that such a pursuit should be strategically guided by efforts to undertake teaching and research that focus on addressing Africa's problems. As such, in pursuing its vision to become world class, it is important for the institution to reflect on whether the world-class status should be the standard by which it should assess its viability as an African university. The need for this consideration becomes more evident when considered in light of what a 'world-class' university stands for. As a concept in higher education, a 'world-class' institution is mostly framed around the 'elite Western' university that has significant differences with the cultural traditions of higher education in non-Western contexts (Salmi

2009). Furthermore, the world-class status to which the institution aspires is based on a validation framework that is driven by Western intellectual codes, norms and accreditation, rather than one that speaks to the needs, aspirations and knowledge systems of African societies (Dei 2014). For teaching and learning at the institution to address the needs of African societies, the institution's pursuit of international standards should be guided by an assessment of the compatibility and relevance of such standards to African contexts.

Interpretations of global citizenship in the curriculum

The global citizenship themes that feature in the curriculum of the institution, as outlined earlier in this chapter, are centred on globalisation and its impacts on African countries. This is reflected in the curriculum of the case study institution in two main ways. First, some academic programmes focus on preparing students to work for the global knowledge economy as a response to the impacts of globalisation on professions around the world. This is, for example, seen in the vision of the School of Business that seeks to develop global leadership skills in students. Considered within the interpretive traditions of global citizenship, these themes are more attuned to the neoliberal interpretations of global citizenship. Judging by the institution's vision to become world class, the transactional nature of its internationalisation strategies and the neoliberal elements in some of its academic programming, it can be deduced that the internationalisation pathway the institution is pursuing is akin to that of a neoliberal university. The internationalisation strategies of neoliberal universities are typically built on academic capitalism with a strong focus on training students for labour markets (Slaughter and Rhoades 2000; Troiani and Dutson 2021).

The second perspective within which globalisation was discussed in the study, mostly by students, relates to the causal links that global capitalism has with poverty and conflicts in Africa. This perspective was expressed as a critique of the exploitative relations between Western industrialised countries and African countries. Such a critique translated into calls for the curriculum of the institution to teach students to be critical of such exploitative relations. The critical elements in the curriculum of the institution are only aspirational and do not reflect the current state of play as far as global citizenship is concerned. Whereas the global citizenship themes that feature in the institution's curriculum align more with neoliberal interpretations, students were calling for some criticality

to be introduced into the institution's curriculum to address the negative impacts of globalisation on African societies.

It is clear from the study that the curriculum of the institution is unduly marked by exogenous influences and does not draw sufficiently on African indigenous knowledge systems. There is therefore a strong case for strengthening the presence of indigenous knowledge forms in the institution's curriculum rather than perpetuating the predominant reliance on Western knowledge paradigms and world-class standards. On the part of students, they deplored the impacts of globalisation on African societies and the incidence of xenophobia and conflict in parts of Africa. Connected to this, one might wonder why despite Ubuntu being a cultural feature of many African societies, these social evils persist in such contexts, particularly in South Africa, where the linguistic and globalised understanding of Ubuntu originates. There is little doubt that some of the conflicts in African societies are traceable to the divisive impacts of historical colonialism through, for example, the historic imposition of 'artificial' borders that divided communities of the same kinship (Adotey 2021; Manby 2009; Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2018). There is also the debilitating impact of global capitalism on African societies. Neoliberal globalisation has intensified competition and struggle over resources and power in African societies, often leading to disenfranchisement and high levels of inequality among communities (Akinola and Uzodike 2018; Olutayo and Omobowale 2007). These conditions over many years have culminated in resentment, mistrust and suspicion among different groups and communities across Africa, leading to a disintegration of the cultural and social cohesiveness that once held communities together. In that light, promoting global citizenship through an Ubuntu narrative will not only serve the purpose of appropriating the concept (global citizenship) for African societies, but will revitalise Ubuntu as an African way of living and being. The benefit in doing this is to promote an approach to global citizenship that builds on Ubuntu philosophy as an African indigenous resource and to enable African societies to see and engage with the global world through their cultural gaze.

Conclusion

The methodological argument I make in this chapter is that the case study approach to the study contributed to an in-depth and contextual investigation of the topic of global citizenship education. This benefitted

the research in two main ways. First, it enabled the use of different data sources, which contributed to a multifaceted and holistic understanding of how different institutional domains (policy, teaching and learning, support services, etc.) facilitate or hinder the teaching of global citizenship at the institution. Second, it facilitated a contextual interpretation of global citizenship within the curriculum of the institution.

The contextual approach to the study highlights three factors that need to guide any efforts to teach global citizenship in African higher education: (1) the colonial formation of the institution as an African university and how this has impacted and shaped its curriculum and overall functioning; (2) the uneven impacts that contemporary processes of internationalisation and globalisation unleash on African higher education systems and African societies more generally; (3) the wider sociocultural, historical and political context within which the university operates and how these limit the imaginaries within which teaching and learning are enacted. These three determining factors are at the core of the interpretations of global citizenship that came out of the study. When situated within the typologies of global citizenship outlined earlier in this chapter, the findings suggest that the critical and post-critical approaches to global citizenship are more contextualised to the sociocultural and historical conditions of African higher education, making these approaches appropriate for promoting global citizenship in African universities.

At the same time, it is important to note that the conceptualisation of the critical and post-critical approaches to global citizenship are broad theoretical categories that may not address the specific complexities of the citizenship aspirations and experiences of African societies vis-à-vis the impacts of globalisation they contend with. As such, there is the need for a more focused theorisation that is attentive to the nuances of African political, sociocultural and historical specificities in defining an African-centred approach to global citizenship.

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Analysis of teacher education curriculum in Turkey regarding education for sustainable development

Nese Soysal

The global environmental, social and economic challenges we have all been facing in recent years have reminded us how global the world is and how interconnected we are all to each other. Thus, if we are acting to protect our world, we need to act together. To this end, the United Nations have guided us all by adopting the 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) as an urgent call for action. Emphasising the importance of providing all learners with the knowledge, skills and values of education for sustainable development (ESD) to support the achievement of the goals through quality education, SDG4 of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development (United Nations 2015) highlights the importance of mainstreaming ESD into teacher education programmes in supporting the process of change.

ESD is defined as a transformative education (Corazza et al. 2022; UNESCO 2017). Transformative education is characterised by societal challenges, and it includes ‘changes in education systems, including strengthening curricula, innovative pedagogies and teacher training, but above all a model for transforming education systems’ (Diemer et al. 2019, 43). Therefore, ESD is expected to be integrated into teacher education programmes, emphasising its transformative approach as a methodology to make teachers take active roles in social transformation as a response to global environmental, social and economic problems.

However, UNESCO’s research (2021), conducted among 100 countries, demonstrates that only 55 per cent of teachers have received training in sustainability. It also indicates that 40 per cent of teachers are confident about teaching cognitive dimensions of climate change but only

20 per cent of them can explain how to take action on this. This research encourages us to reorient teacher education programmes for ESD.

Therefore, in the process of reorienting teacher education programmes for ESD, this chapter indicates the progress of the integration of ESD into teacher education programmes in Turkey. It is an example of ESD integration into teacher education programmes from a centralised education viewpoint. It also compares the place of ESD in the previous programmes with the recent one.

Regarding its methodology, the value of this chapter comes from two aspects. First, it presents a detailed qualitative analysis of 12 teacher education programmes in Turkey based on course descriptions provided by the Council of Higher Education (CoHE). Second, it is a comparative study representing the process of ESD integration over the course of a number of years. The findings of my PhD thesis published in 2016 are compared with the analysis conducted in 2022. Thus, the changes in ESD integration in 2022 are interpreted based on the analysis of previous programmes, indicating the attitudes and perspectives of student teachers as well.

Context of teacher education in Turkey

The history of transformative education in Turkey goes back to the establishment of the Republic of Turkey in 1923. The economic, social and political conditions indicated an urgent need to train qualified teachers to educate the citizens of a new country. As teachers are seen as the ones who will construct social transformation for new generations (Duman and Karagoz 2016; Soysal 2012), teacher education has been among the vital issues in Turkey since 1923.

As the first teacher education institutions in Turkey, Village Institutes have played a vital role in teacher education. John Dewey, appointed by the first president of Turkey – Atatürk – with the aim of integrating global aspects into local needs, wrote a report about the Turkish education system in 1924 (Dayıoğlu Öcal and İşcan 2020; Turan 2000). ‘The report on Turkish education system’ has guided the establishment of Village Institutes based on Dewey’s educational philosophy and is recognised as providing the basic seeds of transformative education. These institutes trained teachers who took an active role in shaping the new country, focusing on the socioeconomic development of locals based on global developments, and promoted the skills and values that educators

aim to achieve through ESD. However, they were closed for political reasons in 1954.

With the establishment of Council of Higher Education (CoHE) in 1981, a centralised teacher education system has been implemented. Since then, the teacher education curriculum has been prepared by CoHE and the role given to teachers has changed. Rather than giving them an active role in shaping the country, teachers' role in knowledge transmission is highlighted.

CoHE provides the basic framework of teacher education programmes in Turkey, aiming to bring standardisation to teacher education programmes. CoHE lists the compulsory and elective courses and their descriptions in the programmes. In general, four-year Initial Teacher Education (ITE) programmes in Turkish universities are designed, with curriculum programme courses divided into three categories: those related to content knowledge (specific to the content of each programme), pedagogical knowledge (specific to the teaching strategies of each programme) and general culture knowledge (general culture-based courses designed for each programme). In this study, the place of ESD in ITE programmes is also explained from these perspectives.

There is a tendency for teacher education programmes to be revised regularly in Turkey. Local and global economic, social and political developments; technological improvements and innovations; research on accreditation; and changes in the national education curriculum are among the main reasons why teacher education policies have been revised regularly.

As a result of globalisation, the attempts to become a member of the European Union have been another factor that affected Turkey's teacher education policy. The application of the Bologna Process has also shaped the teacher education system since 2001 (Furuzan 2012). In addition, in 2002, following the changes in primary education programmes and Turkey becoming a member of the European Higher Education Area, MoNE (Ministry of National Education) conducted a study supported by the European Union on teacher competencies, finalising it in 2006. In this way, standardisation for teacher training has been established (Soysal 2012).

Finally, MoNE prepared a Generic Teacher Competencies and Teacher Strategy Document and revised teacher education programmes accordingly following the revision to primary education programmes for the 2018–19 academic term (Ataman and Adıgüzel 2019). The main reason for this revision was stated by CoHE in the programme description

as the cultural, social, ethical and moral problems Turkey and the world have been encountering recently (CoHE 2018). Another stated reason is redesigning the content of professional knowledge courses and content knowledge courses of each programme and giving more space to teaching practice courses. Also, the recent revision of the K-12 curriculum by MoNE focusing on the themes of Sustainable Development Goals indicated the need for a change to be able to train teachers accordingly.

It can be concluded that content, teacher quality and standardisation are given importance in teacher education programmes and the programmes are under continual revision by CoHE because of political, social and economic reasons that are local or global. The global reasons in particular seem to have had a greater impact on the inclusion of ESD in teacher education programmes. The increasing number of studies in the ESD literature, summarised below, is also considered to have a strong impact on the integration of ESD into teacher education programmes in Turkey.

Literature review on education for sustainable development in Turkey

An analysis of the literature regarding ESD indicates a sharp increase in the Turkish context recently. As Öztürk (2018) states in his study, publications about ESD doubled in the second half of the UN Decade on ESD (from 32 per cent to 68 per cent of publications about ESD in the education context). This indicates the importance placed on ESD in the education context.

The literature about curriculum studies indicates that ESD is placed in the curriculum mostly as part of environmental education (Demirbaş 2015; Tanrıverdi 2009; Tuncer et al. 2006). Following the changes in 2005, some courses on environmental education have been added to teacher education programmes as part of the United Nations Development Programme (Güntürkün 2016; Kaya and Tomal 2011; Tahtalıoğlu and Kulac 2019). This indicates the starting point of research on sustainable development education. The curriculum is used to create awareness and positive attitudes towards sustainable education (Tanrıverdi 2009). Teaching programmes tended to focus more on teaching the content of ESD rather than its skills and values (Bourn and Soysal 2021; Öztürk 2018; Tanrıverdi 2009).

There are also some studies on integrating ESD into specific courses. Demirbaş's (2011) study indicated the integration of sustainable

development into the geography curriculum. The aim of this integration was explained as creating student awareness of ESD. Kaya and Tomal (2011) also highlight the need for the teaching of ESD to be integrated more broadly into social sciences education. There are some studies that focus on the analysis of the science curriculum regarding ESD as it is mostly considered a theme of the science curriculum (Ateş 2019; Ateş and Gül 2018; Çobanoğlu and Türer 2015; Er Nas and Şenel Çoruhlu 2017). However, Arslan (2021) indicates the importance of a multidisciplinary approach in his study, suggesting the use of a STEM (Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics) approach in sustainable development education.

Teacher awareness of ESD is the subject of recent research in Turkey (Dal and Akcay 2021; Demirbaş 2015; Koçulu 2018). Researchers indicate that the awareness of science teachers in particular is quite high regarding ESD. In addition, both teachers and student teachers have positive attitudes towards sustainable development (Demirbaş 2015; Kaya 2013; Kılınç and Aydın 2013; Özgürler and Cansaran 2007; Öztürk 2018; Öztürk and Öztürk 2015; Sağdıç and Şahin 2015; Soysal and Ok 2021; Teksöz et al. 2010; Tuncer et al. 2006). However, although they are aware of ESD and have positive attitudes towards it, the studies about teacher competencies demonstrate that they do not feel competent enough to teach about ESD (Sağdıç and Şahin 2016; Soysal 2016; Soysal and Ok 2021). Elementary school teachers highlight their lack of knowledge for them to be able to integrate ESD into their courses (Sağdıç and Şahin 2016).

Methodology

This study analyses the integration of ESD into teacher education programmes in Turkey. It compares the teacher education curriculum prepared by CoHE in 2018 with the previous one developed in 2007 to indicate the changes in the programmes regarding ESD.

Accordingly, the research questions focused on how ESD has been integrated into the recent ITE programmes in Turkey and what are the changes in ESD integration in recent teacher education programmes compared with the previous one.

In this study, the teacher education curriculum of CoHE (2018) was analysed based on a qualitative approach. Through qualitative content analysis, the programme description and the detailed programmes on the CoHE website analysed regarding their inclusion of ESD themes.¹ Data were also collected from the programmes shown in Table 10.1.

Table 10.1 Programmes from which data were collected

Biology Teaching
Geography Teaching
Science Teaching
Physics Teaching
Chemistry Teaching
Mathematics Teaching
Primary Teaching
Early Years Teaching
Social Science Teaching
Music Teaching
Special Education Teaching
Foreign Languages Teaching

Based on this analysis, how ESD is integrated into the programmes is described below under specific themes, such as its inclusion in the programme description, as a standalone course, as an integrated course and as a pedagogical approach. The differences between the two programmes are also discussed.

This analysis will then be compared with the results of my PhD thesis (Soysal 2016), which was a mixed methods design including quantitative research followed by qualitative research. In the quantitative part, a survey was used to analyse student teachers' attitudes towards ESD and their perspectives about their ESD competencies. Following this, in the qualitative part, the primary teaching curriculum developed by CoHE in 2007 was analysed using qualitative content analysis regarding ESD integration, based on a programme description of a university in the capital of Turkey and selected coursebooks used in the programme.

Results

Analysis of the previous teacher education programmes in Turkey

My PhD thesis (Soysal 2016), which analyses the place of ESD in teacher education programmes in Turkey, includes three main parts: the attitudes of pre-service primary school teachers towards

ESD, their perceived competencies about ESD, and the content of the primary teaching curriculum regarding ESD based on the previous ITE programmes.

The analysis of the first part indicated that pre-service teachers had positive attitudes towards ESD. It also demonstrated that they had more positive attitudes towards environmental and cultural aspects than socio-economic aspects (Soysal 2016; Soysal and Ok 2021). The study indicated that among the competency areas of knowledge, systems thinking, and emotions and values, pre-service primary school teachers felt less competent in the knowledge and systems thinking areas (Soysal and Ok 2022).

That is, although they had positive attitudes towards ESD, their level of competency based on their knowledge of ESD was found to be quite low compared to their emotions and values about ESD. They perceived that they 'are not completely equipped with the knowledge about the key concepts of sustainable development, basic principles of it, and selecting educational goals for it' and they expressed that they 'do not have enough information about the economic, social and cultural aspects of sustainable development' (Soysal 2016: 167–8).

The findings based on the qualitative content analysis of the primary teaching curriculum indicated that the general goals and objectives of the primary teaching curriculum seem to include limited content about ESD, such as focusing on 'the society', 'society and environment', 'universal values of being a teacher' and 'sustaining national and international collaboration and cooperation'. However, it did not directly include 'sustainable development' or 'ESD', 'its pillars, skills or values' among its aims and objectives in detail.

In order to analyse the place of ESD in detail, some of the courses were selected for analysis, focusing on the documents indicating the course objectives and content referring to the themes of ESD. In addition, some coursebooks were also analysed for this purpose.

The analysis indicated that the written programme descriptions of the selected courses make limited references to some aspects of ESD. As can be seen from Table 10.2, the Science and Technology Teaching course emphasises the teaching of 'inquiry based' activities. Although it was not described in the course content, sustainable development and ESD content was included in some coursebooks, and it is considered 'as a life skill' in one of them.

The Social Studies Teaching course also included 'values education' and 'democracy education' in its aims and content description. Although they were not specified in the aims and content of the course, the knowledge and the skills of ESD were highlighted in the coursebook.

Table 10.2 Course and coursebook analysis on ESD

Life Studies Teaching Course	Social Studies Teaching Course	Science and Technology Teaching Course I–II
<u>Course objectives:</u> No reference	<u>Course objectives:</u> • values education	<u>Course objectives:</u> • inquiry-based activities
<u>Written course content:</u> No reference	<u>Written course content:</u> • democracy education • values and democracy education	<u>Written course content:</u> • scientific literacy • inquiry-based learning • problem-based learning • project-based learning • cooperative learning
<u>Coursebook:</u> • social, cultural and environmental aspects of life studies • problem solving skills	<u>Coursebook:</u> • human, society and environment • effective citizenship • critical and creative thinking • values education • problem solving • decision-making	<u>Coursebook:</u> • individual values, social and environmental problems • science–technology–society–environment • social contribution of science • sustainable development • sustainable development awareness as a life skill • twenty-first-century skills

For the Life Studies Teaching course, references to ESD in written course descriptions could not be found; however, the coursebook included some references to ‘social, cultural and environmental aspects of life studies’ and ‘problem solving skills’.

This study indicated that in the previous primary teaching curriculum in Turkey, ‘although there are some learning opportunities for ESD, they are not clearly mentioned in goals, objectives and the content of the courses’ (Soysal 2016, 166). However, the importance of the content, skills and values of ESD could be observed in some coursebooks.

The need for a clearly organised curriculum to develop teacher competencies for ESD was highlighted at the end of the study. Also, integration of ESD into some of the teacher education courses or the whole teacher education curriculum was recommended.

In this study, teacher education curriculum documents prepared by CoHE (2018) were then analysed to identify changes in terms of ESD integration.

Analysis of the recent teacher education programmes in Turkey

Teacher education programmes in Turkey were revised by the CoHE for the 2018–19 academic term.

The qualitative content analysis of these programmes regarding ESD integration indicated that there are different methods of ESD integration in the programmes. This integration can be summarised into four themes, which are also backed up in the literature, focusing on its inclusion in the programme description and ESD as a standalone course, as an integrated course and as a pedagogical approach.

Inclusion of education for sustainable development in the programme description

The main reason for the programme revision was stated by CoHE in the programme description, highlighting ‘cultural, social, ethical and moral problems’. It is emphasised that these problems will be overcome primarily with the help of:

highly motivated and qualified educators and teachers that are provided with professional knowledge, pedagogical content knowledge and general culture knowledge that focus on **the basic values and ideals of the society**.

The general description of the programme indicated that teacher educators and teachers should have an active role in construction of the world:

teachers should have **social, cultural, moral and intellectual skills** as **moral and cultural leaders** who have active roles in transforming the country and the world into a more virtuous place.

Although the values and ideals of society and moral skills are sensitive issues to be discussed, giving teachers an active role can be considered to be related to the transformative aspects of ESD. It is also emphasised that ‘as teachers who encounter people from different races, religion/language, economic status, culture and family structure, content

knowledge of the programmes should be supported with pedagogical knowledge' focusing on 'equity, diversity and social justice', which are directly related to the themes of ESD.

The teachers that will be educated through these programmes are described as having the following characteristics:

- being knowledgeable about universal, national, local/regional and cultural differences and similarities;
- being a role model in terms of their personality and cultural, ethical and moral values;
- being a technologically literate and qualified teacher with research skills.

There is a reference to teachers being knowledgeable about both local and universal differences and similarities, which is part of the content of ESD. However, regarding being a role model, although cultural, ethical and moral values are emphasised, it is notable that environmental aspects are not mentioned.

To sum up, the fundamental change in the recent ITE curriculum is the integration of the themes and social, economic and cultural aspects of ESD. However, there is no direct reference to environmental aspects or to skills such as critical thinking and future thinking, together with teaching methodologies such as active learning, problem-based learning and inquiry-based learning.

Education for sustainable development as a standalone course

With the recent revision in 2018, the aim was for the concept of ESD to be integrated into ITE programmes in Turkey. Another way in which it can be integrated is through designing a specific course for ESD, running as an elective course in each department in ITE programmes.

The course is described as including the content below (CoHE 2018):

- sustainability concept and usage areas;
- sustainability in terms of social sciences and natural sciences;
- sustainability in the context of social change;
- education and sustainability;
- the future of humanity and sustainability;
- migration, poverty and inequality;
- sustainable environment;
- ecology, global environment and sustainability;

- sustainable society in harmony with nature;
- consumption habits and environment;
- social responsibility studies, sustainability in terms of tangible and intangible cultural heritage;
- rethinking human–nature relations in the axis of sustainability.

The course was planned to include the environmental, social and economic pillars of ESD, and the content related to it such as migration, consumption habits and cultural heritage. However, the pedagogy of ESD and its skills and values are still not emphasised in its basic description. It would be better to indicate its skills and values in this description to guide teacher educators in their course preparation as it is a new course in the programme. Without underlining the skills and values of the course, it is also difficult to characterize it as having a transformative approach to learning and teaching.

In their study, Bourn and Soysal (2021) indicate that CoHE's (2018) course description, which mostly highlights the content of ESD rather than its skills and values, might be one of the reasons why the course mostly has a transmissive approach in its teaching and learning rather than a transformative approach. However, that study also indicated that there are some encouraging practices of integration of a transformative approach to ESD courses in a few universities. Studies focusing on the transformative practices of ESD and universities sharing best practices for the design of this course would bring out the transformative nature of ESD.

The literature emphasises that as ESD is holistic and interdisciplinary, it should be embedded into the whole curriculum rather than designing it as a standalone subject (Nolet 2016); however, including ESD as a standalone course would introduce the concept of ESD, highlight its importance and transformative nature, and provide guidance for teacher educators in the initial steps of its integration into ITE programmes in Turkey.

Education for sustainable development as an integrated course

ESD is also integrated into ITE programmes through the design of content-based courses for each programme.

The courses in Table 10.3 focus on different pillars of ESD, which are mainly environmental, then social and economic. However, the tendency to design content-specific courses is evident in the table. For instance, courses related to environmental education are only available in the programmes related to natural sciences rather than social sciences; and the courses related to social pillars of ESD are mostly available in

Table 10.3 Content-based ESD courses

Biology Teaching	Health Education Environmental Education
Geography Teaching	Human Geography Environmental Problems Disaster Management
Science Teaching	Chemical Waste and Environmental Pollution Renewable Energy Sources
Physics Teaching	Chemical Waste and Environmental Pollution Renewable Energy Sources
Chemistry Teaching	Science Technology Society Environmental Chemistry Chemistry and Technology
Mathematics Teaching	Special Education and Inclusion
Primary Teaching	Disaster Education Media Literacy Human Rights and Democracy Education
Early Years Teaching	Character and Values Education Special Education and Inclusion
Social Science Teaching	Disaster Education Science Technology and Society Human Rights and Democracy Education Media Literacy and Education
Music Teaching	Special Education and Inclusion
Special Education Teaching	Special Education and Inclusion
Foreign Languages Teaching	Inclusive Language Teaching Critical and Analytic Thinking

social sciences rather than natural sciences. However, for the integration of ESD, the important point is its transdisciplinary nature; it should be included in each programme regardless of its content knowledge.

Also, there are other courses that include ESD concepts which are specified as elective courses on pedagogical knowledge, general culture knowledge or content knowledge in different programmes (Korkmaz 2020). Moreover, some of these courses are specified among the compulsory courses for some programmes.

In the description of these courses, the knowledge, skills and/or values of ESD are recognised to be integrated. However, the pedagogies

Table 10.4 Examples of courses based on ESD

Tackling Addiction
Children at Risk and Education
Global English and Culture
Education of Children in Hospitals
Museum Education
Out-of-School Learning Environments
Learning Difficulties
Comparative Education
Educational Anthropology
Adult Education and Lifelong Learning

of the courses might change according to the teacher educators or universities that design the courses in practice.

To sum up, universities in Turkey are taking a significant step towards integrating ESD into ITE programmes. They prefer designing its concepts as both a standalone subject and with adjectival education courses such as environmental education and disaster education with promising recent practices of transformative teaching and learning strategies.

Education for sustainable development as a pedagogical approach

Though ESD is not directly specified as being integrated into the current ITE programmes in Turkey either by CoHE or by universities, its principles as a pedagogical approach can be indirectly observed in some parts of the ITE programmes. When considering ESD as a pedagogical approach, ‘the nature of the interaction between the teacher and the learner and the environment in which it takes place’ (Bourn 2022, 96) needs to be analysed and the use of transformative, learner-centred, inquiry and project-based approaches should be highlighted.

Some pedagogical knowledge courses specific to each individual programme such as ‘Theories of Teaching and Learning in English Language Teaching’ and ‘New Approaches to Mathematics Education’ deeply focus on the importance of inquiry-based, project-based, constructivist and transformative approaches to the teaching of some social aspects of ESD and they seem to focus more on its skills and values.

On the other hand, as an example of the use of ESD as a pedagogical approach, there is a compulsory course for each programme

named 'Community Service Practice'. In this course, student teachers are required to identify local or global environmental, social and economic problems and they are asked to find solutions to these by designing projects working in groups (Bourn and Soysal 2021). The course aims to increase student teachers' awareness of social, environmental and economic problems, build up the relations between society and the universities and related stakeholders, improve student teachers' critical and problem-solving skills, and develop their creative thinking, holistic thinking and future thinking skills by taking active roles in finding solutions to specified problems (Bourn and Soysal 2021; CoHE 2018). The design of this course is also a good example of a transformative approach to ESD. Student teachers 'take an active role in the transformation of society' through this course, with their projects providing solutions to environmental, social and economic problems through collaboration with stakeholders (Bourn and Soysal 2021, 14).

Differences between the previous and recent programmes

The findings from the first study indicated that the concept of ESD was not integrated into the curriculum; however, there were some attempts to include a few of its themes in social science and science and technology courses. Also, there were some books written by teacher educators at the universities that included ESD content, skills and values. This indicates that thanks to the guidance provided by some previous studies and the efforts of teacher educators, there were attempt to recognise ESD within some courses.

The teacher attitudes analysis indicated that ESD was mostly considered to be related to environmental aspects. This tendency is also clear in curriculum documents. ESD themes are mostly found in science and technology courses, highlighting the environmental aspects. The analysis of competencies related indicated that pre-service teachers need to improve their competencies of knowledge and systems thinking about ESD. The analysis also indicated a need for knowledge on the social and economic aspects of ESD.

With these considerations in mind, the curriculum content analysis highlighted this gap in the curriculum documents. ESD was not specified in the previous ITE programmes. It was not included in the course description of the programmes and there was no course about ESD. However, 'being sensitive to the nature and environment', 'democracy education' and 'values education' were mentioned among some objectives and in some coursebooks on teacher education.

Compared with the previous programme, as was recommended at the end of the first study, the difference in the integration of ESD into the recent ITE programmes in Turkey can easily be recognised. The integration of ESD begins with the programme description. There is also a specific course designed to teach ESD for each programme. In this course, though the skills and values are not highlighted, it was designed to include the environmental, social and economic pillars of ESD, which was missing in the previous programme, and the content related to it such as migration, consumption habits and cultural heritage are highlighted. This course can guide pre-service teachers to develop their competencies of knowledge and systems thinking. Also, there is another course named 'Community Service Practice' that is based on transformative teaching and the learning of ESD. In addition, in each programme, there are many courses that are related to different content and aspects of ESD.

Conclusion

The progress towards the recognition of ESD as a distinctive pedagogical approach can be observed in recent teacher education programmes in Turkey. Having been recognised as a content area previously, progress was made towards its recognition as a pedagogical approach after 2007; changes to the ITE programmes were accordingly made in 2018, and courses designed by leading universities are promising actions for ESD gaining value as a pedagogy in the future.

Although ESD is not directly mentioned in the previous programmes, attempts to include it as a topic in the curriculum and in the coursebooks can be observed. This indicates that although the universities have a centralised teacher education programme, the steps towards integrating ESD have started with attempts of teacher educators to include it as a topic in course syllabi and coursebooks. Its inclusion in the literature and the effects of global changes on the policies are considered to have encouraged CoHE to integrate ESD into the teacher education programmes.

On the other hand, CoHE's recent framework needs to be considered as guidance for teacher educators. In fact, teacher educators have a significant role in designing their courses based on the pedagogy of ESD. To this end, CoHE and universities need to support teacher educators to obtain national and international training programmes on ESD that emphasise it as a methodology with a transformative role. Teacher educators also need to follow the local and global literature to learn about the

theory and practices about ESD. In follow-up studies, it is recommended to intensively analyse the perspectives of teacher educators about the integration of ESD courses into teacher education programmes.

In addition, with its methodology of providing a detailed analysis of a variety of teacher education programmes in Turkey and representing the process of integration of ESD into teacher education programmes over a number of years, this chapter serves as model for other countries in the design of their own methods of ESD integration. Moreover, with the help of exchange programmes or online linking programmes, teacher education institutions may guide and support each other and share their experiences about integration of ESD into their courses.

All in all, it is preferable for ESD to be embedded into the whole programme, together with an emphasis on ESD as a standalone course in teacher education programmes in Turkey. However, to be in alignment with its transformative nature, it should be embedded into all teacher education programmes as a pedagogical approach, both in policy documents and in practice. The progress made needs to be rapidly accelerated as time passes in order to protect the planet and humanity.

Note

- 1 www.yok.gov.tr/kurumsal/idari-birimler/egitim-ogretim-dairesi/yeni-ogretmen-yetistirmelisans-programmelari. Accessed 10 January 2018.

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Part IV

Perspectives and voices of young people and students

Young people and students have been leaders in the calls for greater engagement by all sections of society in addressing global and sustainability challenges. The climate justice movement led by Greta Thunberg is well known around the world. Malala Yousafzai, the youngest-ever winner of the Nobel Peace Prize, has been a global advocate for girls' education and global social justice. Such figures have inspired many thousands of young people to engage in seeking a more just and sustainable world.

This level of interest and engagement by young people and students has been the subject of numerous research studies (Brown 2014; Gyoh 2015; Tallon 2013; Trewby 2014). Young people's and students' voices have been a particular feature of several studies (Bourn and Brown 2011; Jones 2010; Shultz et al. 2017). Brown's (2015) research has been one of the few studies that have analysed the process of young people's learning about global issues. A significant gap in the research about young people's learning in this area is the journeys they have been on in terms of how their perspectives have changed and evolved over a period of time. As Hudson and Heerde-Hudson (2012) note, there has been a tendency to focus on short-term campaigning and engagement. They observe that a consequence of this is the danger of the learning being a 'mile wide but an inch deep', reflecting a rather superficial engagement with global issues.

The chapters in this part of the book aim to address these questions from different theoretical and methodological approaches and covering differing countries and experiences, by reviewing evidence from research on how young people's and students' views evolved and changed over specific periods of time.

Xi Tao's research was based on following and interviewing a group of students from China while they were studying in the UK for a year and

identifying the extent to which their ideas and outlook changed, looking particularly at the extent to which their perceptions of being a global citizen moved from one of identity to one of social transformation.

Stephanie Mitsuko Kukita's chapter reviews research she conducted with young people and their sense of being global citizens at two distinct times, first as school students and second as university students.

Yvette Allen goes back to themes she identified in her research with young people in Tobago and UK and further interviews young people to ascertain the impact of recent global movements such as Black Lives Matter.

What is particularly important about these three chapters is the recognition that their sense of being global citizens has been a dynamic process, informed by their own personal experiences, the nature of their own education and responses to changing global forces.

The three chapters also show the value of different methodological approaches and theoretical influences. Allen's chapter is a personal reflective piece that revisits a case study through the lens of postcolonialism. Xi Tao's research is influenced by aspects of transformative learning theories and follows a longitudinal study path of interviewing the same group of students three times: at the beginning, during and at the end of their year-long period of studying in the UK. Kukita uses Bronfenbrenner's theories around personal and social development to identify features of progress and change in Japanese young people over a period of five years.

All three chapters demonstrate that young people's and students' increased interest in global and sustainability issues is not some form of short-term fad but is part of a lifelong journey and commitment to seeking a more just world.

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A longitudinal study on Chinese international students' perception of global citizenship during study in the UK

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The purpose of the research discussed in this chapter was to find out the relationship between Chinese students' sense of being global citizens and their study abroad experience. To be more specific, the research focused on Chinese postgraduate students' study period of one academic year and life experience at three prestigious universities in the UK. The following research question informed the research: 'How do study abroad experiences influence Chinese students' perceptions of being global citizens?' Through a longitudinal and qualitative approach, this study aimed to shed light on the changing processes of international students' values and attitudes towards global citizenship, and their understanding of globalisation and sense of self in the globalised world.

Since the beginning of the twenty-first century, one of the most significant factors to influence the landscape of higher education internationalisation has been the dramatic increase in the number of Chinese international students (Esaki-Smith 2020). With a strong belief that overseas education will improve all-round skills, add value to academic qualification, enhance employability and develop a global outlook, more and more Chinese students are eager to engage in study abroad programmes (Zheng 2014). At the macro level, because Chinese overseas returnees have played a major role in its development, China has entered the phase of 'circulation of global talent', which prioritises cultivating university graduates with global competency at the centre of its globalisation strategy and advocates a 'people-centred globalization' (Wang 2019, 218). The construction of a knowledge economy through cultivating global citizens with international study experience has become a trend that China is engaged in to remain as a global force economically, politically and socially.

Although some anti-globalists see the rising number of Chinese students who learn English and study abroad as an assault on China's national culture and autonomy (Wang 2020) or as a threat to Western universities' academic freedom (Altbach 2019), it is widely accepted that the acceleration of globalisation in China has created demand for global citizenship education among university graduates, in order to better understand this ongoing process and their own place in an increasingly globalised world.

The impact of globalisation on Chinese students' international mobility and global citizenship offers great opportunities for research and practice that is no longer limited by national boundaries. This study focuses on Chinese postgraduate students' global citizenship development experience in the UK. In 2021, Chinese students made up the largest group of international students with 143,820 studying in the UK (HESA 2022). This means that China has sent more students to the UK than any other country and Chinese international students have become an important source of income for universities (BBC 2020). The UK has been a popular destination for Chinese students not only because the English language has become the international language of academic and business communication (Altbach 2019), but also for the quality and reputation of the UK's higher education system (Hu 2017). Moreover, the diversity of British society provides a rich cultural experience for cultivating a global outlook and cosmopolitan values (Baker and Fang 2019). There is therefore a potential link between Chinese students' experience in the UK and their development as global citizens.

Literature review

Global citizenship and international mobility

In the current era of globalisation, there is an increasing amount of research and discourse on the relationship between global citizenship and study abroad in the field of international higher education (e.g. Blum and Bourn 2019; Shultz 2012). Dower (2003) states that one of the impacts of globalisation has been the rise in interest in global citizenship within higher education systems worldwide. Bourn (2009) agrees that globalisation is leading to more economic, cultural and social integration, which increases the demand on universities to educate global citizens with the knowledge and values to thrive in a globalised world. Since the beginning of this century, there have been increasing calls to develop the knowledge and capacity of university students to think and

act globally (Lewin 2009). More and more university students are beginning to rethink their identities as global citizens; they value the meaning of global citizenship in different ways and have the knowledge to live in the global community (Rizvi 2007). With many universities articulating the need of internationalising and cultivating global citizens capable of meeting the social, political and economic demands of a more globalised future (Knight 2012), global citizenship education has appeared in universities worldwide in the context of globalisation and internationalisation, and in terms of dramatic shifts in the management, organisation and perceived role of universities (Lilley et al. 2015).

While educating global citizens is frequently expressed as an aim of internationalised higher education, there is little consensus on what a global citizen means conceptually in higher education or how it is implemented from policy to practice (Bourn 2011). Many universities in the world are responding to the demand for global citizenship by recruiting a large number of international students and offering new programmes aimed at enhancing the global employability of their graduates (Shultz 2012). Participating in a study abroad programme is controversially regarded as a pathway to become a global citizen, as the motivation and outcomes of students who take part in international education are highly contested, as are those of the universities themselves (Clifford and Montgomery 2011). For several decades, universities have been operating study abroad programmes with the assumption that simply by living and studying in another country, students could naturally gain intercultural skills, deepen their self-awareness and develop empathy for the injustices in the world (Shultz 2012). Global citizenship development has therefore become a potential outcome of study abroad programmes. However, this deep transformative learning does not happen automatically for many international students (Lilley et al. 2015). Moreover, the meaning of global citizenship is not clearly defined by study abroad providers and nor is it commonly understood by international students (Bourn 2009). The existing ambiguity of interpretation of global citizenship and lack of shared data on international students' learning outcomes make the link between study abroad and global citizenship complicated and uncertain.

Global citizenship through three perspectives

A lack of consensus on the definition of 'global citizenship' allows for different interpretations of what a global citizen is (Hunter 2004). There are three main perspectives in the literature for interpreting global citizenship: neoliberalism, cosmopolitanism and critical pedagogy (Bourn 2011;

Stein 2015). The neoliberal approach towards global citizenship focuses on skills to work in a global economy; the cosmopolitan approach towards global citizenship emphasises universal humanist values; while the critical approach towards global citizenship addresses the linkages between global learning and reflection (Bourn 2016). There is no ‘one-size-fits-all’ approach towards developing global citizenship. Global citizenship education in different approaches can lead to very different types of global citizens. For instance, the neoliberal type of global citizenship development might shape students into productive and competitive employees; cosmopolitan global citizenship development might lead students to become social activists; while critical pedagogy might enable students to reflect on the world’s system. At the same time, global citizenship development is a complex process in which an individual is influenced by interacting variables.

A neoliberal global citizen is educated to be successful in a capitalist society that values individualism, productivity, competition and prosperity. Education aiming to cultivate neoliberal global citizenship focuses on developing students’ international commercial awareness and global competencies. Thus, students are expected to have higher mobility and employability to achieve their values and compete in the global job market (Shultz 2007). While neoliberal global citizenship is essential in a competitive employment market, global citizenship through the lens of cosmopolitanism is beyond the realm of intercultural competency and international employability. According to Nussbaum (2002), students must be taught to recognise similarity and difference; appreciate the increasing interdependencies brought about by greater global interconnectivity; acknowledge they have a moral obligation to both national and international communities; and think beyond the confines of their own national boundaries and learn to engage in the culture of dialogue. In contrast, a critical global citizen is a well-informed and engaged citizen who understands what globalisation means, has the ability to understand and engage with global challenges such as climate change and poverty, develops skills to understand and respect a range of cultures and values, and has the ability to reflect critically upon their own value base (Bourn 2009). Therefore, critical global citizens seek ways to understand the complexity of global power dynamics, establish their own place in the global economic marketplace and work towards advancing the social justice agenda.

Global citizenship for Chinese students

The concept of global citizenship can be traced back to the Chinese traditional ideology of creating an optimal world of great unity, in a cosmopolitan approach dating back 2000 years (Gao 2010). China’s classic values

in relation to global citizenship and cosmopolitanism, such as ‘a world of grand unity’ (Da Tong Shi Jie), ‘all mankind are brothers and sisters’ (Si Hai Jie Xiong Di) and ‘feeling at home everywhere in the world’ (Si Hai Wei Jia), have been widely accepted by Chinese citizens in contemporary society (Fong 2011). In the new era of globalisation and the context of Chinese citizenship in the globalised world, Chinese scholars have made efforts to construct a Chinese version of global citizenship. Wang (2019) proposes that the development of global citizenship among Chinese citizens should uphold three principles: respecting universal human rights, blending nationalism with international democracy, and fostering social participation. Zhao (2013) articulates that Chinese students should be provided with opportunities ‘to develop global awareness and international understanding and prepared to engage in the pursuit of well-being for all worldwide’ (117). Qi and Shen (2015) advocate Chinese citizens to acquire a dual identity as ‘global citizens’ to provide solutions to the ‘burning global issues of the day for the benefit of all mankind in our time’ (267). Indeed, it is crucial to promote global citizenship in China, because only when Chinese students identify themselves as global citizens can they transcend patriotism with openness to other cultures and be aware of their responsibility in the globalised world.

Despite the increasing importance of promoting global citizenship in China, there exists an intrinsic difference in the value and practice of global citizenship between China’s perspective and the Western approach. The distinctive Western characteristic of global citizenship is to awaken individuals’ potential to make a difference at both local and global levels through critical reflection on the impact of globalisation and a ‘willingness to seek a more just and sustainable world’ (Bourn 2018, 288). This contrasts sharply with China’s moral and political-ideological education which ‘emphasize[s] the values of maintaining the social order of loyalty and conformity, rather than the pursuit of social change’ (Zhao 2013, 117). In other words, China’s predominant strategy of unity and harmony in a globalised world (Wang 2019) somehow conflicts with the original ideal of advocating cultural diversity and social justice for global citizenship (Davies 2006). Moreover, Li and Feng (2008) argue that the Chinese value of nationalism, expressed as a collective consciousness and national stability, plays a much more dominant role than global citizenship in China’s civic education agenda. Nevertheless, the accelerated debate on global citizenship for Chinese citizens is inseparable from the context in which China has been increasingly involved in the globalisation process and its vision of globalisation.

China’s vision of globalisation and global citizenship has been depicted as ‘a shared destiny of all mankind’ (China Daily 2017), which

is interpreted by international scholars (Hou 2019; Wang 2019) as transcending the Western-centred globalisation of unequal power distribution and hierarchical hegemony to a world of pluralistic governance and equal participation. Since Chinese President Xi Jinping's keynote speech at the United Nations Summit titled *Work Together to Build a Community with Shared Future for Mankind* in January 2017, the idea has gained international recognition for presenting China's view on globalisation (Xinhua 2018). This vision advocates building a world of 'lasting peace, universal security, common prosperity, openness, tolerance and a clean and beautiful world' (Hou 2019, 413), which the new generation of Chinese university students widely agree are the common values of all mankind (China Daily 2017). In this sense, at the centre of China's version of global citizenship is the pursuit of a mutually beneficial path of development with other countries while sharing common values of peace and respect. It can be assumed that Chinese international students are largely influenced by this sense of global citizenship instead of the Western values of competition, individual freedom and radical social change.

Based on the literature review, there is a gap between understanding Chinese students' perception of global citizenship at different stages of their study abroad programme and what sorts of global citizens they become through international mobility. A longitudinal design of qualitative research is thus needed to explore students' journey of becoming global citizens. The following sections will explain the method of the study and present three types of transformative journey which shaped students' global citizenship development.

Method

To gain a comprehensive insight into Chinese students' journey towards global citizenship development, the research project was designed as a ten-month longitudinal study of Chinese international students who were enrolled in postgraduate courses from September 2019 to July 2020. The participants were 19 Chinese students of different subject areas, including education, science, engineering and business management, from University College London, the University of Reading and the University of Bath. Three sets of interviews were undertaken with each student at the beginning (November 2019), middle (March 2020) and final stage (June 2020) of their programmes, thereby fulfilling the longitudinal basis of this study. The longitudinal research perspective covered the time that students spent in the UK during their university courses,

thereby allowing the students' experiences and change to be examined in greater detail over the entire length of their master's programmes. The approach to analysis was characterised by thematic coding with a focus on understanding the themes and elements in the field of global citizenship from the narrative accounts gathered from the interview data.

The study's longitudinal qualitative design overcomes the general limitations of a quantitative approach, which only indicates outcomes of change in numerical data but not the process and nature of that change (Derrington 2018). The longitudinal nature of this research allowed for an analysis of students' process of self-reflection at three critical points of their journey throughout the whole study abroad programme. While most social studies provide a snapshot describing a phenomenon at the time of the research (Flick 2014), longitudinal studies involve a longer time span and enable the researcher to describe change which is framed by time periods and phases (Saldaña 2003). Such an approach provides rich comparative data to better trace and understand patterns of continuously changing processes. With the awareness that my attention to differences through longitudinal data enables new insights (Neale 2021), my evolving interaction with and understanding of students through time is a major advantage of my qualitative longitudinal methodology.

Findings and discussion

The findings from the interviews show that the study abroad experience, with critical reflection on oneself, others and the world, frequent intercultural communication and proactive social participation, effectively triggers and facilitates global citizenship development. Students' global citizenship development has profound outcomes for their global outlook, career plans, lifestyle, sense of self in the world and social responsibility. However, some students' global citizenship development was limited by their lack of opportunity and interest in expanding their social network. To analyse students' perception of global citizenship, the study interpreted students' view through three lenses (neoliberal, cosmopolitan, critical reflection), which provided an insightful understanding of the ways in which global citizenship is manifested in students' living experience.

Global citizenship for working in a global economy

At the beginning of their study abroad journey, all the students showed a strong intention to increase their employability and competitiveness

after returning to China. Many students used the metaphor of ‘fast track to increase employability’ and ‘shortcut to a better job’ to express their motivation for overseas study. This resonates with some scholars’ conceptualisation of international education as a commodity which enables students to be competitive in the global marketplace (Kraska et al. 2018). Given the reality of China’s economic growth and fierce competition in its job market, it is not surprising that Chinese students were primarily driven by the need to enhance their career development and consolidate their social status. In terms of career development, the growing number of Chinese international students is closely related to the region’s strong cultural belief that the study abroad experience boosts employability (Cai 2008; Wu 2015). The findings confirm that the experience of studying abroad is considered to be essential cultural capital to secure a good position in the workforce. In this sense, my findings echo the statement that ‘international students are becoming more interested in gaining a tangible return on their tuition investment, which can often be measured in their ability to secure employment after graduation’ (Esaki-Smith 2020, 25).

The findings demonstrate that most students felt more confident and advantaged in China’s job market at the end of their master’s programme. The students believed their UK master’s degree served as a ‘signal’ indicating their ability to work in multinational companies and international institutions in China. It can be argued that many students have been transformed into employees qualified to work in multicultural companies in China after studying in the UK. Most of the students saw global citizenship in terms of a global outlook and that the skills they gained from the study abroad programme had directly enhanced their employability, especially enabling them to work in an international context such as within foreign companies and international schools. This finding is in line with the results of a recent large-scale survey by China’s top study abroad agency, New Oriental, which showed that 89 per cent of employers in China agreed that employees with an international education background have a much better chance of being hired and promoted, due to their enhanced professional skills and global mindset to solve problems (New Oriental 2020). The findings also confirmed that more and more employers in China require job candidates to have a global outlook, which can be formed through international experiences such as overseas study and work experience in multinational companies. The desired global outlook in China’s job market was perceived as comprising English skills, intercultural communication skills and problem

solving with critical thinking skills, which is similar to Kraska et al.'s (2018) perception of what international employers defined as a global outlook.

According to the literature review, neoliberalism has been a dominant force within international mobility. My findings offer some insights as to how the values of capitalism have influenced Chinese students' global citizenship development. When some students spoke about what is a global citizen, they cited international businessmen such as Jack Ma and Bill Gates as their role models, because contemporary Chinese society is largely influenced by the neoliberal idea of 'money is power'. This appeared to be the case for Li and Feng (2008, 159), who linked global citizenship to 'the capability of getting a top-paid job in global mega companies'. It seemed that all the students who showed a strong sense of neoliberalism in relation to global citizenship were male students who considered increasing employability as their primary goal of overseas study. In contrast, there was no female student who viewed global citizenship in terms of making money and competing globally. This phenomenon could be explained by Hu's (2017) argument that Chinese female international students value the gain of acculturation more than capitalisation due to China's traditional view that men have more financial responsibility than women. It can be noted however that most Chinese female students did not view global citizenship primarily through a neoliberal lens which associates global citizenship with the concept of a 'global elite' with the power and privilege to benefit from better job positions and social class.

It is also important to note that more than half of the Chinese students had the hope of being able to work in the UK after graduation and were disappointed that they had no such opportunity at the end of their postgraduate programme. As literature on Chinese international students (e.g. Mok et al. 2021; Wu 2015) has explained, this desire is rooted in China's job market, which values not only overseas degrees but also work experience abroad. In contrary to Rizvi's (2007) assertion that Western universities focus on producing 'global workers' with the knowledge, skills and attitudes for employment worldwide, Chinese students found that British universities failed to provide them with relevant knowledge and platforms to secure work opportunities outside China. In this sense, the study abroad experience might not transform Chinese students into 'global workers' but instead into 'more competitive employees in China'. In other words, with the global skills of intercultural communication, critical thinking and adaptability, the students felt they were well prepared for the complexity and fast-changing economy of China, yet

they were not adequately able to be granted a work visa in Western countries. At this point, as a few students reflected, unlike Western graduates who can find jobs anywhere in the world, Chinese international students cannot be truly global citizens unless they have the right and choice to work globally.

From the literature review and my findings, it became apparent that Chinese students expected to improve their global citizenship in terms of global outlook and intercultural competence beyond international employability since the beginning of their international journey. This can lead to a contradiction where universities only recognise international students' economic and marketing potential while failing to offer the appropriate support to improve their study abroad experience. This results in a negative change in their global outlook and perceived quality of education abroad. The negative change in global outlook occurs because of the students' unwillingness to immerse themselves in the host country and change their perspectives. Moreover, the universities and job market tend to place economic value on being global citizens. Accordingly, many Chinese students view global citizenship and global outlook as forming a narrow elitist approach. This negativity may have a long-term impact on the students' worldview and international awareness after they return to China. As such, some Chinese students might misunderstand or ignore global citizenship during their study abroad journey and professional life.

Global citizenship for social engagement

When asked about their interpretation of what a global citizen is, 'openness and inclusiveness' were the most-quoted global citizenship values among the Chinese students. All the students appeared to display a common-sense approach to cosmopolitanism in relation to mutual understanding and respect. This is in line with Appiah's (2007) consideration of cosmopolitanism as a moral value which promotes a sense of understanding otherness and the ethic of co-existence. Many students quoted the concept of 'community of a shared future for mankind' as China's vision of global citizenship. The students emphasised their sense of a 'collective responsibility' for everyone in the world. This responsibility included the need to treat people the same way they want to be treated, a sense of the possibility of unity, active participation and social engagement, and a need to protect the environment. The students' reflection on their journey of building connections with global society as the cosmopolitan value of global citizenship stands in opposition to

neoliberal forces of individualism and competition and creates a sense of belonging and unity within a global community.

In the cosmopolitan approach to global citizenship discussed in the literature review, the main purpose of global citizenship development is to transform students' perspectives from nationalism and ethnocentrism into an awareness of cultural pluralism (Strange and Gibson 2017). The findings indicate that Chinese students not only benefit the UK's economy as consumers of international higher education, but also contribute to British society through actively engaging in cultural exchange and community service, such as through participating in volunteer work, teaching Chinese, joining students' unions, attending local churches and taking part in protests. These findings in relation to Chinese students' social engagement confirm with Gu and Schweisfurth's (2015) perception that one of the most profound changes that Chinese international students undergo through studying in the UK is their enhanced cosmopolitan values and competencies. Indeed, most students made an effort to demonstrate their shifted cosmopolitan values as a deeper understanding of other cultures and willingness to step outside their previous worldview. The cosmopolitan values gained by Chinese students can be manifested, as Bourn (2018, 125) notes, as 'a sense of solidarity and empathy with people elsewhere in the world, to move consciously from a narrow, nationalistic and inward-looking view of the world'.

It is also notable that, although the Chinese students became more open and empathetic towards cosmopolitan others, they still preferred to befriend and felt more comfortable with their Chinese peers. In this case, most students still have a stronger sense of their Chinese identity than a feeling of belonging to a global community. Compared with Western students who have been shown to gain 'cosmopolitan hospitality' through the study abroad experience (Lilley et al. 2015, 237), the Chinese students did not display an increasing willingness towards being hospitable to foreigners they met in the UK. On the contrary, the students found that they much preferred to stay with other Chinese students, although they did not mind communicating with foreigners occasionally. As such, the Chinese students hardly established deep connections and friendships with others who did not speak Chinese. As they noted, this might be due to the 'very different culture and social structure of China' and 'isolated media platforms in China', making Chinese students lack common interests and shared topics with people outside China. However, a few Chinese students still managed to maintain meaningful connections with non-Chinese people. For instance, Chu, who only socialised with non-Chinese students, 'found true love and connection' with her British

boyfriend who she met at her university. In contrast to most students who felt they always belong to the Chinese social group, those few students who found deep connections with non-Chinese people demonstrated their cosmopolitan value of 'belonging to everywhere'.

Global citizenship for making sense of the globalised world

Apart from enhanced employability and intercultural competency, my findings demonstrate that gaining consciousness of critical thinking is the main impact of study abroad in students' personal and professional lives. This type of critical consciousness, as described by Dirkx (1998), enables students to analyse, evaluate, question and challenge the social, cultural, political and economic conditions that influence their lives. According to Paulo Freire (1970), this process of raising consciousness facilitates students' understanding of existing social structures and transforms how they sense themselves and the world, thereby enabling them to make better sense of the globalised world.

The findings show that the students' approach towards sensing and making meaning of the globalised world was facilitated by confronting different perspectives through intercultural communication, participating in social activities and the use of global media. While there is a similarity between Chinese international students' and Western sojourners' critical reflections on global citizenship in respect of understanding the complexity and interconnection of globalisation, there are remarkable distinctions in Chinese students' sense of themselves in the world and their views of the structure of the world. The students described their realisation that the variety and complexity of the world is much greater than they could imagine when they were in China's homogenous society. Through encountering people from different backgrounds and assessing global media, the students comprehended the diversity and multiplicity of others in respect of knowledge, perspectives, languages, religions, customs and so on. Indeed, global citizenship can be demonstrated as the students' awareness and reflection of themselves, the world and their place within it (Kraska et al. 2018). Lilley et al. (2015) also viewed criticality, relationality and reflexivity as essential cognitive and moral capacities for students to engage in the 'interconnected nature of a globalized existence' (227). Indeed, many students demonstrated a shift from dualistic epistemologies to critical reflection on difference in cultural, social and political systems.

The findings from the interviews offer strong evidence that at the end of their study abroad journey, the participants claimed they had critically reflected on their own values and perspectives, sensed the

interdependency of globalisation, explored the possibility of social activism, and developed their own position and new identity in the globalised world. This is in line with Bourn's (2018) description of the key elements of global learning for social change, which embodies a critical approach for global citizenship. The students challenged their previous knowledge of China's society and their views on the Western world. Many students reported their changed conception of political participation and opinions on democracy. Some students posed questions and criticised the Western-centric values of democracy and individual freedom. They argued that there were many drawbacks of Western political systems, which they used to assume was superior to China's communist values. At the same time, they also recognised the problem of China's ruling system which suppressed freedom of speech and inhibited the use of global media. Those changes took place when students sensed the possibility of expressing their own voice on social conflict, such as getting their tuition fees refunded during Covid-19. Some students became involved in active debates on a range of controversial global issues.

In accordance with Paulo Freire's (1970) advocacy of learning as emancipatory and liberating, the students demonstrated a change in ontology whereby they reconstructed their identity as overseas returners with a global outlook; in epistemology they perceived the complexity of the world around them; in praxis they proactively participated in social movements. In other words, through the approach of critical reflection and activism, the students became a new form of global citizens who represent China's unique tradition to participate in a global society. Moreover, as the students addressed, this transformation was not contradictory to their Chinese citizenship, but deepened their sense of being responsible Chinese citizens who should 'make China better understood by the world and Chinese better understand the world'. Moreover, the evidence of Chinese students' passion and efforts in relation to social justice and activism was an unanticipated finding. Some scholars (Kraska et al. 2018) explained that students' critical reflections on their position in the world at large can trigger a sense of responsibility within them to act both individually and collectively for global justice.

Conclusion and recommendations

Through studying abroad, the Chinese students showed a strong desire and demand to become global citizens who are able to learn, communicate and participate in an increasingly interconnected world. However,

there are very few studies on Chinese international students' global citizenship development. This research explored the impact of international mobility on Chinese sojourners' perspective of global citizenship, which enables them to think and act as global citizens. The findings demonstrate that the experience of studying in the UK could potentially have transformed the participants into various types of global citizens in relation to neoliberalism and cosmopolitanism, with strong critical reflection skills. The findings suggest that global citizenship in terms of global outlook and global skills was highly valued by the Chinese students and employers in China. Overseas study was deemed to be an effective way to gain such a form of global citizenship. The experience abroad not only provided students with neoliberal values of employability and competitive advantages, but also with cosmopolitan skills of social engagement and critical reflection on their own place in the world. All three aspects of global citizenship play important roles in students' personal and professional development.

The research shows that the Chinese students' perception of global citizenship is not only rooted in the Chinese traditional value of social harmony that embraces interdependence and collective consciousness, but is also influenced by the contemporary values of cosmopolitanism and neoliberalism. On one hand, this cohort of Chinese international students has benefitted from international mobility with the belief that globalisation has brought them opportunities and a new vision to live a successful and contented life. The Chinese young generation also showed their expectation to live in a world of inclusiveness and diversity. On the other hand, the participants also experienced an anti-globalisation and nationalist tendency amid Covid-19. The combination of global and national identity gained complexity as they perceived the shortcomings of globalisation and increased state control (Wang 2020). This ambiguity is leading to more challenges and debates in the internationalisation of higher education about what type of global citizens this world truly needs and who Chinese students could possibly become. Facing this challenge, universities play a critical role, beyond teaching knowledge and issuing degrees, in offering opportunities for both home and international students to share the value of mutual understanding and respect, to develop different perspectives and to find their place in the world.

Through exploring Chinese students' perspectives, I see global citizenship as a form of inclusiveness and critical reflection which transcends prejudice, neoliberalism and ethnocentrism. It is not just passive tolerance of otherness or unjustified acceptance of existing systems, but a proactive embracing of the differences in ourselves and others, as well

as taking responsibility for social change. Chinese international students are bringing diversity to host countries and a global outlook to their home country, and thus have the potential power to call for a change in the collective consciousness of global society to treat them with respect and a sense of inclusiveness. As my findings advocate, it is not just Chinese students that need global citizenship, but also people around them in host universities and wider society. Therefore, I argue that international students are not only sources of financial income in the global higher education system, but also sociocultural resources for people in both host and home countries to gain global awareness and practise social justice. I envision a sustainable future where international sojourners become one of the major drives for higher education systems and global society to develop towards a harmonious, just and inclusive world.

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Personalised and dynamic: life experiences tailor how young people engage locally and globally

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Fostering so-called *global citizens* has become an area of interest for many schools and institutions as the world increasingly confronts various challenges which require more collaborative efforts across all fronts. This chapter examines how young people engage with their local, national and global communities to better inform ways in which schools can help foster such individuals. The study consisted of one-on-one interviews with a group of young people in Japan, both during and after they had graduated from senior high school. The interview questions sought to more holistically identify factors influencing young people's cognitive, socio-emotional and behavioural engagements by incorporating Urie Bronfenbrenner's *Process-Person-Context-Time* (PPCT) framework. The findings from the study suggest the importance of constructing global citizenship education (GCE) programmes which are tailored to each student's personalised and dynamic life experiences as a way to more effectively nurture individuals who can 'sustainably' contribute to the wider world.

Background of the study

How we foster such global citizens has been an ongoing question, especially since the term itself carries multiple meanings and nuances (I. Davies et al. 2018; Gaudelli 2016; Jooste and Heleta 2017; Sant et al. 2018). Although educational institutions may declare they are providing GCE, the complexity of researching GCE lies in the variation seen within its pedagogical approaches (e.g. L. Davies 2006), which could potentially lead to differences in student outcomes, or the type of *global citizens* fostered. Hence, a global citizen fostered at one school may not

necessarily have the same qualities as a global citizen fostered at another school. Therefore, there is a need to view GCE not as a unified approach, but a compilation of pluralistic approaches, and to examine how different approaches may possibly lead to varying learner outcomes. Moreover, much research on GCE has been conceptual, mainly discussing ‘what it *should* mean for young people to engage with global issues’ (Bourn and Brown 2011, 6; emphasis in the original text), with less focus placed on understanding *how* learners acquire the knowledge, skills and characteristics necessary to contributively engage as individuals with their local, national and global communities. It is not the purpose of this chapter to define the various forms of global citizenship that exist, but rather, through examining *how* young people engage with their communities and various aspects of life and society, it aims to better understand the different ways in which young people cultivate characteristics that are seen to be associated with the notion of global citizenship; this, in turn, could inform GCE practices.

Forms of engagement as global citizens

First of all, what does it mean to *engage* as a global citizen? Some would argue that a global citizen does not necessarily need to take any form of action; rather, global citizenship is perceived to be a legal status or right, similar to that obtained through national citizenship, but at the global level (Dower 2000; Heater 1999; Held 2005; Parekh 2003). However, others would argue that it is necessary for a global citizen to make conscious efforts to perceive themselves as part of a common humanity (Heater 1999; Parekh 2003; Parmenter 2011). Others would further argue that a proactive dimension in which individuals take tangible actions within their communities is necessary to be considered an *engaged* global citizen (Oxfam 2015; UNESCO 2014). According to UNESCO (2015), there are largely three dimensions, or areas of engagement, in which global citizenship is discussed within the literature: (1) *cognitive*, (2) *socio-emotional* and (3) *behavioural*. Broadly, the cognitive dimension pertains to the knowledge and skills an individual should have as a global citizen; the socio-emotional pertains to the values and attitudes one should have; and the behavioural pertains to the actions one should take as a global citizen. Although there are varying debates as to what each of these dimensions should entail, these dimensions illustrate how engagement as a global citizen does not only include tangible actions such as acquiring awareness of global issues (i.e. *cognitive*) and participating in

volunteer activities (i.e. *behavioural*), but it could also include less tangible actions pertaining to one's mindset and perspectives of the world (i.e. *socio-emotional*).

Bronfenbrenner's Process-Person-Context-Time (PPCT) framework

In examining *how* young people engage with various societal activities that are associated with global citizenship, it is also necessary to examine the various factors that encourage and/or discourage individuals to engage in such activities. According to Urie Bronfenbrenner's bioecological model, it is difficult to understand an individual's human behaviour in isolation without examining it in relation to various contexts in which the individual resides (Bronfenbrenner 1977). These contexts, or systems, could range from the (1) *microsystem*, which includes the direct and immediate impacts from the environment, to the (2) *mesosystem*, which includes the impacts from the ways in which people in the immediate environment (i.e. *microsystem*) interact or behave, to the (3) *exosystem*, which includes the direct or indirect impacts from people who do not reside within the individual's immediate environment (e.g. neighbourhood, parents' workplace), to the (4) *macrosystem*, which includes the ideological and cultural impacts that shape how the individual thinks and interacts. The bioecological model over the years expanded to include (5) the *chronosystem*, which includes the impacts from the historical timeframe in which the individual lives as well as those accumulated over time, indicating the 'continuity and change' observed in human development (Bronfenbrenner and Morris 2006, 793; Bronfenbrenner 1977).

According to the properties of Bronfenbrenner's bioecological model, known as the 'Process-Person-Context-Time' (PPCT) model, not only do the above various *contexts* impact an individual's developmental trajectory, but the disposition, resources and demand of the individual (i.e. *person*), the *time* or timing in which various interactions occur, and the *process*, or outcomes of the interactions, could also shape individuals' perceptions and behaviour in given environments (Bronfenbrenner and Morris 2006). In thinking about how educators can assist young people to develop into individuals who can contribute to their local, national and/or global communities, it is therefore vital to not only investigate the impacts of traditional educational environments but also to examine those outside of the classroom to identify more holistically effective approaches to GCE.

Overview of research study

This study, therefore, sought to examine PPCT elements that could encourage or discourage young people's cognitive, socio-emotional and/or behavioural engagements with societal issues happening in their local, national and/or global communities. More specifically, the study was executed within a Japanese context and utilised a mixed methods approach involving both the collection of survey questionnaire and interview responses, of which this chapter focuses on introducing the latter. Student interviews were conducted in Japanese, and the responses introduced here have been translated into English. Furthermore, to identify the developmental *continuities and changes* that young people experience over time, participants were interviewed in two phases: (1) between August 2014 and February 2015 when they were all Year 2 students in senior high school, and (2) four years later between May and September 2018. A total of 22 students from two private and two public senior high schools located in Tokyo and neighbouring prefectures (i.e. Chiba and Saitama) participated in the first phase of interviews, while six of the students who participated in the first phase participated in a follow-up interview that took place in the second phase of the study.

Findings

As Bronfenbrenner's PPCT model indicates, the findings from this study also suggest that contextual factors could influence young people's engagement pathways with their local, national and/or global communities. The subsequent sections provide an overview of the findings from the student interviews.

Contextual factors influencing connection to place

In the first phase of interviews, students were asked to indicate geographical locations that they felt *mijika*, or close to – first on a map of Japan, followed by a map of the world. Many students, when given a map of Japan, circled areas in which they resided or frequently travelled to, which were often places that were physically close to them. Nevertheless, many students also circled areas that were not necessarily physically close but were thought to be emotionally close to them through their existing relationships with people residing in those places, such as grandparents,

relatives and/or friends. There were also some students who indicated places where they did not necessarily have any acquaintances but which they had personally travelled to or heard about through others as *mijika*. For example, two students mentioned that the Tohoku area where the Great Northeastern Japan Earthquake hit in 2011 was an area that they frequently thought about and felt close to since it was frequently spotlighted by the media.

Likewise, when students were provided with a map of the world, many expressed that they felt close to locations outside of Japan because they had relatives or friends residing there, had previously travelled to the place, or had been introduced by others to the place. Similar to the responses provided when given a map of Japan, geographical distance was not necessarily a factor that provoked students to feel *mijika* to a place. For example, a student shared, 'it does not have to be here, but wherever the person I meet is from, I think that becomes local', indicating, again, that whether one feels close to a place could also be determined by the relationship an individual has with the people residing there.

Nevertheless, what became evident through the process of asking students to mark areas they felt *mijika*, or close to, on a map of Japan followed by a map of the world was that contextual factors could influence whether one feels close to a place. Although all students who participated in the interview only mentioned that they felt *mijika* to a few locations in Japan when given a map of Japan, when they were given a map of the world, almost all of the students claimed that they felt close to Japan as a whole. For example, a student mentioned the following:

Well, it's the country I live in and compared with other countries, I absolutely ... well I know about my country, and when looking at it within the entire world, I feel that Japan, compared with other countries, is close to me.

Therefore, whether a student feels *mijika* to a place may not necessarily be static but could potentially change depending on the context in which the place is referred to.

Contextual factors influencing priorities for local/global action

Additionally, in the first phase of interviews, students were asked to indicate whether they would choose to first resolve local issues or global issues. *Local* issues were defined as issues happening where students

were residing, while *global* issues were defined as issues happening in other countries which may or may not involve issues happening in Japan. Among those who responded that they would initially prioritise resolving local issues, many indicated that they would do so because local issues have a more direct influence or relevance to their lives. There were also students who indicated that they would choose to prioritise the resolution of local issues over global issues because they felt that by resolving issues on a smaller scale at the local level, it would eventually lead to resolving issues on a global scale. For example, a student noted the following:

I think I would choose local. I think the world is too large of a scale that I can't relate to it. Since I am present in the local, issues feel closer to me and it is easier for me to know what the issues are. I think we should make changes from here, and, but not to seclude myself to the local, but be in touch with others in our surroundings, and for everyone to make changes in their local. And since there are many locals around the world, we each collaborate with one another to make changes that spread throughout.

Meanwhile, many students who indicated that they would prioritise resolving global issues mentioned that they would do so because global issues are more dire and would influence a greater number of people:

I think global issues. The issues that the world carries are more dire compared to the issues that Japan carries. So, I think [resolving global issues] is important.

Even if an incident occurs within the country, there are only a few people who die compared to the world, when one incident could easily kill 100 or 200 thousand. I just think it is wrong for people to die and so I feel after resolving those issues, well, I think then we can help resolve the small issues.

However, it became apparent that, for some students, the reasons for prioritising the resolution of local or global issues were dependent on the circumstances they were placed in. In the interview, students were also asked the following: *how about if you were living overseas, would you choose to resolve issues happening where you are living (overseas) or a global (international) issue that may be also influencing people living in Japan?* Although most students did not alter their choices of whether to

prioritise the resolution of local or global issues, for some students, the reasons for why they would prioritise their choice somewhat altered. For instance, a student initially shared that he would prioritise the resolution of global issues because it would help a greater number of people. However, when provided with a context of living overseas, although his choice for prioritising global issues did not change, his reasons reflected his desire to solve global issues, not to help a greater number of people, but because it could potentially involve Japan. He expressed that by living overseas he would feel nostalgic about Japan and as a 'Japanese' he would feel it necessary to solve issues that pertained to his home country. Therefore, as illustrated above, young people's motives for action could potentially alter depending on the circumstances they are placed in.

Contextual factors influencing engagement pathways

The follow-up interviews which were conducted four to five years after the first phase of interviews further showed how contextual factors could influence the ways in which young people engage cognitively, socio-emotionally and/or behaviourally with societal issues, especially as observed over time. The following sections introduce the stories of Shota, Takumi, Ryota, Kazuki, Daichi and Misaki, who were interviewed in both the first and second phase of the study.

Shota and Takumi. When interviewed in the first phase, Shota and Takumi were attending the same senior high school as Year 2 students. They were very close friends who participated together in various volunteer activities, mainly in their local communities but also in other parts of Japan. As an example, during their second year of high school, they participated in a five-day disaster relief activity in Northeastern Japan where the earthquake and tsunami hit in March 2011. According to Takumi, their class was supposed to take a graduation trip to Thailand to learn about issues surrounding street children, but due to the instability of the country, the trip was cancelled and therefore, Shota and Takumi decided to participate in the disaster relief activity in Northeastern Japan. Regarding this, Takumi shared:

Well, it is difficult to find activities around street children in Japan, but we wanted to participate in activities related to societal issues, so we were trying to find a good place to go, and since there were no adults who could come with us, we thought in Japan, since Northeastern Japan suffered from a natural disaster, we thought we should go there.

Takumi's comment shows how, regardless of whether they were to take part in the volunteer activity in Thailand or in Northeastern Japan, their motive to participate was based on their desire to help people who were suffering.

Likewise, their motives for participating in volunteer activities did not seem to change when they were interviewed five years later as university students. At the time of the follow-up interview, they were both involved in building a library for an orphanage in Cambodia. Although their intentions to help those in need were the same, what was noteworthy from their interviews was that the root of their inspiration to be involved in the project was different. Takumi shared how he met a schoolteacher in Cambodia who wanted to create a reading environment for his students since he did not have the opportunity to read many books growing up due to financial difficulties. Also having experienced financial difficulties, Takumi was inspired by the schoolteacher to build a library:

I was deeply impressed with his words, especially since if I also did not have the money, or such a system to receive [a] scholarship did not exist, I would not have been able to receive an education. I think education is something that can be opened for everyone, and how that person had the fervour to provide education for those in poverty, I just felt the same way, and we were like let's do something together!

Meanwhile, Shota mentioned that he became interested in resolving issues of poverty when he learned about them in his English class and that was what inspired him to take part in the library project in Cambodia. Although both Shota and Takumi's engagement with societal issues did not change over time, their stories showed that there could be different factors that encourage young people to participate, even in the same activity. Hence, in thinking about GCE, there is a need to think about various ways to encourage young people to participate in societal activities that are tailored to their interests and life experiences.

Ryota. When interviewed in the first phase, Ryota was a Year 2 student at a senior high school. During that time, he was involved in various volunteer activities in his local community, including teaching mathematics at an elementary school, joining community clean-up activities as well as activities at an elderly care facility. When asked why he was involved in such activities, Ryota shared that he 'wanted to do something

that will help his local community' but also noted that he was involved in these activities to figure out his future career path.

Similarly, when Ryota was interviewed five years later as a university student, he was still engaged in several volunteer activities. However, in comparing his motives behind participating in these activities with those of Shota and Takumi, Ryota seemed to more frequently express how these activities were a means for him to personally gain various experiences for his future as opposed to a sole desire to help others. When he was interviewed in phase two of the study, he noted how he 'got into a terrible university that [he] did not want to go to' and, therefore, felt the need to gain as much experience as possible through different means as a way to make up for his disadvantage. For example, since he entered college, he studied to gain various certificates (e.g. domestic travelling management, secretary certificate), studied abroad in Thailand, took part in four club activities of which he took on leadership roles in two, and worked part-time jobs while attending school. As a third-year college student, he noted, 'I have been continuing all my endeavours without any change.' Ryota's story illustrates how, although engaged in various societal activities, people could have different motives for participating in such activities. In thinking about GCE, this could mean that solely looking at the frequency of participating in volunteer activities may not necessarily be an indicator of engagement as a global citizen, and there is a need to understand the reasons for why students participate in various activities. Additionally, it could also mean that there are different ways in which we need to encourage young people to participate in societal activities depending on what motivates their engagement.

Kazuki and Daichi. When Kazuki and Daichi were interviewed in the first phase of the study, they were both Year 2 students attending the same senior high school and were actively participating in various volunteer activities as core members of the student government. Nevertheless, when they were interviewed five years later in the second phase of the study, they were both no longer engaged in such activities.

First, Kazuki became a firefighter after he graduated from senior high school. When asked if he was still engaged in volunteer activities, he noted how he had been busy with work so he had not been able to participate in such activities. Moreover, his cognitive engagement with societal issues also changed. For example, when interviewed as a high school student, he expressed his interest in poverty issues in Cambodia. However, when interviewed five years later, he indicated that his interests had

shifted from global issues to local issues, as it was necessary for him to be knowledgeable about what was happening in his local community as a firefighter:

After all, again it goes back to work, but it is important to know about my local community for work. Like, for example, for work, if there is suddenly a fire, it may not necessarily be in an area that I've been before, so in order to eliminate areas that I've never been to, it would be helpful for my work to know like the characteristics about my local community.

Meanwhile, Daichi when interviewed in the second phase of the study was a university student in the faculty of pharmacy. Like Kazuki, Daichi also mentioned that he no longer was engaged with volunteer activities. Nonetheless, the reasons for why he was no longer engaged in such activities were different from those of Kazuki. As a university student, Daichi joined a club for pharmacy students and as a core member was busy planning for social events such as a cherry blossom viewing in the spring or a snowboarding trip in the winter for students in the club to get to know one another. When asked why he was no longer involved in volunteer activities, he indicated that he wanted to *have fun*:

Well, after getting into college, there were clubs [that did volunteer activities], but rather than those, well, since I've experienced that in high school, I wanted to do as I please and do something fun.

Kazuki and Daichi's stories illustrate how one's cognitive and behavioural engagement could change over time depending on life circumstances and that the frequency of participation in volunteer activities at one point in time may not necessarily be an indicator of one's level of participation at another point in time.

Misaki. When interviewed in the first phase of the study, Misaki was a Year 2 student, while when interviewed in the second phase, she was a university student majoring in international relations. Unlike the other students who were interviewed in both the first and second phase of the study, Misaki, in both phases, was not engaged in any volunteer activities. She mentioned that the *distance* she needed to travel to participate in volunteer activities as well as the *time* it would consume hindered her involvement.

Although she was not engaged in behavioural activities which are typically linked to higher levels of global citizenship, the changes in

perceptions that she had over the years are noteworthy to highlight. For instance, as part of her university programme, she studied abroad in the United States as well as visiting Vietnam and Taiwan. Although she did not travel for the purposes of engaging in volunteer activities, she noted how these life experiences enabled her to widen her views of the world.

I think I have changed [since high school]. Hmm ... what has changed ... I think I've widened my perspectives with regards to my career as well as I think my interests have also grown.

Misaki's story shows how, although there may not necessarily be changes in one's behavioural engagement, there could be changes over time in one's cognitive engagement that pertain to the notion of global citizenship.

Conclusion

The findings from this study suggest the importance of understanding the influence of individual-specific contextual factors on learners' pathways of engagement, as highlighted within Bronfenbrenner's PPCT framework. First, the situational contexts that students were placed in – that is, whether they were asked to mark geographical areas they felt *mijika* to on a map of Japan or map of the world, or asked about their priorities of resolving local or global issues if residing in Japan or overseas – were found to alter student responses. That is, there were students who expressed greater attachment to Japan when they were situated within the context of the world in comparison to when they were situated within the Japanese context. Second, students could have varying motives and be inspired through different means to engage cognitively, socio-emotionally and behaviourally with their communities, depending on their personal life journeys or the interactions (i.e. *processes*) they have had with the various systems ranging from the micro to the chronosystem. Third, students' forms of engagement with their communities are dynamic – that is, students may be engaged in activities at one point in time but may not necessarily be engaged at another point in time, or vice versa, depending on the context their personal life journeys take them, indicating the influence of *time* within the PPCT framework. Therefore, with regard to GCE, what may be assumed as best practice may not be as effective for *all* learners, and therefore this study suggests the importance of taking into consideration individual learner *contexts* when thinking

about implementing GCE. It also suggests the importance of finding ways in which we can foster *sustainable* global citizens, who positively engage with their local, national and global communities, not just at one point in time but more continuously throughout their lives. Moreover, the narratives collected from the one-on-one interviews, which enabled this study to identify the contextual nuances present in the various forms of engagement students had with their local and global communities, illustrate the importance of incorporating qualitative approaches to inform GCE research and practice.

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Global citizenship and inequality: voices of Caribbean young people in London and Tobago

Yvette Allen

The aim of this chapter is to revisit earlier research from my doctoral studies on young people's perceptions of being global citizens in Tobago and the UK. This chapter also builds on an earlier publication that included some reflections on the original research (Allen 2020). It is consciously polemical and contemplative, as it examines Caribbean young people's perception of global citizenship, particularly within the contemporary context of recent global events. Several young people who were engaged in my initial research were reinterviewed with the purpose of ascertaining the extent to which their views have changed.

The starting point for this chapter is the principal findings of the original study, where pupils (aged 15–18 years) of Caribbean heritage, although not familiar with the term global citizenship, were sympathetic to its aims. They viewed global citizenship as something empowering and life-transforming with possible opportunities for increasing social/cultural capital and economic mobility/development; however, their exposure to the global dimension and any structured global learning within education was very limited. Their responses also indicated a preoccupation with their day-to-day experiences (within their local and national communities) and how these experiences numbed their ability to relate to and engage with global social issues (poverty, environmental issues). Nevertheless, their collective voices highlighted inequality and exclusion from a supposedly all-embracing and inclusive concept of global citizenship.

This chapter therefore provides a continued examination of Caribbean young people's understanding of global citizenship. This follow-up research with young people provided the basis for a re-examination of their positionally within a global context.

Theoretical framework and methodology

Globalisation theory had informed my original research alongside post-colonialism. Both theories enabled the research to be informed by the experiences of young people, their sense of place and the impact of the legacies of colonialism and imperialism. A discussion on global citizenship provided the basis for young people to explore their place in the world.

Global citizenship has been described in a number of ways including focusing on one's identity, as well as active social engagement (Bourn 2020). There are a range of perspectives in the literature and a recognition of pluralistic views. For example, there are a number of typologies (Oxley and Morris 2013) and two main strands – global consciousness and global competencies (Dill 2013). Baillie Smith (2014, 486) suggests that learners who engage with global citizenship education are more susceptible to consider their own position and role, consequently stimulating self-reflexivity and critical thinking.

Reflection is commonly used within many professions to improve practice; however, there are various versions of reflection theory. Sawyers (1983) suggested four models – empiricist, rationalist, idealist and materialist. Gibbs (1988) and Kolb (1984) developed models which focused on reflection as part of experiential learning, while Locke (Putnam 1978) argued that our ideas reflect actual things that exist and there was a connection between the mental and physical. Dewey (1933, 118) described reflection as a rationalised process, where there is 'an active, persistent and careful consideration of any belief or supposed form of knowledge in the light of the grounds that support it and further conclusion to which it leads'. Reflective theory is usually related to personal learning and the reflection is a deliberate and active process. This is where reflective practice is more concerned about increasing self-awareness, emotional intelligence and developing better understanding.

This chapter has been influenced by the work of Andreotti (2006), who encourages us to adopt a more critical approach to global citizenship and to apply a postcolonial critique when examining the complex role of the West and Global North. This reflective study provided an opportunity to revisit Caribbean young people's views on global citizenship and their personal positioning regarding recent global events.

As this chapter is a revisitation and reflection of the initial study, qualitative methods were again deployed. On this occasion, a very small sample of six young people (three in London and three in Tobago)

participated in individual semi-structured interviews. The participants were:

1. Male, aged 26, Tobago
2. Female, aged 22, Tobago
3. Male, aged 23, Tobago
4. Male, aged 27, London
5. Female, aged 24, London
6. Male, aged 25, London

All participants were asked six questions, and the first four questions were the same as in the initial study; however, two questions were added to explore the participants' perceptions on recent global issues and the possibility of any personal impact.

1. *Have you heard of the term global citizen? What does this term mean to you?*
2. *Do you consider yourself to be a global citizen? Give reasons for your answer.*
3. *Do you think there are advantages/benefits of being a global citizen? If so, what?*
4. *Do you think if a Caribbean young person viewed themselves as a global citizen, it could have an impact on their aspirations and motivation? Give reasons for your answer.*
5. *Have any of the recent global events (George Floyd's murder, Covid-19, Russia's invasion of Ukraine, etc.) had an impact on you? If so, describe how.*
6. *Do you think Caribbean young people engage with global events differently from young people from other racial/cultural groups? Give reasons for your answer.*

The final question addressed engagement with global issues and if being part of a racial group influenced this engagement. One question from the initial study was omitted, as it sought pupils' opinions about their school being involved in a global school-link. As the participants in this study did not attend school, this question was no longer relevant. To avoid bureaucracy and with a relatively short completion time, the participants in this sample were older than the participants in the initial study but would still be considered a young person/young adult. All interviews were conducted via WhatsApp video, which was recorded and transcribed, and open-coded thematic analysis was used to analyse the data.

Findings

As this is a reflective chapter, a revisit of the initial questions was necessary (explored in my thesis and discussed in Allen 2020). Therefore, the main themes in this chapter are the same. However, what emerged from the initial study was a disconnect between young people of Caribbean heritage and aspects of global citizenship, particularly, ‘concern for others’ (Dower 2003). For some of the initial respondents, there was a focus on personal survival and although some of them had an awareness of global events, they felt powerless, as they did not believe they could contribute in any meaningful way to global issues, which at some point could have an impact and possible consequences for them (as part of an increasingly interconnected world). The follow-up research outlined in this chapter provided an opportunity for the young people to briefly discuss their relationship with global events and their views on global citizenship. Again, it was interesting to observe if global citizenship was as how Balarin (2014, 48) described it, avoiding the ‘harsh realities in which marginalized citizens shape their imagination of citizenship in ways that contradict with the ideals of the global citizen’.

Global citizenship

In Allen (2020), the pupils in Tobago did not relate to the concept of global citizenship and they had little or no exposure to global learning. Their interaction with the global community was mainly through social media. On this occasion, although social media continued to play an important role, four out of the six respondents felt comfortable with identifying as a global citizen and justified their positions by providing anecdotes which illustrated their experiences of social media (being involved in campaigns), international travel (including volunteering) and having links with other countries. For example, Female, 22 (Tobago) happily stated she had been ‘sharing posts on social media about lending support to people in Ukraine’. Male, 23 (Tobago) was grateful that ‘Social media has opened the door’ for him and he had travelled to a few countries and Male, 25 (London) had spent a bit of time volunteering abroad and this experience opened his eyes to the value of travel where he had met people from different backgrounds and cultures.

Similar to the initial study, global citizenship was associated with ‘opening doors’ and providing opportunities to travel (for study or work). However, on this occasion, helping others and trying to influence others were new and interesting factors which demonstrated a deeper level of global awareness and global consciousness (Dill 2013).

Global citizenship and global learning: identity and migration (travel)

As with the pupils in the initial study, the young people in this study believed a global citizen was not constrained by national borders (mentally or physically). A global citizen ‘doesn’t just belong to the place where they live, but [their citizenship] supersedes geographical location’ (Male, 23, Tobago) and global citizenship meant being a citizen of the world, where people ‘considered the whole earth as their home’ (Male, 25, London). Their views concurred with Schattle (2008) and Golmohamad’s (2009) belief that global citizenship can foster feelings of belonging and global solidarity. Their comments also resonated with and highlighted the complexities of an alternative identity which occurs when a person’s identity changes and transcends the norms of certain barriers (Jefferess 2012, 29).

Female, 22 (Tobago) presented a more traditional view of a global citizen and their care and concern for others, when she stated that a global citizen ‘understands that social issues can occur in a country where they do not reside, but it can directly or indirectly affect them, and they can play a role in making others aware and to lend support’. This evidence reflects the literature in the field. Globalisation has escalated cosmopolitanism and ‘increases the reality and awareness of human interconnectedness across borders, it simultaneously enhances the capacity for individuals to imagine themselves as members of a global community’ (Croucher 2004, 190).

Similar to the pupils in the initial study, these respondents believed one of the benefits/advantages of being a global citizen was the ability to travel. This was viewed positively and did not take into consideration possible vulnerabilities of going somewhere unknown. Female, 24 (London) focused on increased intercultural understanding, when she commented on how travelling to other countries could allow you to be ‘immersed within other cultures’, whereas other respondents focused on increasing social/economical mobility, when they suggested it could ‘provide increased opportunities for work, study or relationships’ (Male, 26, Tobago) or ‘open up the bounds of your thinking and could potentially lead to life experiences that one would never imagine’ (Male, 25, London). Male, 23 (Tobago) suggested:

Once you go out there and see what’s happening in the world, then you’re now able to have a broader horizon and you’re able to dream bigger, to think bigger, to understand bigger and not just on the level when you’re just in your one space.

The reflections of Female, 24 (London) were not on direct personal experiences; however, she commented on the impact travel had on her mother, who left Jamaica to seek better opportunities in the UK. She noted that her mother sees the world differently from her family back in Jamaica: 'she's more aspirational than her family back home'.

The young people were now a little older and their views on travel were also associated with aspirations, personal growth and development. Their views reflected outlooks that were based on more than social and economic mobility.

Global awareness and the exchange of information

These young people believed a global citizen had an awareness of global affairs and this was an empowering feature, as 'it increases your flow of knowledge' (Male, 26, Tobago) and 'You become more knowledgeable of what is going on around the world and you're also able to empathise with different people and their culture' (Female, 22, Tobago). A couple of the respondents began to discuss key global citizenship skills – empathy and problem-solving skills. Male, 26 (Tobago) expressed the following:

You're able to share with persons from around the world and be involved in helping to solve some of the world's problems. Someone else can help to solve a problem we have here and we can help to solve a problem elsewhere.

Male, 27 (London) also highlighted problem-solving skills, when he shared his thoughts about the positivity of being a global citizen and how it could also strengthen your position within your local community:

You could communicate with others around the world and there may be other young people, who are going through similar problems [as you] and then you can potentially find a similar or common solution.

Their views support Tarozzi and Torres's (2016) view that global citizenship is about having an understanding of global ties and connections, together with a commitment to the global good. Their responses also indicated having an awareness of global issues and an interest in exchanging information, which could have benefits at different levels (local as well as global). Global citizenship is described as having the capacity to increase empathy and problem-solving skills. Andreotti (2010) suggests

that global education could raise learners' awareness of the complex and interdependent local and global problems which societies currently face.

Increased interconnectedness and intercultural understanding

These respondents acknowledged the importance of interconnection and intercultural understanding and that it was through these connections they were able to learn about each other. They recognised that for many young people, who are unable to travel, social media has encouraged connections with people and events around the world. Female, 24 (London) was happy to 'be able to know about and have access to different cultures' and Male, 27 (London) appreciated being able to 'interact with a wider group of people, where you can get a different perspective from people from different parts of the world'. Other respondents noted the benefits from the 'diversity the world has to offer, whether that's languages, skills or understanding' and to be 'able to integrate some cultures or knowledge from other places into your lifestyle' (Male, 23, Tobago). Female, 22 (Tobago) believed that exposure to people from other places, with different cultures and lifestyles, could enhance one's personal development:

Exposure to different cultures and ethnicities would allow a person to become a well-rounded individual. It would allow them to be sensitive to other people's differences, which would cause them to be more respectful.

She also highlighted interconnectedness and that a global citizen understands that what they do could have an impact not only on their local community, but also in the world at large. She noted that many Caribbean countries have not yet adopted the habit of recycling as they lack awareness of how the way we get rid of waste affects the world. She believed everyone should be more cautious and develop safer and more sustainable practices in what they do.

Aspirations and motivation

As with the initial study, these young people believed global citizenship could increase aspirations and motivation. Male, 27 (London) noted that there may be someone across the world who may be similar to you and they achieve something that you probably didn't think was possible, and then you become inspired to achieve more for yourself. Male, 26 (Tobago)

also commented on how exposure to a global dimension could increase motivation and aspirations:

Most of us only see ourselves as just a citizen of Tobago and so for a lot of persons, our sights are limited and we only see what's available here, but if we can see what's out there, you can broaden your perspectives and we would probably want to aspire to or achieve more, so I know I can go here or I can do this or that, which is beyond my current scope, so I think it would allow us to reach to a higher standard.

However, these respondents were aware that they and young people from their community were not making progress at the same rate or level as young people from other racial groups. Similar to the initial study, the issue of differences arose. Male, 26 (Tobago) discussed this point when he talked about travel. Despite all respondents agreeing that the exposure to 'others' through travel was of importance, unfortunately, the travel experience differs depending on the colour of your skin. He was saddened that:

When we go to foreign countries, we will hear 'go back to your country' or 'go back to where you come from'. When we hear that, we know not everywhere in the world is our home, so how can we be global citizens?

Even though this group of respondents felt more comfortable associating with global citizenship, there was still a sense that this concept and its perceived opportunities was not open to all. They had vocalised being excluded from being global citizens and global citizenship was part of the domain of others, whose entitled lives afforded them the capacity to engage with global issues. Pashby (2012), Pike (2008) and Gillborn (2008) suggested that global citizenship can confirm issues of injustice and of who does and does not belong. It can also further perpetuate inequity and privilege and its ability to reflect, reinforce and reproduce inequalities, power imbalances and global injustices (Andreotti 2006; Schattle 2008).

Impact of global events on young people of Caribbean heritage

Over the past few years, events like the Covid-19 pandemic, George Floyd's murder and the Russian invasion of Ukraine have had a distressing impact on people across the world. As part of the globalisation

phenomenon, people around the world are increasingly interconnected (Efstathopoulos et al. 2020). Developments within technology and social media have allowed us to have front-row seats to witness many global events. Quezada et al. (2015) highlight social media as being used extensively as news sources for spreading information on real-world events.

The respondents were asked if recent/current global events had an impact on them. Examples were provided – George Floyd’s murder in the United States,¹ the Covid-19 pandemic and the Russian invasion of Ukraine. Their responses differed depending on where the respondent lived, with only the Covid-19 pandemic having a direct impact on respondents on both sides of the Atlantic. Data from the UK Office for National Statistics (ONS, 2022) found that people from Black Caribbean and Black African communities were at higher risk of Covid-19 mortality than their white counterparts (especially during the third wave). According to reports (Pareek et al. 2020; UK Parliament POST 2020), even related issues of job losses, debt, isolation and mental health had a more devastating impact on the Black community.

Charlene White, a Black British (of Caribbean descent) journalist and newsreader, described on *Loose Women* (2 March 2022, ITV, London) the plight of Black students who had become caught up in the Russian invasion of Ukraine as they were desperately trying to flee the country. Charlene stated that despite Ukrainian people dodging bullets and bombs to survive this atrocity, ‘they still have time for racism’. She described how Black students (and workers) were being prevented from leaving Ukraine (to go through the borders into Poland or neighbouring Eastern European countries) due to the colour of their skin, as priority was being given to white Ukrainians. There were posters saying ‘No Blacks’, with many Black people being pulled off buses and trains. ‘They’re not being allowed to leave because they’ve been seen as less than.’ Although, Male, 25 (London) may not have seen this exact broadcast, he was disturbed by these events. He expressed his views on the plight of Black students at the Ukraine/Poland border, and then described how he had been an avid traveller who had previously spent some time volunteering abroad since the age 18; however, these events have:

made me consider going to certain countries less, or not at all. It has grounded me in my immediate surroundings too, shutting out the need to travel. Travelling is something that is inherently risky and should be made as safe as possible, so seeing loads of the additional risks makes it hard to look at travel in the same way that I once did.

Female, 22 (Tobago) was also disturbed about the news she had heard about the Black students at the Ukraine/Polish border and then she discussed George Floyd's murder. She lamented when she stated:

I realised that we have not yet evolved our manner of thinking when it comes to people of colour. You would think that with all these advances such as having the first Black US President or the Duke of Sussex marrying a Black woman, people would be more accepting. But this is not the case. While we have improved, we still have a long way to go.

Male, 27 (London) reflected on all three of these recent global events, but he was particularly saddened at the impact the Covid-19 pandemic had across the world and said it was a reminder that we are a 'human race', as we were experiencing similar things across the world. He was troubled that everyone had to isolate. However, he believed isolation was both positive as well as negative, as 'it allowed people to take some time out to reflect on life and what you really want in life', but it also affected people's mental health, as they were unable to do what they usually do (day-to-day activities or to go out with friends). He described how people were suffering and that they were not in control of their lives. 'We had to wait on the Government, who themselves didn't know what was going on'.

This respondent also talked about Child Q:²

I was surprised to hear this happened in school, as I'm used to things like this happening on the streets. I've been stopped [by the police] once or twice, so that seems normal, but it happened in school, when she was supposed to be taking her exams and then how young she was, I don't expect something like that to happen.

Although Child Q's incident did not become a global issue, this respondent empathised with her situation, perhaps due to personal experiences with the police. For many years, Black young people in London have stated in words and in song about not feeling safe on the streets; however, feeling vulnerable in a place which is seen as a refuge for many children/young people means that life for Black young people seems to have sunk to an even lower level.

Female, 24 (London) was concerned about the effects some issues were having on her and other Black young people. She expressed how she thought a lot about race and more so now that these events had

happened. They highlighted things she had experienced and had a big impact on her, because they had happened in her lifetime and not something she read about in history books. She was listening more carefully to what people are saying, particularly from:

people who aren't Black, people who aren't Caribbean, people who don't resonate with the situation. Hearing their viewpoints makes me think very differently about the people I interact with ... It literally shapes the way how I interact with people.

These young people had critically analysed their position within an increasingly interconnected world. They acknowledged the issues within both their local and global communities and the challenges these posed for them. Through having the opportunity to explore their perception of global events, this had allowed them to discuss global citizenship as Dill (2013) describes it as global consciousness, where we develop an understanding of ourselves in relation to the world.

Engagement with global issues: Caribbean young people's experiences

All respondents believed that young people of Caribbean heritage generally do not engage with global issues and the two main reasons for this are: (1) Global issues do not affect the Caribbean and (2) Racism. Similar to the previous section, 'Impact of global events on young people of Caribbean heritage', the responses varied depending on geographical location. The respondents who currently live in the Caribbean were very vocal on the disconnect between Caribbean young people and engagement with global issues. They thought it was largely due to the fact that young people in the Caribbean were complacent as they believed global issues do not affect the region where they live. In contrast, the young people of Caribbean heritage who live in the UK largely blamed this disengagement on racism.

Global issues do not affect the Caribbean

Male, 25 (London) thought that 'young people [in the Caribbean] cared less about global events, because they think they don't affect the Caribbean'. Female, 22 (Tobago) held similar beliefs when she shared that Caribbean young people 'engage differently and this is not in a positive light. Many were of the belief that certain events would not affect them because they are very far from it. I once thought like this.'

Male, 26 (Tobago) described in some detail how his focus is more on his country rather than on a world scale. When he thinks about global warming or other issues which are happening around the world, most of the time he does not believe it will affect him or the effect is so small, so he doesn't really think about them. He felt that young people also believe Tobago is just a small island, so their voices would not be heard on a world stage:

so we just do nothing and say nothing. We believe we are small, it's not really affecting us, so we don't lend our voices to that global space. Some people may say 'dem already doing it'. Other countries are sharing their voice, so that is why we don't add to it ... for a lot of persons, we've heard of global warming, but we're not seeing the effects, so there's not that strong association and for some, there's not the knowledge.

This respondent believed only the Covid-19 pandemic appeared to have an impact on Tobago (in terms of illness, death and job losses). However, he was also concerned about issues like domestic violence, which is a major issue on the twin islands of Trinidad and Tobago.

Male, 23 (Tobago) shared how the people in Tobago (young and not so young) have 'created a bubble', where they lack concern about what is 'happening over there'. Tobagonians think 'so long as it doesn't directly affect me, then I'm fine. We still have our good living, everything is alright. Exports/imports still seem to be ok and so for us, we don't look out there.' He believed that most of the local people do not really pay attention to even what is happening regionally unless it directly affects them locally. 'People don't really face up to know what's going on out there, until it comes to our doorstep and then we'll say "Wow, this is happening!"'

Male, 23 (Tobago) described this 'bubble' as cushioning young people from being exposed to global events. In my initial study (Allen 2020), one of the education officers also described Tobagonians as being in a bubble. He had welcomed the British Council's programme, which linked schools in Tobago to schools in the UK, because 'the pupils could get a glimpse of what was out there'. Male, 26 (Tobago) commented on his experience of living in Tobago; however, he focused on the complexities of living in a largely monocultural community when he acknowledged:

With the George Floyd incident, it kind of raised awareness. Yes, we have what we would term racism here, but Tobago is kind of

homogenous in terms of skin colour ... it kind of showed there is a plight for others out there, that may not be as marked here. When the incident happened, it brought some emotions and made me a bit angry.

These respondents' views highlighted a 'small island culture', where they focused on their national culture (possibly subconsciously) in a response to challenges and threats to what they know (UNESCO 2011). However, the response of Male, 26 (Tobago) recognised that some global events, which bring racism, discrimination and injustice to the forefront, had the ability to penetrate and pierce any bubble.

Racism

Although there was reference to racism in the initial study, in this reflective chapter the respondents went into more detail as they (especially the UK respondents) felt this was a major factor which impacted their lives and possibly encouraged disengagement between Caribbean young people and global issues.

Male, 23 (Tobago) reflected on George Floyd's murder and commented that it was an eye-opener to understand racism, discrimination and how minorities are treated badly, especially in the United States:

I think his death really opened my eyes, as I have family members that live away. Sometimes I hear stories from them, so it made me wonder that it could be me or a family member in the same position.

His reflection was about having awareness of other people's 'pain'; whereas Male, 27 (London) shared a personal experience of being a young Black male in London and how this affects his engagement with global issues:

When I see protests about global warming, I see mainly young white people. Being Black and young is already a struggle, I'm not gonna tap into things that doesn't concern me. I have to worry about day-to-day living, keeping my job, to survive where I live on a normal basis.

He continued to describe the challenges and obstacles for him and other Black young people living in London and how this causes him stress;

therefore, he felt unable to take on things that were outside of his immediate community.

It's already difficult as it is and now you want me to worry about other things that are out of my control. There's so many obstacles to being a Caribbean young person anyway, then you want me to worry about global warming, that's too much for me to take on, so that's why I don't do it.

Female, 24 (London) agreed with Male, 27 (London). She also expressed that as a Black young person (in London), your racial identity is an issue in itself and trumps anything else:

I think Black young people don't get involved in global issues, because of the racial issues that we deal with. If you were to put all the issues of the world in a hierarchy, race would be number one ... There are Black activists for the environment, who are vegan, that are doing things, but they're Black first, so their race will always come above anything else.

She believed Black protestors can protest on many issues, but they also have to protest on race.

White people can go to bed, when all the issues of the world are sorted, but we still have to protest about our race.

Over the last few years, the racist murders of Black people in the United States sparked protests around the world. Millions of people have called for racial justice, but this will require institutions and systems to be overhauled, placing racial justice at the core of their operations. Equality should be at the forefront of global learning, with anti-racist advocacy part of all policies and practice.

Conclusion

Although global citizenship education and global learning has been growing largely within Western countries, it does not have the same status or momentum in the Caribbean. This reflective chapter confirmed the importance of exposing all young people, regardless of race or where they live, to structured global learning and for them to be engaged in debates

on global issues (poverty, inequality, cultural understanding, etc.). The respondents acknowledged a lack of global engagement: 'we don't have a global perspective' (Male, 26, Tobago), while Female, 22 (Tobago) also highlighted the need for Caribbean young people to have more exposure to global learning and global issues:

If they are taught about global citizenship, they would be more aware and play a more active role in their community. They would want to be more involved with global issues and not do it just because it's a trending topic.

A more concerted effort needs to be made for the exposure and inclusion of young people (particularly from disadvantaged and marginalised communities) in global learning and debates on global issues. All young people (regardless of their race, gender, location, etc.) should feel empowered to believe their views are valid. This chapter reinforced the need for young people of Caribbean heritage to be engaged in real debates about global issues and this engagement should take into consideration their lived experiences. The UN 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development suggests that young people should not only be aware of global events, but they should also be actively involved in global citizenship. Although this ambition is universal, more needs to be done to include young people who are already left behind.

Again (as in Allen 2020), this smaller-scale study raises questions about whether it is possible for Caribbean young people to have the capacity to have concern and empathy for others (who are suffering from poverty or environmental issues brought about by global warming) when their own personal survival is at the forefront of their minds. Pike (2008, 48) warns about:

the elitism that can easily suffuse the rhetoric of global citizenship education: for the countless millions of people worldwide who daily struggle for survival and satisfaction of basic human rights, or for recognition of their cultural identity, global citizenship is not even on the agenda.

So, bearing this in mind, *Is global citizenship a concept for mainly white, middle-class people, whose entitled lives affords them the resources to 'give back' to others?*

The young people in this reflective study had the opportunity to reflect on themselves and their position within local and global

communities. Golmohamad Linkova (2004) suggests that reflective thinking is necessary for assessing one's position in the world and any possible impact on society. 'When we are self-reflexive, we challenge our own thinking...' (Karim-Haji et al. 2016, 13). These young people were fully aware that their personal experiences and the general experiences of their community were marred by racism and believed this impacted on their ability to engage with global issues. They identified with injustice and discrimination and their experiences of racism (personal or collective) blighted their concern for others. They acknowledged they had the capacity to empathise, but their priority was wanting a fairer world for themselves before they could consider the prospect of others.

Notes

- 1 Social media allowed the world to witness the brutal murder of George Floyd, a Black man who was killed by a white police officer on 25 May 2020, on the streets of Minneapolis, USA. His death triggered protests in many countries around the world. Young people took to the streets to remind the world that Black Lives Matter.
- 2 For much of the week (beginning 14 March 2022), there were reports on the mass and social media about Child Q (a Black schoolgirl, aged 15), who was subjected to a traumatic strip search after a teacher at her school contacted the police because of a suspected smell of cannabis or carrying drugs. Consequently, other Black young people protested in their school, stating that they did not feel safe at school.

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Conclusion: research in global learning

Douglas Bourn

This volume has had a number of aims. First, it aimed to demonstrate the contribution of research in global learning to making progress on Target 4.7 of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). Second, it aimed to give examples of evidence from a range of countries around the world on how global learning can contribute to broader educational goals. It also aimed to highlight a range of methodologies for undertaking research in the field and finally to show the importance and value of research in global learning for understanding and engaging with global social issues.

Four themes were covered in the volume with several chapters on each theme. These themes reflected current issues and debates in and around global learning such as the relationship between policy and practice; opportunities and challenges within different systems, particularly looking at the role of teachers; debates and issues within higher education with a particular emphasis on global citizenship, internationalisation and sustainable development; and finally researching the perspectives and views of young people and students.

All of the chapters in the volume were based on research conducted during the second decade of the twenty-first century. Some of the chapters revisit this earlier research and its more recent relevance, particularly the chapter by Allen, which shows the continuing importance of such work.

This decade witnessed several major international initiatives being launched such as the SDGs, increasing concerns about the impact of climate change and, within academic research, the rise of influence of the term global citizenship.

Throughout the volume, references were made to the SDGs, including Target 4.7. It is evident that around the world these goals and targets are becoming seen as important but as with the OECD PISA initiative on global competencies, there is the danger of research being too focused

around progress on achieving objectives predetermined by external bodies. All too often global education and learning has been drawn into justifying its research and impact against goals and targets rather than reviewing them for their value in terms of education in its broadest sense. That is why the chapters in this volume are so important as all the research upon which they are based comes from or is influenced by the authors' own doctoral studies.

Global education and learning have rightly been criticised for being biased towards influences from the Global North and not giving sufficient attention to voices and perspectives from the Global South. The chapters in this volume aim to redress this imbalance by providing examples of research that are built on theoretical perspectives from the Global South. This can be particularly seen in the chapters by Eten Angyagre, Hanley, Pasha and Allen. In addition, there are also chapters covering countries which to date have rarely featured in publications on global education and learning. These include Jamaica, Israel, Turkey and Japan. The chapters share in common the importance of context, in terms of the need to recognise differing social, economic and cultural environments within which global learning is undertaken. Goren, for example, takes this even further in stating the need to understand differing contexts within countries.

This theme relates to the influence of social constructivism throughout most of the chapters and the ways in which research needs to take account not only of the external context but the ways in which educators themselves engage in the process of learning.

Doctoral-level research provides an opportunity for looking at issues and themes in a degree of depth. Some of this can, as several of the chapters note, take the form of specific case studies or multiple case studies. This approach provides an opportunity for a form of analysis that goes beyond a descriptive summary of data to one that analyses and reviews the nature of the evidence, its influences and contribution to broader educational aims. While most of the chapters' research is based on qualitative forms of analysis, interviews and focus groups, there are some chapters, notably Strachan's chapter, which show the value of quantitative data.

The field of global education and learning has been heavily influenced by external policies and practices and therefore analysis of these factors can make a major contribution to the field. This can be seen particularly in Pasha's chapter on social studies textbooks in Pakistan using critical discourse analysis and Soysal's chapter on education for sustainable development in Turkey.

Alongside these external influences, proponents of global education and learning have argued that educators should be given the space, opportunity and support to interpret the field in the way they wish. This sense of agency has been seen as an important theme of the field regardless of the opportunities or constraints of external forces. This theme is a major feature of the chapter by Lee. Alongside this theme is action research, where research participants are supported to develop new approaches to teaching and learning. This sense of active involvement in constructing the form and nature of the learning chimes well with many of the aims of global learning and is discussed particularly in the chapters by Hanley and Efthymiou.

Global learning as an educational field has been heavily influenced by the thinking of the Brazilian educationalist Paulo Freire. A major feature of his ideas and writings has been the need for educators to consistently question their own assumptions, be open to new ideas and reflect on their own practices. This theme of reflection based on revisiting earlier research and ascertaining the extent to which ideas and practices have moved on can be seen in the chapters by Allen, Soysal and Kukita.

Finally, and perhaps the most significant of all the themes in this volume, is the continuing reference to a process of learning, of the need to review how educators have not only engaged with global themes but also how this has evolved and changed over time. This is particularly a feature of Xi Tao's chapter, but all of the research referred to in this volume makes reference to an understanding of global issues going beyond short-term awareness raising, highlighting the value of engagement with issues and giving space to learners to find their voices and perspectives on how to secure a more just and sustainable world.

Doctoral-level research studies, as all of the chapters in this volume have shown, demonstrate the need for and value of independent studies outside of the needs of policymakers and practitioners. This does not mean that such research is not valued and important to policymakers and practitioners. It is more that the research should not be framed by their needs. As can be seen in the chapters by Lee on Korea, Hanley on Kazakhstan, Strachan on England, Soysal on Turkey and Goren on Israel, the research can be of value for influencing the views of policymakers.

Kraska Birbeck and Eten Angyagre's research on higher education shows the ways in which global learning themes are having an increasing influence within universities. They also show how global learning can be a force for encouraging change within institutions.

All the authors in this volume can be classified in terms of early career researchers in that their engagement in doctoral studies and

subsequent publications is relatively new to them in their lives. The important of recognising, supporting and promoting the work of these researchers has become a major feature of the work of the Academic Network of Global Education and Learning (ANGEL) established in 2017.¹ Global learning is a growing educational field and for it to have any lasting influence within education and society, there is a need for much more research along the lines of the evidence shown in the chapters in this volume. For this to happen, there is a need for universities and policymakers at a national and international level to provide opportunities, resources and funding for this to be a reality. Global and sustainability issues have become much more central to the lives of people around the world because of the climate change crisis, the impact of the global pandemic and increased inequalities around the world. Research in global learning can make an important contribution to understanding the impact of these changes on people's lives and provide them with a sense of hope that a more positive future is possible.

Note

- 1 See www.ANGEL-Network.net. Accessed 2 March 2023.

Index

- Academic Network on Global Education and Learning (ANGEL) xi, xvii, 258
- activism, including activists 178, 218–20
- adjectival education. *See* development education
- Africa, global learning in 2
- African universities 179, 182
- Andreotti, Vanessa 6, 7, 53, 57, 75, 78, 94, 116, 147, 153, 167, 169, 170, 171, 238, 242, 244. *See also* Open Spaces for Dialogue and Enquiry
- anthropology of education 37, 38
- anticolonial theorising 170
- anti-globalisation attitudes, chinese students 220
- anti-racist advocacy 250
- Appiah, Kwame Anthony 113, 216
- Apple, Michael 112, 114–16, 118, 124, 132
- Arab nations, including Arab minority 22, 23, 30, 31, 141
- Arendt, Hannah 118
- Asia, global learning in 2
- Asia-Pacific Centre of Education for International Understanding (APCEIU) in South Korea 64, 66, 68
- Asia-Pacific, global citizenship education in 64, 68
- Auld, Euan and Morris, Paul 18, 28
- Bangladesh, relationship with Pakistan 141, 142
- Belarus, international students in Poland 161
- benchmarking in higher education 161, 174
- BERA ethical guidelines 43, 99
- Biesta, Gert 6, 94, 95, 111, 118–20
- Biesta, Gert, Priestley, Mark and Robinson, Sarah 54
- Mannon, Greg, Biesta, Gert, Priestley Mark and Ross, Hamish 75, 160
- Biopower. *See* Foucault, Michel
- Black Lives Matter protests 125, 204, 252
- Bologna Process
- in higher education in Poland 156
- in teacher education in Turkey 187
- Bourdieu, Pierre
- concept of field 59
- habitus 59
- power 59
- social structure 58
- Brazil
- Freire, Paulo, nationality 257
- global citizenship 147
- global learning 8
- higher education 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 161, 163
- higher education and decolonisation 161
- internationalisation 151, 156, 162
- British Council, School partnerships in Tobago 248
- Bronfenbrenner, Urie 204, 225, 227, 228, 235
- Cambodia 232, 233
- Canada, Global learning in 2, 71
- capitalism
- academic 180
- economic 133, 134, 177, 178, 180, 181, 215
- Caribbean
- global citizenship 250
- heritage 237–40, 244, 245, 247, 251
- region 243, 247, 249, 250, 251
- case study 79, 94, 98–104, 106, 111, 120–3, 126, 148, 151, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 162, 163, 167, 168, 169, 171, 172, 174, 177, 179, 180, 181, 204. *See also* multiple case studies
- Chicago School, sociological work of 37
- child labour 85
- China
- and global citizenship 208, 210, 211, 216
- and global learning 8
- economy 214, 215
- geopolitical influences 141, 142, 207
- in Pakistan school textbooks 141
- international students in UK 203, 207, 208, 211, 212, 214, 215, 216–21
- PISA data 21
- political system 211, 219
- civic engagement 138
- civics 133
- civil society organisations 2, 3, 49
- climate change 1, 20, 83, 103, 107, 185, 210, 255, 258
- climate justice 203
- coding, of data 46, 47, 131, 213
- collectivism 62–3
- colonialism, legacies of 72, 148, 178, 179, 181, 238

- comparative case study 75, 76, 79, 88. *See* multiple case studies
- Confucianism 62–3
- conscientisation 112, 113, 114, 115, 127.
See also epistemic learning
- content analysis 46, 47, 189, 190, 191, 193, 198
- cosmopolitanism 82, 88, 112, 113, 116–24, 127, 160, 183, 209, 210, 211, 216, 220, 241
- Covid-19 pandemic 95, 219, 220, 239, 244, 245, 246, 248
- critical discourse analysis 72, 131, 136, 137, 142, 256
- critical GCE 118
- critical global pedagogy 171
- critical pedagogy 67, 94, 111, 112, 118, 171, 209
- critical theory 7, 111, 136
- critical thinking 5, 86, 99, 102, 135, 160, 194, 215, 218, 238
- curriculum internationalisation. *See* internationalisation of curricula
- data analysis 148, 155
- decoloniality 161
- decolonisation 7, 158
- democracy 78, 95, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 121, 211, 219
- democracy education 191, 192, 196, 198
- democratisation 114, 116
- development education 1, 2, 3, 112
- Development Education Research Centre (DERC) 2, 6
- Dewey, John 58, 118, 186, 238. *See also* pragmatism, framework of
- diversity 23, 29, 30, 32, 45, 57, 58, 64, 75, 135, 136, 143, 162, 175, 194, 208, 211, 218, 220, 221, 243
- document analysis 3, 79, 172
- documentary analysis 19
- education for sustainable development 1, 3, 4, 11, 12, 13, 35, 53, 148, 185, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 256. *See also* Sustainable Development Goals under England
- elitism 63, 88, 251
- empathy, global citizenship attribute 171, 209, 217, 242, 251
- employability 63, 152, 156, 159, 160, 163, 207, 209, 210, 213, 214, 215, 216, 218, 220
- empowerment 72, 114
- engineering 189, 212
- England
global learning 8, 71, 93, 95, 96, 97, 101, 107
Sustainable Development Goals 103
- enlightenment 114
- environmental education 4, 46, 188, 195, 196
- epistemology 219
epistemic learning 115, 121. *See also* conscientisation
- epistemic transformation 115, 126
- epistemological transformation 115, 127
- equality 89, 135, 140, 153, 159, 250
- equity. *See* equality
- Erasmus+ programme 156, 158
- Eritrea 26
- Ethiopia 29, 30
- ethnocentrism 45, 217, 220
- ethnography 35, 36, 37, 39, 41, 42, 44, 49
- Europe
aid programmes 1
European Commission 1
European Higher Education Area 187
European Jews 22
European Union 29, 187
Europeanisation, including influence of policies 116, 156, 158
global learning 2, 7
- fascism 82
- fieldwork 36, 37, 41, 42, 44, 45, 46, 48
- First Generation College Students 156, 162
- focus groups 12, 15, 21, 23, 25, 27, 28, 29, 42, 57, 120, 172, 176, 177, 256
- foreign languages 18, 45, 190, 196
- foreigners, global influences 28
- Foucault, Michel 132, 136, 143
- France, and PISA test question 20
- Freire, Paulo, including Freirean approach 6, 7, 36, 67, 112, 113, 114, 115, 117, 119, 124, 218, 219, 257
- Gates, Bill 215
- gender 25, 251
- Ghana
global citizenship 168
global learning 8, 71
higher education 169, 175, 179
- Giroux, Henry 67, 75, 171
- global citizenship
forms of engagement and aspirations 75, 175, 176, 180, 209, 210, 214, 216
local and global interactions 5, 38, 80, 87, 88, 97, 114, 148, 158, 187, 211, 236, 240, 243, 247, 252
sense of connectedness 75, 83, 86, 87, 88, 114, 211, 216, 247
typologies 169, 182, 238. *See also* Oxley, Laura and Morris, Paul
understandings of the concept 53, 168, 171, 237, 238, 241, 242
- global citizenship education 1, 2, 3, 4, 12, 15, 75, 77, 80, 94, 112, 167, 171, 175, 176, 177, 181, 209, 225, 233, 235, 238, 250, 251
- global competencies 1, 4, 11, 12, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 22, 23, 28, 29, 157, 160, 210, 238, 255
- global education 3, 5, 53, 131, 243, 256
- global imaginaries 22
- global learning
and formal education 72
in Australia 71
in United Kingdom 71
policy support 71
teacher agency 72
- Global North 48, 49, 153, 167, 170, 174, 177, 238, 256

- global skills 105, 107, 157, 160, 175, 176, 215, 220
- global social justice 2, 75, 112, 113, 117, 160, 169, 171, 203
- Global South 7, 19, 45, 47, 49, 161, 167, 170, 256
- global warming 248, 249, 251
- globalisation, influences of 49, 63, 65, 113, 116, 143, 148, 153, 154, 169, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 208, 209, 219, 220
- governance 153, 212
- governmentality 133, 134
- Greece 122
 - education system 116, 117
 - global citizenship education 117
 - global learning in primary schools 8, 71, 111, 118, 119, 120, 121, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127
 - textbooks 126
- habitus 59
- history, school subject 77, 79, 82, 83, 84, 131, 133, 134, 138, 247
- immigration 26, 28, 29, 32. *See also* migration
- imperialism 63, 238
- India
 - relations with Pakistan 134, 141, 142
- indigenous knowledge(s) 40, 41, 148, 174, 179, 181
- individualism 29, 93, 123, 210, 217
- inequalities 117, 181, 194, 237, 251
- Initial Teacher Education xiii, 101
- intercultural 16, 153
 - awareness 160, 176
 - communication 20, 86, 213, 214, 215, 218
 - competency 19, 216, 218
 - education 19, 116
 - relations 17
 - skills 209
 - understanding 89, 241, 243
- interdependency
 - of globalisation 219
 - of the local and global 87, 88
 - of the natural and the social 5
- International Baccalaureate 72, 80, 81, 82, 85, 86, 88
- international mobility 157, 158, 208, 212, 215, 220
- internationalisation 3, 5, 8, 116, 147, 148, 151, 152, 154, 155, 156, 159, 162, 163, 171, 179, 182, 209, 220, 255
 - approaches to 161
 - at home 152, 158
 - in Brazil 155, 158, 162
 - in China 207
 - in Poland 155, 158
 - in the United Kingdom 157, 158, 162
 - in the United States 157, 162
 - of curricula 113, 152, 153, 158, 168, 171, 172, 173
 - of higher education 148, 151, 153, 154, 157, 160, 163, 220
 - of higher education for society 153
 - relationship with global citizenship 160
 - strategies 173, 180
- internationalisation of curricula 113, 152, 153, 158, 168, 171, 172, 173
- interviews
 - with focus groups 12, 15, 42
 - as forms of methodology 7, 15, 16, 19, 21, 44, 58, 79, 98, 121, 212, 225, 239
- Japan
 - global citizenship 147
 - global citizenship education 236
 - global learning 256
 - Japanese imperialism 63
 - Japanese students 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 235
- Jinping, Xi 212
- Kazakhstan
 - education system 76, 77, 81, 83
 - global citizenship education 75, 81, 88
 - global learning 8, 71
 - international students in Poland 161
- longitudinal study 204, 212, 213
- Marginson, Simon 152, 153, 154
- Marxism 76
- migration 195, 199. *See also* immigration
- mixed-methods research design 94, 98, 100, 106
- multiculturalism 23, 29, 30, 160
- multilingualism 160
- multiple case studies 256
- neocolonialism 161
- neoliberalism 63, 209, 215, 220
- Nussbaum, Martha 210
- observations 8, 39, 42, 43, 46, 47, 72, 120
- OECD
 - global competencies 4, 16
 - PISA global competencies 1, 11, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 28, 255
- Open Spaces for Dialogue and Enquiry 57, 97, 102, 107. *See also* Andreotti, Vanessa
- Oxley, Laura and Morris, Paul 4, 54, 117, 122, 169, 238
- Pakistan
 - and other religions 143
 - global education 5, 71
 - global learning 138, 256
 - influences on 132, 133, 140, 141, 142
 - Pakistan studies 133, 134
 - relations with Bangladesh 141
 - school curricula 133, 135
 - school textbooks 72, 131, 139, 141, 142
 - social studies 134
- participatory action research 111, 120, 121, 123, 126
- patriotism 76, 77, 86, 87, 88, 211
- peace studies 133
- peace, as global citizenship outcome 1, 97, 212
- perspective taking, as global citizenship attribute 135
- Peru, PISA in 20

- PISA
 global citizenship framework 21
 in Australia 19
 in Israel 15, 18, 19, 21, 23, 25, 26, 29, 32
- Portugal, global education in 2
- postcolonialism 204, 238
- post-positivist realism 12, 55, 56, 62, 67
- pragmatism, framework of 119. *See also*
 Dewey, John
- Process-Person-Context-Time Framework 225,
 227, 228, 235
- psychology 131, 133, 138
- qualitative research, including data 39, 56,
 106, 120, 136, 168, 171, 186, 189, 190,
 191, 193, 207, 212, 213, 236, 238, 256
- quantitative research, including data 7, 18,
 120, 213, 256
- quantitative survey and data 98, 100, 190
- racism, including impact of 1, 82, 245, 247,
 248, 249, 252
- Rastafarian and dancehall culture 40
- reflexivity 60, 61, 218, 238
- refugees 21, 24, 26, 27, 28, 124, 125
- religion 139, 143
- research methodologies, including methods
 11, 35, 56, 64, 112. *See also* document
 analysis, focus groups, quantitative
 survey and data, longitudinal study,
 interviews, participatory action
 research, fieldwork, thematic analysis,
 observations
- Russia
 invasion of Ukraine 239, 244, 245
 language 83, 87
 teacher 82
- Scheunpflug, Annette 75, 112
- science and technology courses and ESD 191,
 192, 198
- social justice xiii, 4, 57, 58, 65, 67, 167, 194,
 210, 211, 219, 221
- Taiwan 235
- teacher agency
 for global citizenship education 54, 55, 56,
 58, 64, 65, 66, 67
 in South Korea primary schools 11, 12, 66
- teacher training
 and ESD 148
 and professional development 106
 and standardisation 187
 and teacher professionalism 65, 67
 and transformative education 185
- technology 194, 198
- Thailand 28, 231, 232, 233
- thematic analysis 12, 16, 23, 100, 121, 239
- Thunberg, Greta 203
- Tobago 204, 237, 238, 240, 241, 242, 243,
 244, 246, 247, 248, 249, 251
- tolerance, as global citizenship attribute 29,
 78, 212, 220
- transformative learning 5, 36, 115, 204, 209
- transnational education 152
- triangulation in research 46, 168
- Trinidad 8, 248
- Turkey
 and European Higher Education Area 187
 global learning 256
 teacher education and ESD 188, 189, 190,
 194, 199, 200
 teacher education including policies 4, 148,
 186, 187, 193, 200
 universities 197
- Ubuntu, African philosophy of 170, 171, 181
- UCL Institute of Education 2
- Ukraine 161, 240, 244–6
- UNESCO
 and APCEIU 68
 Associated Schools Network (ASPnet) 82
 ESD 185
 global citizenship education 16, 18, 226
 Sustainable Development Goals 1, 11, 15,
 35, 93, 97, 249
- volunteering xi, 64, 240, 245
- xenophobia 1, 178, 181
- Yousafzai, Malala 203

Young people around the world are calling ever more urgently on policymakers to address today's global challenges of sustainability, structural inequality and social justice. So it is little surprise that learning in a global society, understanding sustainable development and being active global citizens are increasingly popular themes for education at all levels. Educational research makes a crucial contribution to knowledge that can address the great questions of our time, with evidence from diverse studies vital if we are to build a clear picture. *Research in Global Learning* showcases methods and findings from early career researchers who conducted illuminating studies around the globe, specifically in Brazil, China, Ghana, Greece, Israel, Jamaica, Japan, Kazakhstan, Pakistan, Poland, South Korea, Trinidad and Tobago, Turkey, the United States and the United Kingdom.

The studies in this volume investigate four important themes: the relationship between policy and practice; opportunities and constraints in the education system and for the role of teachers; challenges for higher education; and the perspectives of young people and students. Flexibility of approach is crucial for successful educational research in varied environments, and is on show throughout this book. Depending on context, authors used case study, quantitative and qualitative research, participatory action research, longitudinal studies and analysis of textbooks through critical discourse analysis to demonstrate how learning about global and sustainability can inspire learners and contribute to quality education.

Douglas Bourn is Professor of Development Education and Director of Development Education Research Centre at UCL. He is author of *Theory and Practice of Development Education* (2015), *Understanding Global Skills for 21st Century Professions* (2018) and *Education for Social Change* (2022), and editor of the *Bloomsbury Handbook of Global Education and Learning* (2022).

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