TERTIUM COMPARATIONIS

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Intentions, power, and accidents:
Rethinking Global Citizenship Education from the ground up

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Quality and Impact in Global Education

Empirical and Conceptual
Perspectives for Planning
and Evaluation
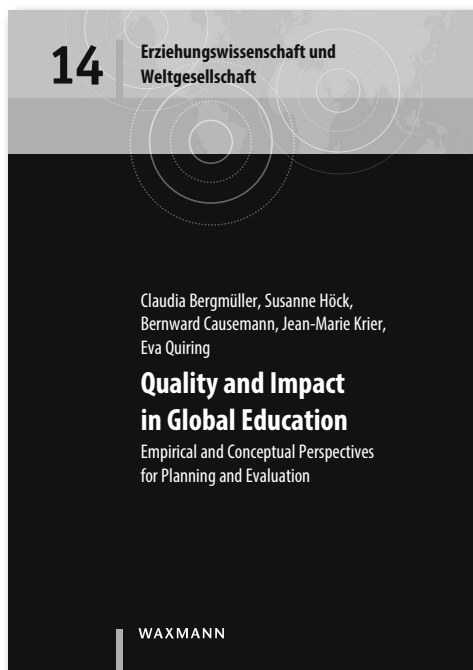
For several years now, the demand for increased
impact orientation has also affected the field of
Global Education (GE) / Development Education
and Awareness Raising (DEAR). In this context,
a vivid discussion is still ongoing regarding
what can be considered an ›impact‹ in GE/DEAR
and how these impacts can be analysed. Both
questions are dealt with within the scope of the
research project ›Impacts and methods of im-
pact monitoring in development education and
awareness raising‹, which was financed by the
German Federal Ministry for Economic Coopera-
tion and Development (BMZ) and which is to be
presented in this volume. Against the backdrop
of the empirical findings of this research project,
this publication shows which effects can be target-
ed in the planning and evaluation of GE-/DEAR-
rojects and which contextual conditions can
influence their effectiveness.

WAXMANN

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Tertium Comparationis veröffentlicht Beiträge zur Vergleichenden Erziehungswissenschaft,
Internationalen Bildungsforschung und Interkulturellen Erziehung. Ausgehend von deutschen und
europäischen Erfahrungen soll der weltweite Prozess der Internationalisierung, des kulturellen
Austausches und der wechselseitige Einfluss auf Bildungssysteme thematisiert werden. Alle
eingesandten Beiträge werden einem double-blind Peer-Review unterzogen.

Tertium Comparationis wants to make a contribution to the fields of comparative education,
international educational relations and intercultural education. The journal wants to look at the world
wide process of internalization, cultural exchange and mutual influence in education from the
viewpoint of experiences and challenges in Germany and Europe. All submitted contributions will be
subjected to a double-blind peer review process.

Tertium Comparationis
26, 2 (2020)

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Part I: (Auto-)ethnographic vignettes

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Editorial

This publication began life at the annual International Summer School of the Georg Arnhold Program on Education for Sustainable Peace, held at the Georg Eckert Institute for International Textbook Research in Brunswick, Germany in the summer of 2019. The Program was established by Henry Arnhold (1921–2018) at the Institute in memory of his grandfather Georg Arnhold (1859–1926), entrepreneur, patron, and pacifist. It seeks to bridge the gap between research and practice in peace education with international conferences, publications and – more recently in collaboration with the International Rescue Committee – fieldwork scholarships.[1] The Summer School's theme, 'Global Citizenship Education and Citizenship Education in a Changing World: Normative and Pedagogical Challenges' attracted a large number of critical papers from research and practice reflecting on the simultaneously enabling and constraining structures within current approaches to Global Citizenship Education (GCE).

The contributions gathered here, as well as the idea for this special issue and the collaboration between the editors, came about as a result of the inspiring debates at this event and during the time Bassel Akar and Jennifer Riggan spent at the GEI in 2019 as visiting professors of the Georg Arnhold Program. What emerged from these conversations was a lively interest in unpacking the ways in which ideas and ideals (*intentions*) of global citizenship education may be prescribed (*power*), but at the same time also interrupted, waylaid, or perhaps even surpassed, by actual practices (*power* again, and *accidents*). While 'accidents', in the conventional sense, can be unforeseen and unwelcome occurrences, we understand them here as also covering 'happy accidents' that could lead to GCE – or whatever we perceive this to be – in places where it may not necessarily be expected, such as in protests around higher education in Albania, reported in one vignette in this special issue. At the time of our conversations, of course, we could not know that, only a few months later, the emergence of COVID-19 would render the obstacles to global citizenship and equity in education more visible than perhaps ever before in our lifetimes, rendering a rethinking of familiar GCE concepts more necessary than ever.

This issue of *Tertium Comparationis* is somewhat atypical. First of all because in the German-speaking context *Tertium Comparationis* has hitherto not been the journal in which debates about global learning have taken place.[2] But bringing the more familiar territory of comparative education and pedagogy together with insights from sociological and anthropological perspectives foregrounding innovative, *emic* – or

bottom-up – approaches to global citizenship education as presented here has lent the journal fruitful new perspectives and contexts. Second, in this issue, the journal temporarily steps away from the conventional format of separate research articles on a given theme. Instead, it accommodates a collection of (auto-)ethnographic vignettes and analytical reflections on them with the aim of enabling both a conversation between the different texts and a more direct engagement on the part of GCE researchers with real-life situations.

The structure of this publication thus reflects a journey of unconventional academic practice during which this special issue was put together. Beginning with the (auto-)ethnographic vignettes, we circulated a call among the participants of the Summer School to share with us snippets of their data that they saw as emblematic for the issues of power, privilege, policy and practice of GCE that we discussed during the event. The participants who answered the call collected the data in the contexts of their own projects that dealt, implicitly or explicitly, with GCE in various contexts. We asked them to reflect on and contextualize their observations, where possible with a self-reflexive approach that took their own positionality into account. Their contributions lay bare not only the different fields where GCE may be taking place and how this happens, but also how knowledge on GCE itself is being produced.

We then asked established scholars who had not attended the Summer School but who have investigated, promoted, criticized or developed their own conceptualizations of GCE from various disciplinary and theoretical perspectives to read the vignettes as a collection, reflecting on how they speak to their own perspectives on GCE as well as on the benefits or limitations they see in an emic approach, while acknowledging their own positionalities that may be sharpening or blurring their vision.

On behalf of the other editors of this special issue, we would like to thank all those whose work – in a variety of forms – has made this publication possible. First and foremost, the contributors themselves and nine anonymous peer reviewers, many of whom were generous with their time under the various and unpredictable pressures of the COVID-19 crisis. We are grateful to Eckhardt Fuchs, director of the Georg Eckert Institute, for his support of the Summer School, and to Katharina Baier, coordinator of the Georg Arnhold Program. Halleli Pinson drafted the intellectual design of the conference and Meyrick Payne offered valuable assistance both with the conference and with this publication. We thank the editorial committee of the journal *Tertium Comparationis* for giving a home to our experimental and unconventional format, and to the International Comparative Education Subdivision of the German Educational Research Association (GERA) for generously funding the open access publication. Finally, we express our deep appreciation to Wendy Anne

Kopisch, publications manager of the Georg Arnhold Program, whose competence, experience, and excellent editorial input have been decisive in bringing this publication to fruition under fluctuating degrees of lockdown.

Notes

1. For more information on the Georg Arnhold Program on Education for Sustainable Peace at the Georg Eckert Institute see: http://www.gei.de/en/fellowships/georg-arnhold-program/program.html
2. The journal that has most significantly engaged with these topics from a pedagogical and development education perspective has been, and continues to be, ZEP (*Zeitschrift für internationale Bildungsforschung und Entwicklungspädagogik*). In the past ten years there have been at least ten special issues of ZEP specifically discussing one aspect of 'global learning' (and with articles in English and German), sometimes even with several issues per year.

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Introduction: Rethinking Global Citizenship Education from the ground up: Intentions, power, and accidents

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Abstract

In their introduction, the editors of the special issue call for a re-examination of GCE and how we research it. Following a discussion of the complexities and inadequacies inherent in the terminologies, theories, and practices around GCE in debates to date, they explain the necessity for a profound epistemological, ontological, and methodological shift (Pashby, da Costa, Stein & Andreotti, 2020) via an emic, or 'bottom-up,' approach and how emic narratives, discourses, and practices such as those presented in this special issue can inform novel conceptualizations. While what the editors call 'intentional' GCE is conventionally based on normative, top-down definitions of what education policy actors deem to be a GCE agenda, an 'accidental' GCE may occur in everyday learning situations apart from, sometimes as a result of, and often in spite of, prescribed 'intentions.' In almost all cases these processes take place within a power structure that may be shifted, reset or exacerbated by these 'accidents.' This introduction explores in detail how such misalignments can come to light in actual practices via an emic approach that can inform, challenge, or change our dominant conceptualizations of GCE. Ultimately, the editors explain, such an approach can inform robust debate not only on what GCE *should* or *could* be, but also on what it *is*.

As we are writing this introduction, the world is faced with a threat that knows no borders, no passports, and, arguably, no skin color. A virus that we still know too little about has taken the planet by storm, revealing once more the complex and unequal geopolitical, economic, and social interdependencies that continue to structure our societies, despite all efforts towards equality and universal human rights. Calls for solidarity across borders, for global action, and a unified response against an

unseen enemy potentially threatening every human being have hardly ever been more visible and at the same time, perhaps, more vacuous. As national leaders stockpile essential medical supplies and promise *their* citizens (and *their* electorates) the first vaccine, the fastest flattened curve, and the tightest border, the limits of global citizenship have become even more obvious. The world map has become a dashboard showing (almost) in real-time the number of COVID-19 infections and death rates *per country*, a map configured around *national* borders despite the fact that a pandemic, by its very definition, is profoundly global. Indeed, a true end to the pandemic will require a global response. It appears that in times of emergency, one's first instinct is to nationalize the crisis, protect 'one's own,' and compare results, efforts, successes, with those of other nations. Where does that leave global-mindedness, global learning and, indeed, global citizenship?

Our Purpose: Gesturing toward emic approaches to GCE

It is in this context that we call for a re-examination of global citizenship education and of how we research it, approaching the growing debates on the matter from a different angle. These debates use varying terminologies depending on their specific genealogies within scholarly or more practice-oriented communities. The term 'global education' has been the Cold-War precursor of GCE in US and UK academic circles (Gaudelli, 2016, p. 38) whereas 'global learning' (*globales Lernen*) has been the term used in German education science, originating in a developmental education pedagogical tradition (see Wintersteiner, Grobbauer, Diendorfer & Reitmair-Juarez, p. 27; Scheunpflug & Asbrand, 2006, p. 34). While recognizing that terminologies *do matter*, we will, however, not insist on making these differentiations from the outset. The purpose we have set out here is to initiate fresh debates by shifting the perspective from normative/top-down to bottom-up/practice-grounded accounts. Our use of the term 'global citizenship education,' in short GCE, in the title and in reference to oft-institutionalized top-down processes, is purely pragmatic with the reader's initial orientation in mind. More specifically, we use the term 'global citizenship education' to cover a very broad range of discussions, voices, and positionalities in a field of education that aims to nurture citizens of the world who understand themselves as such, with an acute awareness of global (in-)justices and the motivation to work towards improving the status quo. Moreover, the desideratum is that they do so free of specific definitions of what they are doing imposed on them 'from above.'[1]

The field of education research dealing with notions of global citizenship now requires a profound epistemological, ontological and methodological shift (Pashby et al., 2020). We suggest this can be done by drawing on emic narratives, discourses,

and practices to inform novel conceptualizations of GCE. In this special issue, these are presented in the form of what we have called '(auto-)ethnographic vignettes,' which we understand as providing the 'data' from which insight for research can be drawn. These can be described as snapshots from fieldwork or self-reflexive observations or practices of GCE by different researchers in a variety of educational settings. The vignettes are followed by analytical reflections on them by scholars working in the field of GCE from different perspectives and with different approaches. Individual contributions can be read alone but the shift in perspective we are undertaking envisages taking stock of the publication as a whole. We have organized the texts into four mutually-informing sections: (i) this introduction, which explains the purpose and conceptual inspiration of the issue, as well as how our approach fits within, and speaks to, current debates on GCE; (ii) the data section, consisting of six (auto-)ethnographic vignettes; (iii) the analytical section, comprising five commentaries on the collection of vignettes by scholars in the field who engage with them from a range of theoretical and personal standpoints; and (iv) a conclusion, which reflects on the myriad of insights and perspectives debated in the special issue as well as the 'intentions, power, and accidents' inherent in producing a publication of this kind.

This special issue is thus an attempt to promote cross-disciplinary, cross-context dialogues, disruption and a break from tradition, also in the sense of disconnecting the data producer, the data collector, and data interpreter from one another, and attempting to view the same data from different epistemological and ontological positions. By bringing together such different methods of thinking about GCE (auto-ethnographic reflection, storytelling, snippets from a research diary, commentaries and reflections prompted by data vignettes) we also seek to make visible the process of knowledge production. The emic perspective, in this sense, is not just about 'giving a voice' to participants, but also about laying bare to scrutiny the role of the researcher in the process of constructing the perspective 'from the ground up.'

The vignette contributions seek to reveal emic perspectives on global citizenship education as they unfold in classrooms, staffrooms, curricula, textbooks, teacher training programs and other sites in schools around the world and place them into a discussion with theory. This requires an iterative approach to understanding these perspectives that begins with, and returns to, observations of what is happening educationally 'on the ground,' while repeatedly looping in theories and definitions of global citizenship, thereby bringing the 'local' and 'global' into a productive dialogue. This approach avoids inadvertently solidifying new forms of top-down normativity and reproducing the very power relations that critical approaches aim to destabilize. Methodologically, this approach entails tracing circulations of ideas about global citizenship in various educational contexts, but also examining mani-

festations of the global in citizenship education, civics, history, and other related subjects which may not, at first glance, explicitly address 'globality.' Epistemologically, this requires us to be reflexive about our own positionality and power as researchers and educators, and reflect on our assumptions about what is and is not (education for) global citizenship. Ontologically, this approach enables us to be open to diverse forms of globality that are often obscured by internationally circulating policy norms that often originate in Western Europe or North America.

Conceptually, this means letting the data speak for themselves – to different audiences, with different agendas and different expectations – and thereby allowing for unexpected realizations about GCE to take us by surprise. These – and similar unplanned events along our research journey – constitute the 'accidental' paths to which our title refers. The approach we wish to further does not start with prior conceptualizations or models but rather from actual practices at ground level, presented to us through different interpretive lenses. Instead of building on normative concepts of what GCE *should* look like with the aim of matching these against actual practices, we turn the process around: We adopt an emic approach that *begins with* stories about how that which might be called global citizenship manifests, accidentally or intentionally, in both surprising and less surprising places, among different actors in the everyday educational context, and in differently situated practices. It is from these insights that we hope to be able to re-conceptualize the aims, purposes and normative underpinnings of GCE and initiate a productive exchange on these issues.

In other words, with this collection we wish to uncover the complexities that an emic approach presents to current GCE debates that focus most often on programmatic or pedagogical conceptions which may or may not 'apply' as intended to lived contexts. While what we call 'intentional' GCE is conventionally based on normative, top-down, predetermined and prescribed definitions of what education policy actors (national education ministries as well as supranational organizations such as UNESCO, OECD, Oxfam, etc.) deem to be a GCE agenda, we also acknowledge the existence of an 'accidental' GCE which may occur in everyday learning situations apart from, sometimes as a result of, and often in spite of, prescribed 'intentions.'[2] In almost all cases these processes take place within a power structure that may (wittingly or unwittingly) be shifted, reset or exacerbated by these 'accidents.' It is the tensions, ambiguities and unequal power relations that arise at misalignments of the intended and unintended in education for global citizenship with which this special issue seeks to engage. How these bottom-up practices can inform, challenge, or change our dominant conceptualizations of GCE is the key question explored from various standpoints in analytical contributions to this issue. Our hope is that these reflections will inform further robust debate not only on what GCE *should* or *could* be, but also on what it *is*.

With this aim in mind, we hope to unveil connections and disconnections between various facets of GCE in different contexts and allow for fresh conceptualizations to emerge from this dialogue. This is not to deny the existence or usefulness of current approaches that contribute to our aims (as we outline below), but rather to rekindle the debate by allowing new types of conversations to unfold, between data and (self-reflexive) researchers, between data and others who have *not* collected the data, and/or between observers, readers, and data. This allows for the unexpected to become visible, for beautiful serendipities to occur, but also for blind spots to be identified and as yet unimaginable constellations to be illuminated.

Our points of departure: Dissatisfactions with current GCE debates

The field of GCE research is both expanding and shrinking at the same time. It is expanding in terms of the flurry of new conceptual, political and pedagogical work relevant to it (e.g. Torres, 2017; Reimers, 2020) as well as current moves to broaden the practical, everyday, aesthetic and dialogic horizons on which GCE is based (e.g. Gaudelli, 2016; Misiaszek, 2020; Bosio, 2021). Meta-analyses of GCE concepts, tracing their histories and discursive instantiations as well as the power dynamics in the making, implementing, and evaluating of GCE agendas (whatever form they may take – e.g. OECD, UNESCO) are in full bloom (e.g. Sälzer & Roczen, 2018; Vaccari & Gardinier, 2019; VanderDussen Toukan, 2018; Adick, 2018a), while critical, decolonial approaches are ever more hotly debated.[3] It is at the same time shrinking in terms of the drive to map the field through systematic and thematic overviews (Goren & Yemini, 2017; Yemini, Goren & Maxwell, 2018; Yemini, Tibbitts & Goren, 2019), bridging parallel traditions and political instantiations (e.g. Tarozzi & Torres, 2016), clustering, categorizing, and typologizing current approaches (e.g. Pashby et al., 2020; Oxley & Morris, 2013). All these serve to de-complexify and bring order to this 'messy' field. Both trends are important and necessary. They show a certain maturity that the field has reached, but also possible dead-ends if novel cross-disciplinary perspectives fail to be brought into relief.

Two key developments seem particularly relevant for the discussion we would like to (continue to) have about GCE: one is about power and privilege; the other about the gap between policy and practice.[4] Our first point of departure is therefore the discussion about power and privilege that warrants lively debate and heated arguments, but in our view falls short of empirical prowess. Problematizing relations of power and privilege and focusing on questions such as 'whose citizenship?' and 'whose global?' aims at moving from dominant approaches to GCE, often anchored in a global north/western perspective, towards decolonized understandings (see Abdi, Shultz & Pillay, 2015; Andreotti, 2011; Marshall, 2011; Pashby, 2011;

Scheunpflug, 2014). The critique that dominant notions of GCE are skewed towards western perspectives is solidifying in the field and takes issue, *inter alia*, with the genealogy of the concepts of global citizenship which rest in the western, white, 'enlightened' world, from Greece to Kant, and the political cosmopolitism that selectively serves the world's citizens. These universalizing ideals have been transformed into GCE agendas by powerful, western-embedded institutions such as Oxfam, UNESCO, OECD and others, and now purport to apply to 'the rest' of the world in a universalizing fashion. Much of the recent discursive analytical work in the field lays bare the situatedness of dominant forms of GCE in a particular context of western enlightenment entangled with a colonial past, and problematizes its universal aspirations. It is also noticeable that the contexts on which much of existing scholarship draws when examining practices or discourses of global citizenship in education also predominantly invoke western or global north experiences (Goren & Yemini, 2017). It is therefore not surprising that the content (e.g. values, knowledge, skills) underlying dominant GCE agendas is also predominantly 'western.' Lynne Parmenter (2011) explains this problem as resulting from the situatedness of knowledge production about GCE (not just of its contents). It is mostly western-born or western-situated academics, with access to resources and writing in English, who have the means to produce and distribute knowledge about what they deem GCE to stand for. As a result, Parmenter notes,

> There are still billions of unheard voices, and many thousands of ideas, opinions and valuable contributions to theories and practices of global citizenship education to be made by those who are affected in some way or another by the concerns of global citizenship education. (Parmenter, 2011, p. 378)

Significant calls to historicize this situatedness and consequently decenter/decolonize GCE have been around for about a decade and they have been multiplying in recent years. A special issue of the journal *Globalisation, Societies and Education* edited by Vanessa Andreotti in 2011 was among the first systematic collections that critically unraveled the various facets of the (geo-)political economies of GCE in various locations around the world. Ensuing edited collections (e.g. Andreotti & Souza's 2012 'Postcolonial perspectives on global citizenship education,' and Abdi et al.'s 2015, 'Decolonizing global citizenship education') include chapters on marginalized concepts, philosophies or systems of thought that could inform work in this field (e.g. Ubuntu, Buddhist understandings of 'self,' 'indigenous,' and 'aboriginal' perspectives) in an attempt to challenge the self-proclaimed universality of western humanist systems of knowledge as the basis of dominant GCE. A special issue of the journal *Compare* (2018, 48[3]) examined constructs of democratic citizenship education in non-western contexts as a way to provide further impetus to a decolonized agenda of GCE (see Kovalchuk & Rapoport, 2018). The most recent developments

call for ontological, not just methodological or epistemological change: We need to learn how to *be* otherwise and understand the limits of our own imaginations before we can learn to *do* and *know* otherwise (Andreotti, Biesta & Ahenakew, 2015; Andreotti et al., 2018; Pashby et al., 2020).

Calls for 'epistemic justice' and 'polycentric reconstruction' of GCE (Abdi et al., 2015, p. 20) remain, however, not without critics, who point for example to different 'traps' of decolonizing GCE, e.g. misreading the epistemological (Horsthemke, 2017), essentializing (Culp, 2020), ahistoricism (Vickers, 2020) or relativism (Drerup, 2019). We note far less debate, however, with regards to actual *practices* of GCE on the ground and from subaltern positions. A bottom-up perspective on GCE remains largely underexplored and the heated conceptual debates on the matter are barely informed by testimonials or approaches based on on-the-ground experience.

This brings us to our second point of departure: our dissatisfaction with current debates around policies and practices of GCE. Beyond the decolonizing critiques reviewed above, which also have started to inform discussions in pedagogy and education science about how global citizenship *should* and *could* be taught in actual classrooms, there is also a strand of research firmly anchored in comparative education and in sociological and anthropological traditions that investigates ideas of global citizenship and cosmopolitism as an educational (policy) trend. In this work, contents (e.g. curricula, textbooks, policy documents) and implementation of GCE agendas (e.g. in classroom practices, teachers' or students' opinions) in different national contexts are compared. Results almost invariably show that GCE policies and pedagogies cannot be merely imposed in a top-down fashion. Time and again studies show either that policy implementation (or what many call practice) almost always fails to live up to normative, vaguely defined and poorly understood programmatic concepts, or that these concepts take on a life of their own, completely disconnected from the everyday of students. For example, they become normalized (institutionalized) in authoritative educational texts which end up converging transnationally with little connection to national or local idiosyncrasies. Ample evidence for this is offered by cross-national studies of textbooks and curricula, for instance, in the neo-institutionalist tradition (see, e.g.: Bromley, 2009; Ramirez & Meyer, 2012; Moon & Koo, 2011; Jimenez, Lerch & Bromley, 2017). Although legitimated discursively, the ideals diffused through educational texts articulating an intended curriculum or purpose of schooling have little everyday relevance for protagonists of the educational act (see Rapoport, 2010 on teachers in the USA; Rapoport, 2017 on students in the USA; and Yemini & Furstenburg, 2018 on students in Israel). There is (still) too little work that looks at ground-level practices and takes a bottom-up approach that does not define GCE from the beginning but lets it emerge from below, from the discourses and practices mobilized in everyday contexts.

A notable exception is a slowly emerging strand of work which offers insight into everyday practices or negotiations of GCE that do not always fit the top-down model. Parmenter (2011) notes how providing different empirical bases for exploring conceptions of what it means to be a global citizen can reveal the gulf between theories of GCE and the real world. In a survey of students' opinions from a variety of global contexts collected in different languages (Arabic, Chinese, English, French, Korean, Japanese, Russian, Spanish and Thai) she found that not only western values of human rights (which are often equated with GCE in the dominant research paradigm) but also 'human beingness,' 'connectedness,' 'engagement,' and 'transformation' were mentioned by participants. She also discovered that key areas of debate in scholarly work on GCE (such as for instance the national/global dichotomy) found no echo in everyday conceptions of being a global citizen. Similarly, Akar started from the reported perceptions of young people in Lebanon and argued for an approach that builds methodologically on "self-reporting, reflection and discussions of experiences" (2018, p. 414) to reframe citizenship beyond the dominant narratives that have emerged from Western Europe and North America. Insight from studies of young people engaged in various programs enacting global citizenship on the ground was offered in several volumes of the journal ZEP (e.g. Rieckmann, 2007 on informal global learning in the German higher education sector) with a special issue edited by Sabine Lang, Annette Scheunpflug, and Gregor Lang-Wojtasik (1/2018) specifically focusing on empirical studies of global learning juxtaposing a variety of global settings. Szakács-Behling, Bock, Keßler, Macgilchrist, and Spielhaus (2021) drew on a multi-sited qualitative study in German schools abroad in various world regions, conceptualized as 'transnational educational spaces' (Adick, 2005, 2018b; Hornberg, 2010, 2014) that are particularly well suited for investigating GCE on the ground (see also Keßler & Szakács-Behling, 2020). By using Oxley & Morris' (2013) comprehensive typology of conceptions of global citizenship, they found that practices and discourses of GCE observed in different German schools abroad are patterned according to common characteristics that cut across regional boundaries, but are not easily amenable to theoretical typologies. These findings cast serious doubt on the usefulness of applying normative concepts, theories, policies or educational programs to practices. In an edited volume, Misiaszek (2020) also explores GCE from several (including aesthetic) perspectives by blending together 'new colors' of GCE: i.e. contributions from the global north and global south, or everyday interactions and discursive constructs that are mixed in imaginative ways, enriching the field. Gaudelli (2016) goes further in that he not only explores ground-level GCE practices in various global contexts but also builds on these to introduce a new concept into the debate. In his view, GCE is impossible to pin down to a single definition but can rather be seen as a bricolage of meanings with specific subjectivities, temporalities

and geographies. While differentiating, like Oxley & Morris (2013), between various concepts of global citizenship and global citizenship education agendas that may be variously influenced by these concepts, Gaudelli chooses to speak of GCE as 'everyday' and 'transcendent' at the same time; his understanding of GCE brings together a desired, habitualized practice within the everyday of schooling coupled with a utopian, idealistic element that points to GCE's inevitably progressive or emancipatory potential (Gaudelli, 2016, p. 50).

This special issue attempts to build on and continue these developments which problematize dominant accounts of GCE not only in the sense of listening to 'non-western' and marginalized voices in defining GCE normatively, but also by adopting everyday perspectives that remain close to lived experience and can become generative for further developing conceptual debates. At the same time, we are advocating a methodological decolonization that disrupts and complements the very process of generating insight through enabling novel forms of dialogue. But even more than this, we would like to spark debate based more firmly on actual practices taking place on the ground, not only in order to illuminate these, but also to contribute to and inform further conceptual and theoretical refinement.

Our inspiration and contributions

Like the authors of Emiliano Bosio's 'conscientising,' experience-based, and reflective conversations on GCE in the university sector (2021), we too are convinced that we cannot develop pedagogical ways to 'globalize' education without turning the mirror on ourselves, our teaching practices, and our research itself.

We are inspired by the work of Abdi et al. (2015) who call for 'epistemic equity' by giving voice to under-represented perspectives in *producing* knowledge about GCE. But beyond this desideratum, we also want to multiply the spaces and means of *distribution* and *consumption* of GCE knowledge, experiences and practices. We want to contribute to an increasingly dialogic and collective dimension of GCE, a non-conventional account of it not simply as a 'product' but rather as a permanent 'becoming' – a process, a living organism – with a strong utopian element that both reveals and conceals the limits of the (im-)possible (see Wintersteiner et al., 2015, pp. 2–13). We therefore understand the calls to decolonize GCE as more than a plea for 'epistemological diversity' (as Horsthemke, 2017 does); we *also* take them as inspiration to diversify our gaze toward and approach to GCE in everyday contexts. We wish to overcome precisely this epistemological monoculturalism of the field (Parmenter, 2011, p. 369) by looking at data from different viewpoints and mobilizing different theoretical perspectives, and we seek to encourage and enable robust

debate grounded in snippets of actual research practices to complement existing normative or pedagogical approaches.

In line with the aims of the special issue of the *British Journal of Education Studies* which points to the importance of considering "a wide array of contextual factors that shape [GCE's] manifestations and goals" (Yemini et al., 2018, p. 430) and rendering visible connections between existing concepts and theoretical influences, we also aim to contribute to the continual process of complexification of the field not only as a field of academic study but also as a field of practice. The bottom-up (*emic*) approach we propose is not meant to dethrone or replace the top-down (*etic*) variant, as we seek not only to expand into uncharted conceptual territories but also to promote a methodological shift. The academic field of GCE is fraught with normative conceptions and political agendas and often remains disconnected from the field of practice. It is inherently concerned with identifying 'best practices' and discerning 'what works.' This emphasis on pragmatism falls short when trying to understand how and why interventions fail, serendipitous or unexpected 'successes' come about, or simply what is actually going on 'on the ground' and why.

We do not wish to throw the baby out with the bathwater: emic and etic perspectives need to be balanced; in fact, they should converse with each other (see Morris, Leung, Ames & Lickel, 1999). Our plea for an emic approach is more of a plea for a balancing act, given that in our view the perspective from the ground is still, curiously enough, in its infancy. Too much of the existing literature relies on fixed precepts and falls into one of two conundrums: either it becomes too normative (whether it argues for western or non-western, for decolonial, critical, or dominant/legitimized paradigms) and focuses too much on what *should* be the content of GCE with little reflection on *how* it could be, or already is, brought about; or it builds on various pre-existing normative conceptualizations when looking at practices and everyday encounters, school contexts, etc. with a view to checking one against the other. These approaches find themselves at a dead-end when they argue either that it is a case of failed implementation or that one-size-fits-all measures cannot work in the variety of contexts where GCE pedagogies are seen as imperative. But this constant comparison between policy and practice is in our view counterproductive. It more often than not starts from a predominantly etic, and therefore short-sighted, view. The researcher, educationist, or activist is generally trained to look at practice through the lenses of predefined concepts, however simple or complex, however 'western,' 'non-western,' or critical these may be. We do not claim that this is a futile endeavor; indeed, the lenses of our glasses have a useful function and without them our vision may be impaired. The point, however, is that we should: 1. acknowledge the glasses (which many researchers already do); 2. be prepared to take them off and replace them with other glasses; 3. be open to discussion with the bearers of

other glasses about the experience and what this does to the data realities we are examining.

The emic perspective is, in this sense, not a renunciation of our own glasses in order to replace them with those of everyday actors in various sociopolitical contexts, because it may simply be that those glasses would never fit us. It is, rather, a recognition of the glasses' existence and an attempt to understand what they may do to our perspective, how they might influence what we choose to see and how we could benefit from this realization in pushing the field forward. In other words, we argue that the emerging perspective from the ground should not stop short of bringing together a wealth of insights in order to advance a fresh conceptual approach to GCE that contributes to the continuing and diversifying conversations already opening up in the field (for example, Bosio, 2021). What these new assemblages reveal to us, and how we can move GCE forward from this, remains to be seen. We hope that this special issue with its innovative format may occasion a vigorous, self-reflexive and critical debate on the field of GCE and its knowledge production.

Overview of the special issue

The vignettes represent a wide swath of geographical and topical diversity. They take us to schools in five different world regions (Africa, North America, Central America, Europe, and the Middle East) and seven different countries (South Africa, Germany, Ethiopia, Israel, the United States, Costa Rica, and Albania), where various participants enter the scene: ethics teachers, refugees, former apartheid fighters, transnationally mobile parents and students, post-socialist social activists, and self-reflexive educators. The vignettes also encompass a wide array of different kinds of institutions: public schools, private schools and universities as well as a street protest. Although, notably, none of the vignettes is set in what might be considered an informal context of education, they all consider the informality that underlies formal educational processes and pay particular attention to what might be considered the hidden curriculum as well as the often surprising transformations that occur in relationships between teacher and students and among students. Most importantly, the vignettes attend to the contested histories and contentious politics inherent in the subject matter being taught and learned. They address a series of issues, including immigration and diversity (Gräfe-Geusch), development and neoliberal economics (Riggan), social justice, civil rights, and human rights (Gardinier, Robinson), cosmopolitan values (Levenson), and peace education (Kertyzia). All these are at the heart of Global Citizenship Education even though teaching the latter was not necessarily the explicit intention of the education systems, teachers, or curricula in these contexts.

Reading the vignettes together unveils a tapestry of paradoxes and ambivalences. GCE emerges where you least expect it, and it is almost always intersected by power relations. A critical GCE which lays bare privilege and systemic inequality seems to resonate more strongly in milieus where injustice is more visible in everyday life. 'Softer' versions of 'global citizenry,' on the other hand, seem to prevail where power is taken for granted such that it goes unnoticed, rendering a critical confrontation with the privileged self deeply uncomfortable.

The commentaries on the vignettes are as diverse in perspective as the vignettes are in geographical and topical scope. A productive tension among these reflections emerges when what we call *emancipatory normativity* confronts the kinds of emic approaches promoted through the vignettes and this special issue. The emic approaches recognize that GCE *is* happening all around us all the time, all around the world (even without capital letters), simply by virtue of the fact that the vast majority of human beings alive today are aware that they are positioned globally in some way and are constantly learning about and from this positioning. Concurrently, formal education is a widespread occurrence which plays a critical role in situating us globally. Understanding the ubiquity and diversity of processes of GCE inherently pushes back against the normativity that exists in the field.

While all of the commentaries engage with the emic nature of the vignettes, some also embrace, and deepen our awareness of, the importance of learning from this emic or 'bottom up' perspective. These reflections note the capacity of the emic perspective to engage in reflexivity, casting a critical light on our own positionalities as researchers (Yemini) and unveiling the alienating nature of the normative stance promoted in many GCE initiatives, competencies, programs, and policies (Gaudelli). Other contributions promote, defend or take for granted both the emancipatory nature of GCE and the normative tools that often promote emancipation (Rieckmann; Lang-Wojtasik & Oza).

We, the editors of this special issue, firmly believe in the emancipatory potential of GCE even as we call for critical reflection on the power dynamics involved in defining *emancipation* and interrogating the norms that hold these definitions in place. We believe it is *also* important to engage with perspectives that promote emancipatory normativity. In order to emphasize these distinct contributions, we have ordered the reflections along this axis from normative-emancipatory to reflexive, reflective and emic. Finally, and to bring this special issue full circle, we conclude with a brief reflection of our own on the commentaries and the particular 'intentions, power, and accidents' that brought this publication into being.

Notes

1. Broadly in line with Richard Falk's understanding of the global citizen as one who engages intellectually and in action beyond one's political borders to fulfil the utopia of a better world (Falk, 1993, pp. 41–46).
2. An important distinction is made between formal, non-formal and informal education (Adick, 2018b, p. 125). What we refer to as 'intentional GCE' could match the 'formal' and what we call 'accidental GCE' the 'informal' because of the unintended character of the latter. However, given that our approach starts from situated practices rather than didactic approaches, we rather maintain that intentional aspects of GCE can also be revealed in non-formal education spaces where a GCE agenda is in place, for example through extra-curricular activities, while unintentional or accidental GCE could also occur in formal education – for example when unintended consequences of a formal curricular agenda that does not have GCE as its explicit aim *also* happen to enable global learning, global-mindedness, or global action.
3. See issue 7 of the journal *On Education. Journal for Research and Debate* (April 2020, available at https://www.oneducation.net/no-07_april-2020/editorial-7/), as well as the ongoing discussions in ZEP, in particular issue 4/2019.
4. Both were vigorously debated during the International Summer School 2019 on 'Global Citizenship Education and Citizenship Education in a Changing World: Normative and Pedagogical Challenges' of the Georg Arnhold Program on Education for Sustainable Peace, held at the Georg Eckert Institute for International Textbook Research in Brunswick, Germany.

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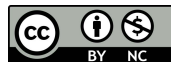
Vignette 1

Learning from the past:
The role of emotion in deflecting conversations
about privilege and power in South African schools

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Abstract

This vignette explores history teaching in a 9th grade classroom of a high school with a population mostly representing the privileged White minority population in South Africa. An experienced teacher takes the initiative, deviating from the curriculum, in trying to teach his students about racism and discrimination and the roles played by love and hate. Ultimately the vignette unveils how the deep injustices of the South African past still permeate all aspects of schooling and especially the history classroom, rendering 'citizenship' a difficult concept on the national level before even considering the global.

The bright African prints of Mr. Cilliers' rolled up shirts are a welcome splash of color in a school of pristine white walls and colonnades. "Actually not African," he reminds me, ever the history teacher; "the shwe shwe fabric was originally imported from Indonesia during the slave trade." He had once shouted this at a Black activist in a supermarket after being accused of cultural appropriation, followed by the ace up his sleeve: "I was fighting apartheid before you were even born!"

African or not, to me the shirts represented Mr. Cilliers' liminal position within Southgate High. His history with the prestigious institution was deep and personal; the late Mrs. Cilliers had been the boarding matron here, and both of their children had passed through its doors. He had watched as the school transformed from an

entirely White student body, to an only almost-entirely White student body, despite management attempts to keep 'standards' largely the same. He had, at every opportunity, tried to expand the horizons of his students – exposing them to protest music; inviting anti-apartheid activists to speak; and plastering the walls of his classroom with posters of Gandhi, Mandela, and John Lennon.

Yet nearing retirement, and with the recent passing of his wife, Mr. Cilliers was no longer playing by the rules. His commitment had somehow become re-orientated towards the students, and only the students; he was no longer invested in either the curriculum or the school as an institution. His teaching had become playful, but also personal, urgent, and profound; "What is the point of all those people dying," he once asked my bewildered husband, "if our students don't learn from the mistakes of the past?"

Learning from the mistakes of the past. But whose mistakes? Which past? And what should we learn? These are uncomfortable questions for a country like South Africa, and in particular for the privileged White minority population that Southgate High represents. The approach which Mr. Cilliers adopts in many ways reflects what we have often thought of as good Global Citizenship Education: a strong focus on human rights, democracy, and treating each other as equals. Yet, as the following vignette explores, this may be an insufficient framework to meet the demands of Global Citizenship in a world of growing structural injustice.

<p align="center">***</p>

"Good morning grade 9. Before you sit down, I want each of you to name one human right. Alex, you go first." Human rights are central to Mr. Cilliers' teaching. He spends the entire first term with his grade 9 history class discussing children's rights, how they have developed both in Europe and their native South Africa, and how they relate to concepts of citizenship. These rights, Mr. Cilliers posits, are essential to understanding both the Holocaust and apartheid – the two big topics the class will cover this year – and how they relate to each other.

His focus on human rights and citizenship is accompanied by a third theme: the notion of belonging. Belonging has gained particular resonance in this school in recent months. Following accusations of a racist culture which makes the minority non-White students feel like they don't belong, the school management has organized a series of day-long workshops. These workshops – facilitated by experts at great expense – allow staff and students to reflect on what it means to be part of this school. However, despite being warmly welcomed into Southgate High, they are out of bounds to me: "Better keep it internal," the headmaster cautions, no doubt wary of more negative media headlines.

As my disappointment wanes it is replaced by amusement at the flurry of moral panic and existential insecurity that the word 'racist' has evoked. "How long must we keep apologizing for?" vents the geography teacher aloud in the staffroom. She has unwittingly touched upon what no one has yet dared to articulate: that this is still a part of apartheid's legacy, and that 'we' might still have something to apologize for. Twenty-five years into democracy, is Southgate High finally reckoning with the implications of the past?

Yes and no. Unlike his colleagues, Mr. Cilliers is excited by these workshops. This is not – as I had anticipated – for their potential to reflect on South Africa's difficult history, but rather as an opportunity to link notions of exclusion to less contentious and more abstract ideas of human rights and citizenship. By concentrating on these global and theoretical concepts he neatly leapfrogs the uncomfortable specifics of the apartheid history in his own backyard.

The day after the workshop Mr. Cilliers devotes an entire class to reflection on how his students felt about the discussions. They focus particularly on how bad it feels to be discriminated against, and this bad feeling becomes a touchstone for understanding discrimination and human rights abuses throughout both the Holocaust and apartheid. When the students interview someone who was alive during apartheid, Mr. Cilliers encourages his class to ask how their interviewees felt at that time. When the students report back on their interviews, Mr. Cilliers asks them how they themselves felt when hearing this testimony. After one interview a Black student observes that her grandmother who was forcibly removed from a wealthy 'White' area to an impoverished 'Black' area in the 1950s still lives in that 'Black' area today. "What a fantastic example of the structural legacy of apartheid," I think, "and the ways in which racial segregation and inequality are still perpetuated!" Mr. Cilliers doesn't share my enthusiasm. Instead he deflects from conversations of apartheid's structural legacy to ask, "And how do you feel about that?" "Sad," the student replies.

During a lesson on the rise of Hitler, students were asked how it would feel to belong to the 'master race.' During a lesson on Kristallnacht, students were asked how it would feel to be a Jew watching the synagogues burn. Sometimes Mr. Cilliers goes around the class, giving every student the opportunity to say how they feel, while at other times students are encouraged to write their feelings down in their notebooks. The frequent comparison of these two histories – the Holocaust and apartheid – begins to blur their important structural differences, and together the class expands the frame of reference until only abstract similarities between the Holocaust and apartheid remain: the bad feelings, which caused people to do bad things, which caused more bad feelings.

One afternoon, with sun streaming through the large oak sash windows, Mr. Cilliers asks his students to sit in pairs, each with a pen and paper. "I want you to

take two minutes," he says, "and write down everything you admire about the person sitting next to you." There are giggles from the class as they begin writing. "Now I want you to give what you've written to your partner. You have a minute to read it and on the back of the paper I want you to write down how you felt when you read it." The students go one by one, and describe how they felt; "happy," "loved," "understood," "special." I sit at the back of the class, smiling with the excitement the activity has generated, but also wondering where this is going.

"The Holocaust is filled with hate," Mr. Cilliers begins. "It is filled with extreme hate. Hate is so intense that people suspend their morals and end up murdering close to 15 million people and think that is OK. So, there were two reasons why I gave you that. It's difficult to like someone if you don't like yourself. So, I wanted you to see all the good qualities about yourself, so that you can identify those qualities in someone else." He picks up a sheet from a girl's desk. "There's nothing better than getting something like this. I wanted you to feel good about yourself because it's interesting to see how hate can lead to death."

'Love,' 'belonging,' 'human rights,' 'citizenship' – according to Mr. Cilliers there was a direct line connecting these ideas. Apartheid was a lack of love. The Holocaust was a lack of love. Racial exclusion in the school corridors or on the hockey pitch was a lack of love. "All you need is love," I found myself humming. It was a compelling idea, and one which delighted the class. "The problem with South Africa," one student told me, "is that people don't treat each other kindly." "Yes," his friend beamed, "we need to be kind to everyone, and I've never been racist in my life!"

Yet these warm and fuzzy interactions left me cold. I had visions of Mr. Cilliers picking his way through a moral minefield, using the framework of 'feelings' to successfully avoid any difficult conversations that would force his students to confront the legacy of the past. We followed Mr. Cilliers' trail of logic and ended in a place where South Africa's structural inequality could be solved with inter-personal kindness; where 'belonging' – in a school that is structurally exclusive – could be solved with love; where the legacy of apartheid could be solved through not making anyone feel bad. I marveled at the students' enthusiasm for change, and their belief that a new South Africa was possible, all the while ignoring the elephant in the room: that the structural legacy of apartheid still remains, even when the hate that caused apartheid has gone.

And what of the hate caused by apartheid? "Get over it," was the students' response, as they complained about the lack of forgiveness in South Africa. "Black people will often try to take back what was once theirs, rather than like – you know – move forward," explained a student; "it kind of bothers me, because I've never had a problem with race." Indeed, any efforts to address structural inequalities – land reform, Black Economic Empowerment, affirmative action – were treated as affronts

to the mantra of not making people feel bad. Feeling bad as a victim of historical injustice was allowed, but being made to feel bad as a beneficiary of historical injustice was not. "Learning from the past does not mean trying to repeat it in reverse!" was the adamant cry, and indeed this was logically consistent – if the problem with apartheid was bad feelings, then the solution to apartheid cannot be more bad feelings.

<p style="text-align:center">***</p>

South Africa is a society of heart-breaking inequalities, and communities characterized by extreme levels of racialized poverty and anger. It struggles, as a nation, to make sense of past abuses and the contemporary legacy of those abuses. In this context, what does it mean to be a Global Citizen?

Despite the human rights approach that characterized Mr. Cilliers' teaching, I came to suspect that this was not what good Global Citizenship Education looked like. Students were taught about abuses in the past, but not how to link them to the present. They were taught to put themselves in the shoes of a Jew in Nazi Germany, but not a South African in the township down the road. They were taught to feel strongly about injustice rather than identify their responsibilities to it.

On the last day of term, however, the mirage of a history safely in the past was dissolved by a simple question; "Sir, if D.F. Malan was the architect of apartheid, then why is there a school in Cape Town still named after him?"

Despite Mr. Cilliers' attempt to deflect the question by speaking about the bureaucracy of choosing school names, this student persisted; "I don't think it should be allowed. I think it would be disgraceful" – she whispered intensely – "for a Colored person like to me attend a school with a name like that." She spat the last words out as though they disgusted her.

A cry of both support and indignation ran through the classroom and a dozen hands shot up. Students began to shout, "it's just a name, it doesn't matter!", "it makes people feel uncomfortable, it shouldn't be allowed," "it has nothing to do with legacy, he was just a person." Quickly the discussion spiraled out of control. Most concerningly however, a racial divide started to emerge which Mr. Cilliers was ill-equipped to manage.

These students had discussed harrowing historical atrocities with calm. However, the accusation that something was morally questionable in the present as a result of something that happened in the past was deeply controversial. A class previously so amicable became upset and angry. There was deep hurt and mistrust lurking just beneath the surface.

I reflected on this incident for a long time. I felt greater empathy for Mr. Cillers' approach which avoided such divisive discussions, and which maintained the calm

and amicable exterior. Perhaps this was all that could be expected for now. But the incident also made me reflect that the larger question of Global Citizenship Education may need to be reframed. Indeed, what does it mean to be a Global Citizen when we haven't yet learned to be a national one?

Vignette 2

When the global comes crashing in – A chance for GCE?
Reflections on teaching refugees in ethics instruction in Berlin

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Abstract

Based on an ethnographic study in Berlin's secondary school ethics classrooms, the author presents two scenarios that describe how teachers responded to and were challenged by the large influx of refugees that arrived in Germany during the summer and fall of 2015. Specifically, the narratives show how a male teacher's effort to engage his students in a positive exchange with refugee students was challenged by the constant criticism of refugee students by another teacher. The second portrayal describes how a female teacher, in reflecting on her engagement with refugee students and her regular ethics classes, came over the course of an interview to see (religious) diversity as an important aspect with which to engage students in her teaching. Overall, these two examples show how students' experiences of learning about diversity, citizenship, and the global depended considerably on whether or not teachers saw diversity as an opportunity for learning or something requiring discipline; in other words, whether a global geopolitical crisis was treated as an opportunity or a catastrophe.

Encountering refugees in Berlin's schools

When I started the fieldwork for my ethnographic study[2] the ramifications of the large influx of refugees that had arrived in Germany and Berlin during the summer and fall of 2015 were palpable everywhere. Media coverage was dominated by images of overcrowded and underfunded refugee camps at the EU's southern borders, and of large groups making the dangerous passage north across the Mediterranean. Across Europe anti-refugee sentiments flared in populations and among the political elite; borders were closed and policed again. In Berlin, the influx of refugees

produced a bureaucratic crisis. Media publications documented the catastrophic conditions around Berlin's registration administration (cf. Kögel, 2015; Müchler, 2015; Pearson, 2015). What went unpublished was the profound uncertainty but also the immense opportunities for learning that this global geo-political crisis brought into Berlin's school buildings and classrooms.

Below I provide two different accounts of how ethics teachers in Berlin responded to and were challenged by the demands and opportunities during this time. I will recount my observations of (1) a project between refugee and German students and (2) a conversation with an ethics teacher who taught ethics in a 'welcome class' – Berlin's formal structure to house new arrivals in the school system.[3] Both of the teachers I discuss below – Herr Lock and Frau Wels – were at a similar point in their careers; they were young and close to finishing or had just finished their teacher training. Their ambitions for the subject echoed the official goal for ethics instruction as stated in Berlin's school law as a subject meant to foster students' engagement with "*the fundamental cultural and ethical problems of individual life and societal cohabitation* as well as different moral and spiritual explanations" (SEYS, 2004 emphasis added). As Herr Lock said at the beginning of our interview:

> And I was also enthusiastic about ethics as a school subject. Because it makes sense that especially in Berlin where so many people with different backgrounds come together we do not separate according to religious faith in order to talk about morals and values.[4]

And Frau Wels stated that:

> The goal of ethics is to prepare students to survive in our world. And that is more important today than it was 50 years ago ... a world is not a country or a town where you stay but you have to also be able to communicate and get along with each other across cultures.[5]

In other words, both teachers saw ethics as a way to engage with diversity and to prepare their students for life in an interconnected heterogeneous world.[6] Both of these accounts provide insights into the challenges and chances that (forced) migration provided to schools in Germany. They are examples of how teachers engaged with questions of nation, belonging, and the global in a subject designed to foster peaceful conviviality by engaging with cultural and religious diversity in a global city. However, how this actually happened in their classrooms was fundamentally different.

Embracing opportunities and bringing difference together

Herr Lock was a young teacher finishing his last year of student teacher-training (*Referendariat*). He greeted me enthusiastically and guided me into a spacious, modern school building. We walked to a classroom near the school's second stairway. On the way Herr Lock briefly reminded me of the context of the class project I was

about to observe. He had brought together his eighth-grade ethics class with one of the welcome classes accommodated at the school. Students had designed posters in groups of six (three German students and three refugee students). These posters visually depicted proverbs that existed in German and Arabic and were displayed in the spacious stairway of the school's main building for a two-week exhibition.

Students were congregating in front of the classroom when we arrived. Two other teachers were also waiting there: one of them young, in her late 20s, the other probably in her 40s. Both of them were introduced to me as the teachers of the welcome class. The excitement of the students was palpable in their chatter and continuous movements. The ethics class had decorated their classroom for a joint celebration after all posters had been viewed. There were napkins laid out on each table, plastic cups, drinks, and cookies were ready and waiting for the students to return to the classroom.

The lesson started in the stairway. The teachers explained in German that each student could elect a poster other than their own as their favorite. After everyone had had a chance to view each poster, they would have a vote on the best poster in the classroom. While the ethics students and some of the refugee students entered the exhibition, a few of the refugees stayed behind asking their teachers to repeat the instructions. The younger female teacher from the welcome class patiently and quietly explained again in Arabic; the older teacher said to a student requesting Urdu that she did not speak Urdu, but that the student was able to speak German and thus, the assumption was, I presumed, should have understood. For the most part students from both classes remained separate, split into small groups, walking around and chatting excitedly in German and Arabic with their friends. During the time spent in the stairway the older of the two welcome class teachers reprimanded her students, especially the male students, constantly: "Take out your gum," "Take off your baseball cap," she would yell through the stairway.

After about 20 minutes the teachers started to tell students to move back into the classroom. Everyone sat down with their friends, separated into ethics and refugee students. Herr Lock explained that his students had prepared juice and cookies and everyone was to take a cup, walk around the room and learn each other's names. The older of the two teachers from the welcome class quickly added in a loud voice that each student should only have one cookie. Students reluctantly got up and briefly said hello to the people they did not know around them. Quickly everyone sat down again and the ethics students started to drink, eat, play, and chat excitedly at their tables. The refugee students also talked to each other. The refugee girls sat close together and whispered into each other's ears. Once in a while they would start giggling.

The teachers started the voting process. Each student was to come to the front and draw a line under the poster number they thought best. Multiple ethics students got up at the same time to cast their vote. Due to the lack of space the German students in the back of the room could not come to the front and simply shouted their number to others in the front. In the welcome class it was predominantly the boys who came to cast their votes. The girls stayed behind at their tables. After a short while the girls started whispering numbers into the boys' ears. The boys would then vote for them. The whole process was chaotic and after the same refugee boy came to the front multiple times, the older of the teachers from the welcome class started yelling at him to sit down and let the girls come and vote for themselves. The practice of sending the boy, however, continued for two more votes. At that point the older female teacher told her students they were done voting. Everyone quieted down and Herr Lock started to count the votes. The older female teacher then announced loudly that there had been a lot of cheating: "Well not everyone but ours cheated."

Despite the fact that both groups had used classmates to vote for others, only the students of the welcome class were reprimanded for this action – reinforcing a narrative that saw new arrivals and immigrants as deviant in the German context.

Confronting educators' positionality and beliefs

Frau Wels was a young woman who taught English, philosophy and ethics at a high track school in Berlin's North East and had just finished her student teacher training (*Referendariat*). Frau Wels was enthusiastic about the subjects she taught. She had always loved philosophy, she explained, and could not imagine teaching anything else. She talked about her idealism and trying to "change the world a little bit at a time"[7] by practicing critical thinking with her students. She described her students as very homogeneous: "They all come from, well, the vast majority comes from the same cultural environment ... were socialized in similar ways ... they come from, so to speak, a GDR-influenced parentage."[8] One of the potentially biggest problems she saw for her students was that they were not in contact with foreign cultures and were thus developing racist attitudes. Frau Wels paralleled her own upbringing with that of her students and described how it had influenced her worldview:

> I come from, well... I was born in the former GDR and it was for the most part not religious and I also grew up completely without religion well having very little to do with it. ... I am still not religious today and I am rather critical about religion from a philosophical perspective.[9]

She then went on to say that religion (although required in the curriculum) has so far not played a role in her teaching. Religion, however, was a major factor in how Frau Wels related to her students. The perceived unity with most of her students due to

their shared cultural heritage – which I felt expressed so palpably in her description of herself and her students – stood in stark contrast to Frau Wels' experience with other students as this description of the last test on freedom in her class shows:

> I have a student from Bavaria. She has been with us for a year and a half now and is Catholic. ... The text I gave them was about how human beings are not free because they are determined by so many social factors that they cannot free themselves from. And in her essay this student wrote as her argument that she herself had witnessed how Jesus... how did she write it... how Jesus freed a person from the package of social influences … she really meant a concrete person that she knew ... and by saving this person he [Jesus] had given them freedom. And that was her argument and I really did not know what to write in response. ... well to me this was strange, of course, simply extremely hard to comprehend.[10]

Her struggle with how to deal with this kind of argument was evident as she continued to describe her bafflement when faced with an argument that was not part of her "field of experience" (*Erfahrungsbereich*) and that completely "contradicted [her] point of view."[11]

At least as great was Frau Wels' struggle with the views of the students in the welcome class she taught:

> I have only been doing it for half a year and in the beginning I had a lot of respect; there was a little bit of fear of this task. ... I was incredibly afraid to [talk about] critical topics like freedom and moral values. Well a lot is... well it is difficult... to talk about.[12]

She then talked about what she had taught in this class instead. At some point she had asked them (in response to a fictitious moral quandary) to find examples for predicaments which they had encountered themselves:

> And there I got goosebumps for the first time, because the student, of course, did not say 'my parents got divorced. Should I stay with mom or dad?' ... instead they said: 'I am in Syria, there is war in my country, should I leave my family behind to come to Germany or should I stay there and stay with my family'. And these are ... these are their moral quandaries ... Well that really... [it] totally opened my eyes and shocked me because I had always recoiled from it, for exactly this reason, because what they have experienced is all so terrible. ... And now we could also talk about critical topics [specifically freedom...]. I had to approach this slowly and they did too and now it is a totally fascinating topic, and what I now do with them, for example, is to bring in their own stories.[13]

She then describes her aim for the welcome class specifically to learn about tolerance and non-discrimination of people who look different: "The students [are] themselves from other countries but in some cases incredibly nationalistic."[14] This stood in contrast to her earlier statement dismissing the ethics goal of teaching intercultural contact and understanding to her German students despite her perception that xenophobia might be a big problem for them:

> Ethics is just much more than... right... than this fact about intercultural understanding. ... Ethics is not there to create a dialog between all different cultures, because we just don't

have them [in her classrooms] ... And I have already said that my focus in ethics... is more on argumentation and reasoning.[15]

Over the course of the interview and after talking about her welcome class students she started to reconsider this position and expand an approach of intercultural exposure to her German students as well. After I asked her whether religion was an important topic for ethics classes (as the curriculum suggested) – a point she had dismissed earlier – she said:

Yes, I am thinking about it now, I am just developing this thought. But in theory, my main concern is that they [German students] should be just as tolerant of people that believe certain things due to their faith as towards people that follow principlism or utilitarianism ... Because when one looks at another person's religion, a lot of prejudice and fear can develop. And that's what one should work on dismantling.[16]

Although she chose to use 'one' ('*man*' in German) instead of a personal signifier here to think through the importance of dismantling prejudice based on religious identity, this passage still showed a progression in her thinking. Over the course of the interview, Frau Wels had opened up to the possibility for a more critical engagement with various types of diversity in her ethics classrooms.

Encountering opportunities and problems for GCE – Reflections

The uncertainties, challenges, and opportunities that the large influx of refugees created for Berlin's education system are captured in the perceptions and attitudes that these two teachers had toward teaching diversity and national belonging. Whereas Herr Lock sought to productively engage students to think about diversity, Frau Wels was far more skeptical of the role of ethics to manage diversity. Yet both teachers' perspectives were challenged when confronted by the realities of a diverse classroom. Whereas Herr Lock wanted to foster dialogue across difference, the way that the lesson actually took place may have accidentally reinforced negative stereotypes owing to the constant reprimands and accusations from one of the welcome class teachers. This may have undermined the purpose that Herr Lock had for his class. In Frau Wels' case the prolonged engagement with the refugee class seemed to have almost overcome her fears and discomfort regarding (religious) difference over time. In the course of her reflections on her teaching practices and beliefs during the interview her discomfort regarding engagement with religious diversity in her non-refugee classes seemed to lessen.

At the same time, Frau Wels and the teacher of the welcome class in Herr Lock's classroom constructed refugee students as in need of reform and the teachers' task as supporting a transformation toward 'behaving appropriately' in the German context. In this way they reinforced rigid constructions of nation and the need to belong *to* a

dominant group identity or power structure (i.e. ethnic Germans). Students' experiences of learning about diversity, citizenship, and the global thus depended considerably on their teachers' willingness to include differences and whether or not they saw diversity as an opportunity or something to be feared. In addition, my data showed that there were strong institutional barriers in the logics underlying teachers' professionalization towards including teaching about diversity in ethics emphasizing the fact that what we encounter in these vignettes is more than the personal preferences of teachers (cf. Graefe-Geusch, 2020).[17]

The influx of refugees brought considerable opportunities for teachers to engage with and reflect on diversity, global geo-political events, and the markers of belonging. The ways in which both teachers described above navigated this in their classrooms shed light on how global and national power structures may create disparities in how schools facilitate positive engagement with diversity in the context of global citizenship education.

Notes

1. New York University, New York, ag3728@nyu.edu; Consultant for the Polarization and Extremism Research and Innovation Lab, American University, Washington DC. This research was funded by the Steinhardt Doctoral Student Scholarship, The Shearwater Foundation, and New York University's Global Research Initiative Fellowship in Berlin, Germany. Data analysis and writing were supported by the Georg Eckert Institute Research Fellowship. I also thank the participants of the Georg Arnhold Summer School 2019 for their valuable input.
2. The data presented here were part of my dissertation research project. In my dissertation I analyzed how ethics teachers in Berlin's secondary schools engaged with and taught about ethnic and religious diversity (cf. Graefe-Geusch, 2020).
3. 'Welcome classes' accommodate new arrivals in Berlin's school system. They focus on German language acquisition before students are integrated into regular classes. In the 2015/2016 school year welcome classes were created all around Berlin, expanding the already existing capacities, to cater for the influx of refugees. This meant that even schools that had not previously housed a welcome class on site now had at least one.
4. „Und ich war aber auch begeistert von dem Schulfach Ethik. Weil ich das, gerade in Berlin vor dem Hintergrund, dass so viele Menschen mit so unterschiedlichem Hintergrund zusammenkommen, für sinnvoll halte, dass nicht man noch Konfessionsgruppen getrennt miteinander über Werte redet." The general practice in Germany is that ethics/philosophy function as replacement subjects for those students opting out of confessional religious instruction. That is, in most federal states students are separated according to their faith. In this quote, Herr Lock is referring to this type of organization in other federal states, saying that the way Berlin does it is having advantages for students.
5. „Also, die Ziele des Ethikunterrichtes sind die Schüler oder die Kinder darauf vorzubereiten in unserer Welt zu überleben. Und das ist heute wichtiger als noch vor 50 Jahren, ... eine Welt ist ja nicht ein Land oder eine Stadt, wo man bleibt, sondern man muss auch in der Lage sein über Kulturen hinweg miteinander zu kommunizieren und klarzukommen."

6. Cf. Yemini, Tibbitts and Goren (2019), Banks (2009), Pashby (2015) and Gaudelli (2016) for discussions of the connection between diversity, immigration, multicultural education and GCE.

7. „Die Welt im Kleinen zu verändern." The interview was conducted in German. All passages were translated by the author. Original German is provided in the footnotes.

8. „Die kommen ja alle aus dem-, also, wirklich, die allermeisten kommen aus demselben Kulturkreis. ... wurden ähnlich sozialisiert, sind hier noch sozusagen meistens die-, noch sozusagen DDR- geprägten Familien".

9. „Ich komme aus, also, ich bin noch in-, in der ehemaligen DDR geboren und die war ja größtenteils nicht religiös und bin auch sozusagen völlig areligiös aufgewachsen, also, hatte damit wenig zu tun. ... bis heute, also, ich bin nicht religiös. Und bin auch eher kritisch gegenüber Religion, einfach sozusagen aus so einer philosophischen Grundperspektive heraus."

10. „Ich habe eine Schülerin, die kommt aus Bayern. Die ist jetzt seit anderthalb Jahren bei uns und ist katholisch ... in dem Text ging es darum, dass der Mensch unfrei ist, weil er eben sozusagen von sozialen Faktoren determiniert ist. Und sich nicht wirklich freimachen kann. Und die Schülerin hat geschrieben und sagt als Argument, dass sie selber Augenzeugin war, wie Jesus-, wie hat sie geschrieben, wie Jesus einen Menschen oder den Menschen, also, sie meinte wirklich einen konkreten Menschen, den sie kannte, sozusagen von diesen Päckchen der sozialen Einflüsse ... befreit hat und den Menschen dadurch, indem er ihn erlöst hat von bestimmten Sachen, Freiheit geschenkt hat. Und das war auch ihre Argumentation und da wusste ich gar nicht, was ich aufschreiben sollte. ... also, für mich war es merkwürdig, natürlich einfach unheimlich schwer nachzuvollziehen."

11. „Widerspricht einfach sozusagen meiner Auffassung."

12. „Ich mache das jetzt auch erst seit einem halben Jahr und habe am Anfang wirklich Respekt so ein bisschen Angst vor der Aufgabe gehabt. ... Ich hatte unheimlich Angst, kritische Themen wie Freiheit oder auch Werte, also, also, vieles ist-, es ist schwierig, also, anzusprechen."

13. „Und da hatte ich das erste Mal irgendwie Gänsehaut, weil die Schüler dann natürlich nicht gesagt haben, ja, meine Eltern haben sich scheiden-, jetzt Mama oder Papa? [..]sondern die sagen halt ich bin in Syrien, mein Land ist Krieg, lasse ich meine Familie zurück, um selber nach Deutschland zu kommen oder bleibe ich da und bleibe bei meiner Familie. Und das sind-, das sind deren Dilemma Situation ... Also, das hat mich so total-, mir auch so die Augen geöffnet und mich schockiert, weil ich ja davor selber auch so zurückgeschreckt habe, genau diesen Gründen, weil es halt so schlimm ist, was die erlebt haben. … und jetzt ... könnte man auch über-, über die kritischen Themen eher reden. ... ich mich da rantasten musste und sie auch und das ist ein total spannendes Thema, was ich jetzt aber zum Beispiel mit denen machen kann, so ihre eigenen Geschichten auch reintragen."

14. „Ich sehe es gerade in der Willkommensklasse noch mehr als Aufgabe, denen sozusagen unsere Grundwerte, also, zu vermitteln, in Anführungsstrichen, denen zu zeigen, was wir-, was uns hier wichtig ist, denn-. (I: Mit bei uns meinst Du-?) Mit bei uns meine ich jetzt Deutschland. Und zum Beispiel die, also, wirklich demokratische Grundwerte. Gleichstellung von Mann und Frau, sozusagen Ablehnung von Diskriminierung von Leuten, die anders aussehen. Zwar-, zwar sind, also, sind die Schüler selber aus anderen Ländern aber teilweise hoch nationalistisch"

15. „Ethik ist ja auch viel mehr als, genau, gerade dieser Fakt mit der kulturellen Verständigung. ... der Ethikunterricht ist nicht da, um mit den verschiedenen existierenden Kulturen in Dialog

zu treten, weil es die ja gar nicht gibt bei uns. und ich habe ja auch gesagt, mein Fokus im Ethikunterricht-, [ist] mehr so auf dem Argumentieren und Begründen."

16. „Ja, ich überlege gerade, also, ich entwickle gerade so erst diesen Gedanken. Aber im Prinzip-, mir geht es darum die sollen sozusagen Menschen gegenüber, die bestimmte Sachen glauben oder meinen aufgrund ihres Glaubens sollen sie-, denen sollen sie genauso tolerant gegenübertreten wie Menschen, die sozusagen Prinzipienethiker sind oder Utilitaristen sind. ... weil wir manchen Menschen sozusagen ihre Religion ansehen, entstehen sehr, sehr viele Vorurteile und Ängste. Und die müsste man schon auch abbauen."

17. In order to increase professionalism teachers were actively engaged in reducing or eliminating teaching about diversity in ethics and favored theoretical and philosophical content.

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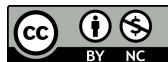
Vignette 3

Homo economicus and the developmentalist state: Controversies over Citizenship Education in Ethiopia

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Abstract

The author analyzes a classroom observation of a lesson on traditional versus modern practices of saving money, given in the context of Ethiopia's Civic and Ethical Education (CEE) program. This program's curriculum was central to Ethiopia's post-1991 nation-building project and is in many respects a blueprint for a particular notion of citizenship and personhood, and for relationships between Ethiopians, their nation, and the world. This vignette unveils the deeply controversial nature of the lesson's content and juxtaposes this with the lack of debate encouraged in the classroom. It shows how the CEE curriculum espouses a set of financial priorities here that may be unrealistic for students on the one hand, and antithetical to their religious, community and cultural values on the other.

Teaching homo economicus personhood

The classroom was wide and cool with a beautiful view of the school compound from its third-floor window. There were about 30 students in the class. On the board the teacher had written some notes on unit 9: 'savings.' They read:

> Savings:
> Why people save money.
> Factors affecting saving:
> Income
> Level of consumption
> Extravagant practices
> Absence of family planning
> Religious dogmatism

The teacher noted that there were traditional ways to save and modern ways to save and said that "the modern way is better than traditional way." Then, she asked students, first in Amharic and then in English: "Why do people save? Who can tell me, why you would save money in the bank?"

Students answered with comments such as: "When we save our money in the bank, we get extra money." "If we put our money in the bank we can withdraw when we need it." And, "it is advisable to save money using modern institutions." Finally, one student said: "Saving in Ethiopia is very low. Income in Ethiopia is very low."

The teacher ignored the fact that this last comment deviated from her question. As she questioned the students, she didn't pause long to hear what they thought. Most students seemed to simply parrot what the teacher had said. She moved on to discuss the next factor affecting saving: "Many people prepare big wedding ceremonies. This leads to what? Extravagant practices. Also, *betam tililik* [very big] national holidays. This leads to what? Extravagant practices. There are also some ceremonies like graduation ceremonies."

She then moved on to family planning. "Having more children has a negative impact on saving." She asked how many people there were in each of the students' houses. Students mumbled, "two," "three," and "four." The teacher ignored the fact that the students were admitting to having small families and responded by saying: "When you see the trend, there are a lot of children. Having children makes it very difficult to save money." She then rather abruptly moved on: "The other factors?" Students limply chorused, "some religious dogma."

The teacher responded with an example: "In Orthodox Christianity there are many holidays." She elicited names of holidays from students and then continued, "religious holidays discourage savings. Also, religion gives us a 'don't worry about tomorrow' attitude. You stop thinking about the future." She then made a comment about the problem of 'excessive generosity' and concluded by asking the students: "Have you any questions? What have you learned? What does savings mean?"

Students, together, repeated the basic points that were written on the board. The remainder of the class was a review of the material, with the teacher asking questions and drilling the students on the material that was printed in the textbook, had been covered in previous classes, and was introduced in this class period. The discussion proceeded with the teacher asking questions and the students calling out the answers, not as a group, but individually and in clusters of several students at a time.

Teacher: What are the modern institutions?
Students: Bank. Insurance. Microfinance.
Teacher: What are the advantages of modern institutions?
Students: Security.
Teacher: What are the major factors inhibiting savings habits in Ethiopia?

Students: Income. Level of consumption. Absence of family planning. Extravagant practice.
Teacher: Who can tell me what leads to extravagant practice?
Students: Weddings. Birthday celebrations.

The class ended abruptly when the bell rang.

Positioning Ethiopia's Civic and Ethical Education (CEE) curriculum

The above is taken from my observation of a lesson from Ethiopia's Civic and Ethical Education (CEE) program which I conducted in April 2017. Between 2016 and 2017, I set out to conduct research on the CEE curriculum; however, my fieldwork got off to a late start due to civil unrest in Fall 2016 and a subsequent government declaration of a six-month state of emergency. When I did finally gain permission to conduct interviews and observations of CEE teachers in 2017, it was close to the end of the year. Most teachers were teaching the unit on 'savings' by that point. This particular unit would not have been my original choice of focus for fieldwork on the politics of teaching CEE, but it was a useful accident as there were a number of controversies surrounding it; namely that it was an attack on Ethiopian culture and a product of the ruling party's developmentalist agenda.

The CEE curriculum found itself centrally situated in debates that emerged around widespread protests and anti-government organizing. Many people argued that the CEE was propaganda that promoted a vision of citizenship held by the party that had ruled Ethiopia since 1991, the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Party. The curriculum was widely criticized for promoting the ruling party's agenda.

Indeed, the CEE curriculum was central to Ethiopia's post-1991 nation-making project and posits a particular relationship between Ethiopian citizens, their nation, and the world. In 1991, following the overthrow of the communist dictator, Ethiopia reconfigured itself as an ethnic federation under the control of the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Party (EPRDF). Despite hopes and promises that Ethiopia would move towards a multi-ethnic, multi-party democracy post 1991, the EPRDF managed to consolidate power and crackdown on any viable political opposition. Meanwhile Ethiopia projected a global image of itself as a stable country focused on peace, human rights and development.

In many respects the CEE curriculum is a blueprint for a particular notion of citizenship and personhood. CEE is a required and mandatory subject from elementary school through university. Students are required to score well on a CEE examination in order to be admitted to university. The curriculum centers around constitutional democracy, which undergirds a sense of patriotism, responsibility and government accountability under ethnic federalism; and individual responsibility, which is tightly linked with living peacefully in a multi-ethnic country but also produces a very particular sense of developmental homo economicus such as we saw in the class

I described above (Yamada, 2011, 2014). It also holds up Ethiopia as a model of racial justice, human rights and economic development for the world.

However, Ethiopians did not see their own government as a model of justice, human rights and development. In May 2014 protests in Ethiopia began in the Oromia state, the ethnic state of Ethiopia's most populous, and most historically disenfranchised, ethnic group. Security forces used excessive force against protestors at this time, resulting in many deaths throughout the years of protest (Human Rights Watch, 2014). The protests continued, becoming bolder as they pushed back against a pattern of central government repression and gaining greater support (Fasil & Lemma, 2015). Underlying the protests were not only frustration with the lack of democracy and the stranglehold that a single, ethnically controlled party had on Ethiopia's hopes for democracy, but the widespread sentiment that the spoils of Ethiopia's aggressive developmentalism evaded the youth while the party elite became wealthy and corrupt. Protests spread throughout the country converged around frustration with youth unemployment, corruption, failure to institute democracy and the clinging to power of Ethiopia's ruling party. Tellingly, foreign-owned businesses, which were seen as a vehicle through which wealth was generated, not for the country, but for the party elite, were a particular target of protestors. A six-month state of emergency was declared on October 2016 and then extended for three months, because the government regarded the wave of protests unmanageable. Although the state of emergency temporarily restored calm, protests once again emerged in July 2017 before the state of emergency was lifted in early August of that year (Al Jazeera, 2017).

During the course of my fieldwork, it became clear that there was deep concern about what was perceived to be a political bias in the CEE curriculum, as well as frustration with teachers and with students. Teachers, students and others commented to me that everyone believed that CEE teachers were 'politics' teachers who had been put in place to spout the party's ideology. Meanwhile, CEE teachers themselves told me that they were not political but rather 'secular' and devoted to teaching theoretical topics such as democracy and human rights. Teachers and students also expressed frustration that there was a wide discrepancy between the curriculum and 'reality.' A most notable example was that the curriculum taught that citizens have a right to peacefully oppose the government, in spite of the fact that police had recently actively, violently clamped down on protestors. Another noted discrepancy between the curriculum and reality was the assertion that individual Ethiopians could be responsible for their own prosperity in the face of widespread corruption, consolidation of wealth by the elite and investments in construction, tourism and other large-scale businesses, while youth were left jobless and the country remained impoverished. The unit 'savings' gets to the heart of these issues.

Riggan: Controversies over Citizenship Education in Ethiopia

Civics Education and neoliberal developmentalism

Looking at my fieldnotes from classroom observations on the unit on 'savings,' one can see why this unit was controversial and yet the classroom structure afforded no chance for students to debate these controversies. Indeed, the mandate that students would be tested on this subject foregrounded an imperative to learn and regurgitate the content rather than debate it. This was problematic given that these issues were highly personal for students whose families likely placed great value on traditional ceremonies, participated in traditional savings institutions and, in many cases, did not have money to save. Thus, the curriculum espoused a set of financial priorities that may have been unrealistic for students on one hand, and antithetical to their religious, community and cultural values on the other.

In another class I observed on 'savings,' traditional savings institutions were specifically named and denaturalized. The teacher discussed several institutions with students writing the words: *idir* and *ikub* on the board as if they were new vocabulary. He then noted that, "these are popular in rural areas. These institutions of saving are established where there is no modern institute of saving." Partly through elicitation and partly through lecture, he explained that *ikub* is a system where everyone contributes each month and one month each member takes their share of the money turn by turn. He then goes on to explain *idir* as people contributing either money or time, and when someone dies or gets married, the *idir* would provide labor and supplies (tent, plates, cups, chairs) to support a wedding or mourning.

The teacher continued asserting that, "traditional institutions of saving are a risk. People shouldn't be advised to save in traditional institutions." The teacher then moved on to discuss 'modern' savings institutions. In this discussion no risks were noted.

As with the lesson described in the beginning, most teachers taught directly from the text identifying the ways that traditional culture posed barriers to saving, highlighting the risks of traditional savings institutions and propping up institutions such as banks and insurance companies as vital to saving. One teacher particularly took on 'planning' as an essential disposition for saving.

Towards the end of the lesson, the teacher comes to a final point, "the other traditional factor [that stops saving] is [an] unplanned life. What is an unplanned life?" The teacher continues, "for example there is an unplanned family. If a family has a lot of children then they haven't something left for savings." He then wrote on the board:

Income – consumption = savings

And the teacher explained: "When you have a lot of children consumption increases and savings decrease." He then briefly noted, "other factors that affect savings:

income factors. This is not a traditional factor but is a factor that affects savings." Without pausing to explain or discuss income, he then moves on quickly to discuss "inadequate financial institutions."

In interviews with teachers, most teachers told me they were aware that the savings unit was completely unrealistic for students. One teacher noted: "Most students who come to government schools have a low socioeconomic status. They can't even feed themselves so in practice it is impossible to save." And another told me:

> Even though they read it [the text], unless they have it [money] they can't save. We tell them we have to save to get better options in the future. But even they don't have their lunch or breakfast, they keep silent. Some students eat and others keep silent not eating. This is because our culture blinds us not to speak in or out. They keep [their opinions] in their mind rather than speaking. Money that you get per month is not enough. Some days they get money. Some days not.

It is easy to see why many commented that this particular component of the curriculum seemed like an attack on community institutions. Not only did it criticize community-based savings institutions such as the *ikub* and *idir* and attack the extravagance of traditional religious celebrations, the savings unit put the blame on individuals for engaging in such traditional practices and failing to plan for savings. And it taught these lessons to students who, in some cases, came to school hungry because the economy failed to provide an adequate living standard for them.

Ethiopia's CEE curriculum is clearly positioning Ethiopian citizens to imagine a particular relationship between themselves as citizens who behave in fiscally responsible ways, their country as a developmental state, and the world which is honoring Ethiopia's unique role as a model of development. Students are being taught particular habits, beliefs and dispositions that will, ostensibly, enable them to inhabit a particular subject position in this relationship. But this positionality does not reflect the reality of their everyday lives in which traditional institutions are sometimes more reliable than banks, cooperative borrowing and lending imbued with social relationships have long proven themselves to be reliable, social traditions often shape and sustain communities, and, perhaps most importantly, most people have no money to save.

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Vignette 4

Expressions of Global Citizenship in student protests in Albania (2018–2019): Fieldnotes and reflections

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Abstract

This vignette examines the idea of global civic engagement among student activists in Albania, contextualizing their protests within the current landscape of wider global and domestic protests. The concept of global civic engagement does what global citizenship and global competence have often failed to do, uniting individuals from distinctly different points of view via solidarity, a sense of shared identity and belonging, and a sense of agency in bringing about social and political change. The author considers the extent to which this approach to global civic engagement can help address some of the limitations of dominant models of global citizenship and global competence used today.

Introduction

During the summer of 2019, I stopped over in Tirana, Albania for three days between leading an educational trip to Bulgaria and joining a symposium on global citizenship education at the Georg Eckert Institute in Germany. Since completing my dissertation research in Albania in 2009, I have continued to engage with local education stakeholders there. I was honored to consult with UNESCO on their Education Policy Review for Albania (2017), and I have also served as a consultant for the Open Society Foundation for Albania, working to support local researchers in improving education quality and equity there.

In 2019, my research project aimed to comparatively examine expressions of global citizenship in student protests during 2018–2019 in three different contexts: (1) US student walkouts to protest gun violence (March for Our Lives); (2) Albanian

university student protests (the Meme Protest); and (3) international school strikes for climate action. My project was titled: '*Pushing the boundaries of Global Citizenship Education: Solidarity and youth civic engagement on a global scale*.' Briefly, this project adapts a theoretical framework from the work of Rogers, Mediratta and Shah (2012) who present a typology of civic development outcomes focusing on civic knowledge, skills, and identity across two dimensions: participatory engagement and transformative action. I argue that their typology provides a valuable framework through which to examine the idea of *global civic engagement*, particularly among youth activists. The concept of *global civic engagement* encompasses specific knowledge and skills while also drawing on a shared sense of civic identity that is transformative in terms of confronting injustice. The crux of this sense of shared identity is forged not through the abstract and intangible vision of a common humanity, but in concrete action on the basis of solidarity to achieve shared political, social, and/or economic goals. In this sense of solidarity, the idea of *global civic engagement* does what global citizenship and global competence have yet failed to do – it unites individuals across distinctly different points of view into a sense of belonging, purpose, and agentic action for social and political change. I believe this idea of *global civic engagement* can help address some of the limitations of dominant models of global citizenship and global competence, and can offer important insights for a range of stakeholders committed to the realization of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and other areas of collective social and political transformation.

To pursue this research inquiry, and collect some first-hand accounts from Albania, a friend of a friend put me in touch with student participants in the Albania protests. I received a text from one participant, whom I will call 'Keti'; in her text, she indicated that she has been a part of the student protest since the first day it started and that I should feel free to ask her any questions. We arranged to meet in a café in central Tirana the next day.

Fieldnotes: June 18, 2019

Keti and Lena (aliases)

I sat down with Keti and Lena on a bright summer afternoon in an air-conditioned café in the city center. I offered them a drink of water but they declined. After securing a verbal informed consent and selecting her alias, Lena, the more talkative of the two, launched into an account of the protest movement. From her description, I gathered that students from the faculties of Engineering and Architecture had started the protests in December 2018 when an additional fee was added to their university expenses. Lena explained that the new fee was around 80 euros per credit hour, in

addition to all the other fees resulting from higher education reform laws in effect since 2015, when there had also been protests.

Students took to the streets of Tirana and gathered in front of the Education Ministry on December 2nd, 2018, calling for the Minister of Education to resign. Soon, as more people joined the protest, eight demands emerged and were delivered to the government; these included reduced fees, better conditions in student accommodations, expansion of university library resources, and more open and transparent decision-making processes.

After about a month, the protesters addressed the Prime Minister Edi Rama directly. He tried to call for 'dialogue' with them, turning to social media to try to engage them. But they mocked his requests and thus began the 'meme protest' on social media. In January, Prime Minister Rama removed and replaced seven ministers, including the Minister of Education. But the students pressed on to have all eight of their demands met.
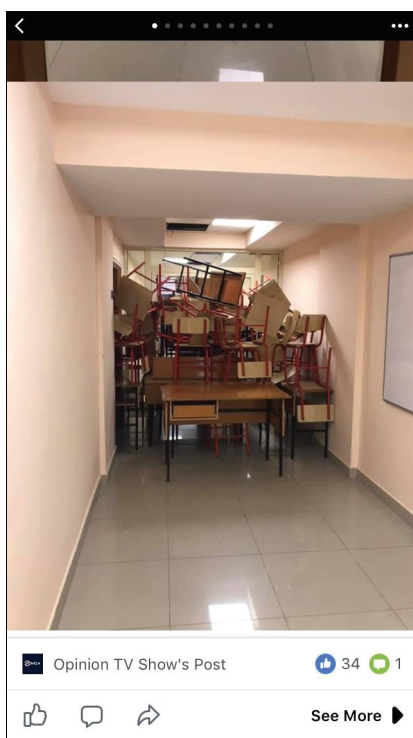
In January 2019, things heated up at the Faculty of Law, and the police got involved. The fees were reduced, but only for one year, and the protesters did not find this sufficient. They felt their eight demands were basic and reasonable and should be met in full. Keti sent me two photos of the protests. The first juxtaposes the December 2018 university student protests with an image from the December 1990 protests that eventually caused the fall of the communist system in Albania. Underneath the photos, the text reads (translated from Albanian): "There is still hope, we will rise again whenever injustice is done to us or whenever our rights are violated. Students are the future of the country!!!" The second photo shows how the students piled up the desks and chairs in the Faculty of Law to barricade themselves inside, protecting themselves from the police. According to Keti and Lena, there was a violent altercation when police tried to penetrate the barricade, and some students were injured.

Fabian (alias)

About half an hour after Keti and Lena left the café, I met Fabian, a young student from the School of Agriculture. Fabian was very concerned about the fees, which he felt were unfair and unreasonable. He explained how students were prevented from completing their exams on time because faculty were not available and were not teaching at a high level, yet it was the students who had to cope with financial penalties for overdue exams.

Fabian explained how he received messages through Facebook Messenger about the protests. Students were outside in the streets with a megaphone in a process developing the eight demands. He felt it was very well organized and democratic. The person with the megaphone would call out demands, and then ask people to vote yes or no. For Fabian, it was a very sociable process too; there was music, pizza, and community support for the protesters. Everyone was singing while they marched. He thought at least 4,000 students were participating.

The biggest issues that concerned Fabian were the low quality of the student accommodations and the lack of a university library, although, like Keti and Lena, the former issue did not affect him personally. I reflected later that this disposition to take an active stand for the rights of others is a key component of the solidarity aspect of youth civic engagement. Fabian became involved in the protests because he felt that one person speaking up could be punished, but as a group, you can do more. He worried that the leaders of the protest would suffer intimidation from the government or their supporters. He noted that there were some fake pictures being published. As a result, the student protesters 'denounced' those who were 'political' – i.e. youth acting on behalf of their political parties rather than the students' cause. He said the protesters wanted to remain independent of political party influence.

Researcher reflections

What did I learn from my interviews with the students? What themes and key points permeate them? What do the students' perspectives tell us about their particular struggles and about youth civic engagement in a wider sense?

As I reflected on the Albanian student protests, I wrote up several points that connected their experiences to the concept of youth civic engagement. First, I reflected on what I learned about the protest organization, strategy, and process. The protesters made narrow claims of eight 'demands' or requests, with the aim of pressurizing authorities to meet them. The use of social media was also central to the protests' development and youth engagement. Indeed, the protests emerged and spread almost exclusively through social media and digital communications, including Facebook Messenger, the Facebook website, and texting. The students adopted the term 'meme protest' due to the use of social media memes to spread their messages and make their demands known to the government. In terms of location, although the protest movement started in Tirana (Albania's capital), it quickly spread throughout the country, communicated across social media which enabled widespread participation.

The protests were also designed to evoke the historical memory of student power from the past. The first demonstration deliberately began on the 2nd of December (2018) in order to symbolically evoke the memory of the historic 2nd of December student protests in 1990 that led to profound social and political change in Albania. The meme that juxtaposed these two student protests linked them with the phrase, "students are the future of the country."

Strategically, the student protesters used diverse tactics. First, they demonstrated in front of the Ministry of Education, which led to the new law being cancelled immediately. They continued to engage in one month of non-violent demonstrations, without much change occurring during that period. Then they shifted their attention to directly pressuring the Prime Minister using memes and social media to express their criticism. By focusing on their specific eight demands, they used a narrow frame in which to advance their cause, insisting on independence from political parties.

Although the students maintained a national focus in their demands and sought to pressure government officials, their demands reflected many students' broader international aspirations such as the desire to travel abroad for graduate school or for future employment. Furthermore, although the specific goal of the protest was the fulfilment of students' right to education in their country, their understanding of educational rights was embedded within a more universalized human rights discourse. The students recognized that the eight issues on which they sought government action were preventing Albanian students from claiming and fulfilling their human right to education. One student said that, in effect, by denying their eight

demands, and thus denying students' right to education, the government was "making them leave" in order to fulfill their educational rights elsewhere. In this way, although the protest was national/local in focus, the students had a 'global' perspective regarding human rights and sustainability, noting about the latter, "it is the future."

Comparative case analysis

While the main focus here is on the insights gained from the Albanian student protests, a wider comparative analysis with similar cases (e.g. the US 'March for our Lives', Albania university protests, and climate strikes) illuminates several important shared aspects relating to the development of youth civic engagement on a global scale. For example, in each case, youth expressed their solidarity by demonstrating for collective rights, whether they directly benefited from the demands or not. They were thus motivated by empathy and/or shared identity with others in the collective concerns of protecting the rights to education and sustainability. In this way, while each protest movement was sparked by local and national events, they all drew on wider global narratives and claims, pointing to new dimensions of what constitutes global citizenship. What were once primarily local or national concerns (protecting the environment, access to education, and ending gun violence in schools) have now, due to globalization, become shared concerns among youth across diverse nations and locations.

Another common thread running through the cases is that in each instance of protest, local youth enacted wider global and international perspectives on justice and empowerment. They stepped out of schools and demonstrated in front of government buildings in order to call attention to the rights and demands not only of themselves as individuals, but within collective identities forged through identification and solidarity with others. In each case, in different ways, the movements were rooted in young people's articulation of their right to a livable and just future, whether through sustainable environmental policies, a reduction in preventable gun violence, or, in the Albanian case, through more fair and equitable policies concerning the provision of education.

Finally, the three instances of youth protest were linked in their strategies and methodologies of civic engagement. All three protests were nearly 100% non-violent in form; instigators from outside the central organizing unit that attempted to use violence or politicization were denounced. Related to this approach, and representative of global youth culture, the protesters relied heavily on social media and digital communications to organize and spread their messages for change and mobilization. This approach enabled youth to connect with the movement regardless of their

physical location, and it also kept the messages consistent and coordinated. Finally, in terms of their approach, walkouts, protests, and school strikes, however temporary, sent a strong message of youth empowerment and a symbolic rejection of compliance with the status quo.

As I reflect upon the significance of this comparative analysis in light of questions about youth civic engagement, several interesting questions arise. First, is it possible that young people around the world are becoming more engaged in questions concerning their rights and the rights of others? Are they more willing to join in solidarity to stand up for those rights? Second, has the rise of global social media platforms enhanced the creativity with which young people can connect with other like-minded youth to enact shared expressions of civic and political identity? Are they becoming more prominent as civic actors in national and international political spheres? And has the prevalence of youth voices in leading protest movements increased their legitimacy and representation in more mainstream media sources?

In terms of research on global citizenship and education, I believe these cases, considered comparatively, indicate a need for further research to explore new epistemologies and positionalities that locate youth agents as situated knowledge producers. Furthermore, these cases remind us as educators and scholars that much of the work of civic learning and engagement may increasingly take place outside of traditional spaces of learning, that is, outside of school grounds and beyond the scope of the planned curriculum. At the same time, based on these cases, it seems that learning about collective human rights and developing a sense of empathy for others who have been deprived of their rights seem to be necessary pre-conditions for youth civic engagement and the enactment of civic identity through acts of non-violent social and political protest.

Conclusion

Rethinking this project in light of the current mobilizations in the United States has been illuminating. Right now, young people are flooding the streets of major US cities, as well as small towns, to demonstrate for racial justice, to claim their human rights, and to assert that 'Black Lives Matter.' In the wake of the killing of George Floyd at the hands of the Minneapolis police, and after months of experiencing the trauma and weight of the COVID-19 pandemic and ensuing economic costs, the US public is in upheaval. Young people, clad in facemasks, are claiming their voices through demonstrations and protests, shouting "no justice, no peace."

Meanwhile, concerned educators and experts who were already rethinking schooling in the wake of COVID-19 are now considering how education can adequately address the painful and traumatic societal impact of white supremacy and

racial violence in the United States. Like many others such as Brookings expert Rebecca Winthrop (2020), I too am wondering what is needed from our schools to shift and transform systemic cultural violence and build a more just, democratic, and sustainable future. Youth civic engagement and global solidarity have never been more important.

The need to reimagine global citizenship education from the perspective of those whose full rights to education are being systematically denied is one lesson that comes to mind in the wake of the current social unrest. Education represents hope, but schooling can also be a location of destructive social reproduction. In many countries around the world, youth are speaking out because they envision themselves to be the future of the nation (and the planet!). Experts and academics should not be the only ones who frame and shape that future for them through the construction of powerful social imaginaries like the 'globally competent student' (OECD, 2018; Gardinier, 2021). Students themselves have a right to envision and craft their own identities in meaningful and productive ways. Paradoxically, it may be in taking action – and occasionally walking *out* of school in order to do so – that young people are best able to enact a powerful form of civic learning by asserting their new visions for system transformation within the public sphere.

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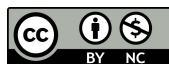
Vignette 5

Who we are matters: An autoethnography of Global Citizenship Education in intersectionally diverse contexts

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Abstract

This autoethnography explores the pedagogy of Global Citizenship Education (GCE), or Peace Education (PE) in two very diverse contexts. Teaching and learning with the same outcomes in mind in South Central Los Angeles and at an International University requires different praxis to engage deeply with the context. By exploring the relationship between power, privilege and the binary of the global and the local, the author reflects on how to improve teaching practices through critical self-reflection.

This autoethnographical research is an evaluation of teaching praxis (Freire, 2005) at intersectionally (Crenshaw, 1991) diverse universities. As a professor of Peace Education (PE) at two higher education institutions that have very diverse populations I have had to adjust my GCE praxis in every course in relation to the context of the students that I am working with. This research seeks to critically reflect on those experiences and to seek lessons that can be applied in other contexts.

I should note that I consider myself a peace educator first and foremost and yet I regard peace education and global citizenship education to be highly connected, in terms of content, values, skills and behaviors that are engaged. I prefer the term peace education for a number of reasons, but primarily because I believe peace education more strongly implicates peace pedagogy. It focuses not only on what we teach, but also how we teach it. Working from a Freirean perspective, this pedagogy of

liberation is integral to my praxis as a critical peace educator. Engaging with an educational community means being in dialog based on mutual respect, empathy, and learning from the community we are with. In this way, each university, class, and student require an adjustment of self that creates the connection necessary for deep learning. I do not claim to be always successful in this endeavor, but I am continuously striving to improve through a process of critical self-reflection. This vignette is a part of that process describing my efforts at adjustment at two very different institutions.

The first institution was in South Central Los Angeles and the population drew from marginalized neighborhoods nearby that were dominated by Latinx or African American/Black populations. Those groups in that area had a history of animosity, and that prejudice had a tendency to manifest in the classroom as well. In this case, the language of GC was challenged by students that felt that the globe was not something they could access due to financial limitations, and in the case of some students, due to documentation issues. They are often the first generation of their family to access university education and they are firmly rooted in their communities. These students have a deep understanding on a visceral level of structural violence and social injustice and they tend to be wary of systems of power; global citizenship then can be seen as extending the structures of power that negatively affect their lives to a global level. A student from one of my classes remembered volunteering in high school to be part of a program that took students from her neighborhood to do activities in a predominantly White school that was only 20 minutes away by bus. She remembered that it was the first time she had seen new textbooks, and that in general seeing the difference in the conditions at this other school was the first time she was able to see a physical representation of something she had always suspected was true. She and other students at the LA University (LAU) were highly motivated to seek solutions to the violence and injustice they saw around them on a daily basis and did not see the global issues as their concern, as they rightly felt they had enough to deal with in their home communities.

At the LAU, I was given the opportunity to teach a UNV101 class, a course for first year students (primarily first-generation university students) which has the combined goals of teaching them the necessary skills for university success and allowing professors to teach their 'dream course': the content they're most excited about. I chose 'violence: its causes, consequences and solutions' and I had the privilege of being allowed to co-construct my syllabi with my students. On the first day of class I simply said to them: "You know the title of the course, what do you want to learn about?" At first, they were a bit taken aback, as though no one had ever asked them that before. But as I gave a few examples, they began to get more excited about the brainstorming session. In the end they had more than enough topics to cover the 16

sessions of the class. We went through a voting process and ended up with topics such as gang violence, domestic violence, sexual assault and harassment, interpersonal violence, intimate partner violence, gender-based violence, emotional abuse, economic abuse, and hate crimes, which I then built into a cohesive syllabus. The topics they had chosen were ones that they were familiar with from their lived experiences and they were interested in understanding what they saw 'on the daily.' No student expressed interest in the ongoing war in Afghanistan (although students knew people who were serving in the armed forces). No one mentioned the conflict in Syria, although it was major news at the time.

As their professor, this presented a dilemma for me. I am a highly privileged White person who has had the opportunity to travel and live extensively on other continents. I am deeply interested in the connections between local actions and global consequences. Often, my own perspective as a 'global citizen' comes through in my teaching as I look to examples from multiple contexts, to which I would joke with my students: "I know, my privilege is showing." But although I joke, the dialogic nature of the course meant that students consistently brought up examples from their own lives, as they should, as we work from our lived experience in the Freirean process. This had the effect of focusing the conversation clearly on the local instead of the global, which they had not accessed, neither in their lived experience, nor through other types of exposure, as the schools they had attended were forced to be test focused. Students expressed that in their high schools they only engaged with information that was on the standardized exams, and those exams had very limited global content. As their lived experiences were so rich and varied in their local, but multicultural and multilingual environment, there were more than enough examples to talk about the themes of the peace education courses, such as empathy, othering, nonviolent communication, economic systems of oppression, cycles of violence, etc. The participants had very positive feedback for the courses and I know that we learned together in ways that were deep and meaningful. At the same time, I wonder if I did them a disservice by not pushing to include more international content. In a way, did I fall into the same trap as their secondary school teachers, doing what seemed necessary and was effective, and yet, perhaps it wasn't right?

The second institution is an international university (IU) that is specifically focused on studying and promoting peace. One may assume that this implies shared values, but that is often not the case. In fact, each course offers new challenges in relation to values. The students come from all over the world, usually with 40–50 countries represented each year. If we are to apply binary thinking the students can be roughly divided into two groups in several ways: those who are able to pay the tuition and those who receive scholarships, those that believe in the existing systems and structures and want to be a part of them and those that do not, and those that are

conscious and aware of power and privilege and those who are not. Generally, these students embrace the ideas of cosmopolitanism and GC, although they often have competing visions of how these theories are or should be enacted.

The pedagogical shift from the LAU to the IU was a slow and exploratory process. Once again using the Freirean dialogical model, we worked from our lived experiences. Whereas the LAU students were highly aware of the underlying conflicts that existed in their classroom community, the international students were often caught off-guard by the ideas of others. These students who come to the university with the idea that they can be part of a global movement to improve the world, often start from having to recognize how either their nation or their individual perspective is seen as either 'part of' or 'the' problem itself, which can be very confronting. Conflicts at the university are often grounded in nationalist or gendered perspectives, in both cases those involved often find it very surprising that their nationalism or gendered perspective is problematic to others. In LAU, all of the students were keenly aware of power and were highly adapted to recognizing it (both within themselves and in others) and engaging with it in ways that minimize violence (be it verbal or physical). In the IU this was not always the case. The pedagogical model I had to adapt in the case of GCE in this space was much more contentious. As most of these students did want to see themselves as global citizens, the dialogs we engage in encourage a type of critical self-reflection that some students find offensive, and most find challenging.

When reflecting on these teaching experiences, it is the times that I have failed that come to mind, and not the successes. As part of the decolonizing process I ask students to consider how they themselves are racist and sexist,[1] working from the assumption that we all internalize systems of oppression, and in the case of these students, both local and global prejudices have been taught to them, whether consciously or not. In these discussions I remember students saying things like:

> Racism doesn't exist in Europe.
> Women in Poland/Russia have equality so that's a problem for other countries.
> We have human rights in the West, so we just need to bring everyone else up to speed.
> In my religion, homosexuality doesn't exist.

In these moments I often wait to see if that worldview will be challenged by a classmate before beginning to question the ideas myself. All of the students are being exposed to very different worldviews (many for the first time) and need guided reflection to work through their conflicting perspectives. In this context I am concerned that my pedagogical model has become too confronting, and that perhaps I should provide more emotional support for those students who feel that my learning objectives and the methods I use to achieve them are too stressful? Confronting someone's

worldview, even through the gentlest questioning, is inherently challenging and students are not always interested in engaging in these dialogs.

In both universities the PE or GCE content of my courses has been very similar, and yet the focus within that content has been quite different. For example, when teaching conflict transformation and non-violent communication at the LAU the focus was on self and others, while at the IU, the conversation tends towards intergroup or international conflicts. When performing cultural and structural violence analysis the LAU students focused on the local, while IU students often discuss the global. When we learn strategic nonviolent resistance, the LAU students were interested in civic or national themes, while the IU students tend to focus on changing global social and economic systems. In both cases the students learn the skills of violence analysis, conflict transformation, nonviolent communication, and strategic nonviolent resistance. In both cases we focus on the values of empathy, creativity, equity, open-mindedness, community, justice and responsibility. I would argue that these skills and values are common between peace education and global citizenship education. However, due to the nature of the populations at the LAU and the IU the focus of the dialogs surrounding these issues leaned more towards the local or national in one context and the global in another. Using a Freirean pedagogy based in dialogue and reflection making connections between theory and lived experience lead to this distinction. It is my belief that the depth of learning in both cases was similar and that in both cases the students now have a new way of interpreting the world (this is reflected in their written evaluations). However, I am consistently asking myself if my teaching practices are just in themselves. For example, clearly the local and the global are intricately connected and breaking down this binary is part of the work of peace and global citizenship education, and yet by following the students' lead I have not always been successful in making these connections explicit. This is not in any way an attempt to strive for perfection, as in fact, I do not believe there is one 'right' way to teach; my goal is to constantly improve.

This leads me to questions such as, what could I have done/can I do, to deepen our learning and our sense of community together (both locally and globally)? What could I have done to make the identity of 'global citizen' more accessible to the students at the LAU (if indeed that is a desirable identity for them to have access to)? What can I do to help my IU students to better see the global structures that are reflected and reproduced in their local spaces? In what ways are my educational practices neo-colonial? What steps can I take to decolonize myself and my practices? I believe these are the questions that we need to be asking ourselves if we consider ourselves peace educators or global citizenship educators. A teaching practice based on critical self-reflection in relation to the context is the starting point for creating pedagogies for positive change. When we become prescriptive regarding content,

skills, values, and pedagogies, without leaving space for contextual adaptation, we risk becoming that which we reject in the dominant paradigm.

Note

1. Or ableist, homophobic, ageist, etc., thinking through these issues from an intersectional perspective.

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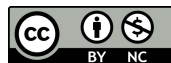
Vignette 6

Singing in Scots and Swahili:
Faith-based education for Global Citizenship
at the Scottish school in Jaffa, Israel

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Abstract

This vignette describes observations made by the author at the Church of Scotland's Tabeetha School in Jaffa, Israel, a Christian school with a majority Arab-Palestinian student base. The firm pursuit of global citizenship education undertaken by the school, demonstrated here in the singing of songs in Scots and Swahili, is located within its complex geopolitical context in the divided society of Israel. The contribution also engages with practices of a faith-based global citizenship against the backdrop of a colonial legacy embedded within a conflict-ridden landscape. In a school where politics is claimed to be left at the door, global citizenship rooted in Christian values is developed as the most efficient means to serve the agenda of the religious minority. Given Palestinian social and political marginalization in the contested city of Jaffa, the Scottish School provides a safe space for students to experiment with global identities.

An intoxicating African rhythm filled the assembly hall on a Friday morning at the Church of Scotland's Tabeetha School in Jaffa, Israel's ancient port city on the Mediterranean Sea. The primary-school students, clad in sky blue T-shirts emblazoned with the school's coat of arms – a trinity of symbols featuring a biblical oil lamp, the diagonal cross of St. Andrew, and a dove flanked by olive branches – sat cross-legged on the floor. As the gravelly rattle of the *shekere* maintained the spirited tempo, jubilant drumming, syncopated with the lively clang of the cowbell, conjured

the sounds of the Congo. "We're going to sing a song in Swahili!" exclaimed the music teacher, a Jewish-American immigrant. Excited to perform this new genre studied in their music lessons, the students responded with a cacophony of enthusiasm, shouting joyfully in a jumble of Arabic, Hebrew, and English. *Yay! Yesh! Yes!*

Bouncing up and down to the beat, the music teacher waved her arms, slicing through the sweltering, late spring air. Bobbing their heads in time with the pulsating cadence, the children belted out the lyrics in a call and response pattern, mixing English and Swahili:

> *Let all things their Creator bless,*
> *O sifuni mungu* (o praise God)
> *And worship Him in humbleness,*
> *O sifuni mungu* (o praise God)
> *O, praise the Father, praise the Son,*
> *Imbeni, imbeni* (sing, sing)
> *And praise the Spirit, Three in One!*
> *Pazeni sauti imbeni* (lift up your voice and sing)

Tapping my feet to the music as I scrawled the words into my field notebook, I reflected on how in this era of globalization, global flows of peoples, images, technologies, capital, and ideologies (Appadurai, 1996), have the potential to bring Swahili lyrics, based on a traditional English Christian hymn, to the voices of Palestinian students taught by a Jewish-American teacher in a Church of Scotland school in Israel.

This scene of convergence between the global and local also chronicles a religious minority within a divided society, where indigenous Christians are precariously positioned between the hammer and anvil (Tsimhoni, 1993) vis-à-vis the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Once the economic and cultural capital of Arab Palestine, following its conquest in 1948, Jaffa was transformed from a city with a Jewish minority to one with a Palestinian minority. Despite its mixed demographics, Jaffa remains an ethnically fractured city where Arab-Palestinians must contend with an unequal distribution of resources, racism, Jewish gentrification, threats of eviction, widespread crime, and political marginalization (LeVine, 2007). Jews and Arabs may *de facto* live together in parallel overlapping spaces, yet this very 'mixedness' highlights the paradox of Palestinian citizens living in a Jewish state (Monterescu, 2009, 2015). The predicament of the Palestinian minority in a Jewish ethnic state (Rouhana, 1998) is reflected in divisions in the education system in Jaffa, where a *de facto* coexistence does not guarantee access to educational institutions of equal quality (Leoncini, 2014).

Parents in Jaffa have three main school choices: Hebrew state schools, Arab state schools, and Christian private schools (Ichilov & Mazawi, 1996, 1997) such as

Tabeetha. Despite their strict rules, selectivity, and high tuition, approximately 43% of Palestinian students in Jaffa attend one of the three Church-affiliated private schools (Monterescu, 2015) to bypass the low-quality Arab sector schools. Rooted in the colonial enterprise, Tabeetha School was founded in 1863 by Scottish missionary Jane Walker-Arnott to serve the poor Arab girls of Jaffa. Bequeathed to the Church of Scotland upon the founder's death, Tabeetha has evolved into a coeducational school primarily serving the Palestinian community in Jaffa, as well as a handful of Jewish students and globally mobile expatriates. However, unlike the other Christian schools in Jaffa, Tabeetha has a "policy of ensuring a Christian majority from the community," in the words of Fiona,[1] a Scottish expatriate teacher.

Instruction in the English language has been a key feature of the school almost since its inception, as attested to by an 1875 visitor, who wrote, "they sang for us English tunes like any Sunday school, a strange sound in a Moslem town" (Goodwin, 2000, p. 26). Continuing in this tradition with students still singing in global tongues, all instruction (except for Hebrew and Arabic language classes) takes place in the English language following a "very British-centric" curriculum,[2] in the words of Mark, an Anglo-Israeli teacher. Today, to fill the need for qualified teachers who speak English as a mother tongue, the school is staffed by a sizable number of Jewish immigrants from anglophone countries. While the origins of an English-medium curriculum at Tabeetha School can be traced to the rise of European colonialism in the Holy Land, what started as a missionary project has continued to appeal to the minority of indigenous Christians due to its potential to confer Bourdieusian notions of distinction and symbolic capital (Gardner-McTaggart, 2016). Catriona, another Scottish expatriate teacher, explained that the school "started in English, and continued in English, and parents wanted it in English. Because somehow they think that's going to open up new worlds for children." For the vulnerable Palestinian minority living in a broken world of conflict, the possibility of opening up alternative worlds is particularly appealing.

At the same time as it creates new worlds, the school isolates students from the uncertain world outside the school in what Catriona and other teachers described as a bubble:

> You kind of just feel that you're living in the Middle East and in a kind of bubble ... Sometimes the kids describe it as a haven, or an oasis … when there's trouble outside they come in and just kind of feel like they can breathe, because they're safe.

Within this 'bubble' students are free to experiment with global identities, for example learning about British culture or singing Christian hymns in Swahili. In a place where one's local citizenship is contested and sense of belonging unsettled, practices of global citizenship have the power to combat alienation and impart feelings of security.

These practices of global citizenship can have a lasting influence, as evidenced by an alumnus visit during an assembly for the secondary students later in the day. Eleven graduates from the 1960s arrived from all corners of the globe, including Serbia, the United States, Canada, the United Kingdom, Australia, Singapore, and Israel. The deputy principal introduced the alumni as honored guests, announcing that "they live by these words up here," pointing to the three stone arches marking the entrance to the hall. In her lilting Scottish accent, she read out the faded verse from the Book of Psalms inscribed on the stones with an intricate, Gothic, black calligraphy reminiscent of that in a medieval Bible: *The Lord is my strength and my shield. My heart trusted in Him and I am helped. Therefore, my heart greatly rejoices.* She continued:

> They've taken these words, among other things, wherever they may be throughout the whole world, starting out at Tabeetha and moving out into the world, and that's what you guys are going to do in a few years.

Together, current and former students performed a stirring rendition of the classic Scottish folksong *Auld Lang Syne* (Times Gone By)*,* with a gray-haired alumnus playing the traditional ballad celebrating old friendships on the black upright piano with great fanfare. Although they are scattered about the farthest reaches of the earth, the alumni have carried the faith and international capital nurtured at Tabeetha with them.

Practices of a faith-based global citizenship emerged yet again the following week during the school's celebration of Pentecost, commemorating the birthday of the Church when the Holy Spirt descended upon the apostles seven weeks after Easter. A photograph of the world map, painted in blues, greens, and browns onto the contours of a human face, illuminated the projection screen. Reverend Ian, a community religious leader and frequent guest at Tabeetha School events, posed a question about the significance of the apostles now speaking in foreign tongues after being filled with the Holy Spirit on Pentecost. Wearing black jeans, a black short-sleeved button-down shirt with a white clerical collar, and brown leather sandals, while a carved wooden cross on a simple leather cord hung about his neck, Reverend Ian preached in a melodic, tranquil voice:

> The different languages represent the extent of God's love for all humanity. And Tabeetha as we know … is a small example of Pentecost. Because here you are, from different backgrounds, different religions, different language groups, here you are together learning and engaged in friendship together .... I know that we leave politics at the door here so I'm not going to go into politics, but we all know that the region we live in has got problems .... We need to find a way of understanding and working together.

Invoking the school's oft-stated credo that they leave politics at the door, he emphasized the multicultural and the multilingual aspects of the Tabeetha 'bubble.' Politics

checked at the door is exchanged for faith, as the verse of scripture lettered on the stone arches reminds all who enter the building.

Reverend Ian closed his remarks by projecting a silhouette of Christ, depicted breaking free from shackles, as he advocated a global Christian consciousness:

> You are involved in God's kingdom of justice and peace, which goes back to Pentecost in terms of bringing harmony, compassion, and love to the society in which we all live … The Holy Spirit of God comes to set our love free from the structural sin and structural injustice of hatred and greed that is decimating our planet, trashing our ecosystems, and fueling the wars of conflicts that surround us. The Christian message comes to heal.

Christianity, as the quintessential example of a universal religion, is positioned as a uniting force for all people, of all languages, to combat the evils of the world. Infused with the Holy Spirit at Tabeetha, like the apostles, students are tasked with using their acquired international capital to take an active role in spreading the message of freedom, hope, and peace. Looking up at the chained figure of Christ, I could not help but wonder if Palestinian students can truly imagine a hopeful future free of oppression for their discriminated minority, or whether they will ultimately seek to escape the conflict and leverage cosmopolitan capital like those alumni visiting from such places as the United States, Canada, and the United Kingdom.

Against the backdrop of a colonial legacy embedded within a conflict-ridden landscape, in a school where politics is claimed to be left at the door, a global citizenship rooted in Christian values is developed as the most efficient means to serve the agenda of the religious minority. Given local Palestinian social and political marginalization in the contested city of Jaffa, the Scottish School provides a safe space for students to experiment with global identities. Meanwhile, Christian values foster an awareness of universal interconnectedness, and a proficiency in the English language and familiarity with western cultures enables cosmopolitan journeys abroad. Thus, a novel form of education for global citizenship materializes in the Scottish School, where students are primed with a global Christian consciousness intended to be carried with them, wherever the English language may open up new worlds of possibility. And perhaps in another sixty years, today's students will also gather for a reunion where they can sing of times gone by in Scots – or praise the Lord in Swahili.

Notes

1. All names used are pseudonyms to protect anonymity.
2. The school currently uses the British-developed International GCSE and International A-Level curricula, designed to be comparable to the British GCSE and A-Levels but specifically adapted for international markets.

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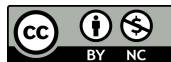
Global Citizenship Education for whom?
Indo-German reflections on glocal vignettes
from worldwide practices

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Abstract

This commentary, by two authors from the Global North and Global South respectively, reflects on the significance of (auto-)ethnographic vignettes as a point of departure for an emic approach, applying the concept of Global Citizenship Education (GCE) to the maxim of 'education for all' as promulgated by the UN from 1990. The authors explore GCE from a post- and decolonial perspective, with a particular focus on the universal right to education and the power structures, hierarchies, and misunderstandings that are reflected in or arise from subconscious assumptions or conventions. With a discussion of the global roots and discourses that have led to the emergence of GCE as a concept, the authors point to the complexities of GCE, which needs to combine global responsibility with knowledge about and respect for local traditions if it is to free itself from the imperial connotations of Enlightenment universalism. Ultimately, the authors conclude, in order to 'learn' GCE we must first 'de-learn' conventional (colonial) power relations.

(Auto-)ethnographic vignettes as the starting point in an emic approach to a Global Citizenship Education for all?

Does it make sense to reflect on Global Citizenship Education (GCE), when 258 million children and young people worldwide lack daily access to school or any kind of education facilities? (http://uis.unesco.org/en/topic/out-school-children-and-youth). We believe so. Education remains the key to development with a humane face and a path for all people to participate as world citizens, especially in times of crisis and growing uncertainty.

Indeed, the right to education is an implicit assumption in the vignettes that form the analytical material for this special issue and a crucial basis for any debate on a GCE for all. It is high time for reflection on the aims, traditions, and contradictions or – in the words of the editors of this special issue – the 'intentions, power, and accidents' inherent in GCE. Based on our own experiences working from specifically de- and postcolonial perspectives and our positionalities, we will consider such aspects in the light of an *accidental* re-colonialization that might take place as a result of hopeful, well-intentioned, approaches attempting to decolonize education.

Our collaboration here as authors from the Global North and South respectively has its own history in such misunderstandings, in our case happily the beginning of an honest and open debate leading to a productive exchange. I (GL-W) started visiting India in 1987. My motivation was to learn about Gandhi's relevance today. I used to bring groups to the subcontinent 'on the trail of M.K. Gandhi.' These development- and education-based trips followed a minimum of two weekends of preparation on various levels. Field research in Bangladeshi and Indian villages on 'non-formal education' for my PhD in the 1990s allowed me to gain valuable insight into the lives of people in the two countries. During this field research I was able to discuss my observations with interested local colleagues and in 2010 I approached one of them, Dipti Oza, my co-author for this commentary, with the suggestion of a co-operative exchange. This resulted in a bilateral symposium one year later on the 'Role of Education in a Globalized World – Indo-German Reflections.'[1] As a privileged middle-class researcher, I was full of visionary ideas on the subject, and it took me some time to realize that even the term *globalization* is very much connected with British imperialism and colonialism, frequently referred to as 'the West.' More frequent visits to India as a scholar, and instructive exchanges with local colleagues, taught me a great deal about how to better approach this sensitive task.

I initially trained as a teacher for both primary and secondary school, with music as one of my specialties. A vivid memory from this time was a course during which we learned to play 'African' music. We were told that this was the quintessence of innovative music education and *the* way to deal with 'difficult' students; the 'African rhythm,' we learned, would motivate them to sing and dance. The sub-text: Look at the 'poor' African people and how they celebrate their lives through music and rhythm. The songs we learned were mainly from West-African countries. In retrospect, I imagine our professors really believed in what they were doing; perhaps they even felt they were 'giving something back' to a continent they had learned was 'downtrodden,' presented under the banner of 'Intercultural Education' or even 'Global Learning.' They certainly would have been dismayed for their well-intentioned practices to be referred to – as they might be today – as 'positive racism.' Indeed, introducing students to 'African rhythm' has become a fashion in many

German schools, unfortunately often encapsulated within sweeping generalizations that give the impression, for example, that all Africans have natural rhythm and are able to sing. (What is meant by 'African rhythm'? Africa is a continent of more than 50 countries and over 1.2 billion inhabitants.) 'Rhythm' in the German context is – even today – often associated with Hegel's remarks that it was not possible for the people of the 'real' Africa (in today's terms sub-Saharan Africa) to develop or be educated (Hegel, 1821/1930, pp. 203–224). This enduring imperialist misunderstanding of a 'continent without history' is perpetuated by references, however implicit, to Africa and its peoples as 'wild humans' who are 'in harmony with nature' having escaped the corruptive influence of civilization – the archetypal 'noble savage' associated (again, with good intentions) with Rousseau and 18th/19th-century romantic primitivism.

These memories from my student days came back to me when I read the narrative by Levenson (Vignette 6), which critically describes the use of an "intoxicating African rhythm" for pedagogical purposes in a Scottish school in Israel/Palestine. It seems that a one-world vision is a fundamental, well-intentioned, wish of educators. The music is practiced in a "safe space for students to experiment with global identities," which also seems to be a universalist, peace-oriented approach. But what is the real aim of introducing this music in the specific context of the conflict-dominated Middle East? As all this is practiced in a Christian school we might read it as an attempt to underline the power of Christian love as a force for change, while bearing in mind that this approach has been used to oppress many people in the world. Further: Is this an approach to be taken by Israelis or Palestinians; by Jews, Muslims, Hindus, Buddhists, or members of other religions? When reading this fascinating vignette, we should be sensitive to major-minor perceptions of religious paths, as well as to the complex and paradoxical colonial implications of a Scottish school in a region that was for a time under British colonial rule. To summarize: Who is responsible for setting objectives in the school, how are historical semantics taken into account, and how sensitively are the possible tensions dealt with?

This highlights an important contradiction inherent in GCE. This area of education practice is full of visions, and it is important that hope for change through education is cultivated. Without this conviction, any educative approach seems useless. So, the visionary positions of people like M.K. Gandhi and Nelson Mandela, and even John Lennon's 'Imagine', described in Vignette 1 to be present in the classrooms of the 'rainbow nation' South Africa, are important. Many other names could be mentioned, such as Paulo Freire, whose teachings shape the approaches described by Kertyzia (Vignette 5). Following these visions means initially following one's own understanding or prioritization of those ideas, many of which can easily be applied to conceptions of cosmopolitanism. In most cases we will never know whether

these visionaries viewed themselves and their teaching in a similar light, or whether such an understanding was their intention; however, such normative questioning can only take us so far. The vignettes in this special issue show what can happen as a result of varying interpretations. Gandhi, for example, is known in some Indian debates and especially in 'the West' as an 'apostle of non-violence' (Kripalani, 2004). While this is, in itself, positive, it is also a simplistic reduction of his whole concept of democratic social change. In India he is praised – even by his opponents – as the father of the nation and of modern, secular India. Throughout his life he proposed reforms for all areas of society – including education. But how many people today are really interested in his principle of 'Nai Talim' (*new education*, popularly referred to as 'basic education') today, which places craftwork at the center of any learning and fosters a critical understanding of western/British-driven civilization? (Gandhi, 1951). Or how about Nelson Mandela, his experiences on Robben Island and the process of reconciliation in South Africa with the multilingual constitution of the 'rainbow nation'? John Lennon was not only a renowned musician but in his last years also to some extent an activist, who moved millions with his song 'Imagine.' But can it be sung in all parts of the world? And who does it refer to? Engaging with the dialogical approach of Paulo Freire (Vignette 5) requires an understanding of its emergence in Latin America and how it spread across the world with many regional adaptions.

The example (in Vignette 2) of people who have recently arrived in Berlin and are often reduced to the label 'refugees', reminds us of three key points: (i) People who have had to leave their homes remain human beings. (ii) Migration has always been part of world history and should be approached as such. (iii) We are, nevertheless, currently seeing an *increase* in the number of people affected by migration worldwide; let us inquire as to why this is the case.

Migration is frequently open to misunderstanding due to – amongst other things – the challenges of convention, yet it also offers fresh insights and opportunities for reciprocal learning. The world is changing rapidly. Education, and especially GCE, has the potential to help change the narrative in a visionary way. The 'welcoming culture' (*Willkommenskultur*) promulgated in Germany in 2015 soon began to give way to the somewhat less welcoming term 'refugee crisis,' rendering an *emic* discussion of practices in the so-called 'welcoming classes,' as presented in Vignette 2, more vital than ever.

Considering the vignettes and our role in commenting upon them from an analytical perspective, we are aware that science is itself strongly influenced and formed by western beliefs. As members of the middle class in the Global North and South respectively, we are aware of our position within a system or systems, and the potential we therefore have to reproduce structural violence. We are limited in our

ability to appropriate the voices of those (particularly indigenous groups) who have suffered at the hands of western-driven civilization, or to speak for them.

We believe that the vignettes are of 'glocal' character (Robertson, 1995). They typically combine two distinct yet interdependent variables: global norms and local particularities. We find a broad consensus among most of the vignettes that the global community must take appropriate and considered action to ensure the survival of the planet and its citizens. We also perceive a general tendency to report and document in a way that enshrines human rights as a universal right and norm. Such a tendency can be beneficial, as a universalist ethos poses a counterpoint to nationalist or fundamentalist solipsism. With their emic perspectives on aspects and situations that are all too often described from the top-down, the vignettes clearly demonstrate that it is high time for a sensitive and participatory approach to education for global citizenship.

At the same time, we understand that this moral and ethical orientation for action challenges the power embedded in forms of structural and cultural violence (Galtung, 1990). English is the current global *lingua franca*, yet it may also be considered to be a tool of oppression and structural discrimination due to its associations with the colonial past. Language therefore presents us with a paradox: on the one hand it represents the desire to communicate and make oneself understood across cultures (and the enabling power that a global language thus affords) but on the other there are power structures embedded in language itself, which create binaries and systems of 'othering' that problematize clear, lateral communication – and we would do well to remain cognizant of this balancing act.

The great transformation of the planet can be challenged by the transformative potential of education and learning (Lang-Wojtasik, 2014, 2019a). This implies a clear commitment to education beyond intended purposes and as a force of self-liberation beyond, or in spite of, economic or technological limitations. From this perspective GCE offers a rich context, with interconnections across world history and education science:

1) GCE is based on cosmopolitanism and globalization, with their long visionary and sometimes brutal histories, but it offers paths beyond any hierarchical approach or western/northern hegemony.
2) GCE consists of three words that are self-explanatory with respect to global perceptions and their acceptance.
3) GCE includes clear goals: a commitment to justice in education represented by education for all, inclusive access for all as part of a lifelong perspective, and the fulfilment of the UN's Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs).

4) GCE is informed by many education concepts and tackles the key challenges of today's world, while having the potential to motivate students to create a more humane world that avoids any kind of re-colonialization.

In the following sections we build upon these four premises from a historico-systematic perspective. We will look at the roots of cosmopolitanism, decolonized globalization as the basis for global citizenship beyond western/northern hegemony, the UN concepts of Education for All and Sustainable Development Goals, and the precursors to GCE.

Cosmopolitanism and globalization as the historical basis of GCE

1) GCE is based on cosmopolitanism and globalization, with their long visionary and sometimes brutal histories, but it offers paths beyond any hierarchical approach or western/northern hegemony.

Vignette 1 (Robinson) demonstrates how the tangible legacies of visionaries such as M.K. Gandhi, Nelson Mandela and even John Lennon are present in South African classrooms. We also draw clear parallels with the educational concept of Paulo Freire and his dialogically based approaches of reflecting the *what* and the *how* of education presented by Kertyzia in Vignette 5. The idea of global citizenship as visionary cosmopolitanism dates back to Indian and Greek antiquity. According to current research, the Indus valley civilization (approx. 2800–1800 BC) as well as the Buddhist universities of Taxsila (approx. 600–200 BC) and Nalanda (500 BC–1300 AD) played important roles in catalyzing information and knowledge in their respective time periods. Greek and Roman antiquity (approx. 1600–27 BC; 750 BC–476 AD respectively) are historically significant periods as well (Nussbaum, 2019). We should remember that ancient educational institutions were by their nature exclusionary, intended for specific social groups. The process of mass education is inextricably linked to the development of the nation state (Meyer, Ramirez & Soysal, 1992).

The European understanding of cosmopolitanism is very much informed by authors of the European enlightenment (e.g. Kant, Rousseau) and their precursors in the Roman-Catholic (e.g. Erasmus) or Protestant traditions (e.g. Comenius) (Treml, 2005, 2011). In recent times it has become more common for national governments to declare themselves to be the representatives of one single religion or ethnic group. It is our belief that this is the 'sweet poison' of the European enlightenment – claiming a type of rationalist emancipation from former superstition and the hitherto prevailing norms. When taken to its logical conclusion, such a process paves the way for oppression, such as we find manifested historically in intense colonization and imperialism. In the majority of cases, a volatile mixture of economic, religious, scientific, and philosophical factors combined, with brutal and deleterious conse-

quences for non-Europeans. From today's perspective, the end of the 15th century marks the beginning of economic globalization with a destructive face (Galeano, 1971/1997). We now recognize, for example, that the 'discovered' people of America had of course explored their landmass long before Christopher Columbus disembarked in 1492.

Equally from today's cosmopolitan perspective, it seems important to be clear about the fragility of democracy and the different narratives regarding world history; i.e. who recounts events of creation, development or civilization, and from which perspective. From a scientific point of view, there is no need to reconstruct who was first in offering important ideas to the world but it is important to accept that there were and are a range of valid ideas. This is not only the basis of a constructive understanding of global citizenship beyond historical mainstream narratives, but also the root and expression of a decolonized cosmopolitanism. We believe that the cosmopolitan perspectives of Vivekananda, Sri Aurobindo, Tagore, Gandhi or Makiguchi, Ikeda, Freire, Nyerere, Montessori, Key and many more foster an understanding of the plurality of world thoughts and perspectives with a humane cosmopolitan face as the basis of continuous innovation in education (Morsy, 1997; Datta & Lang-Wojtasik, 2002; Sharma, 2018). These reformist thinkers include lesser-known names from more rural areas of the world, whose work is often subject to a narrowed-down understanding of civilization in the name of a ruling minority.

GCE: Toward a world community

2) GCE consists of three words that are self-explanatory with respect to global perceptions and their acceptance.

The key desiderata of GCE are possible if we accept all beings as autonomous, and independence and democratic existence as fundamental rights of every human being. Self-reliance and self-respect are the driving forces of any life; if these are protected and respected, the chances of a successful global citizen education may be higher. This is connected to an understanding of cosmopolitism today, and provides options for inclusive world responsibility (Nussbaum, 2019). Education is the only tested tool that brings together these various strands of understanding. The acronym also encompasses the unconditional right to education of all people (UNESCO, 2020), including those with learning difficulties or special educational needs (Oza, 2016).

When we embarked upon our journey of co-authorship, we discussed cosmopolitanism and its societal and educational meaning for today's society and quite quickly agreed that from a contemporary perspective each word of Global Citizenship Education is self-explanatory: Global means universal, representing and connecting all who are residents of this planet. It is non-imperial and non-colonial. It

requires clear commitments to a decolonization of educative thinking (Abdi, Shultz & Pillay, 2015). Citizenship refers to everyone who resides on the globe (all *homo sapiens*). Each citizen abides by the unwritten rules of humanity or human society. A notion of citizenship brings people closer, allowing the development of confidence, faith and trust in one another. Ultimately this experience will help individuals to question, and hopefully eliminate, certain perceptions, biases, prejudices, discriminatory behavior and myths which they may not have experienced personally but have either heard of or read about. It is crucial that we move forward towards global citizenship in a spirit that will nurture a humane society – beyond apartheid (Vignette 1), neo-colonialism (Vignette 5) or only one path of faith (Vignette 6).

In order to sustain education, there is a need to inculcate and enrich the values of collaboration, cooperation, sharing, tolerance, loyalty and learning to live together. All this might sound visionary, normative, and out of date in a climate where large scale, top-down assessments seem to set the trajectory for competency-based education. We believe that education has a responsibility, beyond cognitive results and merits, to believe in change. In other words, education is not viable without this hope.

GCE in the UN context: The right to education and lifelong learning

3) GCE includes clear goals: a commitment to justice in education represented by education for all, inclusive access for all as part of a lifelong perspective, and the fulfilment of the UN's Sustainable Development Goals.

In Vignette 4 (Gardinier), university students in Albania take their future into their own hands and underline their understanding of global citizenship by organizing and participating in protests against neoliberal reforms that threaten to lead to the privatization of higher education. The enacting of global citizenship in the context of higher education, here approached through the emic perspective of an ethnographic vignette, refers implicitly to the UN, the SDGs and the universal human right to education.

With the Declaration of Human Rights, adopted in 1948, education became a fundamental human right as promulgated by the United Nations and laid down in article 26. This has been underscored in numerous reports and declarations since. An important step towards attaining the goal of educational access and sustainable learning options was the 1990 World Conference on Education for All, held in Jomtien, Thailand. Since then, the strategies and actions of the world community have been based on the six goals agreed at that conference (UN, 1990). These were reaffirmed and refocused in the Framework for Action agreed in Dakar, Senegal, in 2000.[2] Since the Dakar conference, education monitoring has been expanded and every year the world can learn about the developments, achievements and deficits in the visionary process

through extensive statistics prepared by the UIS (UNESCO Institute of Statistics) and disseminated through annual Global Monitoring Reports (latest: UNESCO, 2020). The Jomtien-Dakar process was continued at the Incheon conference as well as in the SDGs (UN, 2015).

The central message subheading the Delors report is that learning should be valued as a 'treasure within' (Delors, 1996), which makes clear that education can pave the way for lifelong learning. The SDGs underline the fact that the formerly separate processes of Education for All and development-related concerns of the world community have to be taken as a joint endeavor. SDG 4 is very clear on this point: it aims to "ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all" (UN, 2015, p. 17). The sub-goals strengthen the Jomtien-Dakar agenda in terms of anti-discrimination, gender-equality in access and retention, appropriate learning opportunities and perspectives for societal connections, as well as examining vulnerable members of society in precarious conditions (e.g. indigenous people). Here we can find the inseparable interconnection between Education for All (EFA) and Education for Sustainable Development (ESD) embedded within the pragmatic vision of Global Citizenship. This seems to be a feasible path, combined under the umbrella term of GCE. Referring to the EFA and the GMR 2020 subtitle, 'All means all' (UNESCO, 2020) we have in mind all possible learners from early childhood to fourth grade, reachable through various education paths. According to the UNESCO data there is still much progress to be made in terms of universal access and retention from early childhood care through primary and secondary education as well as literacy based on learning needs for all. The known challenges of the Global South in its various dimensions can be informed by alarming data from the Global North too. We know, for instance, of 6.5 million functional illiterates (Grotlüschen, Buddeberg, Dutz, Heilmann & Stammer, 2019) in Germany.

We also suggest that the current pandemic can serve as a forewarning to the world community. The pandemic and its consequences could be the starting point for implementing the shared vision of cosmopolitanism and related education efforts. So GCE could be the dynamic orientation concept to realize full access for all learners to their respective education facilities and beyond any discrimination, restrictions or marginalization – starting from Early Childhood Care and Education up to pluralistic opportunities of andragogy. A viable option may be to start with the learning needs of the most vulnerable members of a society. That would aid understanding of the need for cooperation and solidarity between local and global levels.

The quality of education and its relationship with societal circumstances must be sustainable, meaning that no one is forced to drop out, but that each person is given the chance to value education as a tool toward self-reliance and democratic development. This includes alternative learning paths for those who start their discovery of

'learning treasure' later than their respective age-group. It is important, in our dynamic world, that continuous, lifelong education opportunities are created and 'the line' of world community is maintained. This requires didactic innovation and the provision of innovative and highly qualified teachers as facilitators.

To overcome human rights violations, inequality and poverty, the visionary path of sustainability and peace is imperative. As the world becomes increasingly interconnected, education opportunities offer the time and space to explore feasible options of concrete activities. As understood by UNESCO,

> [GCE] aims to empower learners to engage and assume active roles, both locally and globally, to face and resolve global challenges and ultimately to become proactive contributors to a more just, peaceful, tolerant, inclusive, secure and sustainable world. (2014, p. 15)

This pragmatic vision includes some other important convictions. It aims to encourage critical and reflective learners, ready to explore creative innovations constructively. Such an understanding of education supports the revisiting of "assumptions, world views and power relations in mainstream discourses" (ibid.). It considers the challenges of the members of the world community within their specific circumstances of underrepresentation, marginalization or vulnerability and creates "individual and collective action to bring about desired changes" (ibid.). All this is only possible, however, if multiple stakeholders work comprehensively from local to regional level and nationally as well as globally.

When it comes to questions of the basic understanding of learning within GCE, three mutual and interdependent domains are important: cognitive, socio-emotional and behavioral (UNESCO, 2015, p. 15). These are strongly connected to the previously mentioned four pillars of learning (Delors, 1996). Basic cultural techniques like reading and writing should certainly be part of measurable learning results, but at the same time we should be clear about a wider understanding of competence, combining knowledge, skills, values and attitudes as learning outcomes. So *cognitive* aspects would encompass the acquisition of "knowledge and understanding of local, national and global issues and the interconnectedness and interdependency of different countries and populations" and the development of "skills for critical thinking and analysis." *Socio-emotional* aspects would be based on learner's experiences of "a sense of belonging to a common humanity, sharing values and responsibilities, based on human rights". That would be the basis to "develop attitudes of empathy, solidarity and respect for differences and diversity." *Behavioral* aspects would focus on effective and responsible activities "at local, national and global levels for a more peaceful and sustainable world," including the "motivation and willingness to take necessary actions" (ibid., p. 22).

All this might sound visionary and one may ask how to translate this into pragmatic action. Examples such as the implementation of ESD in India (Lahiri, 2017),

global education in Europe (McAuley, 2018) or the status of Sustainable Development and GCE within the worldwide teacher education (Bourn, Hunt & Bamber, 2017) demonstrate that necessary changes are always two-sided and mutual, and involve political frameworks and the willingness of people at all levels to act. In some cases it may take at least a generation for the visions to become inculcated into the consciousness of the people. The concept of universal human rights has been around for more than 70 years, while the empirical situation of human action in this regard unveils a discrepancy between knowing and acting. As education is often driven by hope of change, these visions require the rationale to propel the whole endeavor forward.

GCE toward a more human society for all

4) GCE is informed by many education concepts and tackles the key challenges of today's world, while having the potential to motivate students to create a more humane world that avoids any kind of re-colonialization.

GCE can be interpreted and understood in many different ways, (Abdi et al., 2015; Dill, 2013; Jorgensen & Shultz, 2012) derived from various educational concepts and understandings. There is some friction between historical concepts such as post-colonialism and de-colonialism and between systematic concepts such as economics and humanity. In other words, globalization and education can be understood as vehicles of worldwide economic development, whereas human beings and citizenship are seen as human capital. It is also possible to combine globalization and education on a human level as paths to an equal and just world community, where economy comes second. As education scientists we follow a critical approach to GCE and will mention some of the educational concepts informing GCE for the future.

It is helpful to look at the agreed definition of global education within the Maastricht Declaration in order to give us a taste of the discourse over the last 20 years. Here we find that:

> Global Education is education that opens people's eyes and minds to the realities of the world, and awakens them to bring about a world of greater justice, equity and human rights for all. Global Education is understood to encompass Development Education, Human Rights Education, Education for Sustainability, Education for Peace and Conflict Prevention and Intercultural Education; being the Global Dimensions of Education for Citizenship. (O'Loughlin & Wegimont, 2003)

This definition is the result of a European conference that discussed worldwide participation, perspectives and understandings beyond colonialist structures. The definition is clear in its attempts to bring about a change of consciousness and conceptual relations. It includes a clear statement to try altering perspectives, where possible,

within the complete frame of universal human rights. It combines various cross-sectional concepts that aim to deal with the challenges of a world society and underlines the related necessity of the global dimension to create an understanding of citizenship. While exploring the specific histories of different conceptual frames would exceed the scope of this commentary, we will have recourse in the following to the perspectives of Global Education and Global Learning (Lang-Wojtasik & Klemm, 2017; Bourn, 2020).

Development Education derives from different worldwide movements that focus on post-colonial thinking and activities as part of economic cooperation. It is based on a critical revision of development theory and on bringing liberating education into practice (Bourn, 2003). Based on the Declaration on Human Rights, the related *Human Rights Education* deals mainly with reflections on human rights in different educational settings, human rights as a subject within education, and children's rights to education (Lenhart & Savolainen, 2002). *Education for Sustainable Development* now has a long tradition within environmental education, having gained in significance in the context of the 1992 Rio Conference, combining the two societal and political debates on ecology and development (Bormann, 2017). *Education for Peace and Conflict Prevention* mainly offers options to equip people with skills to deal with conflicts in a constructive and peaceful way. The possibility of successful action is very much based on the ability to analyze and perceive the dynamics and chances of conflicts. This is related to knowledge of direct and indirect violence as well as related approaches (Frieters-Reermann, 2019). *Intercultural Education* is a concept that has the (somewhat maligned) nation state as its main reference. Consequently, there are challenges due to migration as well as inter-national aspects of experiencing other countries through a national cultural lens (Gogolin, Georgi, Krüger-Potratz, Lengyel & Sandfuchs, 2018).

Undoubtedly, GCE implies a clear normative commitment to the kind of global transformation necessary to deal with the upcoming challenges of the world, such as the survival of humankind in the face of ecological disaster. Transformation as a structural change encompasses the inner and outer self within community and as related to society. However, all education efforts have to address four challenges in order to bring about such a transformation:

1) *From norms to attitudes*: This includes preparedness for a universal view on pluralistic history, equal value perception and decolonized approaches to the world-community – shaping it as a place for everyone.
2) *From attitudes to information*: There must be clarity about people's shared norms beyond hierarchies and based in socialization processes of various kinds (e.g. spirituality/religion, ethnicity/culture).

3) *From information to knowledge*: Education in its true sense is the basis of a maturity that enables an understanding of one's positionality within the world being created and framed as the selection of knowledge.
4) *From knowledge to acting*: Learning how to deal with knowledge creates options enabling one to act within a world of growing variation, risk and insecurity.

Innovative GCE must have a firm historical basis. In order to properly consider the future role of schools and other education facilities (Lang-Wojtasik, 2021) and the existing friction between formal and non-formal education (including learning as a lifelong approach) (Rogers, 2014; Lang-Wojtasik, 2017), it is necessary to revisit existing didactic approaches and reassess their suitability for the 21st century (Lang-Wojtasik, 2019b). Special attention should be paid to international connectivity (UNESCO, 2015) and to the role of teachers as professional global facilitators (Darji & Lang-Wojtasik, 2014; Bourn, 2016).

In terms of citizenship debates, we should be prepared to look most critically at questions of diversity, identity and quality (Osler, 2000) as well as of status, feelings and practice (Osler & Starkey, 2005). This debate must include discussion of how to move from international to transnational global citizenship and how we can balance the role of self-transformation within the individual, and societal transformation on the level of global governance (Wintersteiner, Grobbauer, Diendorfer & Reitmair-Juárez, 2014, pp. 22 ff.). A consideration of the history of cosmopolitan potential mentioned at the beginning of this commentary may be beneficial here. This leads us to some enduring questions. From the perspective of GCE we can ask: What understanding of development, human rights, sustainability, peace and conflict as well as inter-culture is referred to and how is this interlinked with education? And is it enough to talk about the global when it comes to the question of (world) citizenship or is the local an indispensable counterpart? Should we not rather be talking about *Glocal* Citizenship Education? The vignettes presented here and the emic approach they entail may give us reason to answer in the affirmative.

Notes

1. The symposium took place in 2011 at the Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda. This was followed by a student exchange program funded by the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD), 'A New Passage to India' (2011–2015), which is continued within the DAAD-funded ILAP (*Internationalisierung der Lehramtsausbildung an Pädagogischen Hochschulen*/International Teacher Education at Universities of Education), encompassing partners from Brazil, Chile, India, USA and Germany (2019–2022).
2. These were: expansion of early childhood care and development activities; universal primary education by the year 2000; improvement in learning achievement; reduction of the adult illiteracy rate to one-half its 1990 level by the year 2000, with sufficient emphasis on female literacy; expansion of provisions of basic education and training in other essential skills required

by youth and adults; increased acquisition by individuals and families of the knowledge, skills and values required for better living and sound and sustainable development (UNESCO, 2000).

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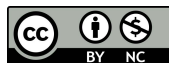
Emancipatory and transformative Global Citizenship Education in formal and informal settings: Empowering learners to change structures

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Abstract

This paper examines the vignettes from the perspective of Global Citizenship Education (GCE), with a particular focus on emancipatory and transformative learning in formal and informal settings. Taking reflection on the learning experiences and processes described in the vignettes as a basis, it develops and discusses five theses. This discussion helps to clarify what GCE is, where it is successful, where it fails, and how it should develop. While this paper acknowledges the relevance of incidental learning for GCE – and thus the bottom-up, emic approach that is the focus of this special issue, analysis of the experiences presented in the vignettes shows that incidental learning is not a simple matter where GCE is concerned. It can also lead to outcomes that are not in the spirit of GCE, and may even run counter to it. Learning environments should be structured in such a way as to facilitate the development of global citizenship competencies, create a sense of belonging and solidarity, and enable students to reflect critically on power structures and contribute to the transformation of those structures. Teachers can contribute to this by deploying emancipatory, transformative pedagogies in the classroom but also by creating opportunities for incidental learning in line with GCE or by addressing the outcomes of incidental learning in the classroom and making it amenable to reflection. Teachers need appropriate (GCE) competencies to enable them both to deploy emancipatory, transformative pedagogies and to support incidental learning.

Introduction

This paper examines the vignettes and the stories they tell from the perspective of Global Citizenship Education (GCE) and Education for Sustainable Development (ESD),[1] with a particular focus on emancipatory and transformative learning in formal and informal settings.

My starting point for this essay is an understanding of education that assumes that, against the background of global environmental crisis, poverty and injustice, education should enable individuals to understand global interrelationships and to actively participate in the sustainable transformation of society, which includes empowering learners to change social structures. The educational concept of Global Citizenship Education aims to meet this requirement (KMK & BMZ, 2016; UNESCO, 2015; Bourn, 2014; Wegimont, 2013; Scheunpflug, 2008; Scheunpflug & Asbrand, 2006). This pedagogical approach is based on the idea that the development of a global society results in requirements that relate to learning in a factual dimension (dealing with the simultaneity of knowledge and non-knowledge), a temporal dimension (acceleration and lack of time), a spatial dimension (dissolution of boundaries and interconnection), and a social dimension (familiarity and strangeness) (Lang-Wojtasik, 2019).

In this context, GCE aims to empower learners to participate in the social learning and communication processes required for sustainable development; in the implementation of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs); and thus, in the promotion of a 'great transformation' (WBGU, 2011), equipping them with the necessary global citizenship competencies. In this respect, different competence frameworks are discussed for GCE (Rieckmann, 2018; OECD, 2018; KMK & BMZ, 2016; UNESCO, 2015).

An international Delphi study (Rieckmann, 2012) identified twelve key competencies as particularly important to an understanding of the key problems faced by global society and for shaping it through sustainable development, including systemic thinking, dealing with complexity, anticipation, and critical thinking. Similarly, current international discourse on ESD considers the following sustainability competencies to be particularly relevant: systems thinking competency, anticipatory competency, normative competency, strategic competency, collaboration competency, critical thinking competency, intrapersonal competency, implementation competency, and integrated problem-solving competency (Brundiers et al., 2021; Rieckmann, 2018; UNESCO, 2017).

However, GCE is not limited to the development of competencies; as transformative education, it is also concerned with the "transformation of the relationship between the individual and the world in a global perspective" (translated from German) (Scheunpflug, 2019, p. 66) and thus with changing attitudes, values, paradigms, and worldviews (Balsiger et al., 2017; Sterling, 2011). GCE is thus also expected to contribute to critical discourse on values. It can and should provide suggestions to encourage learners to reflect on their own values and take a position in the debate on values en route to sustainable development (Schank & Rieckmann, 2019; Balsiger et al., 2017).

Competencies (and related values) cannot simply be taught but must be developed by learners themselves (Weinert, 2001). GCE therefore requires an action-oriented, transformative pedagogy (Rieckmann, 2018; UNESCO, 2017), characterized by pedagogical principles such as a learner-centered approach, action-oriented learning, reflection, participation, systemic learning, future orientation, and transformative learning (Rieckmann, 2018; UNESCO, 2017). Here, it is important to emphasize that GCE is not only concerned with enabling learners to consume more sustainably in everyday life, but also with empowering them to contribute as citizens to the transformation of unsustainable social and economic structures (Schank & Rieckmann, 2019).

However, GCE is not only about integrating sustainable development and the global dimension into teaching or adding new content to school subjects or study programs, for example. In relation to sustainable development, schools, universities and other educational institutions should see themselves as places of learning and experience and therefore align all their processes with sustainability principles. For GCE to be more effective, educational institutions as a whole must be changed. Such a whole-institution approach aims to integrate sustainability into all aspects of educational institutions (curriculum, operation, organizational culture, etc.). In this way, institutions themselves act as role models for learners (UNESCO, 2017).

Yet GCE is not delivered solely through formal education but also through non-formal education and in informal learning environments. For example, universities not only integrate GCE into their curricula but "also offer settings for informal learning, such as discussions with fellow students or volunteering in student groups on campus where students learn outside the organized academic learning processes" (Barth, Godemann, Rieckmann & Stoltenberg, 2007, p. 420).

On the basis of reflection on the learning experiences and processes described in the vignettes, I have developed five theses, which are discussed below:

1. Informal learning through student engagement plays a crucial role in GCE.
2. A whole-institution approach is needed to overcome exclusionary structures in educational institutions.
3. Transformative ways of dealing with heterogeneity and diversity and the associated power relations are needed to promote a sense of belonging and prevent othering.
4. GCE needs to be designed in such a way as to promote learner emancipation and not overwhelm learners.
5. For GCE to be transformative, it must not only aim to achieve changes in individual (consumer) behavior but must also take account of the need for structural change.

The discussion of these theses below clarifies what GCE is, where it is successful, where it fails, and how it should develop, by analyzing the descriptions, events, participants, voices, etc. presented in the vignettes. It discusses how these practices can inform, challenge, and change our conceptions of GCE. While this paper acknowledges the relevance of incidental learning for GCE – and thus the bottom-up, emic approach that is the focus of this special issue, it aims to show that incidental learning can also lead to outcomes that are not in the spirit of GCE, and may even run counter to it, and that teachers play an important role in creating opportunities for incidental learning in line with GCE and in addressing the outcomes of incidental learning in the classroom and making it amenable to reflection.

Perspectives on Global Citizenship Education

Thesis 1: Informal learning through student engagement plays a crucial role in GCE. Informal learning is "any activity involving the pursuit of understanding, knowledge or skill which occurs without the presence of externally imposed curricular criteria" (Livingstone, 2001, p. 4). Drawing on Schugurensky (2000), three forms of informal learning can be differentiated: self-directed learning (both intentional and conscious), incidental/experiential learning (unintentional but conscious), and socialization (tacit learning, unintentional and unconscious). Informal learning in all its forms, but particularly experiential learning, contributes to the development of competencies because it is related to action.

Informal learning can play a crucial role in GCE. This is clearly illustrated in the example provided by Meg P. Gardinier (Vignette 4). Protesting Albanian students took an active stand to defend their and others' rights, developed a sense of solidarity, and were enabled to act on a sense of "empathy and/or shared identity with others in the collective concerns of protecting rights to education and sustainability" (Gardinier, Vignette 4).

This shows how youth civic engagement can contribute to the development of global citizenship competencies. Experiential learning in particular facilitates the development of competencies relating to action (Dohmen, 2001, p. 33). According to Lipski (2004), informal learning is particularly important for the development of 'life competency,' namely the capacity to plan and implement projects that serve to realize individual and/or shared life goals; the capacity for self-organization plays a key role here.

In this respect, as the bottom-up, emic approach claims, there are indeed many contexts where we can learn incidentally about global connections and develop our global citizenship competencies. Student protests are a good example: The 'Back Lives Matter' movement and the 'Fridays for Future' movement connect students

worldwide. But educational institutions can also create spaces where informal learning can take place and that can support informal learning processes (Barth et al., 2007) – for example as part of a whole-institution approach.

Thesis 2: A whole-institution approach is needed to overcome exclusionary structures in educational institutions.

The whole-institution approach contends that educational institutions should be role models for learners and should create structures and a culture that reflects and promotes sustainability and equality (Mogren, Gericke & Scherp, 2019; UNESCO, 2017).

When the learning processes sought by GCE are not in harmony with society's structures and culture, tensions inevitably arise, as illustrated in particular by the stories of Natasha Robinson (Vignette 1) and Heather Kertyzia (Vignette 5). The conversation about South Africa's structural inequality and the role of an architect of apartheid in a school "that is structurally exclusive" (Robinson, Vignette 1) results in "a racial divide" (ibid.) in the classroom. It becomes apparent that underlying power relations make it impossible to discuss the issue on equal terms or to work on the basis of shared perspectives. And the case of GCE in an international university and an LA university with a student population from marginalized neighborhoods shows that learning processes relating to power structures and violence occur in both institutions, but due to the lack of a real-world connection to global issues, the LA students cannot experience the global dimension (Kertyzia, Vignette 5). The question arises as to how the institution itself can provide this access.

In the context of a whole-institution approach, GCE should form the basis for comprehensive change in the educational institution (Mogren et al., 2019). This can refer, among other things, to the sustainable design of the school grounds or university campus and buildings, or sustainable and diverse provision in the canteen that is collectively planned and is fair to all. All students are involved in a diverse and holistic approach to issues of sustainability and (global) justice (UNESCO, 2017). But in terms of inclusion, GCE is also concerned with educational institutions' democratic structures, cultures of participation, and reflection on their power structures, creating a safe and empowering environment for dealing with structural inequality. However, it must also be acknowledged that structural inequalities cannot simply be overcome. Nonetheless, the whole-institution approach can contribute to making inequalities visible and amenable to reflection, thus laying the foundations for joint work to overcome them.

The participation of educational institutions in local and regional sustainable development processes is also crucial (UNESCO, 2017). This can also lead to projects that connect the local to the global and make global issues visible to students from

marginalized neighborhoods. Networks and cooperation structures, e.g. between the LA university and the international university, would also be very valuable here, creating a space where the two realities meet and power structures can be jointly reflected upon.

In line with the bottom-up, emic approach, educational institutions should not be "a location of destructive social reproduction" (Gardinier, Vignette 4), where students learn incidentally that exclusion is normal, but of transformative change, providing students with a setting in which they can learn incidentally how structures of exclusion and inequality can be reflected upon, considered and even overcome. This also requires teachers who not only actively integrate GCE into the curriculum but also contribute to the transformation of the whole institution (Corres, Rieckmann, Espasa & Ruiz-Mallén, 2020; Vare et al., 2019).

Thesis 3: Transformative ways of dealing with heterogeneity and diversity and the associated power relations are needed to promote a sense of belonging and prevent othering.

GCE aims to provide "experience in global and intercultural contexts" (Barth & Rieckmann, 2009, p. 26) because being aware of "different perspectives and interpretations" (ibid., p. 27) and possessing the associated "worldmindedness" (Selby, 2000, p. 3) enables learners to find their way in the networked global society and to deal with global diversity. However, bringing global diversity into the classroom is very challenging, and there is a risk of "uncritical reinforcement of notions of the supremacy and universality of 'our' (Western) ways of seeing and knowing, which can undervalue other knowledge systems and reinforce unequal relations of dialogue and power" (Andreotti & de Souza, 2008, p. 23).

What this can look like in educational practice is shown by the bringing together in the classroom of refugee students and German students, as described by Annett Gräfe-Geusch (Vignette 2). Her observations illustrate how, instead of engaging positively with diversity and creating a sense of belonging, negative stereotypes were reinforced by emphasizing differences between the two groups of students and marking the refugee students as not yet knowing how to behave properly in the German context and thus still being "in need of reform" (Gräfe-Geusch, Vignette 2).

Thus, the students' encounter leads to othering, by defining the German students as superior and their values as universal and the refugee students as an inferior out-group. Othering is expressed by differentiating an in-group from an out-group, creating the other, and, based on stereotypes, separating oneself from the other to self-affirm and protect oneself (Dervin, 2014).

To prevent othering and to allow for truly emancipatory and transformative GCE, it is necessary to challenge prejudices, stereotypes and biases (Derman-Sparks,

1989). This is where the 'Through Other Eyes' framework, which is about "learning to unlearn, learning to listen, learning to learn and learning to reach out" (Andreotti & de Souza, 2008, p. 29), can be useful. It has links to transformative education, which focuses on the transformation of frames of reference (Scheunpflug, 2019; Balsiger et al., 2017; Cranton, 2002; Mezirow, 1997) that "are deeply embedded in our childhood, community, and culture" (Cranton, 2002, p. 67). These frames of reference (attitudes, values, paradigms, and worldviews) are developed through experience and are mostly uncritically assimilated (Cranton & King, 2003).

To facilitate a bottom-up, emic approach that promotes incidental learning in the spirit of GCE, learning environments are needed in which learners become "aware and critical of their own and other's assumptions" (Mezirow, 1997, p. 10), and are encouraged to reflect on these frames of reference in a critical, de-constructing, and transgressive way, so as to stimulate truly transformative learning processes that result in conceptual change (Rodríguez Aboytes & Barth 2020; Lotz-Sisitka, Wals, Kronlid & McGarry, 2015; Sterling, 2011).

As Annett Gräfe-Geusch's example also makes very clear, this requires teachers who themselves are willing "to include differences" and see "diversity as an opportunity" (Gräfe-Geusch, Vignette 2), but also have the corresponding reflective and pedagogical competencies to design such transformative learning environments (Corres et al., 2020; Vare et al., 2019; Balsiger et al., 2017).

Thesis 4: GCE needs to be designed in such a way as to promote learner emancipation and not overwhelm learners.

Education should foster in learners the capacity for self-determination, co-determination, and solidarity (Klafki, 1998). In this sense, emancipatory GCE also aims not to prescribe certain ways of thinking or behaving, but to stimulate learning for independent and self-determined reflection (Scheunpflug, 2019). Or in other words: "Transformative learning must not be used to instrumentalize learners but to empower them for autonomous critical action" (Balsiger et al., 2017, p. 359).

Jennifer Riggan's example (Vignette 3), on Citizenship Education in Ethiopia, shows that this kind of emancipatory pedagogical approach is by no means self-evident. In this case, all students are taught a certain understanding of citizenship and personhood and "particular habits, beliefs and dispositions" (Riggan, Vignette 3), with especial emphasis on the relevance of saving in 'modern' society; this is a compulsory subject and is more or less imposed on them. Moreover, it becomes clear that the view imposed on the students does not fit with the reality of their lives. Education can be understood here as an instrument of indoctrination to safeguard the prevailing ideology (of the ruling party).

GCE that sees itself as emancipatory and transformative should not manipulate learners, force them to think or behave in a particular way or to adopt specific values; instead, learners should be encouraged to think for themselves about socially relevant issues and find their own answers (Scheunpflug, 2019; Shephard, Rieckmann & Barth, 2019; Vare & Scott, 2007). The aim should be to develop global citizenship competencies that enable students to make decisions that fit with their reality and equally that take a morally responsible approach to the realities of global society (Rieckmann, 2018; UNESCO, 2017). Learners' maturity and independent judgment must be kept in mind to enable them to form a view on socially controversial topics. And in the spirit of the bottom-up, emic approach, this refers not only to the design of formal learning environments but also to how teachers create spaces in which learners can engage incidentally with specific societal issues and develop their own ideas about them.

As Heather Kertyzia (Vignette 5) points out, Freirean pedagogy can be a helpful and effective method for introducing a "teaching practice based on critical self-reflection" as a "starting point for creating pedagogies for positive change." However, this also presupposes that the teachers themselves are in a position to shape GCE in this emancipatory way (Corres et al., 2020; Vare et al., 2019).

Thesis 5: For GCE to be transformative, it must not only aim to achieve changes in individual (consumer) behavior but must also take account of the need for structural change.

GCE starts with individuals and their acquisition of knowledge and competencies as well as their attitudes, values, paradigms, and worldviews. Thus, "the responsibility for sustainable development shifts to the private sphere" (translated from German) (Grunwald, 2010, p. 178). Individual responsibility is emphasized, while the public responsibility of political bodies and the role of (multinational) companies tends to be marginalized. This is problematic in several respects: Firstly, the complexity and uncertainty associated with sustainability-related decisions can overwhelm individuals – they often lack the necessary knowledge. Secondly, tradeoffs can occur even where supposedly sustainable behavior is concerned. Thirdly, the separation between the public and the private sphere becomes blurred (Grunwald, 2010).

Focusing solely on individual responsibility is also problematic because it underestimates the dominance and permanence of social structures and cultural patterns. "Individuals … are often 'atomized' by the practices and procedures of institutions and the ideology of 'democratic' and 'consumer choice,' while their behaviour is heavily circumscribed by structures, institutions and practices over which they have little influence or control" (Wals, 2015, p. 13). For example, consumption is not simply shaped by individuals, but is culturally embedded (Assadourian, 2010). And

the market economy and its inherent 'growth spiral' (Binswanger, 2012) also limit the potential for changes in individuals' behavior.

When GCE is put into practice, however, there is often a predominant focus on the role and responsibility of individuals. For example, Mr. Cilliers, the South African teacher, completely ignores the role of structures and tries to convince his students that there would be less violence in the world if everyone were only nicer to one other (Robinson, Vignette 1). Even when his actions lead to open conflict in class, he does not use this opportunity to address power relations and inequality. It is very important to deal with the role played by emotions in the context of GCE (Robina-Ramírez, Medina Merodio & McCallum, 2020; Ojala, 2012). However, this should not lead to students being led to believe that social structures can be changed through an emotional approach alone.

Heather Kertyzia (Vignette 5) succeeds in getting students at the LA university to address issues of violence and injustice – but they were only "motivated to seek solutions to the violence and injustice they saw around them on a daily basis and did not see the global issues as their concern." This omits an examination of structures that have a significant influence on the lives of these students.

Sustainable development is also concerned with structural issues in many fields. However, if a "fixation on learners as private consumers" is in the foreground, this hinders "structural transformation of the conditions criticized [by GCE]" (translated from German) (Danielzik, 2013, p. 31). Thus, it is of central importance in GCE not only to focus on the individual but also to raise the question of structures, of the 'great transformation' (WBGU, 2011). Sustainable transformation of society is not a private matter, but a public task (Grunwald, 2010).

> It … requires the capacity to disrupt and to transgress prevailing, dominant and unquestioned frameworks and systems that predetermine and structure social and economic behavior, and that, somewhat ironically, have proven to be highly resilient themselves. This capacity is little emphasized in the current discourse around sustainability governance and in circles connected to education and learning in the context of sustainable development. By stressing disruptive capacity building and transgressive learning the focus shifts away from learning to cope with the negative and disempowering effects of the current hegemonic ways of 'producing,' 'consuming' and 'living' to addressing the root causes thereof and to the quest for morally defensible, ethical and meaningful lives. (Wals, 2015, p. 30)

This idea does not contradict the focus on transformative learning (and related competence development and reflection on values) attributed to GCE in the foregoing sections. However, it is important that transformative learning is not considered primarily in relation to sustainable consumption behaviors, and that there is also an examination of how transformative learning – through formal education but also incidentally – can enable students to contribute to structural change (through the

development of appropriate competencies) (Schank & Rieckmann, 2019; Balsiger et al., 2017).

Conclusions

GCE can take place in both formal and informal settings – and also incidentally, as the example of the student protests in Albania shows, confirming the relevance of the bottom-up, emic approach. This does not mean, however, that it takes place of its own accord. As the stories in the vignettes show, it is not enough for something to be well-intentioned. Then accidents can easily occur that lead to the opposite of the intended outcome.

Thus, the examples from the vignettes show that GCE is not a simple matter. Learning environments should be structured in such a way as to facilitate the development of global citizenship competencies, create a sense of belonging and solidarity, and enable students to reflect critically on power structures and contribute to the transformation of those structures. On the one hand, this can be enabled by formal education through emancipatory, transformative pedagogies. On the other, teachers can also contribute to the creation of opportunities for incidental learning that are in line with the bottom-up, emic approach characteristic of GCE. This can be achieved, for example, by taking a whole-institution approach, but also by teachers being more aware of incidental learning and giving learners opportunities to reflect together on insights gained from incidental learning. Teachers need appropriate (GCE) competencies to enable them both to deploy emancipatory, transformative pedagogies and to support incidental learning.

Here, the following questions arise: How can whole-institution-based change in educational institutions take place at a broader level? How can more teachers be encouraged to take an interest in GCE than has so far been the case and, above all, how can they be enabled to work with the concept? How can the positive experiences of informal, incidental GCE learning (e.g. in student protests) be better integrated into formal learning processes?

Note

1. In this paper, Global Citizenship Education and Education for Sustainable Development (ESD) are considered as complementary educational concepts that differ only in subtle respects. It therefore also refers to literature that uses the term ESD.

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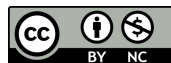
Global Citizenship Education under construction: Curriculum and didactics relating the bottom and the top

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Abstract

Global Citizenship Education (GCE) from an allegedly bottom-up approach – as presented in the vignettes in this issue – is viewed in this commentary through the lens of what these texts tell researchers about *the transmission of (G)CE at the bottom, i.e. in the classroom,* which is at the core of the German language tradition of *Didaktik.* My comments strive to show, firstly, that GCE by necessity comes 'under construction' as a result of any curriculum planning and didactics, including the co-constructive agency of teacher and students. While this may sound rather trivial (even though seldom empirically researched), it is suggested in this context that the 'didactics discourse' spans various global and local levels; it is enacted over different macro-, meso- and micro-steps each containing some relative autonomy, starting from the top world level to the bottom of each singular classroom. Secondly, it is posited that the (auto-)ethnographic vignettes not only contain the anticipated observations and narratives of GCE practices at the bottom, but also include what I have termed '*upward reasoning from bottom to top*'. There are numerous traces of such upward reasoning in the vignettes, some of which will be highlighted as illustrations. They show how each individual and very specific classroom teaching is connected to many intentions before, above and beyond the mere practice. It is this which makes the vignettes attractive for further research and at the same time relevant for teacher education.

The vignettes document a strong focus on GCE in schools – why?

The vignettes deal with (Global) Citizenship Education (GCE) in teaching and learning in a broad variety of countries, whereby most of them refer to schools, covering in particular schools in South Africa (Robinson), in Germany (Gräfe-Geusch), in Ethiopia (Riggan) and in Israel (Levenson); one vignette is devoted to GCE lecturing in higher education in the USA (Kertyzia); and another addresses GCE learning by student protest and activism 'on the streets' (Gardinier). This remarkable focus on

school or university teaching may be accidental, since in principle GCE can be and surely is (also) part of many out-of-school scenarios, e.g. in youth organizations and social work, in educational programs of non-governmental organizations or in adult and further education. But it may also be the product of the context in which the authors of these vignettes where recruited, which was, to my knowledge, an international conference on GCE which took place at the Georg Eckert Institute for International Textbook Research in Germany. For a variety of reasons, all practice fields would need to be considered for deep insight into a bottom-up GCE approach. The point is that, for instance, young people participating in a voluntary work camp abroad are experiencing 'global learning' in situ, from which they form their ideas and attitudes towards global citizenship while at the same time interacting with local populations who also enlarge their worldviews on global affairs. And this 'informal education' might affect the lives of these persons much more than a few hours of human rights' teaching in school.

Notwithstanding the reason how this came about – whether by chance, as an effect of the conference, or as a reflection of social reality – this strong emphasis on teaching and learning in school-type educational institutions found in the vignettes, together with my own experiences in realms of school theory, motivates me to refer to *school theory, curriculum and didactics* in determining the added value of 'bottom-up' approaches for our scholarly knowledge about GCE. This, then, will be the *main perspective of my comments*, which means I will not argue with the eternal complaint of discrepancies between *program/policy vs. practice*, or resort to analyses of *loose coupling* or *decoupling* between world-cultural blueprints of GCE and national realizations so prominent in neo-institutionalist theory (Meyer, Boli, Thomas & Ramirez, 1997), or highlight relations between *global concepts vs. local meanings* (Anderson-Levitt, 2003). Instead, I will refer to an argument which seems to be forgotten or underrated in international discourse about the relationship between policies/programs in education and pedagogical practice: the existence and effects of the *relative pedagogical autonomy* of the school – and hence the teacher – embedded in reflections on defining the role of the school, especially concerning instruction and lesson planning. Because it was precisely this that struck me while reading the vignettes: *Most of them depict how and why 'relative autonomy' of the actors rooted in their being teachers in a national school system is at work.* I will, therefore, not concentrate on the possible match, deviations or contradictions of the *contents of GCE* in the vignettes as compared to declarations and discourse on GCE and neighboring concepts, but concentrate on how *the transmission of GCE(-like) topics* is said to have been enacted and is reported on in the vignettes.

The vignettes were written with the key terms of the publication in mind: intentions, power, and accidents: While international policies seeking to implement GCE

clearly operate 'top-down,' it is posited that discourse formation on GCE lacks and would benefit from 'bottom-up' perspectives. These might reveal intentions that are not met in practice, power relations that blur universal human rights perspectives, and accidental learning that might occur adjacent to, beyond or even instead of proclaimed teaching concepts. Hence, voices from the bottom are to be valued; they echo experiences from the other end of the top-down ladder, where GCE actually takes place. Reaching the classroom level is rather rare in research on international education, for which I just want to cite a stunning article reporting on teacher education in Finland based on Finnish and foreign students' narratives, literally titled ''I find it odd that people have to highlight other people's differences – even when there are none': Experiential learning and interculturality in teacher education' (Dervin, 2017), thus exposing cleavages or even contradictions between pedagogical discourse and real life experiences.

National education systems officially combine the citizens' right to education and the (ultimate) duty of the state to provide for and regulate its proclaimed education system. From this follows the assumption (and the vignettes echo this) that most – intended – GCE takes place as part of general education in schools. This, then, will be the starting point to view what the vignettes can contribute to researching GCE as it is mainly practiced in school.

GCE as part of universal compulsory education: A conceptual note

Schooling should in principle reach all children and young people because of compulsory education. In real life going to school occupies a major part of growing up and everyday experiences of girls and boys everywhere in the world, which was not yet the case a century or so ago. In my writings I reconstructed the logic of the worldwide expansion of schooling as a long transnational historical process which I termed 'the universalization of modern schooling' analyzed mainly as a corollary of the expansion of the modern capitalist world system as theorized by Immanuel Wallerstein (Adick, 1992a, 1992b). Grosso modo, I see the expansion of the 'modern capitalist world system' à la Wallerstein as the historical motor leading to what is now identified as 'globalization.' I have discussed the details of my argumentation concerning the allegedly 'western' or 'universal' nature of modern schooling elsewhere; suffice to say here that, in my view, the historical process of universalizing education is still ongoing today, as demonstrated by the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) declared by the United Nations (UN) to be achieved by the year 2030 (Adick, 2018a). The SDGs include one goal out of 17 which is uniquely devoted to education (SDG 4), with a special sub-goal on the worldwide expansion of primary and secondary

education for all girls and boys (i.e. SDG 4.1). It also comprises a special goal which I read as a rather lengthy description of GCE:

> Knowledge and skills needed to promote sustainable development, including, among others, through education for sustainable development and sustainable lifestyles, human rights, gender equality, promotion of a culture of peace and non-violence, global citizenship and appreciation of cultural diversity education and of culture's contribution to sustainable development. (SDG 4.7; cf. Adick, 2018b, p. 14)

I interpret this historical process as falling in line with notions of a theorem known in German discourse as "die *Pädagogisierung* der Welt" (Adick 2018a, pp. 119 ff.). I follow Depaepe (1998) who has written about *Pädagogisierung* by translating it into English as 'educationalization;' yet unlike him, I do not see this as a characteristic of 'western' school systems (alone), but as a universal trait which particularly affects schooling. To speak of *Pädagogisierung/educationalization* means that, over the course of time, ever more societal tasks and challenges were and are converted into pedagogical objectives and delegated to be performed or 'solved' by educational institutions, particularly by the school. Challenges and requirements posed by 'globalization' are thus transformed into demands to be fulfilled by education (hence, GCE) and are most prominently delegated to the national education system, the one most accessible to and malleable by official policymakers (in a top-down process). This is why it comes as no surprise that GCE is predominantly a topic for school education.

Following the idea of the *educationalization of globalization* ending up in school it can be observed that GCE is incorporated into national education systems in various ways, most often as part of existing syllabi and subject matters; but to my knowledge nowhere as a new and stand-alone subject. The vignettes display GCE in such various settings: History teaching at high-school level in South Africa (Robinson); Ethics education in secondary schools in Germany (Gräfe-Geusch); part of a newly introduced compulsory subject from primary through university level called 'Civic and Ethical Education' (CEE) in Ethiopia (Riggan); underlying the whole school philosophy of a Christian private school in Israel (Levenson). One of the remaining vignettes considers GCE in higher education, in this case university classes on Peace Education in the USA (Kertyzia). The other focuses on public student protests in Albania which might be interpreted as showing the results or outcomes of (intentional?) GCE teaching or learning (accidental?) in higher education. GCE may thus obviously cohabit with many different institutional and curricular arrangements which, among other aspects, makes it flexible in terms of implementation but also a rather fuzzy concept. I subsume this concept under the broader and more long-term umbrella of 'global education.'

Didactics: Curriculum and/or *Didaktik*?

In Anglophone literature, reflections concerning the choice of contents, aims and methods for the purposes of instruction in schools are usually referred to as 'curriculum,' whereas in German this would fall under the topic '*Didaktik*.' There is no real English equivalent for this German term (for which, however, there are equivalents in other European languages), because the English adjective 'didactic' tends to pejoratively mean (just) a more or less 'masterly' preparation of lessons by teachers. In the continental European tradition, however, the above-named reflections embrace much more than just lesson planning, also comprising the art of choosing, legitimizing, and structuring the contents and aims of instruction for the ultimate purpose of '*Bildung*.'[1] As has been shown by analyzing the international 'export' of the works of Wolfgang Klafki, probably the most widely known and influential post-Second World War German theorist of *Didaktik*, the considerable influence enjoyed by the term in a number of countries like Denmark, Poland, Russia, Japan, Korea and China contrasts sharply with its practically zero reception in the USA and in France (Meyer & Meyer, 2017, pp. 190 ff.).

For a better comprehension some clarifications on the German ideas around '*Bildung*' and '*Didaktik*' need to be touched upon here. Peter Menck (2000, pp. 11 ff.), attempting to explain '*Bildung*' to Anglophone audiences, defines it as "the process in the course of which specific human beings acquire the characteristic human features" (ibid., p. 13); in this, he relies mainly on the conceptual works of Wilhelm von Humboldt and Karl Marx. In his introduction to Menck's book, Ian Westbury, coming from the Anglophone tradition, adds to Menck's definition of '*Bildung*' thus:

> We appropriate the patterns of the world, which are, when all is said and done, the achievement and the products of humanity, so that 'humanity' penetrates our social and cultural nature and we become formed individual expressions of the human achievements we have experienced. This process of forming, and the subsequent formedness, is inevitably a *self*-formation: The form of my formedness emerges as I come to terms [with] and appropriate, in ways that penetrate my mind and heart, the worlds I inhabit and encounter. (Westbury, 2000, p. xiv)

Referring to the (rather limited) international discourse between 'curriculum' and *Didaktik* traditions, it may be said that 'curriculum' mainly focuses on processes and outcomes of learning in schools, whereas *Didaktik* primarily refers to questions of legitimate choice of contents and aims of teaching. The two traditions are not totally at odds with one another, but rather mutually overlapping (Westbury, 1998; Westbury, Hopmann & Riquarts, 2000). According to Hudson and Meyer (2011) the German-speaking discussions on *Didaktik* are internationally present (only) in countries with respective traditions, but not in regions in which the term is either not (much)

known, or has a rather pejorative meaning only; the latter holds true for both the Anglophone and Francophone worlds.

Only few in German-speaking academia who discuss *Bildung* and *Didaktik* as part of a sub-discipline traditionally called *Schulpädagogik* (summarized here as *classroom teaching and research*), do research from *international comparative perspectives* and/or consider how to react to or respond in classroom teaching and research to the *challenges of globalization*. Publications report of discussions between German and French curriculum research including perspectives from Francophone African countries (Schelle, 2013; Schelle, Straub, Hübler, Montandon & Mbaye, 2020). Others address the discourse on didactics and school teaching in various European traditions (Hudson & Meyer, 2011). Yet others reflect on how concepts of general education are responding to globalization (Meyer, 2018; Meyer, Scheunpflug & Hellekamps, 2018). Such publications have their main background in theories of *Bildung* and *Didaktik* with only marginal reflections on comparative methodology and theories of international relations. In *Comparative and International Education*, however, curriculum research and classroom teaching are less often touched upon compared to the slew of research on international and national policies of education, comparisons of the structure and reforms of national education systems, and international comparative assessments like PISA and others. There are researchers who combine these two spheres – classroom teaching and research, and comparative and international education – but all in all this twofold field of research has been and continues to make scarce appearances. *The vignettes in this special issue are thus timely contributions to addressing an underrepresented area of interdisciplinary research between two sub-disciplines of education.*

The didactics triangle in its (global) societal context

Against the backdrop of this short glimpse into different traditions of classroom teaching and research, the term 'didactics' will be used in the following by referring to the entire set of (self-)reflections and planning concerned with what is one of the basics of teacher training: reflections on the so-called *didaktische Dreieck* (didactics triangle). This is made up of 'subject matter,' 'students,' and 'teacher,' a relatedness which Peter Menck has put into its broader context of societal legitimization in his book on classroom research and 'didactics' (2000), and constitutes the *raison d'être* of all school teaching (see Figure 1).

Figure 1:   The didactics triangle in its context (source: Menck, 2000, p. 25)
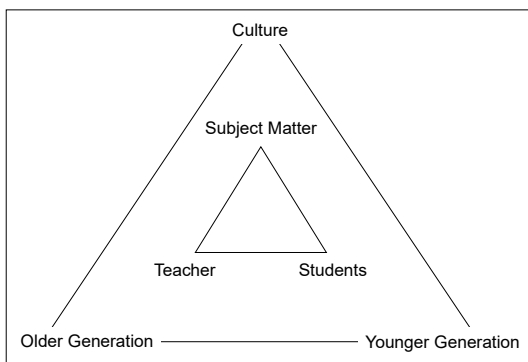
According to Menck (2000, p. 14 and passim) 'didactics' (explicitly with an 's') defines reflecting and theorizing about contents and intentions of instruction in school, or, in his words: "classroom work," which he sees as a means of passing on human culture from one generation to the next, with "culture" defined as "humanity's achievements in broadening its natural state of being so as to make possible a humane life in the world." I would like to stress the notion of 'humanity's achievements' and 'a humane life in the world' here, because this perspective abstains from focusing on any particular human culture while at the same time highlighting the oftentimes overlooked factual focus on 'achievements' in school teaching. After all, who would volunteer to teach children the atrocities of humankind? If such are topics in school – as in the vignette on how the Holocaust and apartheid are taught in a history class in an ex-Whites-only high school in South Africa (Robinson), then this can only be pedagogically legitimated if treated as a negative example of human behavior to be discredited and overcome (for which, however, there is no guarantee, as the observations in Robinson's vignette show). Coming back to Menck's view:

> it is the task of the 'school' to pass on a particular 'cultural minimum', which will endow the young members of the particular culture with the achievements of humanity, thus turning them into full members of society. When this point has been reached, they have all the rights of an adult human being, they accept all the duties of an adult human being, and they have the abilities and the knowledge to allow them to make responsible use of their rights and to perform their duties. (ibid.)

Relating this point of view to globalization and the resulting challenges of global citizenship and global education, schooling today is not only preparing the young generation of (and for) a particular culture and society, but at the same time is also addressing them as future citizens of a complex and interrelated world, which,

at best, is on the way to translating 'humanity's achievements' into 'sustainable development.' In this sense, *Bildung* means the (self-)appropriation of culture by the individual and is seen as the ultimate overall objective of teaching in school, because – unlike teaching as indoctrination or copying – the transmission of human culture from the adult to the younger generation ultimately depends on the 'emancipation' of the young while they become fully active adults capable of competent reasoning and action transcending existing human knowledge and practice.

Summing up, didactics responds to the basic question: How might we conduct a pedagogically sound selection from the potentially unlimited and factually undetermined universe of human knowledge (i.e. 'culture' in Figure 1) of what should then be the object (i.e. the 'subject matter' of classroom work) of the interaction between the teacher (as a representative of the 'older generation') and the students (in their capacity as the 'younger generation') in their classroom work at school? The didactics triangle visualizes the basic relatedness and interdependence between what is (to be) taught (the subject matter) and the interacting teacher and student(s). One cannot do without the other; in other words, it would not be instruction for *Bildung* in a school. Syllabus, curriculum and textbooks prescribe 'the matter' to be taught and learned, but neither the teacher nor the students are passive and purely reproducing prefabricated knowledge. Instead, they are co-constructing 'the matter' in the course of teaching and learning which may lead to very divergent actualizations of intended curricula and programs. In my view this can be seen in the different versions of GCE described and interpreted in the vignettes. In short: It would be worrying if the vignettes were too similar, since a nearly perfect match between prescription (program, policy), intended curriculum and classroom realization would indeed alert suspicion of 'indoctrination.'

The pedagogy of Paulo Freire referred to in the vignette on university course planning in the USA (Kertyzia) explicitly highlights this *co-constructive role of teacher and students vis-à-vis what is (to be) taught* since it belongs to the core of Freire's critical thinking on school education with the ultimate aim of education for liberation. Teaching in school exceeds the mere repetition of established knowledge by learners in the manner of parrots reproducing their masters' words – if it were so, it would not be *Bildung* or, in Freire's words, *education for liberation* (cf. Adick, 2019). Emic classroom research such as that displayed in the vignettes may thus unveil the co-constructive nature of GCE by both teacher and learner(s) in class, in short: the enactment of GCE. The vignette depicting instruction in a South African high school (Robinson) includes vivid observations on this co-constructive role of learners. A student asks the simple question: "Sir, if D.F. Malan was the architect of apartheid, then why is there a school in Cape Town still named after him?" The observant scholar notes that this overthrows the whole teaching concept because it

revealed a 'racial divide' – the "elephant in the (class-)room" – which the teacher "was ill-equipped to manage" in his history class. In this moment, GCE postulates were questioned and confronted with the existing social reality, and it seems the lesson planning did not anticipate such contradictions or how to handle them in class. This can be seen as a strategic example of the more general challenge for teachers regarding how to 'resolve' a situation in which the classroom discussion transcends the didactical planning as well as the apparent limits of teaching and learning in school. It is the classroom interaction itself that unveils these limitations, since there is no direct path from the classroom to social reality. As such, the vignettes might themselves be utilized in teacher training courses to help guard future teachers against false expectations of 'saving the world' with their GCE teaching. It might at times be frustrating, but classroom work operates outside 'real life.' It is set apart in time and space by literally 'going to school.'

All in all, the difference between prescription (program) and realization (in the classroom) is not a regrettable malfunction. It is neither a deficiency of the program nor of classroom work, nor is it a sign of de-coupling between the two due to lack of information or communication, for example. Instead, it is seen here as an indicator of the 'relative pedagogical autonomy' of the school, which according to Bourdieu and Passeron (1974) is essential for its functioning. Without a certain autonomy the school in modern societies could not fulfil its role of preparing competent future citizens; citizens who only reiterate existing knowledge would neither be productive, nor (self-)critical, nor innovative. But this autonomy is relative, depending not least on the societal conditions in which teachers act and classroom work is practiced, such as the degree of freedom of speech allowed, the role of authority and discipline, or concepts of childhood and adulthood. As part of the overall international development ('globalization'), the school not only reflects global influences but is actively concerned with the attempt to master or deal with them in a productive way. Human knowledge of the world is selected and transformed into a subject matter in school in order to be actively appropriated by pupils and students. This acquisition of knowledge in the school includes critique, contradiction and new possibilities to interpret the world. Thus, the process of education may eventually lead to a transformation of human knowledge and to a re-interpretation of the world's situation into new possibilities for humankind to survive, evoking responsibility and insight into the complex economic, social and cultural world situation.

Knowledge and societal challenges (the 'culture' aspect) are transformed into 'objectives of the school' delegated to be tackled and solved by the national education system ('educationalization'). The education system, then, deals with these external challenges in a specifically pedagogical manner due to its relative autonomy, and this is exactly its specific contribution, which other sub-systems of society like

the economy or politics do not achieve (cf. Bourdieu & Passeron, 1974). This means that a national education system does not simply conform to external pressures (such as globalization), but instead, by using specific pedagogical means (like curricula, textbooks, teacher training), transforms them so that they make sense in an educational way.

Global Citizenship Education: Top-down or bottom-up?

Global Citizenship Education (GCE) has a long history, if conceived of as a specific and timely accentuation of the more general area of 'global education,' which I understand to be an umbrella term embracing specifications such as peace education, human rights education, and education for sustainable development. As early as 1974, UNESCO issued a "recommendation concerning education for international understanding, co-operation and peace and education relating to human rights and fundamental freedoms," essentially defining its guiding principle as "an international and a global perspective in education at all levels and in all its forms" (UNESCO, 1974, p. 4). Even though there were claims to revise these recommendations twenty years later, UNESCO decided to adhere to the original document because it symbolized a global consensus and was still pertinent. In later years UNESCO issued and monitored the decades of human rights education, then education for sustainable development, and other programs of international education including global citizenship education.

Policy analyses tend to consider the implementation of such programs as a 'top-down-process,' taking the UNESCO programs, for instance, as representing 'the top' from which ideas and concepts are handed down to 'the bottom' which is the teaching as it is practiced in class, and even considers the individual learner and their *Bildung*. At first glance, it might be taken for granted that we need curriculum planning, etc., in order to achieve GCE. But, firstly, this dimension is seldom touched upon when GCE is discussed as a worldwide pedagogical program and how its aims and objectives may be explained, defended, and legitimized. And, secondly, how curriculum planning of GCE is actually practiced is an under-researched area that lacks empirical differentiation. This is why, now, a multi-level approach to analyzing didactical discourse is sketched. In reality, there are a lot of intermediary stages between the (global) top and the (particular) bottom, with various types of actors who interpret, select, extract, enlarge, reduce, adapt, and even alter the program which is received from the top (see Table 1, adapted from Adick, 2002, pp. 245–248). The idea behind this is to clarify that didactics concern not only individual lesson planning and classroom instruction but form an integral part of all decisions concerning the framing and outlook of what is taught and learned at school. The levels of decision-making

are interlinked, but not in a deterministic top-down-process. The actors on each level have some degree of freedom (relative autonomy) and different resources via which they act according to their specific logic. This is the main reason for 'de-coupling' effects.

Table 1:   Programs of global education between 'top' and 'bottom'

Level of decision-making	Areas of didactical discourse
1. International blueprints of global education	Programs of international organizations, esp. UNESCO, international NGOs or international teachers' associations
2. Global education as part of the national education system	Ways to include the program into the school system, e.g. concerning school level, grades, syllabus, national curricula and testing schemes
3. Global education in the individual school	Type of school, its school program and philosophy, area and social context of the school, and parents' influence
4. Global Education in one or more of the school subjects	Subject matter didactics, curriculum and textbook development for specific school subjects, at times also for specific types and levels of school
5. Didactical analysis of topics of global education	Lesson planning and preparation of classroom activities by the individual teacher for a specific course
6. Instructional Practice of global education	Classroom work along the specific teaching situation

As highlighted (in Table 1) there is no direct line from 'top' to 'bottom.' Rather, an educational program at the ultimate international top, such as GCE as prescribed by UNESCO and other international agencies, goes through several steps before it arrives at the very bottom – a certain classroom with individual teachers and learners in a particular and singular lesson in which the class is said to be working on a topic allegedly pertaining to GCE. As mentioned above, it is posited here that the vignettes give lively impressions and insights into the workings of the 'relative pedagogical autonomy' of the school, including the teacher and the co-constructive role of the students. Policy analysis cannot uncover the insights gained by such snapshots of the practice of classroom work. From this stems the suggestion that the vignettes might contain traces of (presumed) didactical discourses on levels beyond the pure description of what is happening in a certain situation (bearing in mind, of course, that any 'pure' descriptions are epistemologically impossible, even if one tries to be an 'objective' observer). If the idea behind writing vignettes on GCE was to enable a 'bottom-up' perspective, as proclaimed, then it would be advisable to look for evidence as to whether and how the authors utilize perspectives from ideas, arguments or concepts that are above ('on top') of the perceived classroom. In this sense, their authors would be '*writing from a 'bottom-up' perspective.*'

It comes as no surprise that most of the vignettes contain didactical reasoning on the practice of GCE at classroom level (level 6), since authors were asked to write 'bottom-up.' But what does that actually mean? The texts are a mix of descriptions, interpretations, comparisons, conclusions, comments, extrapolations and self-reflections. Literally conferred to describing the actual example at stake, they do contain messages *from 'the bottom,'* but do not (necessarily) touch a *'bottom-up' perspective*. Writing from a 'bottom-up' perspective becomes visible if arguments are connected to the 'upwards ladder' of discourse, e.g. relating an event in class (level 6) to the lesson planning before (level 5) or reflecting on its position in the subject to be taught (level 4), or confronting it to the complexities of the particular school (level 3), or furthermore reasoning whether the observed instruction meets the nationally prescribed curriculum, e.g. of a new subject (level 2) or what the observer holds true as the global consensus on the objectives of GCE (level 1). The route of reflection thus goes from 'bottom' to 'top.' The idea behind suggesting such a 'structured ladder of didactic reconstruction' (how did the perceived instruction – allegedly – come about?) would be twofold: *constructive* in the sense of enabling a more complex teacher training for GCE, and *analytic* in the sense of helping structure future research on the implementation processes of GCE. With both of these aspects in mind, then, I will look for signs of what I now refer to as *'upward reasoning' in the vignettes*.

Upward reasoning from 'bottom' to 'top' in the vignettes

While re-reading the vignettes with glasses looking for 'upward reasoning' I was astonished to find numerous examples, with many indications that the authors are incorporating thoughts far beyond classroom work considerations into their texts. I will touch upon some examples, knowing that with a closer look, or if one could even interview the authors about how they came to their decisions to write these vignettes, my impressions cannot capture all of the associations with and references to the many items visualized in the overview (Table 1).

Vignette 1 (Natasha Robinson): Here, the author relates the description of the classroom work of Mr. Cilliers to the objective of the subject (which is 9th grade history) he has to teach (level 4). The author also embeds the story within the history of this formerly 'whites only' prestigious high school (with still low numbers of non-white children attending) in which the observed teaching takes place (level 3). Furthermore, the author (Robinson) contends that Mr. Cilliers' topics give the impression that he interprets history teaching very much in "what we have often thought of as good Global Citizenship Education: a strong focus on human rights, democracy, and treating each other as equals." Who is the author's (Robinson's) 'we' in this

reflection; are 'we' echoing the blueprint (global consensus) of GCE (level 1)? The text also connects the description of Mr. Cilliers' teaching to the South African school system with its apartheid legacy (level 2), which, it is said, remained "the elephant in the (class-)room" in the lessons observed.

Vignette 2 (Annett Gräfe-Geusch): In this text the author intentionally confronts two apparently different realizations of the same subject, 'ethics' (level 4) in two different types of classes. The first is for the 'ordinary' school population; the other is a 'welcome class' designed for newly migrated children. This addresses an issue concerning the national education system (level 2) as well as the individual school (level 3). The author (Gräfe-Geusch) posits that "both teachers saw ethics as a way to engage with diversity and to prepare their students for life in an interconnected world. Both of these accounts provide insights into challenges and chances that (forced) migration provided to schools in Germany," also adding a footnote on literature which discusses "the connection between diversity, immigration, multicultural education and GCE." In my opinion this argument includes 'upward reasoning' to levels 1 and 2. Interviews with the teachers discuss 'critical topics' in ethics teaching, such as whether religion was (to be) part of that subject (level 4) which affected the lesson planning (level 5) of the non-religious teacher from the former GDR (German Democratic Republic) which disfavored religious practices. Students of the welcome class – attended by students from various different countries – are said to have behaved "in some cases incredibly nationalistic" – unexpectedly, as it seems, for this type of school teaching directed at newly arrived migrants (level 3).

Vignette 3 (Jennifer Riggan): In this case the author reflects on a curriculum unit on 'savings' which is part of a newly established national subject in Ethiopia (levels 4 and 2) called 'Civic & Ethical Education' (CEE). She posits: "In many respects the CEE curriculum is a blueprint for a particular notion of citizenship and personhood. CEE is a required and mandatory subject from elementary school through university." The outlook of CEE is identified with "neoliberal developmentalism" stemming from (global? 'western'-type?) concepts of human rights, constitutional democracy and "aggressive developmentalism" (level 1). This, however, according to teachers interviewed and classroom observations (level 6), contradicts the social reality in Ethiopia. How? The unit on saving tends to delegitimize traditional ways of savings (*ikub* and *idir*) and vilifies cultural obstacles to saving money (e.g. 'excessive' festivities) by instead proclaiming or even prescribing (indoctrinating?) modern institutions like saving money in a bank, a severe challenge for didactical analysis (level 5).

Vignette 4 (Meg P. Gardinier): This text requires a slightly different perspective for my analysis, containing as it does references to various levels of discourse. It describes and reflects on student protests in Albania by suggesting "the idea of *global*

civic engagement does what global citizenship and global competence have yet failed to do – it unites individuals across distinctly different points of view into a sense of belonging, purpose, and agentic action for social and political change." The author believes that this "can offer important insights for a range of stakeholders committed to the realization of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and other areas of collective social and political transformation." The text concludes: "Paradoxically (as this vignette argues), it may be in taking action – and walking *out* of school in order to do so – that young people are best able to enact a powerful form of civic learning by asserting their new visions for system transformation within the public sphere." This resonates with what I have written above, that a lot of or even most (?) GCE might take place – unbeknown to us researchers – outside school learning.

Vignette 5 (Heather Kertyzia): As a professor of Peace Education who considers GCE highly connected to peace education (possibly level 1), the author compares how her courses are (have to be?) implemented in two higher education institutions with a very different intake of students: one with a more diverse population from neighborhoods with mostly Latin American or African-American backgrounds; the other an international university with a highly international studentship (level 3). As she applied Freire's dialogical pedagogy she engaged the students in her course planning (level 4, 5 and 6). This, however, made her reflect again not only on her own role (levels 5 and 6) but also challenge her notion of the overall educational mission of GCE (level 1) and GCE in teacher training (level 2). The vignette displays a lot of co-construction of the respective students' groups and at the same time a broad self-reflection on a teacher's constructive? re-constructive? responsive? role in GCE taking place 'at the bottom.'

Vignette 6 (Lance Levenson): This text may be considered as tackling the most – permit me to use these labels – multiple, multicultural, international, multilingual, and interreligious classroom situation of all the vignettes. An ideal context for GCE, one might ponder. But is this so? Does a seemingly GCE-friendly school context (level 3) guarantee the formation of a good global citizen? The author questions this. He takes a religious song in the classroom he observes as the turning point of the analysis; it is a song in "Swahili lyrics, based on a traditional English Christian hymn, to the voices of Palestinian students taught by a Jewish-American teacher in a Church of Scotland school in Israel." By considering the uniqueness of this school in the landscape of education in Israel (level 2) a very specific type of cosmopolitan identity (level 1) comes to the surface. At a meeting of alumni from all over the world, a strong identification of this school's graduates with 'their' school is detected, a school which obviously helped to accumulate international cultural capital in really 'globally mixed' school philosophies and classroom situations.

Summary

In my comment I have chosen to see the vignettes through the lens of some basic traditions of German-language reasoning on 'classroom teaching and research,' including how these resonate with international, predominantly Anglophone, discourse. The vignettes open up this perspective in a number of ways: (i) They focus on an underrepresented area of interdisciplinary research, since on the one hand most classroom research remains restricted to a specific national education system, whereby, on the other, comparative education research seldom reaches the classroom level. (ii) Several of the vignettes open up views on the actual working of the 'relative pedagogical autonomy' to explain a good deal of the ubiquitous mismatch between policies/programs and educational reality. (iii) Some of the observations in the texts can be read as unveiling the co-constructive work of teachers as well as their students in actual classroom work, a factor which is not taken into account in most (programmatic) discussions around GCE.

Note

1. *Bildung*: Another key German concept for which there is no equivalent in English because it means something more than its straightforward English translation, 'education,' which can in turn also be translated into German as '*Erziehung.*' If '*Erziehung*' were then (re-)translated into English it might possibly end up as 'education', but would actually resonate more with something like 'upbringing' (cf. Adick, 2008, pp. 48–52).

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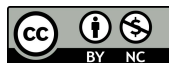
To Global Citizenship Education itself:
Points of reflection and extension

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Abstract

This paper reflects on the compilation of vignettes of Global Citizenship Education (GCE) in a variety of contexts. The analysis is framed by Critical Everyday Theory (CET), employing the concepts of estrangement, alienation and novelty to extend and develop these contributions. A consideration of what is new in these pieces for GCE, and how they address power coupled with the value of ethnographic research is examined.

I have often joked with my doctoral students about the implicit messages of research papers and conference papers – "I've got the *really-real* in this paper!" This implied declaration, commonplace in academia where social science and humanities scholars frequently theorize something grandiose out of banal events, is a way of demanding attention … this is *really-real so pay attention*! As a doctoral student nearly three decades ago, I was obsessed with the *really-real* which drew me to engage with ethnographic methods. I was not interested in distillations and abstractions drawn from statistical inferences of phenomena in relation to each other; I wanted to observe the 'things themselves' in all their raw nakedness. While my study was about what global education looks like through the eyes of participants in three high schools, the method of intently listening, closely observing and deeply inferring was as important to me as the foci of my gaze (Gaudelli, 2003). I was in search of the *really-real* in these situations, something deeply authentic in what the teachers and students were doing that would reveal things much larger than the immediacy of the experience assumed.

One way to characterize all of the pieces in this special issue is in terms of all of the authors' sharp focus on the same – the situations of learning about global citizenship within and beyond formal educational settings where real things happen. What a two-fold challenge this collective effort represents! On the one hand, the authors are seeking contents that are not altogether commonplace in any context, namely Global Citizenship Education. Say that this issue focused on how algebra is taught in secondary schools. Such an inquiry would be altogether simple to find as its universality is a given. But to go in search of *Global Citizenship Education* – but what even is that?! And how would you know it when you found it? On the other hand, this content challenge is compounded by a methodological one, or the process of seeing, hearing and witnessing that is respectful of the emic and yet points both to its problematic dimensions and outwards to something larger at play in the work. This dimension of the challenge is acutely felt as the authors grapple with moving beyond the immediate experience towards something larger and more foundational, ultimately pointing towards what we might call Global Citizenship Education.

My approach in this reflection is to honor the work of both the scholars and the participants in these studies by doing precisely the same things they have done – accepting their rendering of the emic, bottom-up experiences of this grandiose idea of global citizenship and pushing what is rendered into a new frame of thinking, a structural analysis that has been referred to as Critical Everyday Theory, drawing principally on the work of the philosopher and sociologist Henri Lefebvre (1961/2014). Why? At its core, scholarly work is a dialectical engagement for me. What can I do with these words, with these phrases, with these insights? I employ them not as recipes for intervention or formulas for action but as points of experience that beg for response and interpretation. Second, I have found Critical Everyday Theory to be a useful tool to think within the context of Global Citizenship Education (Gaudelli, 2016). Following my analysis of the six vignettes in light of Critical Everyday Theory, I turn to the center-point of this issue, GCE, and what insights, questions and directions develop in light of these important contributions.

I want to offer a few introductory points about what I take to be Critical Everyday Theory that I use in carrying forward this reflection. These are by no means exhaustive of the discourse but illustrative and pragmatically useful to what I have in mind for these papers. My rationale for choosing Critical Everyday Theory (CET) is based on the methodological choice of the authors – to focus on the everyday, common experiences of educators in a variety of spaces to generate their insights. CET works from the premise that estrangement, or seeing the quotidian world freshly, is a crucial precondition towards seeing it anew, as if for the first time. This repose is deep in the foundations of sociology and anthropology as one of the methodological options in those fields. Thus, it seems an appropriate fit to analyze these pieces from within that

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same set of assumptions. Lefebvre (1961/2014) uses the work of Charlie Chaplin, the clowning yet sharply insightful American filmmaker of the early 20th century, who took normalcy seriously by interrupting its patterning repetition to unmask the spell of the ordinary. Lefebvre writes:

> The most extraordinary things are also the most everyday; the strangest things are often the most trivial, and the current notion of the 'mythical' is an illusory reflection of this fact. Once separated from its context … the trivial becomes extraordinary, and the habitual becomes 'mythical.' (pp. 35–36)

Chaplin was a genius at playing with estrangement. His film renderings of an assembly line in *Modern Times* (1936) illustrates how what is commonplace can be made to seem absurd in the absence of context. Chaplin plays the line-worker in his own film, rapidly ratcheting bolts to objects, as the line-supervisor continually speeds up the assembly line. He becomes so fixated on the repetitive motion that he eventually gets sucked into the gears of the assembly line which forces a work stoppage. He then begins to see every object – a fire hydrant, a woman's blouse – as bolts to be ratcheted. The humor of the scene translates well even into the present context, nearly a century removed, and yet the insights about repetition, rapidity and subsequent alienation linger just beneath the images. As Ben Highmore (2002) notes,

> What makes the assembly line such a telling exemplification of everyday modernity is not the specificity of the factory environment, but the generalized condition that it points to: 'plodding', 'monotony' – the emptiness of time. (p. 8)

Assembly lines have largely disappeared from post-industrial societies but their equivalents are suffused in those same societies – generally understood as the 'daily grind.'

Alienation, then, is a primary concern of CET and Lefebvre as it borrows from a principal tenet of Marxism: Modern capitalism has splintered sustenance from labor, rendering labor(ers) as a commodity such that workers experience detachment in the most essential dimension of themselves, their work. Lefebvre's analysis, however, shifts from alienation as solely the result of labor, capitalism and the division of workers (proletarian) from their work, and towards a much broader, and perhaps even more damning, criticism: that all aspects of modern life are organized in response to alienation, even those that are positioned as the opposite of labor, namely leisure. Lefebvre (1961/2014) uses this opposition of work/leisure to demonstrate how even the absence of what we assume to be alienation – work, repetitive and disconnected – is in fact the repository of the very same anomic emptiness that is present in the original Marxist critique. Leisure, or being away from work, is always constituted by this absence, of having the liberation to enjoy pleasure.

> Chaplin gave us a *genuine reverse image* of modern times: its image seen through a living man, through his sufferings, his tribulations, his victories. We are now entering the vast domain of the *illusory reverse image*. What we find is a false world: firstly because it is not a world, and because it presents itself as true, and because it mimics real life closely in order to replace the real by its opposite; by replacing real unhappiness by fictions of happiness … This is the 'world' of most films, most of the press, the theatre, the music hall: of a large sector of leisure activities. (Lefebvre, 1961/2014, p. 57)

Thus, the activities of leisure are dependent upon who the subject is, just as the performer is at work for someone else's leisure, and, that leisure itself happens only in relation to the 'time off' in which it occurs, often in the same spaces, such as watching TV or reading a novel at home. CET begins with this unity as a total entity, not separable into distinct units and activities, and that the 'leisure world' is not set apart, but rather constituted by, the 'work world'.

The use of estrangement coupled with the enduring presence of alienation are two important components of CET to which I will add just one more: the *new* or total (hu)*man*. A popular notion in the early 20th century that Lefebvre is responding to is the idea of a *new man*, a discourse brought about by the socialist revolutions of that period, in which this new, whole, unified man was altogether different from the divided self of contemporary capitalism and earlier agrarianism and feudalism. This belief in a 'turning the page' of history, or at least the will to have that be the case, was so profound that states were organized on this premise. In the USSR, for example, the new man was pronounced as a "total act, radical break, absolute renewal" that represented an instantaneous shift from alienation to fulfillment (Lefebvre, 1961/2014, p. 87). The desire for novelty, particularly in light of political revolutions, is not new, of course, as Parisian revolutionaries in the time of the First Republic were said to have destroyed public clocks as a way of holding that moment of change, *ad infinitum*. Lefebvre and CET, rather, aim to historicize the *new man* not as new but as an outer limit to the horizon, an aspirational possibility of what people might become through many iterations focused on improving social being. Thereby, CET undercuts the myth that time can change instantly into something new; rather, Lefebvre views time as always continuous and connective.

Following this too brief overview of CET, I begin now with the vignettes themselves and introduce elements of CET – estrangement, alienation and the new (hu)man – at key moments along the way. In Natasha Robinson's vignette, the focus is on a classroom in South Africa and a familiar type of teacher, Mr. Cilliers, who tries to get students to *feel* their way through historical traumas. The feelings-first approach suggests a kind of pedagogical intervention against the deadened response that students too often have to state-level tragedies and systematic oppression. He employs the Holocaust and apartheid as touchstones in this context, leading with the feelings of victims of these mass-scale events, an attempt to humanize suffering.

Mr. Cilliers' teaching pivots around the idea that oppression happens as a result of a lack of love, thus the antidote is clear: attachment, affiliation and love. But when students say "get over it" with respect to contemporary South Africans and apartheid, as reported by Robinson, the elixir fails to deliver, as the faulty premise is exposed. Reparative interventions like land reform and affirmative action would "make other people feel bad" and are, as such, disqualified from consideration. As Robinson rightly notes, the feelings-only approach was "not what good Global Citizenship Education looked like" as students were removed from their implication in the very contents they were studying.

Here is a familiar intonation in global learnings of all varieties – the severance of the observer from the observed. Alienation sits at the core of how global learning is often engaged: events that happened in the past or far away and to people I neither know nor care much about; as such, alien content through and through. Students might be taught to feign feeling for others (though I wonder, can one possibly imagine the feeling of being a Jew in Europe during the rise of Nazism, or understand what it felt like to be treated as non-human in South Africa, and is such an approach ethically and pedagogically defensible?) if only to further alienate themselves from the implications in the present. Why begin there? Why not begin in the immediacy of student lives and how – through the cellphone in their pockets – they are all connected to unimaginable ecological and human suffering: to child labor, resource extraction, and digital waste piles (Wenar, 2016)? Such an encounter would be a process of estrangement, of making the very familiar altogether strange and cast in a new light. If done well, it might help develop a sense of connectivity, concern and engagement for making the world anew that is elemental to GCE.

Annett Gräfe-Geusch offers dual, compelling vignettes from an ethics course for newcomers and local students in a Berlin secondary school. The time of her study is quite important as 2015 witnessed a massive influx of some 1 million people on the move, largely from Syria and into central Europe. The project between refugees and German students exposes some of the pedagogical challenges and opportunities presented in the midst of a global crisis, most poignant as the issue literally comes home. While the two teachers profiled, Herr Lock and Frau Wels, understood their role as accommodating newcomers and encouraging the same attitude among their students, when dialogues encountered religious affiliation, national identity and assimilation within German society, the neat endings quickly come undone. GCE, it occurs to me in this vignette, has a good-sounding feel to many and yet, as Gräfe-Geusch confirms, it is a complicated and controversial terrain.

Perhaps some of that discomfort comes from the patina of new (hu)man that inheres within global citizenship. Global citizenship, while not a new idea, does represent a new identity space for declamations of who one is in light of geopolitical

changes and economic interconnections that are now commonplace. But just like the *new man* discourse of socialist revolutions a century ago, there is no magical contemporary emergence of the global citizen itself, vanquishing state identities of the past in a new epoch. No – it is a continuity with other political affiliations, a *newer human* let's say, that reminds us that experience is more contiguous than characterized by neat 'breaks' in time. In light of their focus on immigration, there is an element of this type of magical thinking among the teachers as well. That they were surprised by the students, and even themselves reverted to Western European, state-based responses (such as assimilation into German culture or treating religion in a secular fashion), demonstrates the extent to which they believed in the 'new day' thinking that accompanies globalization and Global Citizenship Education, only to be reminded of the continuity of previous citizenship discourses alongside a more current variety.

This recognition also helps to work against the homogenous imaginary of the past that is so often invoked in right-wing political discourse, or against the idea that the global reality has thrust upon us, unwillingly for some, a new polyglot, multicultural reality that ostensibly threatens the solidity of a (mythical) stable German identity. Rather, the influx of 'different' people is a current inflection of difference, not altogether new, as the presence of Jewish, Roma and Turkish communities in Germany, in some cases for centuries, can attest. Note that I point to Germany in this example only since the author works in that context, but surely we are aware that these insider/outsider concepts and mythical notions of glorious, singular pasts are present in many societies, if not all.

Jennifer Riggan observes global citizenship in the container of neoliberal economics in Ethiopia. We learn that students are taught in recitative, call-and-response fashion in a course on Civic and Ethical Education (CEE). The curriculum is deeply political as it was propagated by the People's Revolutionary Democratic Party from 1991 to the present as an 'education' to promote savings in western-style banks as opposed to traditional, local savings customs. The tendency to save was associated with leading a planned, rational life, as compared to a religious orientation that is averse to savings, ostensibly in the spirit of 'God will provide' and 'let's celebrate today and forget about tomorrow'. Yet the teachers were astutely aware that their teaching was theatrically disconnected from the reality of most students, since the government-school pupils were highly unlikely to find themselves or their families in a situation where any saving was possible due to their need to simply survive.

The alienating nature of the CEE course resonates throughout this vignette. The students and teachers, as well as the author, clearly understand this course as something that does not make sense in their everyday lives, advocating a kind of alternative life that is both unreachable and incongruent. As Riggan notes, "but this

[neoliberal] positionality does not reflect the reality of their everyday lives in which traditional institutions are sometimes more reliable than banks, cooperative borrowing and lending imbued with social relationships have long proven themselves to be reliable …" to which I would add that this type of doctrinaire learning can hardly be deemed as educational. What would a course like CEE need to be to be truly educative? I would suggest that moving away from the individual to the social in terms of savings and banking could be educational. Questions like: Why do banks hold your savings? What happens to the aggregate savings held by banks? Who benefits from this arrangement? How? Who owns the banks? Where is the money they hold in aggregate invested? And who benefits from those investments? When viewed from this social, rather than merely individualistic, frame, savings and banking take on a different look entirely, one that has the potential to be broadly educative and relatable to the daily lives of these young Ethiopian students.

Meg Gardinier considers the role of street and online protests in her vignette about students in Tirana, Albania. She interviews Keti, Lena and Fabian, university students who are organizing a protest over education and the increase of tuition fees in this context. The students organized around a series of demands: reduction of fees, improved dormitory conditions, expanded library resources and more open university governance. Gardinier notes that the student movement, though focused on the particularities of Tirana, gestures towards the future with global calls for justice all through peaceful street protests and social media. She notes that this situation bears on citizenship education as it involves direct action on the part of young people who cannot presume the guaranteeing of these rights, situating citizenship less as an achieved identity and more as an aspirational demand (Osler, 2011).

The students are attempting to undo the settled normalcy of daily life, if only for those who work in the Albanian government and direct the university, as a way of calling attention to their demands. Protests can be effective insofar as they disrupt the routines of those in power as well as passers-by so that the fissure can be noted, the calls can be addressed and a new normal can be enacted. We do not know from Gardinier's account if any of those demands were met or if the students framed the protests in the way that Gardinier has, and yet the notion of GCE being an activity based in a real-life setting is critically important. Too often this educational discourse is viewed too superficially as just that – a discourse and related pedagogical practice – rather than as a mode of living. That these young people have 'taken it to the streets' is evidence of the viability of a rights-based citizenship that constitutes more than observing injustices to be written about in end-of-term papers, but rather to live and act in accordance with these principles.

The students' temporal strategy is implied here, or their attempt to 'break time' and call attention to their cause. Yet inevitably these 'breaks' cannot be sustained.

Careful attention must be given to how to translate protests into policies. I recall vividly when my son was quite young, on a dark winter morning after a Christmas holiday, asking why we could not have Christmas every day. I asked him to play that out, or to think about what that would look like – constantly decorating, shopping, cooking, visiting, hosting, and on and on, such that he understood the exhaustion of a break if it is perpetual, no matter how delightful it might be. The same is true in breaks of a variety of types – they must inevitably end in the return of the ordinary. But in light of CET, normalcy has elasticity such that the inflection of 'new times' or 'breaks' can be realized within a new epoch. When the inevitable return of 'normal time' comes, the break of the protest will have served its purpose if some movement towards justice can be achieved in the quotidian.

Heather Kertyzia employs an autoethnographic approach to her teaching of two university courses through a peace/GCE frame in the US. One of the courses focuses on violence in Los Angeles, delivered to predominately Latinx and African-American students, and the other relates to racism, sexism and social injustices in the context of a highly diverse set of international students. Kertyzia is engaged in circumspect wondering about her work, examining her positionality vis-à-vis her students and the imposition of a practice and discourse such as 'Global Citizenship Education' on historically marginalized and minoritized university students.

Kertyzia's piece, particularly in its description of the participants from LA, offers a cogent illustration both of the power of estrangement as well as the potentially alien quality of GCE. GCE has a legacy rooted in exclusion that must be reckoned with. I'll briefly note that her estrangement of the otherwise taken-as-given 'urban student' population as offering real value in understanding global inequities is a significant insight, one made available through the otherness in which she places herself in relation to them. The questions that she generates demonstrate the power of estrangement in helping people to think differently about what is otherwise, supposedly, ordinary. Her sample of students in this case also helps to illuminate a significant problem in GCE: a legacy of exclusion. The heritage of global learning was once the domain of very few people who worked or traveled internationally, such as corporate heads and those working in diplomatic/foreign service. These ways of thinking about working globally have carried into the present circumstances, and while global learning is a more plural space than it was half a century ago, it is still, as Kertyzia correctly notes, the province of the few. That her students in LA were keenly focused on local manifestations of violence, peace and inequality is unsurprising, and as she notes in explaining the need to move beyond the binaries of local/global, a venue for extending and deepening the global work by moving into this hyper-local space.

I would suggest, though, that the potential to build that connectivity, or for her students to connect the systemic violence they witness as part of a much larger global

dynamic of violence among oppressed people, is precisely what can be empowering about GCE in contexts like these. The alienation that they most certainly experience in their lives is not necessarily compounded by a focus on GCE, albeit through the lens of violence in East LA, but a product of other forces. Rather, understanding oppressive forces on a broader scale can inform and move people to work in solidarity across state-boundaries. Martin Luther King Jr. marveled at his visit to India in the early 1960s and his growing awareness about the position of 'Untouchables' in the caste hierarchy. These insights germinated into a much broader understanding of his oppression as an African-American man as well as his commitment to the liberation of all oppressed peoples.

Finally, in Lance Levenson's vignette set in a Church of Scotland school in Israel housing primarily Palestinian students, we have a classic illustration of global hybridity. The power of ecumenicalism within GCE is evident in the songs, liturgy and stories briefly shared here. We are given a glimpse of the school as a special place wherein otherwise marginalized youth, whose citizenship outside the boundaries of the school is hotly contested on the geopolitical stage, is open for experimentation and cross-synthesis therein. They call it an oasis, a fitting metaphor for the context of Israel. Levenson suggests that the school ethos encourages politics to be "checked at the door" as religion is the particular universal in this setting, and yet one has to wonder how much that is possible in a country such as this and at a time such as now.

One element of CET and of Lefebvre's work that I did not introduce, which however deserves a mention in light of Levenson's piece, is his theorizing around religion as well as mystical and spiritual domains. Religion as an institution emerged as a "symbolic expression" of the unity of the individual in the social, though locating this synthesis in the realm of God, outside of the person (Lefebvre, 1961/2014, p. 95). Lefebvre asserts that religion dislocated people from a unity within themselves and in the ordinary experience of being, noting the sharp distinction between that which is sacred and profane, of God and of man. The emergence of a total (hu)man that unifies the individual and the social is not achievable through religion, according to CET, as it projects unity into a being that is necessarily outside of people. Following suit, modernity has relegated spiritual dimensions of human experience as ancillary to economic life. Thus, religious experience is not eradicated (as it was intended to be within Marxist states), but rather pushed into a separate category of time/place, and in more secular societies, occupying a precarious foothold in what is increasingly fallow ground. While the creation of hybrid, religiously informed environments such as the one Levenson describes might resonate with elements of GCE, it is difficult to see how such a highly secular concept develops unique traction in a context like this.

Global Citizenship Education reconsidered

I close by offering some insights drawn from these six vignettes regarding GCE. First: What do the data, descriptions, events, participants and voices presented in the vignettes tell us about GCE? What's new in GCE? My impression from reading these pieces suggests that the concept of GCE is very much a work-in-progress, which is well illustrated in the range of pieces offered herein. The fact that so many different types of experiences – from singing in a religious school to protesting government finance for higher education to promoting particular varieties of citizenship through formal education – all can be read intelligibly through the lens of GCE suggests a wide discursive field in development. The looseness of GCE conceptually is something that I and many others have written about for the past two decades (Andreotti, 2006; Goren & Yemini, 2017; Marshall, 2011). My sense has been and remains that a loosely affiliated field has the potential to attract new conversations and experiences into its fold. And yet, it also runs the risk of failing to congeal around some common understanding of what we are talking about, a risk underscored by the range of pieces evident here.

That risk noted, the novelties offered here are many. The geographic diversity of examples is a welcomed addition to GCE as the field runs the risk of being a discourse and practice of the West imposed on the rest. The focus on informal spaces of learning, such as a street/social media protest, is a valuable contribution and speaks to the need to continue to look for other venues in which GCE can and is being enacted. And lastly, the address of inequities by most of the authors, or as I see it, a countervailing force from which global learning evolves, is also a change for the better. This new direction builds on the work of others who are trying to dissolve the binary of local/global particularly with respect to inequality and oppression.

The second question to address in relation to GCE is: *What do these stories tell us about the power relations unfolding in these educational contexts?* The diversity of voices in these accounts, including the scholars and their participants, suggests that GCE is increasingly a field shaped by a widening range of actors. Participation does not constitute power, of course, as demonstrated by the students in LA and Tirana, who remain relatively powerless despite their presence in these vignettes. Though representation is a necessary step in the direction of empowering communities who have been subjugated and oppressed, a more promising sign of recognition and value lies in those same communities actually having greater power and more access to resources. The maldistribution of power and the related inequities that come into focus through these educators' efforts is a dominant theme throughout. When I first began researching global learning in the 1990s, seeking perspectives in urban schools among historically marginalized populations, I was often asked rather

directly why I was engaging with those populations and not with the 'future global leaders' where a focus on global learning was more readily found. We are beyond this point of recognition now such that this question is outdated, and as offensive now as it was then. I look forward to the next decade of discourse in the field and how this increasingly diverse representation of voices will shape our collective projects in the years ahead. Suffice it to say that the presence of these issues and voices is long overdue in GCE.

And third: What is to be gained from looking at data from different theoretical and methodological perspectives and positionalities, particularly data collected by different researchers with or without (G)CE in mind? What are the limits of such approach?

I want to end where I began this piece, addressing the methodological focus on the emic and the interpretation of lived experiences offered herein. What ethnographic-type research renders in terms of depth, context and contour, it fails to deliver in scale, breadth and scope. The use of vignettes offers some opportunity to see similar concerns in a fairly condensed fashion, across context and situation. But one does wonder in reading accounts like the one from Ethiopia how specialized or universal the experiences being read about here in fact are. The limitations of this approach, then, are in the inability to respond to that question, one likely to come from policymakers, scholars who claim a scientific foundation and lay-people. As I noted from the outset, I find this context-focused work that is detailed, nuanced and even a bit uncertain to be engaging to read and put into an internal dialogue. But increasingly, scholars operate in a world that seeks certainty over complexity. There was a time in this line of research, dating back to Edmund Husserl's (Husserl & Gibson, 1931) work, that this was viewed as a false choice, that one could engage in highly descriptive 'things themselves' without, it was believed, sacrificing the scientific qualities of the same. I do not believe that such an assertion can be sustained now, though most who work in a qualitative/interpretive framework contend that the scientific mantle claim is asking the wrong question.

The aspirational dimension of GCE and efforts like these to examine it in its everyday performance ought not be minimized, however. The challenge of the current COVID-19 pandemic underscores the importance of taking global interdependence, ecological sustainability and eradicating injustice as seriously now as ever. The scholarly work to document these efforts in concert with the educational forays into GCE serve as a guide to how the future will unfold. The importance of such efforts cannot be overstated and I applaud the energy of the authors and their participants in pointing towards these new possibilities.

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Mobility, belonging, and the importance of context: Personal reflections in response to the vignettes

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Abstract

The author begins by addressing the conceptual complexities surrounding the field of GCE, with its hegemonic and critical aspects, and the various forms in which it has been designed and implemented in education over the past decade. Engaging with the vignettes in this special issue and drawing on her own personal experience as a migrant in different countries, the author explores the aspects of belonging, mobility, and context, and the significance of the opportunities and limitations of these in the act of education. Ultimately, she shows, GCE must remain an open-ended and authentic exploration of context.

It is not often that a scholar gets the chance to reflect on his/her own writings on a given topic; and the opportunity to engage directly with practice-oriented work offered in this special issue is even rarer in academic writing. Such an engagement, at a time when the world is dealing with a global pandemic that both transcends and also reinforces borders, is all the more challenging when the topic of focus is Global Citizenship Education.

Global Citizenship Education (GCE) is a concept that gained popularity during the last decade when it was incorporated into UNESCO's Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) framework and subsequently into state curricula in many countries (Ghosn-Chelala, 2020). GCE is also echoed in the 'global competencies' chapter in the OECD's latest PISA release (2018) and resonates in the work of various non-governmental organizations (Gardinier, 2021). While widespread and generally accepted, GCE has been subject to severe criticism from academia and beyond, accused

of being an empty signifier, a sign of Global North privilege and neo-coloniality, an inapplicable concept, decontextualized from real-life teaching/learning opportunities and, importantly, conceptualized differently at various policy levels and in class-rooms.

On top of the problematic conceptualization of GCE within various domains, ed-ucators and academics have expressed concerns over the assessment of GCE as pro-moted by intergovernmental organizations and national governments. The main ar-gument against large-scale assessments involves the unique context-related rele-vance of GCE to various communities and populations (Auld & Morris, 2019; Engel, Rutkowski & Thompson, 2019). Thus, a uniform assessment might hinder differ-ences in the ways young people live their lives and perceive the potential of GCE as relevant to their surroundings. Moreover, widespread and often unchallenged incor-poration of GCE into obligatory curricula in many countries prompts discussion of the advantages and disadvantages of these mandatory contents and their applicability to the lives of youth, especially in a post-COVID-19 era. A key issue in our under-standing of GCE is related to the presumed capacity of being mobile or having in-tentions for mobility in the future. This notion is also being challenged by scholars, questioning the link between mobility and GCE (Goren, Maxwell & Yemini, 2019). In this commentary, I aim to briefly present the state-of-the-art research on GCE, incorporating some personal accounts of my own on the intersection between mobil-ity, GCE and privilege as well as engaging with the vignettes delivered by the schol-ars and practitioners in this special issue.

A global turn in education that has become prominent over recent decades in-cludes the shift in the notion of citizenship as depicted within classrooms worldwide, from a focus on the construction of a unitary national identity to the introduction (at least in theory) of cosmopolitan ideas (Bromley, 2009). In particular, while tradition-ally schools were mostly entrusted with the responsibility socializing students with the nation-state, a greater number of schools nowadays are adopting a cosmopolitan narrative, aimed at preparing students for global competition, global problem solv-ing, and, broadly, the changing nature of modern society (Goren, Yemini, Maxwell & Blumenfeld-Lieberthal, 2020). These globally oriented contents are often grouped under the title of Global Citizenship Education (GCE) (Davies, 2008). Broadly stated, GCE can be described as curricular contents aimed at preparing students to function in a global society through the development of an understanding of global issues, empathy for people of different origins, multicultural appreciation, and global skill-sets (Dill, 2013). GCE-related contents can be diverse and may include, among other issues, knowledge of other cultures (Veugelers, 2011), education towards pro-activity for protection of human rights and environmental awareness (Davies, 2006), development of global responsibility and empathy (Schattle, 2008), and a rethinking

of existing hegemonies and conceptions (Pashby, da Costa, Stein & Andreotti, 2020). The inclusion of contents associated with GCE is often described as a direct response by education systems to the modern, globalized workforce. Many countries now promote GCE as a goal of schooling in general and specifically of subjects such as Civics and Social Studies; many others offer variants of GC, such as the 'Global Dimension,' 'Global Competencies,' and 'Global Awareness' (Oxley & Morris, 2013). GCE has been also subject to criticism as a neo-colonial endeavour (Pashby et al., 2020), and critical scholarship has outlined the shortcomings of GCE in relation to decontextualization and lack of proactivity concerning broader hegemonic power structures. Central to this criticism is the link between (assumed and required) mobility and GCE. In the following, I will address the definitions and implications of GCE, engaging with the vignettes and my personal history as scholar involved in GCE research.

As Natasha Robinson suggests in the first vignette, there is a strong argument for engaging with GCE through the lens of belonging. Arguably, belonging is a component part of coping with various spatial and social mobilities. I would like to reflect on the notion of belonging, using my personal background and experiences. I was born and raised in Ukraine, which back in the 1980s was part of the Soviet Union. Since the early 1990s I have been living in Tel Aviv, London, and Berlin, with periods in the US as well. I don't really feel that I belong anywhere, but certainly do apply my capacity for feeling at home shortly after arrival to a new place. I am deeply aware of my own privilege in being a white academic, working in a tenured position in a globally recognized institution, able to travel widely and frequently for work-related and leisure purposes. I also acknowledge my marginal position as a woman, an immigrant from a financially poor family, with cultural assets that have been devalued in the new country. As Heather Kertyzia suggests in this issue, one's mobility – or more precisely, one's motility as the potential to be mobile (Kaufmann, Dubois & Ravalet, 2018) – is closely related to the hegemonic and highly criticized nature of GCE. Questions regarding the possible meanings of the 'global' elements of GCE, and whether one has to experience mobility in order to be a global citizen, are vital, especially among youth. While Prof. Kertyzia's students preferred locally oriented contents when engaging with GCE, her mobile experience was certainly an asset in inspiring broader understandings of GCE and their applicability in various contexts.

Returning to my own personal history, as I described in my co-authored book with Prof. Claire Maxwell, I have a distinct memory of the first time I was on a plane. It was on December 20th 1990, after two days of travel, first by a shuttle bus and then in a sleeping wagon of a slow-moving train. We had arrived at the capital city of Ukraine, Kiev, which was completely covered in snow. Our group included myself, eleven-and-a-half years old (almost the exact same age of my twins today), confused

and excited; my parents, both thirty-eight (almost the same age I am when writing these lines); my maternal grandparents; and eight huge suitcases, containing all the things that we believed would be vital for our absorption into the new country that we were heading to. Waiting for us was what used to be called a 'historical motherhood' – a safe, heaven-like place, with a history that we barely knew anything about. With tickets purchased by the Jewish Agency on behalf of the state, my parents returned their passports to the Soviet authorities as requested and all of us felt excitement and maybe a bit of hysteria in the frozen air of Kiev.

The plane, crowded with dozens more new-immigrant families, finally took off. I remember being amazed by the food trays that were generously distributed by the crew, containing the usual 'airplane food,' but from our Soviet perspective were full of luxury ingredients and, more importantly, three or four plastic pots and cups (which my father, like the other passengers on the flight, immediately collected up and hid in our carry-on bags). I can imagine the disgust of the crew regarding these 'dirty Russians' (a phrase that I became used to hearing in the next few years in Israel), who were aroused by western commodities.

Ultimately, it was an uneventful flight, which landed at Ben Gurion airport, Tel Aviv. Years later, I would read that in that month a record number of flights arrived through the torn iron curtain, bringing to this country several thousand immigrants every day, eventually transforming Israel into a totally different country with a Russian-speaking population of over a million (out of nine million residents in total). Much can be said nostalgically about this flight and what happened afterwards: the aroma of orange trees, fresh and inviting, which will always be linked in my mind to that evening when my life changed forever; the sights of Russian nature suddenly being substituted by the palm trees arranged in lines like in some sort of parade, waiting for us upon our arrival on an overly warm Israeli December evening. That uneventful flight was meaningful. It crossed the imagined line of before and after, of there and here, and in many ways, it shaped my identity personally and professionally.

My second time on a plane occurred exactly eight years afterwards, when my boyfriend back then (now my partner and the father of my children) took me to Paris for a romantic weekend. It was a different type of experience. I tried as much as I could to act as a cosmopolitan creature, trying hard to erase any sense of my real experience of growing up in a small town, located in the deep periphery of Israel populated by a homogeneous kind of people, all of them unfortunate in an array of different ways.

I invite the readers to engage with the meanings of GCE and mobilities. As a comparative education scholar interested in mobility and identity formation, and a mother who travels frequently with and without her children, I have always been

curious about the movement of people. Mobility is a broad term used to describe movement from place to place but also movements up and down the social ladder. Spatial mobility can be of a person or of a family or even a whole community. It can be for the purposes of work or recreation. It can be in the search for an opportunity or as a necessity. In can be classified as short- or long-term, permanent or temporary. Mobility, and specifically international mobility can involve travel across a long or short distance. It can bring us to very similar or very different places from the ones we left behind.

Mobility at a personal level has implications for our feelings of belonging to the old and the new places, and sometimes mobility can affect our sense of identity and self-definition. Mobility tends to be romanticized, like in stories of Columbus' discoveries of far-away foreign lands or the tales told by elders describing in detail their memories of how it was 'there,' some decades later. When my children were very young – perhaps when they were three years old and old enough to sleep in a 'proper' bed – I hung a world map on the bedroom wall. I used to show them the lines of my journeys, repeating again and again the names of the cities and places that I would be visiting to attend various academic conferences. Later, we used to plan the journeys we would undertake together, discussing the places we had been and those we would like to visit next. I used to show them the tiny spot of Israel and the huge map of Russia. Later, while living in London, we learned the awkward lines of the island and the scattered mini-islands surrounding it. And now we are located in Berlin; yet another city full of images. Here my grandfather fought the Germans, helping to conquer Berlin during that spring of 1945. Here, the stumbling stones scattered on the pavements remind me every day what happened to my people; and each time I wonder whether this could happen again – to us or to others.

Looking at the world flat on the wall makes it seem easier to move, to be mobile. Nevertheless, mobility and thus the sense of belonging can be restricted or even denied. My kids are always very curious about the places that forbid entry to anyone with an Israeli passport. They like to count the people in the 'EU passports only' queue at the border control. As Kaufmann and colleagues (2018) suggest, mobility happens when the person's motility is high and desirable, in other words when one possesses skills (to be mobile e.g., language, navigation skills), access (roads, resources) and plans (desirability) to be mobile.

During the COVID-19 pandemic in the summer of 2020, while reflecting on the vignettes that were written during summer 2019 before the complete halt of all international travel, my view of mobility was transformed as well. Even before the global pandemic put a stop to air travel, I was slowly developing a paralyzing flight phobia, which increasingly shaped my travel experiences and, together with environmental concerns, brought about my decision to stop traveling by air. I am not yet sure how

long I plan to abstain from air travel and what effect this decision may have on my professional and personal life, but I am certain that exploring mobility as a scholar was therapeutic to my own sense of mobility, and I argue that the interface between the global and local, and the immobile and mobile, should be further explored in the ever-expanding domain of GCE. Echoing Lance Levenson's vignette in this issue, I argue that mobility should be considered not only for people involved in the act of education (e.g. for teachers, students, and parents) but also in terms of mobility for policies, rituals, and identities, as we see practiced in a Scottish school serving the Muslim, Christian, and Jewish populations of Jaffa, as depicted in Levenson's case study.

While the links between mobility and GCE are important, the second issue that I would like to raise here is that of context and its implications for the teaching/learning of GCE. In most of the vignettes, the authors point out the irrelevance of GCE to specific, impoverished, under-privileged Global South populations. I question the assumption that GCE provides relevant content only to Global North students and suggest instead that GCE may and should be re-invented from the bottom-up for each community and context. In this vein, as Jennifer Riggan rightly observes in her vignette, both teachers and students often perceive the content taught in Ethiopian schools as irrelevant and detached from the daily reality. Moreover, I suggest that frequently marginalized communities are actually *more* exposed to the diversity of religions, ethnic backgrounds, cultures, and traditions than are those in more homogeneous classrooms in better-off neighborhoods.

Taking the example of Israel, in a study that examined the way GCE is perceived by teachers from schools located in the different sectors of the Israeli education system, Claire Maxwell, Heela Goren and I show the importance of context and bottom-up agency in designing specific meanings for GCE (Goren et al., 2019). Our findings indicate that religious affiliation and connections to others or perceived status within a country can yield very different perceptions of the notion of GCE, as well as shape the extent to which GCE is perceived as a threat or an opportunity to national school systems. Ultimately, our findings revealed three rationales for GCE: GCE for the promotion of individual as well as national interests; GCE as an alternative to national belonging (which is seen in the Palestinian Arab sector as an opportunity and in the religious Jewish sector as a threat); and religion as a platform for GCE.

We found that teachers from each sector (Arab, Jewish religious, and Jewish secular) form very different views of GCE, usually based on the way they see the needs of students and their futures. Accordingly, most of the Jewish religious teachers developed a depiction of GCE as a threat, feeling the need to protect their collective identity – particularly to counter processes of perceived increasing globalization. Meanwhile, the Palestinian Arab teachers associated the term mostly with making

available to their marginalized students a sense of belonging and opportunities for greater social and geographic mobility, usually through moving abroad. The secular Jewish teachers saw the development of GCE provision as a positive, necessary extension to the curriculum to advance their students' ability to navigate global society and promote Israel's 'start-up nation' status. In other words, the relevance and meanings of GCE may and should be altered to allow students and educators to relate to this concept while, simultaneously, GCE should be constantly problematized by teachers, learners and policy makers.

To conclude, and importantly to engage with the aims of this special issue, I would like to commend the editors and the authors on their brave and humble engagement with emic research work in further developing the concept of GCE. As I have shown in this commentary, the continuous and authentic work of those involved in the act of education is required to make sense of GCE, and this work must be accompanied by authentic exploration of the context in which GCE is being incorporated.

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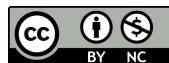
'Billions of unheard voices':
Concluding thoughts on an unexpected journey

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Abstract

The editors refer back to the quotation from Parmenter (2011, p. 378) cited in the introduction of this special issue, noting the potential of an emic approach to 'give a voice' to more participants in the education process, whether as educators, policymakers, parents, or students. This concluding paper brings the dialogic format full circle with the editors' own reflections on the diverse analyses and observations that have come together in this special issue. Of particular interest, and following on from the objectives set out in the introduction, is how the commentaries relate to each other and how they position themselves in relation to the purpose of sparking new debates on global citizenship education from an emic perspective.

In our introduction to this special issue we cited Lynne Parmenter (2011, p. 378), who notes the "billions of unheard voices, and many thousands of ideas, opinions and valuable contributions" to this field that are still to be made by those "affected in some way or another" by Global Citizenship Education (GCE) and the questions with which it grapples. In the third decade of the twenty-first century, this probably encompasses all human beings, but what Parmenter was certainly underlining was the importance of what GCE *is in actual practice* being voiced, and that there are billions of different ways in which that could be done. While a special issue such as this can only give voice to a few, it is our hope that the contributions presented here might inspire further, different, emic approaches equally focusing on actual practice rather than prescribed norms. The diversity of perspectives from which the commen-

taries engage with the vignettes show that, ultimately, education for global citizenship can be a very personal, subjective experience for student, educator and researcher alike.

In these concluding thoughts, therefore, we seek to bring the dialogic format full circle with our own reflections on the diverse analyses and observations that have come together in this special issue. Of particular interest, and following on from the objectives set out in the introduction, is how the commentaries relate to each other and how they position themselves in relation to our purpose of sparking new debates on global citizenship education from an emic perspective.

Beginning with the reflection by Lang-Wojtasik and Oza, this piece provides a perspective from both the Global North and the Global South. The authors embrace many core norms of GCE *and* critique these same concepts as Eurocentric. They explore the origins and evolution of cosmopolitanism and human rights, noting that these foundational concepts (along with Global Education itself), have the potential to be decolonial and anti-colonial despite their Eurocentric legacies. They note the importance of global initiatives such as Education for All (EFA), the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and an array of other Global Education programs. Lang-Wojtasik and Oza's perspective might be seen as an important critique to some of the premises in this special issue. They suggest that we do not need to abandon our normative tools in order to achieve liberation. Rather, we may arrive at a liberatory, decolonial Global Citizenship Education by utilizing normative tools for emancipatory ends, developing institutions to do decolonial work, and holding them accountable for addressing power imbalances on one hand, and embracing diverse localities on the other. They also make a case for a more profound focus on the local. We find their concluding question to be a provocative one: "And is it enough to talk about the global when it comes to the question of (world) citizenship or is the local an indispensable counterpart? Should we not rather be talking about *Glocal* Citizenship Education?"

Marco Rieckmann's commentary also emphasizes normative tools. He takes up what we might think of as a competency-based approach to GCE, summarizing the core competencies and laying out an agenda for promoting these. He argues for a whole institution approach which focuses not only on individual actions but structural changes to the way educational institutions work. He also calls for us to look outside formal education to informal spaces where education occurs and, quite rightly, points out that these vignettes do not do so. By focusing on five key elements of GCE, Rieckmann argues that GCE should be transformative (in terms of changing unequal power relations into belonging), emancipatory, oriented toward whole institutional change (rather than merely teaching, learning, and pedagogy), focused on structural change, and attentive to informal educational spaces and processes. Like

Lang-Wojtasik and Oza, Rieckmann centralizes emancipation and transformation as core goals of GCE and promotes normative tools (competencies in this case) with which to do so.

Christel Adick's contribution provides us with a hinge between commentaries that orient their analysis around emancipatory normativity and the reflexive commentaries that follow. She first notes the tendency towards educationalization (*Pädagogisierung*) which has coincided with the universalization of formal education. Educationalization might be thought of as the carving out of a prescriptive and prescribed role for pedagogical solutions to societal problems. GCE has certainly become 'educationalized' and much of the impetus for GCE to be both normative and emancipatory derives from this process of educationalization. As a means to counterbalance this trend, Adick calls us to take an approach that we consider to be more iterative using what she refers to as the 'didactic triangle' to make sense of the vignettes. Drawing on the German concepts of *Bildung* and *Didaktik*, Adick's notion of the didactic triangle provides us with a frame that is processual, iterative, and loops together levels of intervention and interaction as they pertain to GCE. In order to analyze the vignettes, she develops a typology that links the level of decision-making with the area of 'didactical discourse' to schematically capture the iterative and processual flow between and across these levels. She concludes by noting the forms of 'upward reasoning' in the vignettes. This is an important observation given that a critical component of privileging the emic is to upwardly reason, or theorize, from this vantage point. The local cannot remain isolated, nor can the emic remain relegated 'at the bottom' in research, in policy or in practice. Indeed, upward reasoning might be seen as a counterbalance to the top-down normativity often found in GCE.

William Gaudelli's commentary provides us with a different theory that enables us to 'upwardly reason' from the vignettes to GCE. Gaudelli brings in Critical Everyday Theory (Lefebvre) and its core concepts: estrangement, alienation, and novelty. A focus on alienation raises the implicit question of whether GCE, when *educationalized*, and therefore decontextualized, generalized and universalized, is alienating. Does the normative form of GCE connect students to 'the globe' or estrange them from it? He points out several instances of estrangement and alienation in the vignettes. For example, he explores the alienating effect of teaching South African students about the Holocaust (Robinson) and teaching Ethiopian students about saving money in a bank (Riggan). These and other examples in the vignettes are alienating in that they attempt to bring 'foreign' concepts (economics, human rights) to bear on everyday experiences, thereby superimposing the global and potentially altering these students' understanding of their own lives and histories and alienating them from what is intimate and personal and local. Seen through the lens

of Critical Everyday Theory, one might question whether the whole concept of Global Citizenship Education is not inevitably alienating or estranging.

Miri Yemini's reflection is perhaps the most autoethnographic and reflective in its approach. In this way, it mirrors our own approach to this volume and so we conclude the special issue with Yemini's commentary as a way to bookend our work here. Rather than offering a theoretical framework or model, she joins us in reflecting on her own positionality as a migrant and scholar of GCE. Through reflection on her own mobility, she articulates the tensions between cosmopolitanism and belonging. While cosmopolitanism might indeed be seen as a modality of belonging, it is conventionally thought about as based on a particular power dynamic – a capacity to move freely with a certain command of the world. Belonging, on the other hand, is more expansive, but unlike cosmopolitanism it raises questions such as: belonging to what? Notions of belonging can be narrow or global in scope and everything in between; they are politically inflected.

Yemini's commentary closes with a discussion of the different meanings of GCE for Arab Palestinian, Jewish religious and Jewish secular teachers in Israeli schools. Each group of teachers was keenly aware of the politics surrounding their global positionality; it framed their aspirations for themselves and their students. This awareness shaped – and politicized – their stance towards GCE. This discussion demonstrates the ways in which global and local politics inflect perceptions (and therefore practices) of GCE in very different ways, taking us back to our question of whether a truly emancipatory normative GCE is possible. We would argue that, in the third decade of the twenty-first century, *all* educational stakeholders (parents, teachers, students, etc.) are aware of their own global positionality. Furthermore, we would argue that this understanding of positionality is always politicized. Given this awareness, any top-down attempt at GCE will always be inflected by an awareness of these politics which begins locally but is always engaged in 'upward reasoning,' as Christel Adick calls it, to make sense of the texts, sub-texts and power dynamics infused in top-down norms.

Getting back to the purpose of this special issue, we too embarked on an unexpected journey of intentions, power, and accidents when we first met to discuss its design in the summer of 2019. Back then, debating freely over coffee in the conference rooms and corridors of the Georg Eckert Institute, little did we know that the publication process would be concluded in the midst of a global pandemic that would painfully remind us how a global awareness of power, control (or lack of such), and the fragility of human life and death on this planet can come knocking when we least expect it. Bringing together the contributions to this issue has meant becoming more aware of our own positionality and privilege in academic positions differently affected by the pandemic, and the limits of mostly northern and western-located chains

of knowledge production. Ultimately, and not least due to the pandemic and the restrictions to academic exchange it necessitated, we have disrupted these chains, we feel, to a lesser extent than we initially set out to do. Nevertheless, several of the contributions took us by surprise with the new paths they opened up vis-à-vis our original purpose of facilitating spaces in which emic perspectives on GCE might emerge. Our hope is that the mutual, transversal, and vivid conversations that the vignettes and reflections have brought together here in an unexpectedly hinged amalgam of perspectives will shed new light on the intentions, power, and accidents that are more or less visibly involved in GCE *as is*. This should allow us to reconsider not only how we think and how we feel about it, but also how we research it and, most of all, how we 'do' it in our everyday lives as researchers, educators, parents, and students.

Reference

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