An exploratory study of Global Citizenship Education in different curricula contexts within English Secondary Schools

by

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A thesis submitted to the University of Birmingham for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

School of Education

College of Social Sciences

University of Birmingham

February 2024

Abstract

The double-edged sword of globalisation has transformed spaces into transnational arenas that all students must negotiate daily (Nolan 2009; Waters and Brooks 2012). Equally, it has left many disenfranchised and exposed to inequality fuelling movements like Black Lives Matter and #MeToo in search of understanding, voice, and social change. Situated in this is global citizenship education (GCE). Dynamic discourse in the field and recent efforts to map those discussions offer an opportunity for researchers and educators to use GCE as a navigating tool for students at school in 2024 (Pashby et al. 2020; Stein 2015).

Situated between the International Baccalaureate (IB) and the English context, this study explores interpretations and enactments of GCE, and the potential role curriculum plays within that. It aims to understand different manifestations of GCE across IB and A level, state and independent settings and navigate how GCE can be better integrated in all schools to address global crises, embrace diversity, and prepare students for an uncertain future.

Framed within comparative international education, this project takes a small-scale case study approach. To understand GCE in England and offer actionable ideas, it states research must be grounded in such a comparative framework (Bray and Thomas 1995; Flyvbjerg 2001). The study uses four sites to act concurrently towards a single case in England (Day Ashley 2021; Yin 2009). The research works with a process-orientated approach proposed by Bartlett and Varvus (2017). It is an active process, beginning with lesson observations and adapting knowledge from those to later interviews and focus groups alongside document analysis. Rather than binding sites to look for pre-determined ideas of GCE, data collection lets the culture and context of those sites drive their own data in an active process of sense-making (Erickson 2011). As such, the case study – of GCE in England – becomes the phenomenon of study and each geographical site a constituent part.

All four schools in the study exhibited a demand for and actions relating to many forms of GCE; both A level and IB settings were adapting their pedagogies, content, and co-curricular offerings to include different knowledges. This is a significant change in the area of global citizenship education. Those did, however, exist at different stages. A level settings were beginning to explore alternative perspectives but, simultaneously, remained grounded in narratives on charity and responsibility. IB schools though were moving beyond that to critiquing single-story approaches and embracing reciprocal service learning and equity in the classroom. Whilst arguably still in their early stages, this research highlights the importance of findings as one of very few studies done in UK but also covering both the state and independent sectors. Moreover, the overwhelming message was GCE beyond individualised endeavours – directly countering other academic findings (Lauder 2007; Resnik 2012; Weenink 2008). Indeed, it was A level schools that were more pre-occupied with attainment and GCE as a competency tool.

The research offers four important academic contributions. First, the study aimed to answer earlier and ongoing calls for more empirical work in GCE particularly within England at 16 plus. Second, the research found GCE to be a complex web within all school settings, arguing the value in that complexity and calling for other research to sit in the nuance and complexity to develop narratives of schools that are representative of action on GCE. Third, within the complexities of GCE, all four school sites showed evidence of connections across different understandings of GCE that was both interesting and encouraging. Findings suggested that change was beginning to occur in the education world that reflects the rich discussion on GCE in the academic world. Finally, there was a clear connection from all findings on GCE, that self-reflection and reflexivity permeate many forms of GCE and could be a starting point for students and teachers as they embark on the global citizenship education journey.

Moving forward, the research calls for further empirical research in countries like UK that connects dynamic discussions on the connections between types of global citizenship education found in the literature with exciting and equally dynamic activities in schools; enactments that are beginning to question dominant narratives, increasingly cover more voices and co-curricular endeavours that are moving from charity to partnership in an effort to engage global citizens in contemporary challenges facing the world.

Dedication

To my grandad, William Price. You showed us all the value in hard work, following your dreams, believing in yourself, and loving the privilege of life.

Acknowledgements

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List of Acronyms

AQA – Assessments and Qualifications Alliance

BLM – Black Lives Matter

CAS – Creativity, Action, and Service

CGCE – Critical Global Citizenship Education

CE – Citizenship Education

CIE – Comparative International Education

DfE – Department for Education

DfES – Department for Education and Skills

EE – Extended Essay

FBV – Fundamental British Values

GCE – Global Citizenship Education

GCSE – General Certificate of Secondary Education

HMC – Headmaster/Headmistresses Conference

HoD – Head of Department

IB – International Baccalaureate

IBDP – International Baccalaureate Diploma Programme

IBO – International Baccalaureate Organisation

ISA – International Schools Association

ISG – International School of Geneva

KS1 – Key Stage

LEA – Local Education Authority

NAHT – National Association of Head Teachers

NC – National Curriculum

NGO – Non-governmental Organisation

OCR – Oxford, Cambridge, and RSA

OfQual – Office of Qualifications and Examinations Regulation

Ofsted – Office for Standards in Education, Children's Services and Skills

PGCE – Postgraduate Certificate in Education

PREVENT – Anti-terrorism and Anti-radicalisation of vulnerable people.

PSHE – Personal, Social and Health Economic

QCA – Qualifications and Curriculum Authority

SCAA – School Curriculum and Assessment Authority

STEM – Science, Technology, Economics and Maths

St1Hills: Student 1 Hills School

St3FG2: Student 3, focus group 2.

TNC – Transnational Corporation

T&L – Teaching and Learning

TOK – Theory of Knowledge

UNCRC – United Nations Convention on Rights of the Child

UNESCO -United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organization

UWC – United World Colleges

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

The latest era of globalisation has, in many senses, reconstructed geographical spaces and societies. At international levels, the current economic model based on innovation, research and individual profit has meant a new transnational flow of ideas, goods, and services (Castells 2000; Harvey 1989). Driven by this economic philosophy, alongside the explosion of technology, new knowledge pools and resources have become connected and, as proponents of globalisation would argue, provided opportunities for all around the world (Wolf 2004).

Importantly for this study though, whilst technology and economies have become more global so have people – particularly the case in England. Traditional migration models have broken down ideas of having a distinct 'home' and then 'host' country (Robinson 2001) instead entwining them in a constant and continued interaction through migrant networks. Academic discourses refer to these networks as *transnational* spaces that combine social and symbolic ties, contestations, and new connections across several nation states (Basch at al. 1994; Faist 1998). For communities, transnational spaces mean a new 'de-territorialised mobility' that connects all people from all socio-economic strands (Chiang 2008; Orellana et al 2001; Waters 2002) whether they, themselves, are migrants or not.

However, many find that the transnationalism process often ignores the impact on local communities. As Waters (2002) discusses, transnational discourses dismiss the importance of real, localised geographical spaces – spaces like schools. Waters (2002) argues that one must not abandon the geography - arguing that specific place meaning, and a sense of self is still constructed by many through localised daily life. The local still has enormous relevance as a constructor of sense of place and identity. Whilst the local is transforming migrant identities it is also being transformed by them so acknowledging local changes as a result of transmigration seems relevant when researching core areas such as education. For schools, that means understanding the impact of transnational networks within local and national contexts.

England, and its school communities, is representative of shifting transnational communities. Migration to the UK grew exponentially in the post-war era with the British Nationality Act of 1948 and subsequent movement of people from the Caribbean, migration from the Commonwealth, India, and Pakistan (Layton-Henry 1984), creation of the European Economic Community 1957 and, later, European Union which encouraged movement of people across Europe (ONS 2023; Solomos 1989). Indeed, the 1988 Immigration Act ensured members in the EEC did not require visas to enter or remain in UK, but individuals were encouraged to stay for their economic value. Since then, membership in the EU and its growth has enabled a flow of people into the UK, entwining many communities in these new transnational spaces.

Equally, migration has been linked to disenfranchisement, inequality and, often, conflict with societies and individuals left outside of the global supply chain or exploited by it. Historically, animosity towards change has resulted in exclusionary governmental policy – from the 1971 Immigration Act to the National Asylum Service and its English language restrictions and, later, the Worker Registration Scheme to monitor movement of people (ONS 2023). The last 10 years has seen the rise of right-wing popularism with some communities struggling to adjust to a more diverse transnational society, feeling left behind by globalisation, and giving credence to politicians like Donald Trump and Boris Johnson. On the other side, those who welcome people from around the world are calling for more support and social justice to rectify structural inequalities - leaving communities fractured, divided and, increasingly, in conflict; perhaps the clearest example of this being Brexit.

As teachers, academics, and individuals, then, research needs to address these changing social morphologies and societal challenges to support an education that is equally adapting to change; a system that helps students navigate global discourse and reduces conflict such that individuals can better empathise with one another. This is where the academic field of global citizenship education enters.

Emphasis in Education is moving towards human rights, values, and global citizenship to address the outcomes of globalisation (Abdi 2009). The last 15 years has seen an explosion of interest in policy with humanitarians and educators calling for GCE as a framework for

navigating global challenges (Dill 2013; Oxfam 2015; Shultz 2008; UNESCO 2015). This global 'curricular turn' (Mannion et al. 2011) has seen education become a key aspect of developing aware, responsible citizens committed to equality and sustainability. GCE then:

> "Represents a conceptual shift in that it recognises the relevance of education in understanding and resolving global issues in their social, political, cultural, economic and environmental dimensions" (UNESCO 2014:9)

It is a framing paradigm for schools that encapsulates education as transformative – designed, instead to develop values, skills, and knowledge for peace. Seemingly, global citizenship education captures the "longings of so many – to help make a world of prosperity, universal benevolence and human rights in the midst of globalisation's varied processes of change" (Dill 2013: 2). However, there remain tensions in the academic and teaching world about ensuring GCE is a positive force and does not perpetuate 'othering' processes, and simply engender sympathy and tolerance over actual change (Dobson 2006). Indeed, GCE approaches that de-historicise and de-politicise issues can, instead, serve to extend ethnocentric attitudes and paternalistic responses to global challenges (Andreotti 2008a; Franch 2019). Andreotti asserts that, in practice, this has been the hegemonic narrative in many secondary schools, whereas more dynamic debate has evolved in academia (O'Sullivan and Pashby 2008; Pashby et al. 2020). So, whilst arguably playing a critical role in developing understanding of the world (Abdi and Shulz 2008; Tarc 2011), GCE remains complex and, at times, convoluted and precarious. This research embraces that complexity and explores how GCE is, and could be, enacted as a framework for changing social morphologies in English Schools. It finds that, given current socio-political climates, global challenges and social tensions, the need to equip students with the ability to navigate a porous and ever-changing world has never been greater.

From Student to Educator: My journey towards Global Citizenship Education

GCE has come to represent my own journey through education and subsequent experience as a teacher. Having experienced many different types of schooling: state primary and secondary, Scottish, Independent day, boarding and American International, I first lived a

more transient life when my family migrated to South Africa. In a liminal space between UK, an American International School and South African society in Johannesburg, I experienced the consequences of globalisation first hand. That experience exposed me to structural inequality, racism, and poverty on a profound level. It instilled a deep demand to understand more and strive for social justice in the world whilst facing my own complicity as a product of globalisation.

Having completed a Masters in International Development, personally and professionally I began to confront ethical dilemmas, reflect, and reconsider philosophical debate on seemingly objective phenomena. Then training as a teacher, I expanded specific educational understanding of the challenges I had seen in South Africa and Ghana. Immediately, I began to question my role as an educator not least via the PGCE programme that covered nothing of global perspectives or understanding different knowledges as a process of self-reflection. Students and teachers on the programme seemed to 'other' different groups, exhibit a lack of historical understanding of global processes and not question the specifications we were asked to teach. Equally working in 2016-2019, I was faced with a changing system, questions about the contemporary world and voices that wanted to understand global issues – of course, punctuated by the fact that I was teaching Geography and Politics and Head of Extended Projects.

Global Citizenship Education then, became an opportunity to explore and understand more whilst also connecting to the ideas of social justice I had first seen in South Africa. To combine international experience with English settings was an interesting proposition. Driven by a desire to understand, situate and create tangible ideas for all schools focused on embracing difference to reduce conflict, embody equality, and move towards social justice.

Research Focus: Aims and Objectives

The research then, is grounded in a positive exploratory journey of learning. Until recently, GCE seems to have taken two directions: one in the academic world and the other in empirical research. The first area explores GCE philosophically – what it is and how it links to different approaches as well as the connections between them – the emphasis being on

inscription in the individual, power, and later, complicity (Andreotti 2008, 2014; Franch 2019; Pashby and da Costa 2021) and more recent movements forward (Stein and Andreotti 2021; Pashby et al. 2020, Peterson 2020). Research that now debates moving beyond defined binaries of 'us' and 'them' in the search for GCE as an emancipatory endeavour (Stein and Andreotti 2021). Second, global citizenship is being explored in situ via a growing number of case studies: Australia (Dabrowski 2018), Italy (Franch 2019), Mauritius (Singh 2014), China and India (Sriprakash 2014), Netherlands (Scott 2023) and smaller case studies in UK (Blackmore 2014; Yemini 2018). Predominantly though, these have done so beyond the UK and not specifically at 16+ level. Coupled with an historical lack of focus on global citizenship in UK and changing social dynamics, the importance of empirical studies that are historically, socio-politically, and contextually grounded is clear. Based in England, this research draws on Comparative International Education to develop a picture of GCE in four schools. Rather than be a critique of the schools, it aims to be positive; looking at interpretations and varied enactments of GCE in schools as well as developing a picture of the challenges following wider calls for more empirical research (Mannion et al. 2011; Marshall 2011; Pashby et al 2020). It asks:

How is global citizenship education interpreted and enacted in different post-16 curricula contexts within English Secondary Schools?

1. How are global citizenship discourses interpreted in different English Secondary school settings?
2. How is global citizenship enacted in different settings and what is the perceived impact of curriculum on these enactments?
3. What are the challenges associated with enacting global citizenship in different settings?

The research uses an exploratory comparative case study design (Bartlett and Varvus 2017) to understand how setting impacts interpretations and enactments. Via the use of lesson observations, individual and group interviews, document analysis, this process builds a picture of GCE in four school settings in England; it presents the ways these schools are developing global citizenship for different means and the challenges faced in that process.

Outline of the Thesis

The remainder of this chapter outlines the thesis.

Chapter 1b contextualises citizenship education policy in England. It focuses specifically on policy related to citizenship in England through the first and second Crick report and post-16 education on citizenship. It then looks at wider antecedents of Global Citizenship Education in policy from UNESCO to Development and Global Education. Finally, the chapter looks at specific aspects of the IB context and how its origins and aims connect to Global Education as a foundation for the study.

Chapter 2 is the main literature review beginning with a look at the connection between Global and Citizenship Education in the UK context as a starting point for research. The literature then focuses substantively on the academic groundings of GCE by looking at different strands of global citizenship education. It continues by critiquing these and looking at the interactions between them. The chapter concludes by tracing the empirical work in GCE field and papers that might be particularly relevant to this study.

Chapter 3a introduces the methodology. It places my research conceptually in Comparative International Education as a small-scale project. The project itself follows an exploratory comparative case study design matrix of four schools: state A level/IB, Independent A level/IB. The remainder of the chapter covers recruitment of schools and participants, data collection methods, research reflexivity, data analysis and ethical considerations. Chapter 3b then spends time introducing each of the schools.

Chapter four begins the analysis and discussion of data. It considers interpretations of GCE alongside the importance of context. It traces interpretations of GCE and how students and staff in the different settings related to global citizenship. Next it looks at critical approaches to GCE via reciprocal service learning in IB settings. Third, the chapter considers the importance of the interactions between types alongside context.

Chapter five looks at enactments in more depth – across pedagogical practice and the role of teachers adapting the curriculum. Using the term enactment is designed to indicate GCE is a continuous process of doing and acting out the interpretations identified earlier. It also

spends considerable time examining GCE in both IB and A level content and how this is done in class.

Chapter six then looks at challenges to delivery of GCE in English settings. It finds the first hurdle being clarity and coherence of understanding GCE. A level schools particularly cite lack of clear framework as problematic. The chapter considers tensions between economic endeavours, competencies, and their apparent incompatibility with GCE for schools meaning GCE becomes supplementary rather than fundamental. Next the chapter covers challenges for teachers linked to restrictive and outdated policy and practical issues of low diversity in teaching. Finally, the chapter considers the curricula themselves across IB and A level.

Chapter seven concludes the thesis returning to the original research aims and summarising key findings. It also places research back within the academic field of GCE and offers practical and academic next steps. As a contribution to theory and practice, I argue the value of the thesis and other research in sitting in the complexities of GCE and searching for different types of GCE and how they interact with one another on a day-to-day basis. In practice, the research finds interesting and innovative ways schools are enacting GCE alongside the context specific challenges of England and endeavours to navigate a way through these such that GCE is not only meaningful but embedded in all practices in every setting.

CHAPTER 1b: Context of Citizenship Education and Global Education

Citizenship Education in the English Context

Citizenship Education in England has a long and complex history. Whilst this section cannot cover the depth of that history, it acknowledges the transitions citizenship education has made as contextual to the wider thesis. As Heater (1999: 174) said, schools are unique institutions, places for learning in a collective context and therefore the "obvious place" for cultivating specific ideas. In T.H. Marshall's (1992[1950]) book on Citizenship and Social Class, the history of citizenship is traced. Marshall argues that civil and political rights like free speech developed in 19th Century and were later enhanced through the development of the welfare state and state education. As Heater (2001) and Faulks (2006) argue though, Marshall's history failed to discuss how important political education is/was to citizenship. Heater (2001) explores how citizenship in the early post-war period was more linked to patriotism than developing specific skills for citizenship. After Marshall's essay, Faulks (2006) comments that citizenship education became less of a political agenda, beyond basic welfare and education, until 1979 and the election of Margaret Thatcher. With the integration of neo-liberal economic policies, Faulks (2006) traces how citizenship education became an idea that was similarly in line with market-led rather than state-led learning, stating that citizenship from 1988 Education Reform Act was grounded in the notion of entrepreneurship and individualism. Faulks (2006) says that citizenship well into the 1990s related to individual rights, property ownership and charity - the exception being 'cross-curricular themes' in 1990.

As Chitty (2004: 186) quotes of then right-leaning Conservative Prime Minister, John Major, in the 1990s, "Let us return to basic subject teaching and get rid of courses in the theory of education . . . Our primary schoolteachers should learn how to teach children to read, not waste their time on the politics of gender, race, and class."

When the left-leaning Labour party were elected in 1997, much of the political rhetoric linked to a "third way" for citizenship education that moved beyond state benefits vs market

rights compounded, as well, by a perceived public lack of knowledge on political systems and policies (Pattie et al. 2004). Pattie et al. (2004: 281) said of this history, "it is extraordinary that the state has largely ignored the task of socialising [children] into citizenship". It is within this context that the Crick Report evolved.

As Burton and May (2015) explored, the introduction of citizenship education could be seen as a reaction to concerns about social and educational futures as well as a lack of political engagement amongst young people. The Crick Report (1998) defined the aim and purpose of citizenship education (CE) as being: "to make secure and to increase knowledge, skills and values relevant to the nature and practices of participative democracy; also to enhance the awareness of rights and duties, and the sense of responsibility needed for the development of pupils into active citizens; and in doing so establish the value to individuals, schools and society of involvement in the local and wider community" (1998:40). The resultant inclusion of citizenship education into National Curriculum for 11-16 in 2002 emerged from work developed by the Advisory Group on the Education for Citizenship and the Teaching of Democracy in Schools (QCA, 1998) and Citizenship Order (QCA, 1999).

The Crick report, named after Bernard Crick, broadly covered three strands on citizenship education (CE): social-moral responsibility, community involvement and political literacy (Kiwan 2008; QCA 1998). The following section summarises the key points.

In the early stages of the report, they state:

 'We believe that citizenship has a clear conceptual core which relates to the induction of young people into the legal, moral, and political arena of public life. It introduces pupils to society and its constituent elements, and shows how they, as individuals, relate to the whole. Besides understanding, citizenship education should foster respect for law, justice, democracy and nurture common good at the same time as encouraging independence of thought. It should develop skills of reflection, enquiry and debate.' (A submission from the Citizenship Foundation in response to the White Paper, Excellence in Schools cited in QCA 1998: 11)

1. Social- Moral Responsibility

First, social-moral responsibility as a constituent part of CE. For Crick, citizenship education was linked to the concept of values and embracing morality (Crick 2000). The context of England at the time included a rise in political apathy and desire to engage people more with contemporary issues. The Crick Report stated that students:

"Should be helped, in particular, to reflect on and recognise values and dispositions which underlie their attitudes and actions as individuals and as members of groups or communities. This is vital in developing pupils into active citizens who have positive attitudes to themselves, as individuals, and in their relationship with others." (QCA 1998: 41)

The report says that students should become aware of their moral values and understand them as the "preconditions of citizenship" (QCA 1998: 11). Later the report clarifies by saying that these moral values relate to caring for others, understanding how their actions affect others in communities and caring for the consequences of this (QCA 1998). They suggest students must have a combination (QCA 1998:44):

1. Concern for the common good.
2. Belief in human dignity and equality.
3. A desire to work with and for others.
4. Concern to resolve conflicts.
5. Practice tolerance.
6. Courage to defend arguments.
7. Openness to change one's own opinion.
8. Concern for human rights, environment, gender equality.

The Crick report surmises that before engaging with one's community, there must be a foundation of moral value. Of particular interest here is the openness to change one's outlook specifically because it involves a level of introspective thinking and reflection.

2. Political Literacy

The Crick report aimed to develop students' political awareness and skills for functioning in the British democratic context; students were asked to focus on understanding both their responsibilities and rights as citizens in a way congruent to democratic laws and practices of UK.

The report also covered legal citizenship via studying the laws and institutions of the UK (QCA 1998). Students were invited to cover democratic practices and institutions at local, national, and international – at the time, the role of England in the EU. The report states students should understand how:

> "how formal political activity relates to civil society in the context of the United Kingdom and Europe, and to cultivate awareness and concern for world affairs and global issues. Some understanding of the realities of economic life is needed including how taxation and public expenditure work together… the interdependence of individuals and local and voluntary communities the nature of diversity, dissent and social conflict legal and moral rights and responsibilities of individuals and communities the nature of social, moral and political challenges faced by individuals and communities Britain's parliamentary political and legal systems at local, national, European, Commonwealth and international level, including how they function and change the nature of political and voluntary action in communities the rights and responsibilities of citizens as consumers, employees, employers and family and community members the economic system as it relates to individuals and communities human rights charters and issues sustainable development and environmental issues (QCA 1998: 44)

The focus here seemed to be developing a situated understanding of one's legal rights and responsibilities as a citizen in England. Beyond the state, the report also asked students to understand the economic and political system at European and International levels with a notable focus on English, Geography and History delivering that knowledge in the curriculum.

For this research, CE seemed grounded in a sense of understanding but also accepting the existing political and legal structures both in UK and wider society. Legal CE in the Crick report was bound to the idea of contributing to and being a member of the existing economic system. Individuals were asked to consider their: "rights and responsibilities as consumers, employees, employers and family and community members of the economic system" (QCA 1998: 44). As such, they operated as both part of the society but also as individuals who have a duty to feeding into it and simultaneously replicating the economic and political system they were a part of.

3. Active Citizenship

The third component of the Crick report on CE was an active commitment to community. Students were encouraged to learn about and be actively involved in their community, learning practically through involvement in and service to society (QCA 1998). Crick argued that active citizenship was the "glue" (Kiwan 2008: 77) that links moral, legal and community citizenship together. Active citizenship in the report referred to physical connections with local and national community but also in knowledge-creation process via engaging in debate, school councils and institution policy. The report did not suggest one specific route through active citizenship for schools but more of an urgency for students to engage throughout their schooling:

"Education, as opposed to mere training, requires an encounter with other experiences, such as active participation in group decision making" (QCA 1998: 57)

In this form, active citizenship could mean engaging with discussion and consultation of changes in school as well as the wider community. Quoting the then, Lord Chancellor – Baron Irvine who said, "Our goal is to create a nation of able, informed and empowered citizens who, on the one hand, know, understand and can enforce their rights; and, on the other, recognise that the path to greatest personal fulfilment lies through active involvement in strengthening their society" (cited in QCA 1998: 61), the report highlighted the critical value in engaging with community for students.

The first Crick report did not, however, specifically consider the post-16 environment. The post-16 stage was subsequently covered in a report entitled *Citizenship for 16 – 19 Year Olds*

in Education and Training (DfEE 2000). The advisory group, chaired by Bernard Crick, said of those over the age of 16, that citizenship was predominantly to be delivered through an experiential approach given their growing rights and responsibilities relating to the community (DfEE 2000). As such, the report states, CE from 16 should take a slightly different approach to learning beyond skills and understanding, although still important, "towards more participation" (DfEE 2000: 14).

The report states that beyond the key skills covered in the original Crick Report, at 16+ more 'citizenship-specific skills' were of importance which involved: "communication, application of number; IT, working with others, improving own learning and performance; and problem solving" (DfEE 2000: 16-17)

In terms of actionable approaches this entailed not just knowledge of rights and responsibilities but applying those to a particular case, understanding and exhibiting respect for cultural, gender, religious, ethnic and community diversities within England and globally whilst working to combat prejudice and discrimination (DfEE 2000). On a practical level that meant challenging social issues and initiating change for the betterment of all communities (DfEE 2000). A QCA (2004) report entitled *Play your part: post-16 citizenship*, provided planning opportunities and resources for enacting Post-16 CE.

Table 1, from the report, offers possible opportunities for those at 16+ alongside examples of citizenship actions (QCA 2004: 21):

Post-16 citizenship should provide young people with **essential opportunities** to work towards broad **learning objectives**, while developing and practising their skills through citizenship **actions** and **activities**.

Essential opportunities	Citizenship learning objectives	Examples of citizenship actions	Examples of citizenship activities
Post-16 citizenship should give young people opportunities to: ■ identify, investigate and think critically about citizenship issues, problems or events of concern to them and ■ decide on and take part in follow-up action, where appropriate and ■ reflect on, recognise and review their citizenship learning.	Citizenship learning increases young people's knowledge, skills and understanding so they are able to: ■ demonstrate knowledge and understanding about citizenship issues ■ show understanding of key citizenship concepts (for example rights and responsibilities, government and democracy, identities and communities*) ■ consider the social, moral and ethical issues applying to a particular situation ■ analyse sources of information, identify bias and draw conclusions ■ demonstrate understanding of and respect for diversity and challenge prejudice and discrimination ■ discuss and debate citizenship issues ■ express and justify a personal opinion to others ■ represent a point of view on behalf of others ■ demonstrate skills of negotiation and participation in community-based activities ■ exercise responsible actions towards and on behalf of others.	Citizenship actions involve young people using skills of enquiry, communication, participation and responsible action to, for example: ■ discuss and debate citizenship issues ■ make a change ■ challenge an injustice ■ lobby representatives ■ increase representation ■ provide a service or benefit to others ■ empower self or others ■ resist unwanted change ■ make informed choices and follow up decisions and/or actions ■ take part in democratic processes to influence decisions.	Citizenship activities involve young people working with others on issues, for example: ■ writing and/or presenting a case to others about a concern or issue ■ conducting a consultation, vote or election ■ organising a meeting, conference, forum, debate or vote ■ representing others' views (for example in an organisation, at a meeting or event) ■ creating, reviewing and revising an organisational policy ■ contributing to local/community policy ■ communicating and expressing views publicly via a newsletter, website or other media ■ organising and undertaking an exhibition, campaign or display ■ setting up and developing an action group or network ■ organising a community event (for example drama, celebration, open day) ■ training others (for example in citizenship skills and knowledge, democratic processes). The case studies in this pack give more examples.

Table 1 Showing the aims of Post-16 Citizenship Education. Source: QCA 2004: 21)

Citizenship Education, for 16+ students in England, today, is covered in the Study Programmes Guide for 2023-2024 (DfE 2023). The programmes guide does not cover citizenship education explicitly, but it does have areas that are applicable – specifically in Youth Social Action. The DfE encourages education providers to incorporate social and service action into their study programmes and other work experiences – whether that entail A level or wider options available at 16+. The Department for Education suggest activities around volunteering, campaigning, fundraising, and mentoring other students (DfE 2023). The DfE (2023) give further suggestions around active citizenship steering institutions and individuals towards what they call "socially impactful" (DfE 2023) projects that support communities and or social causes.

Moving forward then, the field of CE in UK, particularly at 16+, seems open to many opportunities for development from the likes of the global citizenship education field. With

Ofsted now expected to consider, "the spiritual, moral, social and cultural development of pupils at the school" (Ofsted 2014: 5; Ofsted 2023), it seems demand in school settings for active, political, moral, and social awareness means more research and practical ideas are needed around the direction citizenship education and indeed global citizenship education could take in England.

In their 2021 report, the *Commission on Race and Ethnic Disparities* focused specifically on developing a more inclusive curriculum which could also factor into wider discussions on citizenship. The report itself references, "linking the story of different ethnic groups to a unifying sense of Britishness" (UK Government 2021), arguing that "empowering young people with a greater understanding of the past is seen as…long overdue". Referring to citizenship specifically, the report goes on to explain the importance of exposing students to the variety of British culture to promote integration. In terms of curricula in particular, the report urges the increased value of Commonwealth writers like Derek Walcott and Andrea Levy who have been both influenced by and simultaneously contributed to the evolution of British culture. The commission calls for more nuance:

> "Students should be taught about all famous and important people in the society and these famous people should come from every race, religion, class and creed, so that, by the time students leave school they have a rounded understanding of the contributions made by ethnic minorities, how they fit into society and the contribution ethnic minority people have made to the fabric of the society and history of UK" (*Commission on Race and Ethnic Disparities 2021*)

Outside of commissioned reports, the last 5 years has also seen an explosion of interest in citizenship and society from students and staff. According to a 2021 Guardian article, hundreds of schools have now signed up curriculum developed by teachers and Hackney (an area of London) Council (Guardian 2021; Hackney Services for Schools 2021). Titled – *The Diverse Curriculum: The Black Contribution* – the resources are designed to support wider inclusion and discussion on British identity which began largely as a response to the murder of George Floyd in USA and inequalities that emerged during COVID-19 pandemic. Meanwhile, the educational pressure group – *The Black Curriculum* – partnered with

Camden Town Council (in London), Mayor of London, and Members of Parliament (MPs) to diversify over 1000 schools across the UK. Similarly, Manchester Gorton MP, Afzal Khan argued in 2021, "the current curriculum is no longer fit for purpose…it no longer truly reflects the makeup of British society today" (Khan 2021). The culmination of these initiatives, whilst particularly grounded in identity and ethnicity, has been that citizenship beyond active participation alone is coming into question and people are trying to negotiate both their identity and their role in the changing social morphologies of England as well as the rest of the world.

Whilst this section cannot possibly cover all the contributions to citizenship education, it has hoped to illustrate the relevance of developments in CE in UK and illuminate both a demand for and opportunities where GCE can connect to the English context; the focus being the provision of programmes that attend to changing societies and demands for more representative curriculum that reflects the complexity of English communities.

Antecedents of GCE: Global Education in Policy and Practice

As concepts of citizenship education have begun to conceptualise identity and students' multiple, nested, and overlapping views – citizenship and global education have, arguably, become more aligned. The following section looks at the antecedents of global citizenship education in policy and contextualises the International Baccalaureate in the global education field.

Indeed, the curricular turn globally cannot be ignored. GCE was identified by UNESCO as one of 3 core pillars for the organisation from 2014 – 2021 to strengthen civil literacy and understanding in young people (UNESCO 2014; Evans and Kiwan 2017). Their 2014 document on preparing learners for the challenges of 21st Century describes GCE as:

> "a framing paradigm which encapsulates how education can develop the knowledge, skills, values and attitudes learners need for securing a world which is more just, peaceful, tolerant, inclusive, secure and sustainable – a conceptual shift…recognises the role of education moving beyond the development of

knowledge and cognitive skills to build values, attitudes and facilitate international co-operation" (UNESCO 2014: 9)

In this sense, students are to be taught not in or about global citizenship but *as* active citizens themselves. But teaching GCE did not start with Ban-Ki Moon saying, "education must do more than produce individuals who can read, write, and count. It must nurture global citizens who can rise to the challenges of the 21st Century" (UNESCO 2005); NGOs have been promoting GCE since the start of the 21st Century as well. Oxfam's (2006) work on GCE has driven classroom practice and provided a framework for teachers – clarifying the knowledge and skills connected to global citizenship as well as the values discussed. Crucially, Oxfam state that global citizens should be "outraged" by social injustices and actively work to eradicate discrimination (Oxfam 2006, 2015). Oxfam say that the global is not "out there" but embedded in everyday practices across the world (2015:4). It is no surprise, therefore, that GCE remains high on the UN Education 2030 Agenda (UNESCO 2018).

GCE is an integrated concept rooted in several different policy streams – the first being the world studies movement of the 1970s/80s. The World Studies Project (WSP), spearheaded by Robin Richardson, emerged in the 1970s, but it was James Henderson (1968) that first coined the term 'World Studies'. Between 1973 and 1980, the WSP ran conferences for educators to enhance concern for issues related to poverty, violence, personal and shared values (Hicks 2008; Richardson 1976b). Whilst it may not seem revolutionary, this was a seminal moment in 1970s – recognising education as more 'child-centred' and 'world-minded'. The World Studies Project (WSP) had similar aims:

a) Study cultures beyond one's own that are different.
b) Consider major issues facing countries and cultures around the world relating to conflict, development, and human rights.
c) Study the impact of the wider world on everyday life.

(adapted from Fisher and Hicks 1985)

What made the British version of world studies unique was its active nature – much like Oxfam's approach. Hicks and Steiner (1989: 128) went further by saying that "didactic and

passive methods do not encourage discussion and debate, reflection and critical thinking". A more active stance is reflected across both modern GCE and citizenship education connecting the discussions around shared humanity in the field with active community engagement. Indeed, UNESCO documents all state there should be opportunities to develop community engagement in GCE (Evans and Kiwan 2017). Despite its popularity in the 1980s – with over 50% of local authorities in England and Wales teaching world studies – the overall project fell from favour because it appeared to avoid sensitive political issues and critics argued it was devoid of content (Lister 1987).

Another source of GCE in policy came from development education. Again, developed in the 1970s, development education roots are far more supranational as a field, across several NGOs, with a focus on building networks such as the National Association of Development Education Centres and teaching resources (Hicks 2008). Whilst there was tension about the role NGOs might play in terms of education – via resource provision or the growth of development studies as an academic field as well as the *kind* of development that was to be taught – it proved very popular well into the 1980s (Braun 1981; Hicks 2008). Bourn (2014) suggests that development education worked as a precursor to the legal, human-rights based conceptions of GCE with key themes such as:

a) Interdependence and interconnections between people
b) Giving a voice and perspective from the global majority that is reflected upon in the rest of the world.
c) A focus on social justice, human rights, and fairness
d) A focus on 'moral outrage' – as noted in Oxfam's definition of global citizenship.

An important pedagogical distinction here is that learning is focused on self-reflection – a process that encouraged students to considering their framings and how that might connect to a sense of injustice and the system whilst acknowledging and engaging with alternative voices. As is discussed later, development education appeared an antecedent of more critical forms of GCE in its focus on perspectives from around the world and social justice. Critics of development education, though, suggested that involving NGOs meant that

specific agendas were likely to be pushed in areas like sustainable development and invoking a type of development led by their own agendas and perceptions of issues rather than dismantling metanarratives about aid and 'helping' the developing world (Andreotti 2006).

Global Education and the IB

This section covers the other element of this research in global education. It traces the ideological groundings of the International Baccalaureate as part of the wider context of this thesis both in UK and part of global education.

Whilst the IB is closely connected to the processes of hyper-globalisation, the programmes evolved from the goal of promoting peace via intercultural understanding and respect (Bunnell 2010). Contextually, the IB is thought to have grown from the classroom via subject committees, student feedback and teacher conferences very separately from the state (Hill 2002). As Hill (2002: 198) argues, "this was not an innovation imposed by educational administrators or governments. It was an innovation almost passionately desired by teachers which responded to the concerns of parents and elite decision-makers" many of whom worked for the UN. Context and ideology were the driving force (Hill 2002).

Beginning in the 1940s, students, teachers and parents who were considered leaders in Education both in academia via Alec Peterson, then Director of the Department of Educational Studies at University of Oxford and those from international schools (later to become the Conference of International Schools) like Holocaust survivor Kurt Hahn who later led the United World College School came together to discuss alternative approaches to education focused on peace and conflict resolution rather than knowledge acquisition for examination.

The inception of what became the IBO was, arguably, the 1947 UNESCO Summer Seminar in Education for International Understanding in which 100 educational leaders from 25 countries met with the goal of exploring a new form of curriculum that could contribute towards UNESCO's goal of global peace and security. Two years later, led by headmaster of Dutch School – Kees Boeke – 15 Heads met to define what students of this new system might exhibit, concluding that:

"An understanding of his past as a common heritage to which all men irrespective of nation, race of creed has contributed…understanding of his present world as a world in which peoples are interdependent and in which cooperation is a necessity. In such an education, emphasis should be laid in a basic attitude of respect for all human beings as persons (Course for Teachers 1950)

The 1962 conference for social studies considered how a curriculum could develop a more outward looking student. Instead of specialising at 16, it was felt that a more nuanced and connected understanding of the world could come from studying more subjects that spanned across the social and natural sciences. It was in 1964 that the first draft proposal was formed and 1967 when the core – Theory of Knowledge (TOK) – was added with a study of literature and philosophy of different cultures as compulsory (Hill 2002). But it was not until 1968 that the IBO (International Baccalaureate Organisation) was formally founded in Geneva.

The culmination of these consultations, conferences and lesson practices is found in the IBO mission statement which (IBO 2024):

"aims to develop inquiring, knowledgeable and caring young people who help to create a better and more peaceful world through intercultural understanding and respect. To this end the organization works with schools, governments and international organizations to develop challenging programmes of international education and rigorous assessment. These programmes encourage students across the world to become active, compassionate and lifelong learners who understand that other people, with their differences, can also be right".

In its mission statement, the IB is focused on a number of areas from compassion to open-mindedness, being active learners and grounded in intercultural understanding – a term covered below. To achieve this goal, the IB Diploma Programme offers 16–18-year-olds six taught subjects across language, arts, social and natural sciences surrounded by a core of TOK, CAS and an extended research essay (EE). Figure 1 illustrates the IB's core structure with approaches to teaching and learning at the centre through the IB learner profile. This is followed by the core and supported by the 6 knowledge areas: Language and Literature, Individuals and Societies, Maths, Arts, Science and Languages.
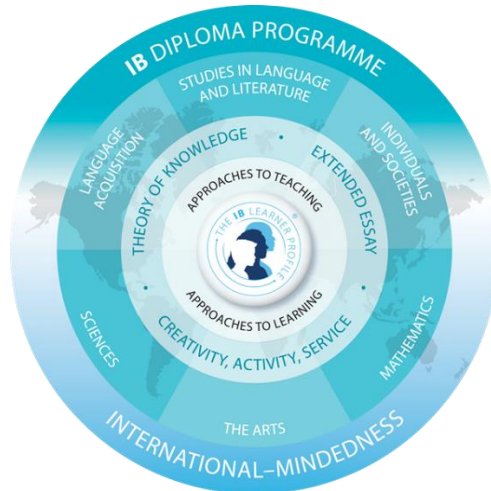
Figure 1: IB Diploma Formation (IBO 2021)

The mission statement itself connects to the 'learner profile' which specifies the qualities the IB hope to develop in their students. The 10 attributes of the learner profile (IBO 2014, 2018) are:

- Thinkers
- Inquirers
- Knowledgeable
- Communicators
- Caring
- Open-minded
- Principled
- Balanced
- Risk-takers
- Reflective

Combined, these learner profile attributes are embedded into all subjects in the IB Diploma Programme and regularly referred to in each of the subject guides. Of particular note to this study, though, is the language the IBO use around international mindedness and intercultural understanding.

Aims of the IB: International Mindedness and Intercultural Understanding

The language of the IB centres on ideas around international mindedness and intercultural understanding. Whilst it is not the remit of this paper to discuss the origins of these terms, it is relevant to explore how the IB understands them and therefore how this might relate to the present study on global citizenship education.

The IBO define International Mindedness as "an overarching construct related to multilingualism, intercultural understanding and global engagement" (Hill 2012 cited in Hacking et al. 2018) saying that it should be a learning *process* rather than an intended outcome. According to the IBO, this means nurturing/facilitating the child from first entry to school to become open, curious and "concerned with developing a deep understanding of the complexity, diversity and motives that underpin human interactions" (IBO 2009:4). International mindedness underpins all the IB programmes from the Primary years up to Diploma level (Skelton 2013; Hill 2012). Hill – ex-secretary general of the IB defines international mindedness as:

> "Embracing knowledge about global issues and their interdependence, cultural differences, and critical thinking skills to analyse and propose solutions. International mindedness is also a value proposition: it is about putting the knowledge and skills to work to make the world a better place through empathy, compassion, and openness – to the variety of ways of thinking which enrich and complicate our planet." (ibid 2012: 246)

Drawing on specific attitudes, Harwood, and Bailey (2012) suggest international mindedness relates to a "person's capacity to transcend the limits of a worldview informed by a single experience of nationality, creed, culture or philosophy and recognise in the richness of diversity a multiplicity of ways of engaging with the world" (ibid 2012: 79). Some think that internationally minded students therefore become notable in terms of their cosmopolitan attitudes but also their understanding and interest in world politics and events (Cause 2009). However, there remains discussion about what international mindedness means.

The definition used by the IBO and Hill was summarised by Singh and Qi (2013) who concluded that international mindedness consists of three pillars:

1. Multilingualism

2. Intercultural Understanding

3. Global engagement

They argue that learning several languages specifically acts to reconfigure how one thinks about language and social contexts thereby developing a critical awareness of others. Intercultural understanding - discussed later - is, according to Singh and Qi, about engaging with one's own values and culture to develop respect and empathy for others. Finally, students must actively commit to addressing global challenges and engage beyond the classroom. In their 2018 study, Hacking et al. found that many of the teachers they interviewed agreed with this final point – international mindedness could only be achieved by engaging with different cultural perspectives such that a change in attitude is sought as opposed to simply adding to experience.

Harwood and Bailey (2012:79) suggest that International Mindedness is:

"a person's capacity to transcend the limits of a worldview informed by a single experience of nationality, creed, culture or philosophy and recognise in the richness of diversity a multiplicity of ways of engaging with the world."

Whilst part of Singh and Qi's (2013) definition of international mindedness, intercultural understanding has retained a specific mention in the IBO's mission statement and therefore also deserves some further attention. It could be thought that intercultural understanding has its own particularities that are worth situating in the wider discussion on the link between the IB and global citizenship education.

According to Heyward (2002), intercultural understanding allows an individual to successfully live and work in pluralist settings. Intercultural understanding is predicated on two concepts – the fluidity of culture and cross-cultural engagement. Originating in the work of Lysgaard (1955) and Gullahorn and Gullahorn (1963, 1966), intercultural understanding focuses on cross-cultural experience. Lysgaard's (1955) work created a U-curve of experience:

Stage 1: Initial excitement/enthusiasm towards others – usually via a migratory experience living abroad, a spectator.

Stage 2: Disenchantment – whilst knowledge of the other culture has developed further, progress is blocked by the inability to understand cultural norms.

Stage 3: Recovery as the individual develops language and a kind of cultural relativism.

Gullahorn and Gullahorn (1963) took this further with a W-curve that considered reintegration into one's own community. Essentially the experience seemed to be based on 'culture shock' (DuBois 1951). What remained essential for intercultural understanding though, was some form of cross-cultural experience (Heyward 2002; Meyer 1991; Adler 1986; Allport 1954) - interactive and experiential spaces that are commonplace in IB settings given its international identity.

Byram said that intercultural understanding consists of 5 elements (Byram 1997; Deardorff 2004):

1. Knowledge of others and oneself
2. Ability to interpret and relate to others.
3. Skills to discover.
4. Value of others
5. Belief/Behaviour to relativise oneself.

Intercultural individuals are thought to be cognitively complex, content amongst cultures - in a process of continual negotiation - and therefore tolerate and thrive in situations others may find ambiguous or uncomfortable (Walton, Priest and Paradies 2013; Bennett 2009; Byram and Feng 2004). Whilst this is like international mindedness, it is far more explicitly linked to interaction and exposure to others. To trigger the process of 'becoming' intercultural some form of challenge to the status-quo is needed bringing into question an individual's verbal and non-verbal communication and shifting them into a 'third place' between ethnocentric positions (Kinginger et al. 1999; Hiller and Wozniak 2009).

Thomas et al. (2008) found that the process of intercultural understanding begins with recognising the existence of other cultures and defining the differences between them – this allows an individual to develop levels of predictability in social interaction in an active and practical way. The intercultural learner listens, observes and evaluates scenarios such that they can competently communicate with others (Tuncel and Paker 2018; Byram, Gibkova and Starkey 2002). Often, the process occurs best with enhanced exposure as well as sociolinguistic skills (Fantini 2009).

Walton et al (2015) found that whilst exposure to others and the development of language abilities factors into intercultural understanding, in many cases change begins with an awareness of the self and one's own cultural identity (Byram and Feng 2004; Walton et al. 2015). Deardorff explains this within a pyramidal model of intercultural understanding:
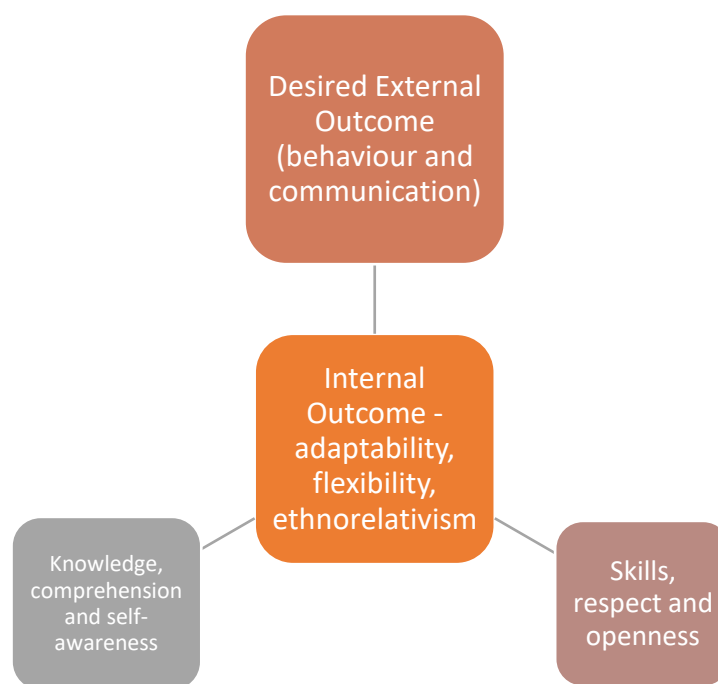
Figure 2: Adapted from Deardorff (2004) cited in Covert (2014)

Deardorff's model – adapted in figure 2 - explains that interculturalism is about the self and manifests in both an external way through skills and openness towards others but also an internal one that is a cognitive process around understanding and critical self-awareness. Occasionally, Deardorff's model is referred to as a combination of cognitive, behavioural,

and affective change for individuals. From a cognitive perspective, an individual understands cultural conventions and how these affect how we think and behave – in doing so, they develop awareness of cultural dynamics (Demircioglu and Cakir 2016). The affective stage links to internal desires and motivations to understand difference i.e., attitudinal. Finally, is the external or behavioural stage – intercultural adroitness. The individual therefore experiences an internal shift in frame of reference that enables the external competences discussed.

The internal shift is often referred to as intercultural sensitivity and alters the person's affective response (Straffon 2003; Perry and Southwell 2011). Intercultural sensitivity is a cognitive process that involves gaining clarity, interest, and desire to explore other cultures so that one can critically reflect on the self (Walton et al. 2015; Chen and Starosta 1996; Auernheimer 2010). To achieve intercultural understanding, an individual therefore needs combine internal reflection with affectual change. Intercultural understanding and wider international mindedness suggest an individual endeavour to be more global in outlook. In the IB therefore, the subject or student's journey is one of self-reflection, reflexivity and change towards being more global in outlook. However, the process of developing intercultural understanding does not necessarily translate into active citizenship or connection with society for social justice purposes it is more introspective and personal.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

Literature Review

Global + Citizenship Education: Returning to an English Context

Whilst exploring the policy origins of Global Education and situating this research within the IB world, it is important to understand that this research is situated in England. As such, research needs to connect the richness of IB and Global Education to the English context to then understand how GCE can and does operate in England. A useful starting point for this could be the work of Davies, Evans and Reid (2005) because it was situated in England.

Their paper, situated in the context of England, considered the notion of global education plus citizenship education in England, connecting the English setting to that of the IB and wider academic literature on GCE. The study found that, at the time of writing, there were significant differences in positionality between CE and GE on the basis of focus, relationship to the government and pedagogical practices in action where global education was largely missing in the English system. Nevertheless, they argued for both the value and need to integrate the global into the English education system.

As explored in the previous chapter, much of the early work on citizenship – through Crick but also policy, had often been grounded in skills development, action, and legal responsibility of being a citizen (Heater 1990; Kiwan 2008). Heater (1999: 171) quotes Aristotle saying:

> "The citizens of a state should always be educated to suit the constitution of their state."

Green (1997) saw a similar link between building a nation and education as interwoven: "National Education systems were first created as a state forming processes" (ibid: 131). In this respect, citizenship education is grounded in the responsibilities of students to contribute to their society and the formation of England as a state. Davies, Evans and Reid (2005) note that the link to state and nation had endured throughout the 20th Century in England. Indeed, even in 2015, the Department for Education referred to "human, moral, legal and political rights and duties" (2015: 6) of students and teachers in the UK. The role

the state played and continues to play in the development of citizenship education in England cannot be understated nor removed from discussion in a way that GCE circumvents because it is beyond a single state.

Davies, Evans and Reid (2005) went on to discuss how one can connect citizenship, bounded by the state in England, whilst not also acknowledging globalisation has led to changing social morphologies that question the form citizenship education might take in the future. Quoting Heater (1997), they go on to consider this possibility of dual consideration. Heater (1997) tracks citizen relationships to the world – moving from member of the human race to responsibility and promotion of a world government. They discuss how, in England, this spectrum of a relationship to the global could well be integrated to build a new form of GCE appropriate to an English context. Whilst acknowledging the overlap between ideas in global education and citizenship policy, Davies, Evans and Reid (2005) consider that three issues must be addressed if GCE can work in an English context.

First, is a fundamental difference in focus and origins. As stated, citizenship education in its relationship to legal responsibility, national identity and active responsibility is grounded in the British state (Davies, Evans and Reid 2005; Chitty 1989). The Department for Education stated that, as in section 78 of the Education Act (2002), state-maintained schools must promote rule of law, democracy, and tolerance of different faiths – students should understand "right and wrong", respect for political institutions and teachers identify discrimination whilst not promoting specific beliefs that contradict their own. In this sense, Davies, Evans and Reid (2005) go on to argue that Citizenship Education in England is designed to address "social fragmentation, ignorance and alienation with low participation rates and the growth of support for extremist groups such as the British National Party" (ibid: 76). In many ways, CE functions as cognitive reflection of one's role in society and how individuals can bring communities together. Indeed, if one then includes policy such as PREVENT[1]- a policy designed to track and reduce extremism in schools - it does appear that the narrative is about addressing perceived issues of social fragmentation through educating students based on legal responsibility, political awareness, and a communitarian approach in active citizenship.

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[1] PREVENT: Anti-terrorism and Anti-radicalisation of vulnerable people

Global education on the other hand, in its policy origins is more related to World Studies and Development Education (Hicks 2008; Bourn 2014). Whilst linked to legal responsibilities and active citizenship for community, they were, potentially, more politicised and focused on social justice whether related to poverty or conflict resolution (Tint and Prasad 2007) and addressing contemporary issues (Davies, Evans and Reid 2005). As is discussed later, I argue that complexity in academia is not necessarily a challenge but an opportunity to sit in the nuance and develop new ideas in the field. Nevertheless, Davies, Evans and Reid (2005) suggest global education is less coherent in origin than citizenship education appears in the English context making it challenging to apply and understand.

Second, Davies, Evans and Reid (2005) suggest a difference in the relationship Citizenship Education and Global Education have had with the British state. As the previous chapter noted, often citizenship has not been at the forefront of governmental policy in England let alone global education. Drawing on the work of Lawton et al. (2000), it is argued that global education has remained on the periphery of policy rather than central to discussions on citizenship. Indeed, even in the newest references to Citizenship Education, policy is still grounded in national interactions with citizenship education, and communitarian responses to internal conflict or social issues rather than global citizenship approaches (DfE 2023).

Returning to the argument of Davies, Evans and Reid (2005) though, even now, the Global elements of Education in England appear to be connected to being a British citizen. In a 2021 report, the Commission on Race and Ethnic Disparities focused specifically on developing a more inclusive curriculum. The report itself references, "linking the story of different ethnic groups to a unifying sense of Britishness" (UK Government 2021), arguing that "empowering young people with a greater understanding of the past is seen as…long overdue". Referring to citizenship specifically, the report goes on to explain the importance of exposing students to the variety of British culture but with the express focus on integration in UK. Reading more from different contributors is designed to enhance historical understanding of British identity but grounded in the aim of 'unifying' the nation into a combined sense of Britishness rather than becoming a citizen of the world.

The third issue raised by Davies, Evans and Reid (2005) in relation to citizenship education and the global in England, is pedagogical approach and the role of teachers. They argue, that despite articles like Kniep (1986)'s work calling for education that grounds students in the exchange of knowledge amongst civilisations over time, often teachers ignore citizenship and find it problematic to implement. Whilst CE exists in policy, often citizenship becomes limited to individual teachers or subjects rather than being seen as a cross-curricular endeavour integrated into the pedagogical practices of all.

Rather than becoming an add on to existing citizenship education policy in England, Davies, Evans and Reid's (2005) paper explored the importance of understanding how the global landscape needs to be incorporated for students in schools in England. It was an early attempt to consider the value of global citizenship education and how the global could be situated in an English context and offered an avenue into the academic field of GCE for studies like this research to take place.

Global Citizenship Education: Theoretical Origins

Global Citizenship Education in the academic sphere is a complex and nuanced space with no one single definition. Its exploratory nature offers both challenges for researchers but, as this study suggests, also opportunities for dynamic discussion. This chapter traces those discussions in the academic field and aims to map the different approaches to ground later research. The chapter finds that, whilst seemingly distinct, many of the academic discussions around GCE are multifaceted and overlap – informing and recreating one another. Beyond the desire to define GCE in one way, more recent literature has urged researchers to embrace this nuance to enhance its dynamic nature. Global citizenship education then provides conceptual freedom and breadth reflected in the apparent polarity it often engenders.

In her work, Davies (2006: 13–14) offers different approaches to global citizenship education based on the relationship between the three core elements: 'global', 'citizen' and 'education' in a development from Davies, Evans and Reid (2005):

(a) global citizenship + education (definitions of the "global citizen", and the implied educational framework to provide or promote this)

(b) global + citizenship education (making citizenship education more globally or internationally relevant; think global, act local)

(c) global education + citizenship (international awareness plus rights and responsibilities)

(d) education + citizenship + global (introducing "dimensions" of citizenship and of international understanding into the school curriculum, but not necessarily connected).

Whilst acknowledging the plethora of different approaches to GCE, the following chapter focuses on the three broad fields that have dominated the GCE academic arena: neoliberal approaches to GCE, liberal-humanist understandings and critical forms of GCE then moving to more recent debates in GCE and moving beyond specific typologies of GCE. By looking at the literature, this research finds that a common theme emerges of self-reflection and a resultant reflexivity in individuals; a practice that asks students to consider their roles and lenses in relation to global issues and the cognitive process of reflexivity that might change those perspectives.

Neo-liberal approaches to GCE

The following section explores neoliberal approaches to GCE and what neoliberalism means in the context of this research.

Writers such as Friedman (2005) and Wolf (2004) argue the core tenets of neoliberalism cover the individual, deregulation of markets, often privatisation, and cuts in taxes that enable more individual choice and freedom of movement as well as overall economic growth. As such, individuals and corporate entities are no longer bound by the nation-state, but neoliberal globalisation has fundamentally altered the influence of government and wider global arena. In relation to GCE then, neoliberal lenses cover ideas around corporate capital development and consumption (Schattle 2008; Marshall 2011; Bauman 1998); competitive abilities and competencies of individuals (Gaudelli 2009; Young 2008; Weenink 2008) and attainment of individuals in the focus for the future (Andreotti 2014). These approaches see neoliberal approaches to GCE as instrumental and normative, providing students with specific skills designed for individual mobility into the job market and existing economic system (Schattle 2008).

Marshall (2011) and Schattle (2008) explore the idea of corporate forms of neoliberal global citizenship through agendas like 'Corporate Social Responsibility' (CSR) and the 'Global Business Citizenship' (Logsdon and Wood 2005) which focuses on ethical business practices and responsible growth - the idea being mutually beneficial growth for companies and the wider planetary interests in what Richardson (2008) describes as a 'global imaginary'. The presumption here is that all individuals fundamentally want the same goal as businesses and thus, whilst tied to notions of competition and human capital, serving self-interest everyone benefits from CSR. Of course this elicits criticism from writers like Tully (2008), who argue that CSR merely masks the fact that companies are still operating in their own self-interest whilst also connecting to global citizenship. Indeed, one could question how this corporate manifestation of global citizenship can co-exist with other forms more grounded in social justice and ethics.

For education, discourses around neoliberal approaches to GCE relate less to corporate goals but more to both the relationship between institutional and governmental agendas and within individuals themselves in the form of competences such as decision making, language skills, IT abilities and negotiation. Schattle's (2008) paper on GCE calls this a form of competency based GCE under the wider umbrella of neoliberalism. Competencies here relate to key attributes that, in a knowledge-based economy, improve the employability of individuals –like risk-taking as well as knowledge of others and the ability to engage with others (Veugelers 2011; Oxley and Morris 2013). In the context of a deregulated global market, the neoliberal approach focuses on helping students develop the tools to thrive economically in a far more competitive arena (Schattle 2008; Gaudelli 2009) both nationally and globally (Weenink 2008). As Gaudelli (2009) identifies in the different dimensions of GCE, the neoliberal perspective is focused on increasing transnational mobility and global economic participation. In the neoliberal sense, citizens have a primarily economic role – as members of the economy but also consumers which in turn influence society through patterns of consumption (Shultz 2007).

In terms of specific traits, Oxley and Morris (2013) reference the work of Hanvey (1976) here and five global perspectives:

1. Perspective Consciousness

2. 'State of the Planet' Awareness

3. Cross-Cultural Awareness

4. Knowledge of Global Dynamics

5. Awareness of Human Choices

Marshall (2011) and Young (2008) discuss the neoliberal approach as 'Technical-Economic Instrumentalism' connected to corporate capital. As Young (2008:22) argues, "the curriculum has always been, albeit selectively, related to economic changes and the future employability of students" particularly when placed alongside teaching standards and competition like league tables in the English context (Blanden and Machin 2007; Walford 2002). Marshall (2011) says that technical instrumentalism has often dominated education policy on the basis of economic need both nationally and internationally – in UK that means a knowledge-based economy hence a preoccupation with attainment. Indeed, the neoliberal approach to GCE sees education and knowledge as a means to an end rather than the end itself (Shultz 2007; Schattle 2008).

A similar argument can be made in the IB context that schools create GCE around the individual success of their students and ability to be internationally competitive. As Schattle (2008) considers, some IB schools offer the qualification as a pre-university curriculum that enables social mobility; a similar finding to Fielding and Vidovich (2017) and Resnik (2012). Bunnell argues instead, that many international schools are simply "elite-class reproducing institutions growing in demand as the English language has been impinging …on labour markets" (ibid 2014: 76). International schools are not simply about producing globally minded individuals but function as a mechanism for comparative advantage and, ultimately, exclusion (Brown et al. 1997; Waters 2012).

Some IB schools now offer a global citizenship education qualification that students can use as part of the Higher Education application process (Schattle 2008). Yokohama International in Japan – one of the first international schools – offers a Global Citizen Diploma that emphasises the participatory elements of GCE whereas Sotogrande in Spain offer a programme based on: global mindedness, social entrepreneurship, service learning and

environmental sustainability (Hughes 2020; Sotogrande International School 2024). As Waters (2012) explores, formal international education in Vancouver operates to exclude less privileged groups. Combined with ideologies relating to social responsibility, Lauder (2007) finds that, in many instances, students can develop a kind of moral and academic sense of superiority with regards to their national counterparts which, as Koh and Kenway (2012) argue, simply legitimises the leadership status of transmigrant children in much the same way as independent schools in UK. In this sense, those that attend international schools and the schools themselves already have a high degree of socio-cultural and economic capital and the experience of international schooling serves to reproduce and secure their status by developing skills for comparative advantage in the global economy.

In a recent paper, Peterson (2020) explores different interpretations and potentially "(mis) intentions" (ibid: 19) of GCE. In the paper, there is a section where Peterson draws on Petrovic and Kuntz (2014) to explore the impact of neoliberal economics on citizenship and the idea of individual power, mobility, and competitiveness rather than a sense of common humanity or justice. Peterson (2020) explains how the ideas of individual liberty present in neoliberalism and freedom of choice, challenge ideas around collective identities and position inequality and poverty not as structural but based in individual attitudes and choices. Peterson (2020) says the economic model of neoliberalism has potentially impacted how people then engage politically and enact change because the focus is on individuals as producers and consumers of society. The impact of the transition and focus on global capitalism has affected GCE both internally and externally.

Peterson (2020) says that neoliberalism has determined that time and effort be spent in curricula on generating economically competitive students – particularly in STEM subjects. Arguably, the result has been that focus on understanding of others, knowledges and community values have become marginalised. Internally too, social issues have been largely ignored, with focus being placed, instead, on social mobility and culturally "aware" students for the purpose of being competitive – in essence, GCE then functions as a "commodity" (Peterson 2020: 29) with students designed to be participants in the neoliberal economy. As such, Peterson (2020) argues that GCE in this way has led to students becoming apoliticised, unaware of power narratives and structural injustices.

Liberal- Humanist approaches to GCE

Others have explored GCE as a kind of responsibility (Nussbaum 2001), political equality (Veugelers 2011) or a kind of moral cosmopolitanism (Schattle 2008). These approaches to GCE broadly fall into the liberal-humanist approach. The following section explores more around literature on liberal-humanist understandings of GCE as well as how this intersects with other forms of GCE.

Nussbaum's (2002) work is one of the most cited in relation to this approach. As Stein (2015) explores, Nussbaum begins from a position of criticality around economic or "market exchange" (Stein 2015: 245) as the foundation for social connections. Instead, Nussbaum suggests that existing education for national citizenship, which emerged from the nation-state system, should be expanded for a more globalised and changing society (Nussbaum 1996 cited in Gaudelli 2009). Nussbaum posits three areas of GCE in response: a) critical self-examination, b) ties to other humans and c) the ability to develop empathy.

This position asks individuals to appreciate common humanity that accesses the "other" through recognition and imagination (Nussbaum cited in Stein 2015) pulling from Diogenes of Sinope, a Cynic Philosopher (Dill 2013; Miller 2009). Diogenes is said to have coined the phrase "citizen of the cosmos" (Kosmopolites) to reject localised concepts like the city-state, arguing, instead, for openness of mind.

It was not until the Stoics, though, that the ethics of Cosmopolitanism developed. As Rizvi (2009) explores, the Stoics were in direct opposition to the likes of Plato who considered citizens as having a duty to a particular city and its rules. In contrast, as Nussbaum (1996) discusses, the Stoics focused on the rationality of humans, people as all equal and connected to a wider societal and environmental framework. Indeed, it is this connection to nature that meant the Stoics believed in Human Rights by virtue of us being human (Rizvi 2009). Plutarch discusses the Stoics views in *On the fortunes of Alexander:*

> "That our life should not be based on cities or peoples each with its own view of right or wrong, but we should regard all men as our fellow countryman and

citizens…should be one life, one order, like that of a single flock on a common pasture feeding together under a common law."

<div align="right">(Plutarch cited in Baldry 1965: 159)</div>

Later, the Enlightenment revived thinking on common land and common law. Kant saw Cosmopolitan education as the greatest hope for the world – based on a deep moral ideal in humanity and, arguably, became the basis for world-mindedness, universal good and peace. Peters et al (2018:3) say that Kant "defended and popularised the idea that human beings belong to a single moral community." Context was relevant here: indeed, Kant's essay *Perpetual Peace* (1795) was written in a time of turmoil in Europe – it is hardly surprising, therefore, that Kant was looking for a way to consider order and saw cosmopolitanism doing that (Rizvi 2009). Rizvi reflects that Kant perceived a kind of integrated moral order – linking science as part of universal laws applicable anywhere. Crucially, one can see a link between cosmopolitanism and the moral elements of citizenship discussed. They both value the notion of universal human rights to protect and support others and both believe in the value of the rule of law (Marshall and Bottomore 1992; Russell 1964).

Important to the cosmopolitan approach to GCE is the capacity to appreciate and listen to others at the local, national and international level and implies a kind of shared sense of humanity and dialogue (Osler 2008). Nussbaum said students should learn "all modern democracies are inescapably plural" (2002: 291) cited in Peterson (2020). Whilst acknowledging one's own interests, identity and lenses, students must also work towards common aims and values that embody a plethora of cultures and societies. The importance of liberal-humanist approaches to GCE is in multiple stages. Nussbaum (2002) explains how GCE in a liberal-humanist sense entails first a reflection of the self and one's own lenses, values, and beliefs and then the ability to change those opinions based on new perspectives whilst being connected to having a shared sense of humanity (cited in Peterson 2020).

Within the cosmopolitan approaches to GCE, is an embedded feeling that global citizenship means having the ability to hear, listen to and consider different perspectives. Osler (2008:22) cited in Peterson (2020) said of cosmopolitan citizenship: "implies a sense of solidarity with strangers in distant places but it also requires solidarity, a sense of shared

humanity and dialogue with those in the local community and the national community whose perspectives may be very different from our own."

In a recent paper, da Costa, Hanley and Sant (2024) explore liberal-humanism and how it has dominated pedagogical practices in England (Goren and Yemini 2017). They begin by re-examining exactly what liberal-humanist approaches to GCE are, finding that liberal-humanist GCE emphasises acquisition of knowledge about others and inclusion of different perspectives whilst not always challenging the dominant view – which they refer to as Euro-western (ibid, Stein 2015). Specifically looking at the origins of liberal humanism, da Costa, Hanley and Sant (2024) are drawn to cosmopolitanism as an extension of national identity towards a global community based on common humanity (Nussbaum 2002), universal moral principles in a kind of "moral cosmopolitanism" (ibid), cultural cosmopolitanism and cultural awareness (Oxley and Morris 2013). Cosmopolitanism, according to those in the field, emerges as a criticism of the nation-state and its inability to respond to complex global issues particularly in more diverse transnational societies. Cosmopolitanism as an idea, then, is based on human rights because it "rejects the we versus they binary that works to differentiate groups of people as citizens and immigrants" (Orlowski & Sfeir, 2020: 20). By moving from the state to common humanity, cosmopolitanism begins to include international organisations and "universal moral-ethical value that call for an obligation to the human "other" and a sense of care and empathy towards them based on an ability to imagine what it is like to be in their shoes" (da Costa, Hanley and Santa 2024: 3).

Schattle (2008) also explores nuances around Moral Cosmopolitanism and Liberal Multiculturism. Again, drawing from Stoics, Schattle (2008) explains how moral cosmopolitanism is grounded in an imagined sense of universalised human rights and dignity. In turn, Schattle (2008) explains, a Moral Cosmopolitan approach to GCE would suggest a sense of responsibility or obligation to enhance the wellbeing of all people for common good. Schattle (2008) proffers a connected but slightly different view in liberal multiculturalism. Whilst still under a liberal-humanist umbrella, liberal multiculturalism covers:

"Moral visions of mutual respect and engagement across cultures as well as the duty to protect the rights of ethnic, religious, linguistic and cultural minority groups within a diversely populated nation-state, thereby encouraging minority groups to maintain particular traditions even in the face of pressures to assimilate into a dominant culture (Schattle 2008: 77)"

This perspective seems to operate within the framings of the nation-state rather than the imagined global order of World Justice GCE. Schattle (2008) draws on the context of England to exemplify this point. Referencing the work of Oxfam (1997), Schattle explores the emphasis on human rights, world poverty and solidarity between nations and cultures (ibid). The contemporary Oxfam vision (Oxfam 2015:3) of global citizens is:

- Is aware of the wider world and has a sense of their own role as a world citizen.
- Respects and values diversity
- Has an understanding of how the world works.
- Is passionately committed to social justice.
- Participates in the community at a range of levels, from the local to the global.
- Works with others to make the world a more equitable and sustainable place.
- Takes responsibility for their actions.

Schattle (2008) explains how the goals of Oxfam (1997) drew on a combination of moral cosmopolitan, environmental and liberal multicultural strands to create resources and a "guidepost" (Schattle 2008: 78) for teachers and students engaging with citizenship in England during the early 21st century. Schattle (2008) suggests that the example offers positivity that there is some level of coherence in the liberal-humanist approach despite complex nuances.

In the academic field of GCE, though, a grounding in common humanity comes with more complexities and nuances. Gaudelli (2009) for instance, draws a distinction between Cosmopolitan GCE and a World justice and governance approach. Describing Cosmopolitan GCE, Gaudelli (2009) explains a connection to care for all of society and processes and communication and discourse. In Education, Gaudelli (2009) contends, discussion and connection to the cosmopolitan moves students from a localised sense of self to a global

one in terms of morality and society. As Stein (2015:245) argues, the liberal-humanist approach often focuses global relationships on a similarly individual level, rather than on a structural scale" using intercultural understanding as an example.

In the Global Justice approach to GCE, discourses around humanity and morality connect specifically to areas like the International Criminal Court or Human Rights charters and codified human rights frameworks to function in an imagined global moral order. As Gaudelli (2009:74) suggests, "the creation of an International Criminal Court (ICC) extended criminal prosecution authority to a global body with the consent of states that have ratified such procedures" is an example of World Justice oriented GCE. Drawing on the work of Soysal (2000), Gaudelli (2009) explains how a shift in international law away from nationally grounded understandings of citizenship towards international laws on the rights of humans has meant that personhood has increasingly moved to the global arena too.

Gaudelli (2009) then traces how Global Justice in GCE functions in practice, citing examples of Model United Nations, efforts to teach about ICC and European Court of Human Rights in schools. Indeed, one can see traces of this in the older iterations of Citizenship Education in England and Crick Report (QCA 1998) as well as the IB programmes around learner profile values and the mission statement focused on the promotion of peace in the world (IBO 2024).

Oxley and Morris (2013) also contribute to the strands of liberal-humanist understandings of GCE in their model of global citizenship. In their approach, they touch on universal values, openness, cultural equality amongst other overlapping ideas drawing on earlier policy in Development and Peace Education (Oxley and Morris 2013). Under the heading of Cosmopolitan GC, Oxley and Morris (2013) suggest three further sub-categories: Moral, Political and Cultural.

The political strand looks at the relationship between individuals and the state and a form of global governance that promotes democracy and international institutions like UN (Oxley and Morris 2013). Oxley and Morris (2013) refer to a *cosmopolitan democracy.* A second strand, helpfully also named *Moral Cosmopolitanism*, looks at the ethical positioning of the individual and the idea of universal human rights. A similar strand to Schattle's (2008) Moral

Cosmopolitanism, Oxley and Morris (2013) explore the importance of universal human rights that, perhaps controversially, supersede individual nation-state laws (see also Abdi and Shultz 2008). A final strand of Cosmopolitan GC refers to cultural global citizenship around the globalisation of arts, language and media that can connect communities transnationally but also exclude and divide others.

Liberal-humanist perspectives of GCE then are multifaceted and complex. They can have moral groundings in Stoicism and Kant for Nussbaum and Veugelers or some elements of the political as Oxley and Morris (2013) explore - along with the ethical positioning of people and groups towards each other particularly around human rights. However, the liberal-humanist perspective appears grounded in understandings of a shared sense of humanity, respect for other perspectives beyond the nation-state and open-mindedness. Liberal-humanist approaches to GCE respect the different knowledges of people and remain open to changing their own perspectives for positive social change.

Critiquing Liberal-Humanist Approaches
In their later critique of liberal-humanist approaches to GCE, Andreotti (2006) and Stein (2015) give it a singular name under 'Soft' GCE. Similarly drawing on notions of common humanity, responsibility for the 'other' and the desire to make the world a better place, 'soft' GCE, explains Andreotti (2006, 2004), involves engaging with international organisations such as the UN. However, Andreotti (2014) goes on to identify that whilst different perspectives are welcomed in 'soft' GCE, these perspectives are expressed within existing liberal frameworks and a single view of progress, development, and justice. Andreotti (2006, 2014) explains this framing is from within a narrative that maintains the dominance of the Global North and envisages progress to follow the same trajectory as the Global North (see also Sen 1999). Stein (2015) exemplifies the point within a US Higher Education context.

Stein (2015) uses the example of Penn State University Office of International Programs' Strategic Plan (2008) to explain how liberal-humanist approaches to GCE can serve to entrench a sense of moral supremacy, responsibility and "vanguardism" (Andreotti 2014: 22) in needing to save the world. The program aims to use embed service learning in travel

abroad, on the logic that its students have the skills and knowledge to tackle global issues covering AIDS awareness, building infrastructure, providing medical aid, and empowering women through education. The implication being that the communities in question thereby lack sufficient skills and knowledge to address these issues. Indeed, one could go further and argue that there is an assumption that these issues are the most pressing in the areas of concern and that the local communities do not understand their own development priorities.

As Stein (2015) explains, therefore, the program has a dual effect. First, the messaging solidifies the idea that students are acting for the common good as humans of the world. Second, it reifies the idea that the students are morally and intellectually superior to others and, in doing so, recreates the dominance of the Global North and its ways of knowing (Stein 2015). It does so, Stein (2015:246) suggests, because the programme does not connect these good intentions with a critique of power or "colonial histories and ongoing racialised structures of expropriation and exploitation". As a result, the students do not confront or situate themselves in the global order, critique the structures that have led to dominance or understand their complicity with that socio-economic and political structure. Returning to Andreotti (2014), a key line of argument then, is that if students and staff do not critically reflect on themselves, the result of 'soft' GCE is one of a 'civilising mission' (Andreotti 2014:22) to save the world.

Looking historically too, Wynter (2003 cited in da Costa, Hanley and Sant 2024) considered the invention of Man during a similar time period. Wynter (2003, 2006) argues that Man was conceptualised during a break with Christian conceptualisation of humans in both the Renaissance (Man 1) and Enlightenment (Man 2). Wynter cited in da Costa, Hanley and Sant (2024) argues the idea served to justify the creation of the "other" and is central to understandings of race, class, gender, sexuality, environment, inequality, the refugee/economic migrant binary. The so-called *Homo Politicus* or, as Wynter (2003) calls – Man 1 – was about order, rationality guided by moral values and laws taught through education in opposition to the "irrational" non-Christian (ibid). Christianity was still the foundation as the individual tried to get closer to God by promoting a specific social order based in caring for all creatures including indigenous people who were granted "rights" if

they converted to Christianity (Mignolo 2021) Still, "rights" framed a distinction between people.

At the time of Kant and the Enlightenment, the 'break' with theology was the creation of the nation-state and "rights of man and of the citizen" (Mignolo 2021: 204). Society became about co-existence between nation-states rather than peoples. Da Costa, Hanley and Sant (2024) draw on Wynter (2003) to explain how Kant built on the difference created during the Renaissance to 'other' indigenous communities as "impossible to educate and, therefore, unable to acquire moral maturity and autonomy" (ibid: 5). Cosmopolitanism then was about exclusion around who constituted a Man and who did not - with education at the centre.

Da Costa, Hanley and Sant (2024) explain how Cosmopolitanism has continued to develop a narrative of exclusion through United Nations Declaration of Human Rights and the export of market democracy since the 1990s (Mignolo, 2021). Instead of separating nations via the nation-state, narratives were created around 'developed' and 'developing' nations and human rights masqueraded as projects for spreading liberal democracy (Mignolo 2021; da Costa, Hanley and Sant 2024). As such, GCE and education was a tool for compliance and superiority of West (Andreotti 2006). As da Costa, Hanley and Sant (2024) argue, tracing the history of Cosmopolitanism allows theorists to understand how the idea itself was always grounded in a sense of 'us' and 'them' because of the separation of the rational human and irrational other and then the selected vs the dysselected human. In this world-producing imaginary, "non-western, non-white people can only, at best, be assimilated as honorary humans" (Wynter, 2003: 329). Wynter argued that cosmopolitanism merely served as a logic of assimilation through conversion (Renaissance), civilisation (Enlightenment) or modernisation (Development logic via Bretton Woods).

Connections between the Neoliberal and Liberal
Some of the literature around GCE does suggest a more nuanced argument is at play between liberal and neoliberal understandings of GCE where the different approaches can and do co-exist in practice. Pashby, da Costa, Stein and Andreotti considered these

connections in their 2020 paper reviewing the typologies of GCE (Pashby et al 2020). Schattle (2008) also says of schools specifically, that they often operate in a web of GCE where multiple meanings co-exist, without contestation or resolve, on a daily basis. As such, I argue that empirical research equally needs to sit in that web of complexity to access these different iterations and develop a rich picture of GCE in schools today.

Marshall (2011) acknowledges a connection between the neoliberal and liberal when returning to the idea of instrumentalism; a field where social and cultural capital are both shared and individual. Marshall (2011) talks of a social-justice instrumentalism that mobilises competences and skills for positive change. From a social and cultural capital perspective, student exposure to other cultures through direct or indirect contact (social media/books) and teaching of another language imbues them with the ability to exist in the competitive knowledge economy. Equally though, when that extension of knowledge is used for driving global causes and agendas a kind of social-justice instrumentalism emerges (Marshall 2011).

Rizvi (2009) and Oxley and Morris's (2013) model also consider this crossover. Both do so by looking at the notion of Cosmopolitanism. Rizvi (2009) describes it as 'corporate cosmopolitanism' that values the skills discussed in intercultural awareness, language skills and risk-taking – present in much of the IB literature – that generates a kind of cosmopolitan capital (ibid see also Myers 2016 cited in Peterson 2020). Corporate cosmopolitanism focuses on freedom and economic growth - the market, as a single sphere of free trade, but it also connects people in a combined sense of community and resultant approaches to global issues. Meanwhile, Oxley and Morris's (2013) model describes a kind of Cosmopolitan Cultural global citizenship in more detail. Drawing on Pogge (2002) who argues that cosmopolitanism covers three areas: individualism, universality, and generality, they find a tension between a liberal value in understanding others and more explicit connections to individual freedoms and pursuits of the self (Pogge 2002 cited in Oxley and Morris 2013). In Cosmopolitanism, one finds similar values to the IB in terms of openness towards others and developing cultural competencies through a moral stance, but equally accepting openness within a neoliberal economic frame (Oxley and Morris 2013). In Cosmopolitan cultural GCE, there is little questioning around the system itself and how the

system might lead to injustices, reinforce stereotypes as well as continue to maintain the dominance of English language. In this sense, there is, as Pashby, da Costa, Stein and Andreotti (2020) suggest, a 'neoliberal-liberal interface' where the two strands are co-existing. Pashby, da Costa, Stein and Andreotti (2020) extend the idea of crossover further by asking us to consider "what/whose ethical perspective might be mobilised or fail to be considered when citizens are to evaluate cultural practices" (Oxley and Morris 2013:311 cited in Pashby, da Costa, Stein and Andreotti 2020: 152)? Taken further, the self is involved in a reflection of cultural practices, ethical values and their origins. Whilst mobilising an ethical perspective to promote cultural awareness in the world, there also needs to be an element of self-reflection as to the origins of that ethical perspective - in a sense an introspection before mobilisation.

The problem is that often rather than collective sense of solidarity, GCE can often become embroiled in discussions around competences, economic mobility and 'saviourism' for global leadership that distort liberal approaches away from the common good. As a result, such concerns have been discussed in other critical conceptions of global citizenship.

Critical Global Citizenship Education

The critical positioning on global citizenship often disputes the approaches of the neoliberal and liberal understandings; critical approaches to GCE say instead, that neoliberal and liberal approaches are too politically neutral and fail to recognise issues of complicity and the recognition and participation of different groups (Pashby 2019; Stein 2015; Andreotti 2006). Critical understandings of GCE instead positions itself by exploring how structures of power, wealth and knowledge work to reify the dominance of some whilst exploiting others (Stein 2015). To explore this more, one can return to the assertions of Kant.

Indeed, more recent policy - the European Declaration on Global Education to 2050 has called for the understanding of colonialism and its continued legacies in GCE (Global Education Network Europe, 2022). The policy specifically calls for teachers in Europe to consider oppression and how it could be connected to current global issues. However, as da Costa, Hanley and Sant (2024) argue, one can remain in a position of reinforcing Western dominance whilst still objectifying the "other" as they become something to learn about

rather than really engage with (Stein 2015).This is where critical approaches to GCE become helpful.

Critics, propose that Kant must be contextualised writing at a time of conflict during the Enlightenment – he, in fact, used racialised logics that were "Eurocentric provincialism camouflaged as Universalist Cosmopolitanism and sold to the rest of the world as an imperial design" (Grosfoguel 2012: 91 cited in Stein 2015:246). Instead, Rizvi (2009) explores how critical iterations of GCE seek to disrupt and resist the reproduction of existing violent patterns of relation in order to "develop an alternative imaginary of global connectivity" (Rizvi, 2009:266).

The following section, whilst not exhaustive, covers some of the key areas in more critical GCE literature related to the current study. It finds a sense of commonality through self-reflective processes for social justice but also a complexity that presents both challenges and opportunities for empirical research in the field of GCE.

Drawing on Dobson (2006) and Spivak (2004), Andreotti was key theorist in exploring critical forms of GCE in depth. As stated above, Andreotti (2014) argues that if one does not reconsider global citizenship, there is a risk of promoting a 'civilising mission' that sees the 'Other' as communities to be saved via charity rather than with the equal respect different communities' warrant. Looking specifically at the work of Dobson (2006), Andreotti explores how the assumptions of progress and universal moral values proposed by liberal-humanist interpretations of GCE are the key issue – instead, discourse should be reframed around justice.

Dobson (2006) argues that beyond enhancing interconnectedness and transnational communities, globalisation has also entrenched inequality. Moreover, the global project itself and the accompanying opportunities like travel, technology and access to other approaches is only open to some; globalisation is an entirely uneven project (Dobson 2006 cited in Andreotti 2006). As such, other elements of GCE based in shared humanity simply do not consider the differential impacts neoliberal globalisation has had.

Drawing on a wide range of narratives from the likes of Escobar and Said, Dobson argues that globalisation consists of the 'globalisers' and the 'globalised' (Dobson 2006; Andreotti

2014). Also drawing on the work of Nolan, Zhang and Liu (2007), one could assert that the relationship between the global 'North' and global 'South', broadly, has continued to be exploitative through supply chain dominance and the compression of industry into a few dominant TNCs. As Nolan, Zhang and Liu (2007) explicate, there has been a kind of 'cascade effect' where power through merger and acquisition has meant that firms in the developing world are either subsumed into wider supply chains owned by companies in the global 'North' or entirely cut out. Coupled with dominance of technology and transport in the global 'North,' Dobson (2006) argues the result of globalisation is a one-way "transfusion rather than diffusion" (Dobson cited in Andreotti 2014: 25) of information. Given only a relative few have the social mobility to act globally, those people that do, are left projecting their vision and values as global when, in fact, these values are grounded in a national and local experience.

A good example of this would be in the development initiatives of the Bretton Woods groups and wider charities. Drawing again on Development Studies theorists (see Sen 1999; Chang 2002), Dobson (2006) explores how Development is often from the vision of the 'Globalisers' rather than based on need – which, in many cases, then results in worse outcomes without acknowledging the global 'North's' role creating unequal dynamics in the first place. Andreotti (2014) looks to debt relief and the Structural Adjustment Programmes for this – as does Spivak (1988). Andreotti (2014) explains that the notion of debt relief in the developing world suggests an acceptance of the role the global 'North' has played in entrenching poverty, yet acknowledgment of complicity in the economic system, has not translated into campaigns for change. Thus, what appears to be a form of GCE positioned in shared values, debt relief and charity simply reproduces unequal relationships of power, increasing vulnerability whilst also not acknowledging the role of the global 'North' in producing these imbalances from the outset.

Andreotti also draws on Spivak – in line with Said, Bhabha and Fanon – arguing that lack of criticality and ahistorical thinking not only affirms existing power structures but can also affect perception of "self and legitimises cultural supremacy" (ibid 2014: 26). As Chang (2002) explores, many of the global 'North' economies and their development initiatives fail to acknowledge their own imperial history and trajectory of development, instead,

projecting more contemporary ideology like neoliberal economics onto the developing world. Spivak (1988) does the same, suggesting a disavowal of history has occurred which fails to acknowledge how the global 'North' has come to dominate the world. Drawing from Spivak, Andreotti (2014: 25) calls the process a "sanctioned ignorance of the role of colonialism". Globally, ahistorical thinking has, as Spivak (1988) explores, led to policies like the structural adjustment programmes (SAPs) and neoliberal free trade (Friedman 2005) that enhance the dominance of the global 'North' by asking the global 'South' to buy into their ideologies both socially and structurally.

Andreotti (2014:25) develops Spivak's (1988) argument further to suggest that such "sanctioned ignorance" masks the reality of global relationships and the complicity which continues to perpetuate unequal relationships; instead, policies and approaches by institutions like the IMF have, predominantly, resulted in placing the responsibility for poverty in the global 'South' and justified development projects as a kind of 'civilising mission' (Andreotti 2014:26).

Again, drawing on Development and Post-Development theorists in Edward Said, Homi Bhabha and Frantz Fanon, Spivak (1988) explains how colonialism and, today, post-colonial relationships have reasserted a kind of moral superiority and inferiority, respectively. Spivak (2003) says, people in the global 'North' then embody a positioning that they have a responsibility to 'help' the global 'South' and that "people from other parts of the world are not fully global" (Spivak, 2003: 622 cited in Andreotti 2014: 26).

In Education practices then, the idea of a 'common history' that centralises the contributions of the global 'North' to Sciences, Maths and the Arts, both devalues the contributions made elsewhere often rendering them 'beliefs' rather than knowledge, but also fails to acknowledge the historical processes that led to universalisation of knowledge originating in Europe and USA. Josephine Quinn traces this history in her 2024 book on *How the World made the West* (Quinn 2024). Andreotti (2014), draws on work from Spivak (1988, 2003), exemplifying the idea of common history and shared values as very much present in the English Education System; whilst different cultures are now more present in policy, they remain entrenched in 'traditions' and 'beliefs' whilst the 'West' is based on 'knowledge'

which is presented as universal. Andreotti (2014:25) suggests work on the Global Dimension in England is rooted in the idea that that "different cultures only have 'traditions, beliefs and values' while the 'West' has (knowledge and even constructs knowledge about these cultures."

Moving forward then, Andreotti (2006, 2014) draws on Spivak (2004) to suggest that critical connections to GCE must emphasise an 'unlearning' process and 'learning to learn from below'. Specifically, critical approaches to GCE should address notions of power relations, the voice of others and the complicity that has perpetuated dominance of the global 'North' through neoliberal economic policy. Andreotti (2006, 2014) calls this the development of critical literacy.

Critical Literacy

For Andreotti (2006, 2014), critical literacy is grounded in the understanding that all knowledge is partial and incomplete – knowledge is, instead, constructed, and cultural, based in experience. As such, whilst we have a personal sense of knowledge, we lack knowledge from other cultures and contexts. Andreotti (2006, 2014) argues, that to expand one's knowledge, one must engage with our own frameworks of understanding as well as others to transform those perspectives; Andreotti phrases this as thinking otherwise (Andreotti 2014; Andreotti and de Souza (2008a)

The focus for children is an analysis of our own assumptions and collective social conscious in relation to 'freedoms,' 'rights' and 'values' that are so fundamental to the cosmopolitan construction of GCE. Criticality for Andreotti (2006, 2014), then, is less about assessing whether an issue is 'right' or 'wrong', true, or false but, rather, about understanding the underlying assumptions that lead people to the conclusion that something is true or false. Critical literacy is about being a space for self-reflection of a person's truths, skills development and then reflexivity based in wider understandings of power, language and social order. Andreotti (2014) suggests that individuals, instead, engage with questions like: how do I come to think this? What is the impact of this assumption in local and global contexts and what does it say about existing social structures, power, and labour?

The approach of critical literacy, unlike 'soft' GCE, is not to assert one understanding of development or the way forward through international institutions, but through empowering individuals to critically reflect and then act in the way they feel most appropriate. The focus for educators, is to create spaces of reflection and critical thinking in a more historically grounded way (Andreotti 2014).

Through exposure to different cultures and examination of social order and power, critical literacy considers individual responsibility primarily via social change (Andreotti cited in Akkari and Maleq 2019; Aktas et al. 2017).

In terms of practicality, de Souza and Andreotti presented the *Through Others Eyes Initiative* which provided a framework for teachers across the world (de Souza and Andreotti 2009). This model values several areas:

1. 'Learning to unlearn' by studying socio-historical processes and the construction of cultures and identity.
2. Learning to listen – scrutinise one's own positionality and how this affects world view.
3. Learning to learn – engaging with new perspectives such that conflict is understood as a productive component of learning.
4. Learning to react out – engaging with accountability in an intercultural space with regards to power dynamics

<div align="center">Adapted from Andreotti (2008, 2012, 2014) and Marshall (2011)</div>

Critical GCE as a broad theme has also been explored by others beyond Andreotti. Whilst acknowledging the plethora of approaches under this broader theme, this paper focuses on three more of specific relevance to the current research: Oxley and Morris (2013), Shultz (2007) and Stein (2015) because of their complexities.

Equally drawing on post-development theorists like Escobar (Said 1978; Spivak 1988), Oxley and Morris' (2013) discussion of GCE covers criticality across several different approaches. Table 2 is an adaptation of these approaches (adapted from Oxley and Morris 2013).

Cosmopolitan Global Citizenship Education	Advocacy Global Citizenship Education

Political global citizenship focusing on changing relations between state and individual	Social global citizenship focuses on civil society and people's voice
Moral global citizenship which focuses on human rights and empathy	Critical global citizenship that considers inequality and oppression, critiquing the role current power relations and economic agendas play
Economic global citizenship which focuses on power relations, forms of capital, work force and international development	Environmental global citizenship – advocates for environmental sustainability, changing negative impacts of humanity
Cultural global citizenship – emphasises symbols and cultural structures that divide	Spiritual global citizenship – connections based in spirituality and religion

Table 2: Types of GCE adapted from Oxley and Morris (2013)

Looking at the model above, Oxley and Morris (2013) place critical global citizenship as a sub-category under Advocacy GCE which covers social, environmental, and spiritual global citizenship that de-centres singular perspectives of the world. Critical understandings in the model emphasise the deconstruction of existing global structures and a pragmatism towards social transformation (Dei 2008 cited in Oxley and Morris 2013; Pashby et al 2020). Oxley and Morris (2013) explore how the critical form of GCE is morally relativist, questioning existing socio-economic structures through lenses on power. Oxley and Morris (2013) appear to perceive critical approaches to GCE as having a kind of moral relativism; Pashby et al (2020) explicate this form of critical GCE as less forceful than the work of Andreotti (2006, 2014) which explores not just moral relativism but the actual dismantling of and re-thinking about existing economic structures.

Equally, it is notable that critical GCE is positioned by Oxley and Morris (2013) as a subset of advocacy and social GC. Oxley and Morris (2013) describe advocacy GCE as connected to, "transnational activism, including 'capitalist, institutional, cosmopolitan universalism and localised, grass-roots post-colonial relativism" (ibid: 311 cited in Pashby et al 2020). As such, it seems there is a tension between more radical forms of critical GCE and Oxley and Morris (2013). By connecting critical GCE to Advocacy, there is a link to working with civil society organisations, NGOs and international organisations as a way to enhance representation of global majority communities and human rights (see Abdi and Shultz 2008). In taking a more

pragmatic approach to the critical GCE, Pashby et al (2020) explore how Oxley and Morris' (2013) model could represent a 'liberal-critical' and even 'liberal-neoliberal-critical' connection. This interaction is explored in more detail later.

Shultz's (2007) approach offers another approach to critical GCE by distinguishing between Radical GCE and Transformational GCE. Much like the approach taken by Andreotti (2014), Shultz (2007) explores radical GCE as a positioning of challenge to existing economic structures. International institutions like the IMF (International Monetary Fund) and World Bank are, in this approach, questionable because they reinforce 'Western' hegemony (Shultz 2007). The role of radical GCE then, is to assess international institutions and perceived solidarity from a framing of criticality. Instead, Shultz (2007) explores – solidarity across local, national, and international scales is generated through the breaking down of these "global structures of oppression" (Shultz 2007: 253) through demanding change in these institutions.

Shultz (2007), however, suggests that critical approaches to GCE can also be transformationalist. Shultz (2007) returns to the division of the global 'North' and global 'South' as a starting point. Beyond a more traditional binary of modern/colonial assertions that geographically split the world in two, Shultz (2007) explains how globalisation has led to success for individuals in the global 'south' that are part of the compressed supply chains explored by Nolan (2009) and connected marginalised groups across the world. Whilst Shultz (2007) acknowledges that neoliberal globalisation has perpetuated inequality and embedded the dominance of economic models of free trade and competition, it has also resulted in complex and dynamic relationships worthy of exploration.

In Shultz's approach, global citizens build relationships through connecting to different communities and engaging with others in social justice practices (Shultz 2007). Shultz (2007) stressed the importance of dialogue between groups and spaces of discussion that can then be used productively in the pursuit to eradicate poverty and enhance opportunities for marginalised groups around the world. In Transformational GCE, the global citizen is a "companion, accompanying the other on a journey to find just and compassionate responses to injustice" (Shultz 2007: 256). Transformational GCE differs from other forms of

critical GCE because, it involves working with civil society and a common sense of humanity and shared concerns within the global majority as a way to build authentic challenges to oppression. Again, the Transformational approach to GCE hints towards an overlap between 'liberal-critical GCE' rather than a tension between them.

Finally, Stein (2015) presents the Anti-oppressive approach to GCE. Whilst similar to other forms of critical GCE there is nuance in this positioning around complicity in the global economic system. Stein (2015) explores how the anti-oppressive global citizen also seeks to challenge and disrupt dominance of the global 'North' by understanding flows of power. The anti-oppressive GCE, like the other approaches, is rooted in the idea that GCE should resist the reproduction of dominance through "neoliberal globalisation and aim to develop an alternative imaginary of global connectivity" (Rizvi (2009:266 cited in Stein 2015: 247). However, Stein (2015) explores how, often, approaches to anti-oppression and criticality are predicated on the assumption that people engaged in them are aware of their role in perpetuating current economic systems and indeed, their complicity in the process. Drawing on Hooftd (2012), Stein (2015) identifies, there can be an inadvertent assertion of innocence or, indeed, heroism in the anti-oppressive approach that does not address complicity in the system in the way that other critical approaches might require (Andreotti 2006, 2014). Instead, the anti-oppressive approach can exist without individuals questioning their own assumptions and not undergoing the process of self-reflection that other forms of critical GCE require (Stein 2015).

Combined, the different forms of critical GCE identified, represent both tensions within the broad category of critical GCE and complexities that mean it is multifaceted. Equally, I would argue a level of connectivity between the different positionalities both within critical GCE and between other forms of global citizenship. Within critical GCE, aside from the anti-oppressive GCE explored by Stein (2015), there does appear to be a connection to self-reflection and reflexivity. The different approaches within critical GCE, require individuals to understand their own lens and preconceptions as unfinished and connected to a wider framework of coloniality. By reflecting on one's own knowledge framework as well as understanding complicity in replicating the current global order, there is then the opportunity for action and transformation. Equally, though, some of the approaches

position that transformation as working with existing civil society organisations and therefore a potential overlap and connection to 'liberal-humanist' understandings of GCE. The next section addresses these connections in more detail drawing on the recent work of Pashby et al (2020).

Connections and interactions in GCE
Pashby et al (2020) recently explored the complexities and connections between the various strands of GCE. The paper, along with a subsequent one by Pashby and de Costa (2021), explored how, despite appearing different, in many cases the strands of GCE are more connected than they may appear. This section looks at some of those points of intersection and how these connections add another dimension to empirical work in GCE.

Returning to Oxley and Morris (2013) model of GCE and, specifically, advocacy social global citizenship and cosmopolitan cultural global citizenship, Pashby et al (2020) explain a potential crossover with critical GCE and Cosmopolitanism. These two forms of GCE, they suggest, cover representation of groups in society, becoming more relativist in ones thinking and therefore bringing different perspectives more to the forefront of social discussion and policy. Social GCE covers both the relativist and the more radical approaches to the goal of representation (Oxley and Morris 2013). However, in promoting a more relativist stance and connection with human rights principles, Pashby et al (2020) identify what they call a 'liberal-critical interface'. Advocacy Social GCE, whilst aiming to increase visibility of different communities does so through engagement and within a framework of human rights which is more liberal. More so, Oxley and Morris (2013) explore advocacy social GCE as "related to transnationalism activism including capitalist, institutional, cosmopolitan universalism" (ibid: 311 cited in Pashby et al 2020: 154). Again, by connecting to existing capitalist networks, Pashby et al (2020) extend their analysis to suggest a 'liberal-neoliberal-critical interface'.

Equally, Oxley and Morris (2013) place critical GCE as a sub-group under the Advocacy GCE category. Whilst grounded in much of the literature discussed, Oxley and Morris (2013) then relate Critical GCE to a pragmatic approach for change by using human rights policy for positivity. Again, the approach is moral relativism rather than radical change to power

dynamics and economic systems. Pashby et al (2020) call this a 'liberal-critical interface' that is slightly different from other discussions in the critical GCE field.

Andreotti (2014) identifies another connection between liberal and critical approaches to GCE as Critical Humanism. Critical Humanism expands the idea of inclusion and representation of marginalised groups into human progress efforts – for example, areas covering sexism, classism, racism, and heteronormativity that can all be connected to critical theories. Critical Humanism also questions neoliberal models of economic growth as the basis for development and the role of transnational corporations in that process instead focusing on the importance of "consensual human progress" (Andreotti cited in Pashby et al 2020: 155). Arguably, this is not dissimilar to Rizvi's (2009) paper on Critical Cosmopolitanism.

Rizvi (2009) sees a place for cosmopolitanism in constructions of GCE. Whilst acknowledging its issues, Rizvi argues for a kind of critical cosmopolitanism that still values a universal sense of humanity beyond the state but also examines structures of power and the political dimensions of global society. Rizvi states that this form of GCE is:

> "Not concerned so much with imparting knowledge and developing attitudes and skills for understanding other cultures per se – but help students examine the ways in which global processes are creating conditions of economic and cultural exchange that are transforming our identities and communities" (ibid 2009: 265-266)

The argument is to use cosmopolitanism as a grounding for GCE and work towards greater clarity of understanding and one's own situatedness. In essence, it aims to be less negative and more empirically applicable in schools.

Rizvi (2009) proposes placing the global empirically and normatively to develop epistemic transnationalism shapes our communities and how they should work ethically with those global changes to, at the very least, not further social inequities and be more inclusive in representations of different communities. In this sense, students critically explore - via open-ended exercise – notions of cross-cultural relationalities and become reflexive of epistemic assumptions (ibid 2009). On a critical level, students engage with representation

issues and theories of oppression but then place that within a common humanity framework for consensual progress – in much a similar way to Andreotti's (2014) work on Critical Humanism.

Finally, returning to Shultz's (2007) work on radical and transformational GCE, Pashby et al (2020) find another interface. As discussed, Shultz (2007) distinguishes between radical GCE and transformational GCE. Transformational GCE, according to Pashby and de Costa (2021) represents an interface between critical and liberal approaches to GCE. In its positivity and approach to globalisation as a dynamic process that facilitates both inclusion and exclusion, transformational GCE works with rather than against the existing global order (Shultz 2007). Pashby et al. (2020) argue the positioning of transformational GCE is different from the moral relativism of Oxley and Morris (2013) on human rights or the Radical position that aims to change existing structures, transformational GCE uses globalisation to create spaces of connection between marginalised groups. Shultz (2007: 257) says, transformational GCE gives freedom to access and discuss power relations "in localised contexts as spaces through the connection of transnational networks and coalitions of solidarity' (cited in Pashby et al. 2020: 156).

In identifying some of these interactions, I argue the value in complexity and understanding how the different approaches are not mutually exclusive of one another. Instead, many overlap and intersect in their complexity such that GCE remains an elusive but essential way of approaching the world. Empirically, therefore, to focus on one alone would be to miss these complexities and the richness of data that practices in schools may offer. As such, the focus for this study is to embrace that complexity and search for both the different GCE approaches but also their interactions to build a more representative picture of GCE practices in Secondary Schools in England.

Moving beyond Liberal, Neoliberal and Critical GCE
The final section on theoretical approaches to GCE looks at more recent work around positioning within GCE. It draws on the work of Stein and Andreotti (2021) and Pashby et al. (2020) around framing GCE beyond epistemic differences and looking further to ontological

assumptions within the field and, specifically, taking a decolonial approach to understanding global citizenship. A useful place to begin, here, is with the work of Stein (2015) and the *Incommensurable Position.*

As discussed, Stein's (2015) paper identifies an issue within Anti-Oppression GCE. Stein (2015) examines how anti-oppressive GCE can often lead to both a sense of heroism predicated on innocence and a failure to recognise one's complicity within existing economic frameworks or their motivations for change. Drawing on Andreotti, Stein, Ahenakew and Hunt (2015), Stein (2015) explains that encouraging change without assessing one's complicity or positioning is both anthropocentric, logocentric, and egocentric and inadvertently reproduces "coercive relationships and recreates the colonial violence that this position critiques" (Andreotti, Stein, Ahenakew, & Hunt (2015) cited in Stein (2015:247). The issue is that anti-oppressive and critical forms of GCE are predicated on knowing and having a specific desired outcome – to change the current economic system and include the voices of marginalised groups (Stein 2015). Drawing on Nayar (2013), Stein (2015) explores if universalism is the foundation of 'Western' onto-epistemology, then critical approaches to GCE must not simply become an attempt to include marginalised voices. In focusing on inclusion of voice alone, one simply maintains existing boundaries but also maintains power structures where inclusion can only be granted by the dominant group and the 'other' must adapt to be included. Stein (2015: 248) proffers an approach that denaturalises "colonial assumptions about universal humanity and recognises different modes of existence as both co-eval and indispensable, rather than as indications of lack, inferiority, or insufficient evolution". Rather than lead from a specific desired outcome, instead, the suggestion is to sit in uncomfortable spaces of opportunity and co-creation for all voices both anthropogenic and natural. Stein (2015) exemplifies this positioning by referring to the *Through Other Eyes (TOE)* project (Andreotti 2014).

Rather than push students towards a specific outcome, the TOE project exposed students in the study to Indigenous perspectives and asked them to participate in re-arranging "their attachments to absolute certainties and desires for consensus intelligibility and discursive completeness" (Andreotti: 143 cited in Stein 2015: 247). As Stein (2015) explains, the project was less about self-reflection, finding connection or about understanding others but

more focused on questioning the existing modern framework and questioning possibilities for change that may have been previously inaccessible.

Pashby et al. (2020) also explore the epistemic assumptions of different GCE approaches and proffer the potential for ontological changes and repositioning of GCE. Pashby et al (2020), explain how, often, GCE is centred on the development of individuals – through self-reflective processes – and resultant change in behaviour. Change in approach and behaviour, however, is predicated on a single direction of social change and an assumption that everyone must work towards a similar vision of change. However, Pashby et al. (2020) concur with Stein (2015) that by assuming a single vision for justice and change asking only epistemological questions, GCE may conflate understandings with critical GCE that aims to reform the system not move beyond it entirely. If one remains constricted by a modern/colonial binary one denies the duality of human existence and the entangled nature of the modern economic system and colonialism. Like Stein (2015), Pashby et al. (2020:160), offer the idea of sitting in the "limits of a modern/colonial imaginary that is inherently violent and unsustainable" by asking questions about limited thinking; questions like – how is the existing modern/colonial ontology restrictive? How can we reimagine the world beyond existing power dynamics both across human society and nature? How can students engage with understanding that they are part of both global problems and solutions? (Pashby et al. 2020).

By applying decolonial thinking to GCE away from a 'coloniser' or 'colonised' mentality, contemporary academic discussions explore the possibility of more nuance away from the acceptance of existing economic systems and universal human rights (Andreotti 2011; Sund and Pashby 2020; Pashby et al. 2020). Sund and Pashby (2020), for instance, draw on decolonial thinking when exploring sustainable education and environmental GCE around the Anthropocene and decentring humans. Similarly, Pashby and Sund (2022) and Andreotti et al (2018) offer the HEADSUP tool as an option for critical thinking around global issues and coloniality adapted from Andreotti (2012), which is explained in the following.

Table 3 on the HEADSUP tool. Source: Ferguson and Brett (2023) adapted from Pashby and Sund (2022):

Hegemony	Justifying superiority and supporting domination which can be unseen
Ethnocentrism	Projecting one view as universal and unknowingly being limited by one's worldview
Ahistoricism	Forgetting historical legacies and complicities
Depoliticisation	Disregarding power inequalities and ideological roots of analyses and proposals
Salvationism	Framing help as the burden of the fittest
Un-complicated solutions	Offering easy and simple solutions that do not require systemic change
Paternalism	Seeking affirmation of authority/superiority through the provision of help and the infantilisation of recipients, including putting young people in the Global North in the position to solve the problems of others

Adapted from *Teaching for sustainable development through ethical global issues pedagogy: A resource for secondary teachers* (p. 3) by Pashby and Sund (2022), Manchester Metropolitan University.

Pashby and Sund (2022) use HEADSUP to explain how oppressive actions are often reproduced through global learning opening, instead, discourse around development. It is a starting point for teachers to discuss global issues rather than being a 'checklist for transformation' (Pashby and Sund, 2022: 69 cited in Ferguson and Brett 2023). Ferguson and Brett (2023) explain how critically discussing and engaging with global issues from an ethical decolonial standpoint, adds nuance and opportunity for teachers to dismantle unequal structures of dominance. The idea is to think beyond colonialism or reinscribing a sense of paternalism and heroism that does nothing to move beyond frameworks of the 'colonised' and 'coloniser' (Andreotti et al. 2018). The empirical studies section of the literature review covers Ferguson and Brett's (2023) research on using HEADSUP in Finnish, Dutch and Australian Schools delivering the IB programme.

Stein and Andreotti (2021) also discuss taking a more decolonial approach to GCE. Whilst speaking from a higher education context, their assessments are relevant, nonetheless. Once again, this approach to GCE seeks to decentre learners beyond "redemptive narratives; heroic leadership; formulaic solutions; canonical authority; hope for continuity" (Stein and Andreotti 2021:1 cited in Bosio 2023). The idea is to transcend complicity to understand underlying frameworks and move beyond them. Stein and Andreotti (2021) explain that thinking 'o*therwise'* is not about creating another alternative GCE but about creating space to question and think deeper so that the complexities of GCE become more explicit than implicit. As Pashby et al. (2020) identify, the focus for further debate in GCE is to consider how colonialism not only shapes ways of doing and knowing epistemologically

but also ways of being ontologically (Andreotti et al. 2018; Stein 2019). For guidance, Stein and Andreotti (2021) return to the work of Spivak (2004); specifically, Spivak's work on education as an "uncoercive rearrangement of desires" (Spivak 2004 cited in Stein and Andreotti 2021:2). In this approach, whilst teachers do play a pivotal role in denaturalising harmful actions at the local and global level, it is not their responsibility to whether or how this is achieved. Instead, teachers' roles work to create spaces of possibilities for discussion and skills to navigate global challenges in ways they may not have previously perceived. Stein and Andreotti (2021) proffer two potential frameworks to accessing deeper thought around global challenges.

First is the Broccoli Seed Agreement. Whilst writing in the context of higher education institutions, Stein and Andreotti (2021) explore how deeper ontological discussions around global issues often occur beyond formal classrooms and, instead, during workshops or community groups through nonprofit organisations. The discursive approach, though, could be applied elsewhere – particularly through pastoral work in Secondary School settings. The Broccoli Seed Agreement offered by Stein and Andreotti (2021) is a metaphor for the work to be done. Instead of offering comfortable responses and actions to global problems that do nothing to unsettle current global systems (candy), Stein and Andreotti (2021) ask students to engage with uncomfortable reality and take responsibility for their learning and perspectives (broccoli) – observing their inner thoughts and responses, push themselves beyond their comfort and not look to others for approval. Stein and Andreotti (2021) explore how, in their workshops, they ask people to consider the hidden costs of modern lifestyles from inequality to exploitative relationships and environmental destruction and, thus, the causes of global injustice. The idea, for Stein and Andreotti (2021) is to connect back to a self-reflexive form of critical literacy and begin to understand the interconnectivity of global successes and challenges. In accessing and acknowledging the co-existence and enmeshed nature of the global 'North' and 'South' and human and natural networks, one can decide on a path forward and open new ways of being.

One tool Andreotti et al. (2018) explore when rethinking ways of being is the Earth CARE Global Justice Framework. In a similar way to later work by Sund and Pashby (2020), the framework considers the relationship between anthropogenic systems and nature. The

Earth CARE framework combines different approaches to justice that encourage individuals to engage in alternative futures (Santos 2007 cited in Andreotti et al. 2018). The framework offers a way of navigating towards deeper thought by combining practical ways of doing together, building trusting relationships, analysing oneself, socio-economic and environmental systems, and dismantling "walls" (Andreotti et al 2018:34) between cultures and their knowledges. This can include understanding alternative economic frameworks, understandings of ecological systems and grassroots resistance emphasising value in the knowledges of Indigenous, global majority and women – particularly in the "reduction of gender, racial and sexual violence and of vulnerabilities produced by intersectional systems of oppression (Andreotti et al. 2018: 35). Stein and Andreotti (2021) explain how the metaphor of mushrooms (figure 5) represents the ecological and economic elements to transformation and, underneath, the mycelium that connect them and enable their growth – specifically, cognitive, affective, and relational frameworks of learning needed for socio-economic and environmental justice.
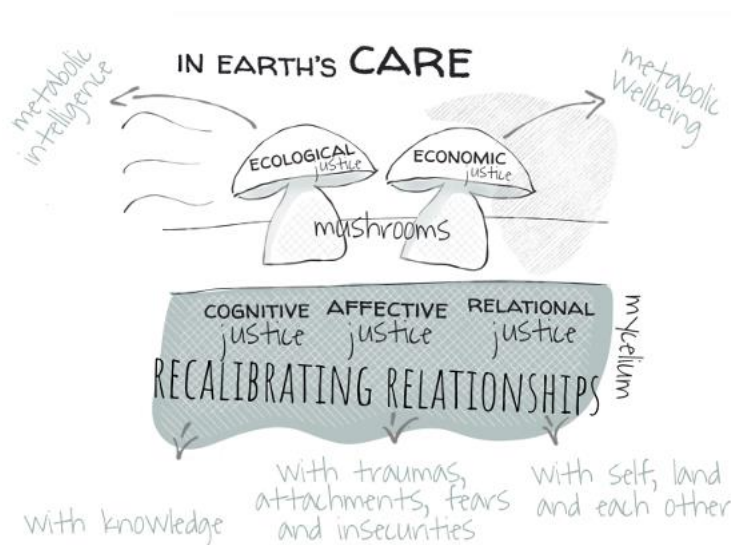
Figure 3: In Earth's CARE Framework. Source Stein and Andreotti (2021)

In connecting ecological and economic justice into a single environment. Stein and Andreotti (2021) acknowledge their connection. In order to achieve a sense of cognitive justice, the aim is to recognise the value and limitations of all knowledge systems and reflect on oneself and how those existing knowledge structures are harmful (Stein and Andreotti 2021).

Affective justice involves working together and reflecting on how fear and fragility has created the current socio-economic systems and sit, as with the Broccoli Seed Agreement, in discomfort that acknowledges complicity. Finally, relational justice involves developing reciprocal relationships between other communities, oneself, and the earth to the benefit of all. Taken together, the Earth CARE global justice framework and Broccoli Seed Agreement seem to offer an alternative way of thinking about the world that does not offer solutions but a path to thinking differently about the world and therefore the possibility of alternative solutions that do not serve to reinforce the modern/colonial modernity (Stein and Andreotti 2021) advertently or inadvertently.

Peterson (2020) also critiques the forms of critical GCE developed by Andreotti (2006) advocating, instead, for the 'globally orientated citizen'. First, Peterson (2020) questions issues of 'soft' and 'critical' citizenship on the basis of care and, specifically, an implied separation of the moral from the political. Peterson (2020) suggests that Andreotti's approach places 'soft' global citizenship within a framework of common humanity and care/responsibility for others whilst 'critical' GCE is seen as more political and centred in responsibility 'towards' others via seeking social justice. Drawing on his own work (Peterson 2016, 2017), an argument is posited that trying to distinguish between the moral and political is problematic because cultivation of moral ideas like tolerance and appreciation of others is fundamental to addressing political injustice. As Peterson (2020: 32) argues, "challenging political injustices requires recognition of an essential, ongoing and mutual moral relationship with others including others elsewhere in the world". Indeed, Peterson says, success when it comes to social injustice and power narratives is more fruitful and longstanding when based in compassion and open-mindedness than in simply recognising complicity in historical harm or placing blame (ibid). Peterson (2020) posits that students can develop criticality around global issues via solidarity and empathy without the need to explore complicity. Indeed, Peterson states "notions of complicity and blame provide an insecure pedagogical foundation to act as the guiding basis for teaching children to care for humanity and to value their human relationships. Connected with this latter point, we must also be mindful that deep levels of criticality might not always be appropriate and possible in schools, even where educators are aware of the debates involved" (Peterson 2020: 33).

This is an interesting statement in the context of schools and the teachers involved in developing different forms of GCE- it questions what the aim of GCE should be and whether GCE needs an understanding of historical complicity to be successful in addressing social injustices.

Peterson (2020) also explores how Andreotti's (2006) approach – along with other approaches – does not reflect the complexity of GCE practices in school. Peterson (2020) reflects that teachers and students are active agents in understanding and enacting GCE which is far more complex than implementing pre-determined typologies of GCE. Drawing on Myers (2016), Peterson (2020) explores how the focus is not about what to include in GCE and what pedagogies constitute GCE but in how knowledge, identity and action operate in practice and how they overlap in interesting ways interpreted differently by everyone as they learn. As such, a growing area of work looks towards the 'global oriented citizen' whose interpretations of GCE intersect with many different types (Peterson 2020; Veugelers 2020); individuals who value human interaction, share a commitment to reciprocity and balanced power dynamics via appreciation of all lived experiences. In this form, individuals are both morally and politically connected with a focus on specific attributes that simultaneously motivate students to act for social justice. Peterson (2020:44) identifies these values as "compassion, open-mindedness, civility, kindness and humility". Through exposure to other perspectives and meaningful discussion, as with Rizvi (2009), students become more critically aware of themselves and others which leads to reflection and change whilst always being grounded in those ideas of compassion, open-mindedness and kindness.

Drawing GCE typologies together

Taken together, all these different approaches to GCE, offer a challenge for empirical research but also opportunities; schools may present multiple different approaches to global citizenship education, concurrently, in unique, rich and overlapping ways that deserve in-depth observation. Though nuanced, there are commonalities across the types around creating spaces of discussion and self-reflection for individuals and then at national and international structural levels

on the political and economic systems that underpin societies. From the Cosmopolitanism of Nussbaum (2002) and the importance of self-reflection for individuals and being open to other knowledges whilst grounded in common humanity, to critical forms of GCE that proffer forms of self-reflection at the structural level for social justice.

In more recent work (Pashby et al. (2020), Pashby and Sund (2022), Stein and Andreotti (2021)), much has been made of moving beyond categorisation of GCE typologies or problematising each type towards understanding a more nuanced approach to global citizenship education. To varying degrees, these new discussions in GCE have begun to consider the interfaces between types in practice, moving beyond binary framings that separate 'us' and 'them' and complicity.

The focus for all forms of GCE is in dialogue to begin the process of self-awareness, identifying values and rectifying social injustices. As such, this thesis recognises and acknowledges the value in embracing those liminal spaces between types and resists the urge to categorise schools into singular interpretations or enactments of GCE. The thesis intentionally does not seek to create a new definition of GCE on the basis that a plethora of typologies and ideas already exist that cover many aspects of GCE. Arguably, a new definition is not needed but, rather, empirical work that recognises and accepts the co-existence and complexities of GCE in practice as well as the potential to create new forms of GCE led by students and staff as active meaning makers.

Empirical Studies in GCE

The final section of the literature review explores empirical research in GCE. The studies identified relate specifically to secondary education – covering 11–18-year-olds. The selected studies cover both in country examination and comparative work across countries

with the intended focus of understanding different forms of GCE in action along with potential tensions and interactions observed in schools.

Woods and Kong (2020) explore how GCE is often undermined in three international schools based in Suzhou, China. The study draws on 76 interviews across students, parents – predominantly expatriates - and staff in the different school settings both within formal settings as well as informal arenas in school and beyond school. Woods and Kong (2020) found an inclusion-focused approach was used by the international schools for the wider community. In this sense, it drew on notions of common humanity and universalised value in the ilk of liberal-humanist approaches to GCE. However, Woods and Kong (2020) found informal spaces did not reflect this liberal-humanist approach and, instead, informal spaces were dominated by students gathering based on ethnic identities. As a result, Woods and Kong (2020) argued that everyday practices of students and teachers served to undermine the assumption of inclusion and create a tension between ideology and reality. Indeed, they argue GCE in the schools therefore became a project of assimilation in a similar way to the arguments around radical GCE (Shultz 2007). Shultz (2007) explore radical GCE which formulates global citizenship as a tool of homogenisation often in a modern/colonial imaginary. This presents opportunities for liberal-humanist understandings of GCE but also challenges around exclusion of other perspectives in a way that runs counter to other forms of GCE. It also speaks to an institutionalised acceptance of existing socio-economic order in neoliberal policy without acknowledging the reality of difference in the schools and catering to the voices of students.

Kim (2020) found a similar response when examining Geography textbooks in South Korea. Examining Geography content, Kim (2020) found themes around, modernity, discrimination and objectification specifically around normalising neoliberal economic order as accepted. In order to prepare for a competitive global society, authors engage with 'Western' geographical knowledge frameworks and power narratives (Kim 2020). Specifically, Kim (2020) looks at the topic of Development: use of language around 'developing' countries and measurements of development based in economic growth, profit and GDP (Gross Domestic Product) serves, Kim finds, to maintain an Orientalist way of dividing the world and maintain historical binaries whilst also failing to acknowledge the political and cultural-

historical connections to colonialism (Kim 2020). Kim (2020) explores how the textbooks present charity and fair trade as alternatives to economic growth as development. However, as Pashby and de Costa (2021) say, this merely forms a 'neoliberal-liberal' interface around 'common humanity' and charity whilst also acknowledging and accepting contemporary economic order around individual freedoms, competition and growth with a reduced state. Neither fair trade nor charity serve to problematise the concept of development itself or the embedded power dynamics, discrimination, 'othering' or historical political context of the idea. By universalising Geography through a narrative of GCE based in competition, profit and economic growth whilst helping others via charity, Kim (2020) finds a similar issue to Woods and Kong (2020) in that students become assimilated to a single perspective of the world.

Wang and Hoffman (2016), looking at US high school curricula, also found a similar universalising construct of GCE that served to marginalise other perspectives. Looking at two US high school curricula and resources, Wang and Hoffman (2016) found GCE was similarly predicated on universalising constructs underpinned by the development of the self. Drawing on Dill (2015) who also found GCE to reflect ideas of autonomy and individualism in US school programmes, Wang and Hoffman (2016) found that global citizenship education in US high schools was dominated by singular thinking and individualism. Wang and Hoffman (2016) explored how GCE was interpreted in a way that centres the individual and places autonomy and individual freedom/economic success as the only desired outcome. The solution, for Wang and Hoffman (2016) is for teachers and students to undergo self-reflection on global systems, content and pedagogical practices and reframe GCE in cultural and political contexts both in the USA and the world. Wang and Hoffman (2016) suggest a re-evaluation of the case studies, resources and research that teachers and students engage with in school to focus on diversity of perspective and decentring dominant narratives around competition and individualism. In a sense, Pashby and de Costa (2021) argue that Wang and Hoffman (2016) and Kim (2020) connect with Stein's (2015) anti-oppressive approach because both papers question universalism and Eurocentricity. The studies also, according to Pashby and de Costa (2021) recognise the impact of dominant approaches and the exclusion of diverse voices in the modern/colonial

imaginary. Arguably, all three studies also represent the complexity of GCE in practice with schools negotiating a liberal-human imaginary within neoliberal economic societies. Woods and Kong (2020) and Wang and Hoffman (2016) in particular, explicate the environ of schools as products of and reproducing ideologies around individual freedoms and competition alongside groundings of common humanity.

Empirical Work on Context and GCE

Other empirical research emphasises the importance of context when enacting and engaging with understandings of GCE. In a recent study of secondary schools in Northern Italy, Franch (2019) explores how GCE takes a more moral perspective.

Franch (2019) looked at constructions of GCE in northern Italy via a qualitative study of teachers across secondary schools in the region. Franch (2019) found that schools in the area had a distinctive moral dimension whilst also navigating at a need to compete in society. Explained further, Franch (2019) found that, at present, GCE in Northern Italy remains a moral option rather than an imperative despite regional policy. Looking at one school in particular, Franch (2019) found a tension between the development of intercultural language skills and a system that connected language abilities to employability whilst also existing in a province that explores the importance of moral pedagogies. Franch (2019) explains that provincial policies in Northern Italy refer to global dimensions and moral dimensions citizenship as a goal of school, however, no guidelines are provided nor is it written directly into curriculum. For the schools in the study, teachers are navigating these tensions in their practices through language learning as part of global society but also in developing 21st century skills. For this study, there appears a connection around language learning specifically – the connection to wider society and intercultural understanding alongside future employment.

The study also argues the importance of teachers in the process of connecting policy to practice. Franch (2019) found that the teachers studied valued the importance of more global approaches to citizenship and were trying to adapt their pedagogical approaches; accordingly, however, Franch (2019) found a conceptual lack of understanding when it came

to GCE itself and, as a result, the term was rarely used explicitly in practice. When prompted. Drawing on Bryan and Bracken's (2011) study of post-primary schools in Ireland, Franch (2019) explains how GCE – in whatever form – is predominantly led by teachers who want to engage rather than have to. Drawing from Rapoport's (2015b) study in Indiana, USA, Franch (2019) proffers different obstacles for teachers in the ambiguity of GCE, propensity to fall back on national citizenship education, lack of clear curricular on GCE and lack of administrative pressure to actually teach GCE in schools. Franch (2019) argues in Italy this means GCE remains stuck in a sense of 'moral optionality'.

A similar tension between policy and practice was found by Peterson, Milligan and Wood (2018) across Australia and New Zealand. The study examined teaching and learning approaches to GCE by engaging with teachers and students across Australia and New Zealand. Peterson, Milligan and Wood (2018) found that whilst placed as high priority – particularly in Australian education – there is a tension between pedagogical practice and policy that results in GCE enactments that lack clarity and consistency across schools. Indeed, whilst the Melbourne Declaration on Educational Goals for Young Australians (MCEETYA, 2008) specifically argues the importance of students becoming responsible local and global citizens by understanding global issues and via active citizenship, often it is left to individual schools and teachers to engage with GCE in practice. Peterson, Milligan and Wood (2018) explored – through interviews with students and teachers – how GCE practices moved between different forms of GCE in their discussions. Where teachers found difficulty is in enacting different forms of GCE whilst also being cognisant of curriculum pressures, resources, age of the students and their ability to develop meaningful practice. As such, in Australia, teachers struggled to navigate both the academic tensions in global citizenship education and pedagogical pressures all within the wider policy environment.

In New Zealand, Peterson, Milligan and Young (2018) found classroom practice often used GCE as an extension to existing citizenship work particularly around human rights, governmental systems and community engagement. Equally, Peterson, Milligan and Young (2018) found – as with Woods and Kong (2020) – that a singular vision of GCE around common humanity and universal human rights led to an 'othering' process that failed to explore the complexities of global systems. Moreover, Peterson, Milligan and Young (2018)

found, in many cases GCE became an arena for only those students and staff who are perceived to be more cosmopolitan in their perspectives. Students in New Zealand were engaging with universalised approaches to human rights and sustainability. However, in making GCE an addition to existing practice and reserving it only for the cosmopolitan student or teacher, one can see a connection to GCE as a tool for individual skills development for the transnational economy and an exclusionary process. Beyond a disjoint between policy intentions and pedagogical practices in Australia and New Zealand, Peterson, Milligan and Young's (2018) workplaces teachers at the centre of effective GCE practice in a similar way to Franch (2019).

In a different context, Goren, Maxwell and Yemini (2018) consider the importance both of teachers but also context when delivering different approaches to GCE. Goren and Yemini (2017b) earlier work found that a citizenship gap exists as a result of teacher choices around perceived future mobility of students and their likelihood of global engagement; some teachers simply do not think it applies to their students. Yemini and Maxwell (2018:1) explain that teachers often "promote cosmopolitanism for children to whom such dispositions are deemed most relevant to their current and anticipated future social status". In this sense, GCE ostensibly benefits the dominant social classes whilst excluding others (Goren, and Yemini 2017b) and operates as a tool for individual development whilst engaging with GCE in a cosmopolitan way. In the 2018 study based in Israel, Goren, Maxwell and Yemini (2018) examined these findings in more detail looking at different groups: 'Palestinian Arab, Jewish Secular and Jewish-religious' within Israeli schools. The findings from this research offer both opportunities for the current study but also complexities around multiple enactments with GCE in one school location suggesting a single vision of GCE is both unlikely, and, perhaps not needed.

First, Goren, Maxwell and Yemini (2018) affirm previous research around GCE and social mobility. For the Jewish secular groups, who often occupied higher socio-economic status, GCE was a tool for global futures. GCE, here, was an extension to the curriculum that enabled students to navigate global society and even, promote Israel's global status. Second, for marginalised groups – identified as the Palestinian Arab students – GCE was an alternative to national belonging in a cosmopolitan sense of common humanity and a

citizenship of the world. Goren, Maxwell and Yemini (2018) found that Palestinian Arab teachers associated GCE with both social and geographic mobility for moving abroad in a but also connection to identity and belonging to wider global community as a kind of, emancipatory, tool. This is an interesting finding because it not only reaffirms the importance of teachers in delivering GCE but also the importance of context in empirical research; in this case, that context relates to delivering GCE in a conflict zone and divided society but the same applies to the particular elements of this research in England and the identity of each school. Third, Goren, Maxwell and Yemini (2018) found an interesting connection to religion and GCE. When exploring GCE with the religious Jewish teachers, Goren, Maxwell and Yemini (2018) found a fear around GCE as a threat to collective Jewish identity; in a sense, GCE was a threat to collective identity because of a perceived idea that globalisation equates to assimilation. Goren, Maxwell and Yemini (2018) draw on other studies around religion and GCE in educational settings suggesting that religion can negatively impact efforts to teach certain values like universalism (Fontana 2016; Katzarska-Miller, Barns-ley, and Reysen 2014). Fontana (2016) for instance, looked at religious education reforms in Lebanon, Northern Ireland and Macedonia as a result of conflict. Fontana (2016) found that religious education could, potentially, be more divisive in schools and reinforce social difference. Applied to GCE, Goren, Maxwell and Yemini (2018) support this finding suggesting that the religious element in school can lead to prejudice and operate as a challenge to delivering any meaningful form of GCE. These finding counters scholarly discussions that suggest GCE and religion are not mutually exclusive but can serve to acknowledge one's own perspective, connect to wider global diasporas and support the legitimacy and appreciation of other religions (Gaudelli 2016). Goren, Maxwell and Yemini (2018) found that whilst some Jewish-religious teachers were opposed to GCE, others saw religion itself as a platform for cosmopolitanism and connect to a wider Jewish transnational community. In this sense, religion and GCE connect at the liberal-humanist level around a sense of commonality in values and perspective. For this research then, the study in Israel both highlights the continue role of teachers both facilitating and providing a challenge to GCE enactments and calls on research to explore the role of context – in this case religion – when conducting empirical research in the field.

The importance of context was also explored by Yemini (2018) in a study on a primary school in inner-city London. Yemini (2018) found a tension in the school between hyper-diversity and a cosmopolitan imaginary and a reality of conflict where teachers and parents are left to negotiate difficult issues alone. The study itself, looked at a primary school in London serving both middle-class white English families in close proximity to council houses populated by multi-generational families from Bangladesh, Somalia and Ghana. The school itself was rated 'Outstanding' by Ofsted with a particular reference to management of diversity and global citizenship education. Yemini (2018) found, though, a tension between school marketing and reality; instead, diversity and GCE was largely absent when individuals discussed the school and even more so around cosmopolitan capital. Whilst acknowledging the value of diversity and exposure to the world more generally, Yemini (2018) found that teachers felt less positive towards their students individual cultural capital and connection to global economic systems. Whilst acknowledging a liberal-humanist form of GCE, in practice, Yemini (2018) found the hyper-diversity of the school a challenge for teachers. GCE was not about being a tool for competition but rather a "buffer to underprivilege" (ibid: 283). Diversity offers access to cosmopolitan understandings of common humanity but also presents challenges for teachers when addressing complex social relationships and issues particularly in the policy context of *Fundamental British Values*. As Yemini (2018) explores teachers therefore saw GCE more as a tool to socialise non-traditional white British families with the school curricula whilst parents saw GCE as complementing the British context as part of an assimilation process. In this sense, exposure to the global was not a desire to engage but a necessity to navigate every day. For this study, Yemini's (2018) study offers a number of questions around context and enacting GCE in England. Specifically, it draws on a hyper-diverse school in London to explore how schools embrace but also negotiate changing social dynamics, equally how these schools do so in a complex policy landscape that can create more challenges around inclusive voice through promoting a singular vision of fundamental British values. The study for Yemini, represents a global/local nexus. However, I think it could also represent a 'liberal-critical' connection that the school is implicitly struggling to negotiate; whilst GCE offers a connection to cosmopolitan and diversity of students, this diversity is also forcing teachers to ask questions around voice, integration

and, potentially, power and the education system. For this research, self-reflection in this form appears to be approaching a critical connecting to GCE without explicitly referring to it in this way.

GCE and IB Contexts
The role of context in facilitating or presenting challenges for GCE has also been explored in the IB world.

Dvir et al (2018) explored the relationship between four IB schools in different locations and enactments of GCE. Covering schools in Chicago, Hong Kong, Netherlands and UAE, Dvir et al. (2018) found that despite all teaching IB, it did not lead to a singular manifestation of GCE. Instead, GCE was enacted in different ways depending upon the mission statements of schools, teachers and the context. In the study, Dvir et al. (2018) specifically looked at documents from the schools – their values, Principal's welcome and policies to explore how they connected IB with GCE and context. In the UAE schools, for instance, teachers referred to GCE as the creation of an "outstanding, multicultural learning community which empowers students to achieve their potential, become life-long learners and responsible global citizens" (Dvir et al 2018: 466). In this example, one can see echoes of GCE creating 'responsible' citizens but also a different dimension in the focus on the self and creation of 'life-long learners. Alternatively, Dvir et al (2018) found different schools in UAE more explicitly driven by individual agendas – "in the UK, IBO graduates are more likely to attend the top Universities and enter a professional programme than their counterparts graduating from National Curriculum Schools" (ibid 2018: 467). This is a particularly interesting response because it draws direct comparison between the UAE school and UK connecting students in a transnational network. It also suggests that IB operates as a social mobility tool for getting to UK – placing higher education here as almost a desired outcome for students.

In Chicago, Dvir et al. (2018) found schools used GCE to ground their demographic in a multi-ethnic approach to learning – almost in a similar way to Yemini's (2018) work in inner-city London. Here, Dvir et al. (2018) found that diversity of the student body was driving a form of GCE centred on moral responsibility and commonality to enhance cohesion in the classroom. Dvir et al. (2018)'s finding suggests a more inward-looking form of GCE. Dvir et al. (2018) explored how references to 'World Quality' were most prominent across settings

but, particularly so in Netherlands and Hong Kong - quality featured prominently on school websites (from lowest of 35.15% in Chicago schools to 54.29% in Netherlands the highest). Whilst not unique to IB, it does suggest a connection between international education, IB and agendas for social mobility or being high/top quality institutions.

Taken together, these findings suggest diversity within the IB field and reinforce the importance of context for global citizenship education. Whilst the IB does have a clear mission statement and connection to different forms of GCE, there is a dialectic between this messaging and local context (Rizvi and Lingard 2009 cited in Dvir et al. 2018). Although the IB does offer a conceptual structure, it seems that empirical work is needed to understand how that translates and creates nuances in individual settings if GCE is to become more explicit.

Hameed (2018) found similar differences in interpretations of global citizenship in a study on schools in Singapore and Australia. The school in Singapore appeared to be more focused on approaches around common humanity, democracy and empathy with other communities but lacking critical reflection on power structures. Hameed (2018) argues this could be due to the core Catholic values of the school again highlighting the role both religion can play in GCE but also the relevance of context. In the Australian school, Hameed (2018) found that GCE was developed via exchange programmes and focused on international development and individual relationships across Countries. Here students were developing skills and participating in programmes that could enhance their CVs but also connecting to notions of social responsibility and common humanity. Unlike the work of Dvir, however, Hameed found more commonalities across schools particularly in relation to the importance of leadership. More than reference to global society, Hameed found commonalities in terms of commitment to develop global citizenship with both Principals looking at models to enhance global citizenship in its different forms.

in Hameed's (2018) study both the schools studied used human resources to select specific types of teachers – namely those with diverse CVs and experience of teaching IB. Whilst marketing and local context were still important to constructing global citizenship both

shared similar staff compositions and a commitment to some form of global citizenship. In this sense, IB was a grounding force for the development of GCE.

More recently, Christoff (2021) looked at the IB Middle Years Programme in USA. Differing from Dvir et al. (2018) and Hameed (2018), Christoff (2021) found elements of a 'liberal-critical' connection to GCE in teacher responses. However, lack of clear guidance from IB messaging and wider pedagogical pressures meant critical forms of GCE were rarely observed in practice. Christoff (2021) found that diversity in the school and teaching IB did not necessarily equate to delivery of GCE in pedagogical practice often because that practice was more reactive to change than focused on delivery of multiple perspectives or criticality. Interestingly, for this study though, teachers did acknowledge GCE as including critical discussions around power. Christoff (2021) instead highlights a challenge for delivering critical forms of GCE in schools around institutional structures and pressures for teachers and lack of clear guidance from the IBO. As Christoff (2021) explains, despite working in international schools, in two of the three cases "teachers' rationales for teaching global citizenship were reactive and did not overcome the pressures from their district to focus on a citizenship transmission" (ibid: 111). Christoff (2021) explained the connection between how teachers understood GCE and then how that was translated into pedagogical practice. Whilst the teachers did access more critical reflections of GCE around power and economic systems, Christoff (2021) found IB messaging meant this was not always clear. Looking at IB messaging itself, Christoff (2021) explores how unclear positioning on GCE and use of other terms – like international mindedness and intercultural understanding – present challenges for teachers. As Christoff (2021) argues, "lack of theory invites a passive approach to social justice and implicitly supports colonial structures (Tarc (2012) cited in Christoff 2021: 111).

Interactions between types of GCE in empirical research
Tensions and intersections between 'liberal-neoliberal-critical' forms of GCE and how to navigate these have been explored in more recent research. The final section on empirical work looks at these intersections in more detail drawing on Karsgaard (2019), Ferguson and Brett (2023), Reilly and Neins (2014) and Pashby, Costa and Sund (2020).

Karsgaard (2019) looked specifically at a teaching unit developed by *Me to We* for Free the Children across schools in Canada. Analysing a unit about Free the Children (1999),

Karsgaard (2019) considered the role of critical approaches to GCE finding, instead, that the unit reverted to singular narratives around child labour in South Asia. Karsgaard (2019) argues, the unit did this by dichotomising those doing the module and the communities *Me to We* aims to help. Instead, teaching practice focused on fixing global issues and personal development whilst not exploring power dynamics, recognition or complicity in existing power structures around child labour. In this sense, whilst appearing to be more critical, the programmes similarly sit at a crossroads because students learn to do things for others rather than think critically about areas like child labour. However, where Karsgaard (2019) develops discussion further is in emphasising the role critical GCE could play in pedagogical practices and units such as Free the Children. Drawing on Andreotti and de Souza (2008), Karsgaard (2019) explains how a reflective and then reflexive dimension could easily be used in this context to ask students to think about their roles in the wider economic system and complicity alongside that. Karsgaard (2019) asserts that without critical discussion, NGOs like Free the Children, can appear to fill a niche in the curriculum but do so with specific agendas around global causes and reinforce a charity/social responsibility mindset but nothing further.

This finding was similar to Ferguson and Brett's (2023) study across Netherlands, Finland and Australia. Much as previous empirical work has found, Ferguson and Brett (2023)'s study explained both a conceptual uncertainty around GCE and resultant practice centred on 'safer' enactments like community service through charity frameworks. The students and staff interviewed across all three international schools, connected GCE to understandings of common humanity through intercultural understanding or celebration activities. Ferguson and Brett (2023) found that understandings of GCE were relatively shallow and led to epistemologies centres on practical action and charity with little critical thought. Interestingly though, and similar to Karsgaard (2019), Ferguson and Brett (2023) found there was space in practice for more critical approaches to GCE. When questioned, teachers appeared keen to nurture GCE but felt there was a lack of guidance for pedagogical practice. Equally, the research found students were already engaging in meaningful experiences and discussions on global world order and the environment – Ferguson and Brett (2023)

therefore argue existing discussions could be enriched by more critical approaches from the literature.

Similarly, Reilly and Niens (2014) found teachers in Northern Ireland needed to engage with wider political understandings of GCE for their students. Looking at both primary and secondary schools in Northern Ireland, Reilly and Niens (2014) found that teachers understood GCE to mean raising awareness and being open to others but failed to acknowledge that global/local nexus identified by Yemini (2018) in London. Teachers in the study, whilst connecting GCE to understandings of global issues, did not address conflicts, tensions and the self-reflective work needed for critical GCE (Reilly and Niens 2014). Nevertheless, the study also indicates, like Ferguson and Brett (2023) the potential opportunities and need for critical GCE at local levels and through specific units and pedagogical practices.

In a specific study of Swedish students on a partnership trip to Tanzania, Pashby, Sund and Tryggvason (2023) found discourse was often situated within a 'neoliberal-liberal' interface (Pashby et al. 2020). Students regularly referred to the experience as showing them what they had taken for granted with regards to education, food and lifestyle etc but Pashby, Sund and Tryggvason (2023) found no evidence of critical reflection. Pashby, Sund and Tryggvason (2023) go on to explain that discussions with students confirm existing empirical work that students did not acknowledge historical structures of power that have led to inequality or global issues seen in Tanzania. Whilst new skills were developed for individual growth and a connection to charity and social responsibility very little time was spent acknowledging the Eurocentricity of perspectives on charity work or the ongoing connections to racism and coloniality. Nevertheless, the very presence of partnerships between schools could provide an opportunity for more engaging with ethical global issues both within and beyond the classroom.

Pashby and Sund (2019) explored the possibility of developing more critical and even decolonial versions of GCE in secondary schools. The study aimed to connect dynamic discussions in the literature above with practice through teachers in England, Finland and Sweden using the HEADSUP (Andreotti 2012) tool. As discussed earlier, the HEADSUP tool

aims to make more explicit the power structures of oppression that can often be reproduced in GCE. Through group discussions, teachers considered the tool and how it might be used in their pedagogies. Pashby and Sund (2019) found that discussions often centred around connection to charity models, action and the context of national policy. In connection to charity, Pashby and Sund (2019) found that teachers could critique charity and paternalistic relations, they then wanted practical alternatives. Pashby and Sund (2019) suggest that the desire to act raises wider questions about how teachers can move beyond approaches to GCE grounded in shared values or a common sense of humanity. The focus on action still serves to exist within a model of "Salvationism" (Pashby and Sund 2019: 101) and therefore complicity in existing political structures rather than just sitting in the discussion itself. Whilst teachers were engaging in more critical thought, the result was one of action/doing something to change rather than the value of the thought process. One teacher in particular, found that engaging in discussion around oppression and power meant students felt more engaged in global issues. Pashby and Sund (2019) argue that in thinking critically about global issues through HEADSUP and explicitly considering decoloniality, students gain more nuance and it also helped teachers to think and work more critically. Indeed, rethinking and unravelling power structures of oppression are valuable because they are the first step away from solutionism to self-reflection and then reflexivity (Pashby and Sund 2019; Pashby, Costa and Sund 2020). Pashby and Sund (2019) argue the importance of creating spaces, like in their study, for raising questions. Indeed, when schools promote charity and community engagement, these can go hand in hand with classroom discussion to produce deeper engagement that identifies tensions and opportunities for students and staff. Equally, and Pashby and Sund (2019) identify, these discussions are beginning to take place in schools – in this case in England, Finland and Sweden. For this study then, the objective is to explore understandings of GCE and practices to see if these schools reflect 'liberal-neoliberal' interfaces, if opportunities for critical engagement exist and, indeed, if the complex ethical discussions observed by Pashby and Sund (2019) are already beginning to take place.

Da Costa, Hanley and Sant (2024) recently published a small study on teacher education programmes in England. Their work found GCE in any forms as largely missing from teacher

education or, at best, lacking criticality for tangible social change (see also Yemini et al 2019). They found, the lack of criticality symptomatic of challenges in the wider sphere of GCE which are often driven by liberal discursive orientations (Pashby et al. 2020). Their findings suggested teachers generally relied on moral and cultural cosmopolitanism to inform their understandings of GCE through a sense of responsibility, care for others, being open-minded and developing cultural awareness. Da Costa, Hanley and Sant (2024) said of these interpretations that they similarly sat at a kind of intersection between developing cultural competences that align with the global economy (Andreotti 2014) and a common sense of humanity This "neoliberal–liberal cosmopolitan approach", they argue, which appears grounded in equality instead hints to an 'othering' process where the dominant Euro-Western group learn about other cultures – almost exoticising them but not working towards understanding global power structures or social justice. The 'other' was an object of knowledge like 'refugees' as global issues to be covered in the classroom. The teachers in the study relied on understanding the concept of rights, citizenship and who belongs to a nation-state.

However, da Costa, Hanley and Sant (2024) also found elements of critical approaches to GCE around delivery of Fundamental British Values (Department for Education, 2014), hinting at how divisive they can be. In the case study, teachers were beginning to engage with wider literature and perspectives as a of learning from or with rather than about (Andreotti 2021) thereby challenging liberal-humanism from within their own framings. Da Costa, Hanley and Sant (2024) found using Wynter's analysis of Man as an interesting starting point to deconstruct dominant narrative suggesting "taking liberal humanism as a point of entry and (un)learning from within it by delving into the possibilities that its contradictions, tensions, and challenges bring" (ibid: 16).

Conclusion

Taken together, these empirical studies offer a grounding for the current research with key themes running throughout empirical work on the types of GCE in action already, the role of teachers and curriculum in that action and potential movements towards alternative approaches to GCE. The practice of GCE across wide-ranging geographical areas from China (Woods and Kong 2020) to Australia and New Zealand (Peterson, Milligan and Young 2018)

remains lacking in political thought and even assimilationist (Yemini 2018; Woods and Kong 2020).

It has also highlighted the importance of teachers in enacting approaches to GCE. Empirical research suggests that often teachers either struggle to grasp the nuances of GCE (Ferguson and Brett 2023), use it as a tool for individual social mobility of students (Goren, Maxwell and Yemini 2018; Dvir et al. 2018) or see GCE threatening unique identities (Goren, Maxwell and Yemini 2018). Equally though, with support from tools such as HEADSUP, teachers and students can and are beginning to engage with more critical framings as is empirical work in the field of GCE (Karsgaard 2019; Reilly and Niens 2014; Pashby and Sund 2019). Woods and Kong (2020) critique rhetoric around inclusion in international schools in China as a 'critical-liberal' interface (Pashby et al. 2020) whilst Kim (2020) and Karsgaard (2019) consider individual resources and units of teaching and how these can be adapted to raise decolonial questions. Pashby and Sund (2019)'s work across England, Sweden and Finland similarly considers a move away from epistemologies of change which often result in Salvationism and, instead, point towards decolonial discussions that create space for ontological change.

Finally, empirical evidence raises the question of context when researching GCE in practice. Christoff (2021) for instance, explores the wider pressures on IB teachers at the district level in USA whilst Franch (2019) considers the role of policy in Northern Italy. Goren, Maxwell and Yemini (2018) explore how contexts of conflict affect teaching practices and the role individual religion can play when considering and enacting GCE. Equally, Yemini (2018) explicates the importance of both school demographics and governmental policy when delivering GCE in inner-city London. For this research, the political and social context of England must therefore be considered when observing understandings, enactments and challenges of delivering different approaches to GCE. Empirical evidence then offers an approach to GCE that suggests a complex and changing landscape. More recent studies have begun to explore reflexive approaches to GCE and a more nuanced approach to empirical work that does not discount liberal-humanist or neoliberal understandings of GCE but embraces complexity and acknowledges that educational settings can exhibit multiple overlapping GCE experiences in one place. These studies are contextual and engaged in reflexive discussion on the practicalities of teaching GCE rather than being focused on a

hierarchy of GCE placing one type as superior to the other but, instead, working on how students and staff are engaging with GCE in real-time in a fast-paced and changing educational landscape. This research therefore aims to do the same by embracing nuance and complexity and seeking to understand all the different forms of GCE in action in the English context and how these could be made more explicit and engaged with actively and appropriately in context.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

Philosophical Framework

Having grounded the research in international and citizenship discourse, the following chapter is a methodology. It begins with a conceptual discussion placing research in comparative international education. Then, research is given a practical framework, creating a process-oriented case study approach in four schools: a state A level, state IB school, independent A level and independent IB school. The methodological framework also explains the recruitment process and concludes by considering the ethical issues and researcher positionality.

Conceptual Framework: Comparative and International Education

Comparative education since the 1970s has taken on a far more eclectic approach than its historical preoccupation with positivist endeavours - making it increasingly difficult to demarcate even at an ontological and epistemological level (Epstein and Caroll 2005). Whilst Lenhart (2017) proposes the use of Hecht's historical-philosophical-idiographic approach along with Sadler, others remain connected to the epistemology of Jullien. From 1817, Jullien's work in comparative education was symptomatic of a more positivist approach to research advocating descriptive and macro-historical comparisons to "deduce true principles and determined routes so that education would be transformed into an almost positive science" (1817 cited in Fraser 1964: 20). Stephen Heyneman (1995: 386) even expressed in his CIES (Comparative and International Education Society) Presidential Address that "Comparative education is alive and well at the periphery but dead at the center". I have explored the history of comparative education in more detail in Appendix 2.

One could, however, argue that the move away from structural functionalism and pursuit of transferable laws has given freedom to the field to recognise cultural, religious, political, and gendered dimensions from post-modernism to feminism (Crossley and Jarvis 2000; Stromquist 2005). This has led to a similar transition in academic interests from descriptive studies to micro-analyses of classroom practice. As Crossley et al. (2007) note, early volumes of *Comparative Education* focused on education planning and secondary policy rather than

school subjects or teacher training. Wolhuter (2008) tracked subjects covered in the *Comparative Education Review* 1957-2006 finding research in Comparative Education was dominated by a methodological nationalism, but, that it has also been criticised based on assuming that nation-states are uniform thereby negating the influence of transnational forces like international schools. As a result, Comparative Education has begun to give attention to smaller units of analysis such as classrooms (Wolhuter 2008).

New, multilevel units of analysis have arguably allowed smaller studies, such as this one, more prominence in the field. Of note is Bray and Thomas' (1995) framework for Comparative Education.
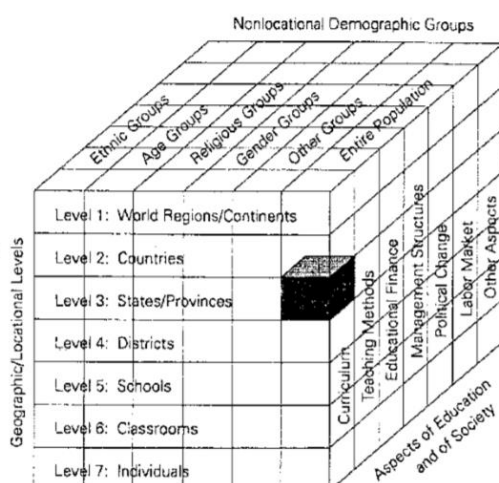
Source: Bray & Thomas (1995), p.475.

Figure 4: Framework for Comparative Education. Source: Bray and Thomas (1995)

The front of the cube provides 7 different geographical levels for comparison: world regions, countries, states, districts, schools, classrooms, and individuals. The second area covers nonlocational demographic groups: ethnicity, age, religion. Whilst the third covers different aspects of education: curriculum, teaching/learning, finance. The point of this framework was, as Bray et al (2007) argue, to call for multilevel analyses that were more holistic connecting micro-level to macro-level contexts and vice versa. In this study, the research

covers classrooms and schools within England looking specifically at the role of curriculum and resultant pedagogical practices in relation to 16+ students.

With this transition in mind, it is worth considering the other side of the wider discipline: international education. Despite some claims of having different philosophical origins and thereby being entirely different, this research supports Crossley and Watson (2000; 2009) arguing that comparative and international education are increasingly become more similar to one another particularly since the early 21st century. Wilson (1994) and Epstein (1994) maintain that the two fields of comparative international education (CIE) differ epistemologically and professionally. On the one hand, Epstein (1994) argues that comparativists are fundamentally scholars, "interested in explaining why educational systems and processes vary and how education relates to wider social factors" (ibid: 918). International education, however, is melioristic and uses the findings derived from comparative education to examine and enhance practice (Wilson 1994). As Crossley and Watson (2009) cite, this has traditionally translated into international development practices.

For many, the origins of international education lay in the work of Cesar Auguste Basset who called for scholars beyond national remits to observe other systems to reform French education. As Crossley and Watson (2003) argue, international education gradually became a means of studying education systems within specific socio-economic, cultural, and political contexts. More recently though, 'international schools' (Dvir et al. 2018; Singh and Qi 2013; Christoff 2021; Hameed 2018) have formed part of the field particularly given the 2002 launch of *Journal of Research in International Education* in collaboration with IBO. At first, the two approaches might, therefore, seem disparate particularly from the structural functionalism of Jullien. Arguably, however, the amalgamation of organisations like *British Association for International and Comparative Education* and globalisation have changed that. The integration of technology, travel, economies, politics and more has renewed the importance of within-country comparison and micro-level ethnographic studies beyond the framework of the nation-state (Crossley 1999).

As Goodson (1997) argued, the advent of 21st Century was time for education to reposition itself in practice and therefore re-align the apparently different aims of comparative and international education. This transition is evident, as Dale (2005) argues, in the shift of emphasis by organisations such as UNESCO towards education as a human right and agendas like GCE. Simultaneously, the rise of neo-Marxist critiques (Tikly 2001) has given a theoretical perspective to international education. Crossley therefore argues that combining comparative and international education provides renewed rigour that can benefit the academic discipline and, likewise, actual practice, developing, instead, a more substantive dialectic between empirical research and in-depth scholarship. Unlike the positivist leanings of early comparative research, as recent studies have found (Elsner 2000 in Poland, Marja and Jogi 2000 in Estonia), contextual research is key to policy change. Indeed, Jarvis (1999) argues that small-scale, interpretivist case studies grounded in both theory and practice can still be cumulative and relevant to policy.

Situating my own research in Comparative International Education
As international development initiatives have been criticised, there has been renewed interest in comparative international education to ground empirical work in theory – re-emphasising the value of small-scale case study projects. It is within this field that the current research is situated. The research is both comparative and international given it studies global citizenship across two curricula (IB and the A level system) within the geographical context of English classrooms (see Bray and Thomas 1995 framework) and across state and independent schools. In line with calls for case-study based research, it uses small-scale rich qualitative analysis to develop practical ideas for enhancing GCE.

Methodological Framework

Exploratory Comparative Case Study Design
This research used an exploratory comparative case study design based on the work of Yin (2009) and Bartlett and Varvus (2017). The purpose of case study research can be multifaceted – an exploration of a phenomenon, an attempt to evaluate or explain a concept in context (Cohen et al. 2018; Day Ashley 2021; Tight 2010). Unlike other

methodological frameworks, case studies provide a unique example of real people in in-depth meaningful ways. Further discussion on different case study designs can be found in Appendix 3.

This research used an emergent process-orientated approach proposed by Bartlett and Varvus (2017). Rather than being based on the more common compare logic alone, this approach also attempts to trace across cases in an exploratory kind of way. The emergent case study design adapted research day-by-day with validity found in the decisions taken – see below (Heath and Street 2008). Of course, the nature of some research is that it is more structured than others depending on aims but Bartlett and Varvus (2017) argue that to bound cases, one can often rely on "problematic notions of culture, place and community" (ibid: 138). As Erickson (2011) argues, researchers should not treat culture as static but an active process of sense-making. In this sense, comparative case study design does not wish to flatten cases by ignoring context or imposing specific categories but, rather, explore how historical and contemporary processes are producing a shared sense of place or purpose. Instead, the case becomes the phenomenon of study itself and the geographical sites form constituent parts to build a picture.

By including contextual history, one can better understand the cultural politics of policy and how it plays out on several scales – in this case, curriculum, individuals, classrooms, and school policy. Bartlett and Varvus use a good analogy:

> "Rather than think of school as the case, we could think of a policy promoting learner-centred pedagogy…as the phenomenon…and the case is formed by tracing across sites and scales to understand how the phenomenon came into being, how it has been appropriated by different actors and how it is transformed in practice" (2017: 10)

Just as Massey and other critical geographers discuss the fluidity of place and transience of locality because of globalisation, cases are diverse and spread across, through and between one another.

In terms of 'units of analysis,' Varvus and Bartlett (2009) argue that comparison need not be from one geographical site to another but across three axes: horizontally across sites but also social actors, documents, policies; vertically at different levels from Senior Leadership

to individual teachers and curriculum and transversal over time. In doing so, one can find connections between cases across scales and seemingly disparate places. The unit of analysis is inscribed within and through individuals.

By taking a more fluid approach, comparability of schools allowed far more freedom in terms of gender dynamics, demographics of the schools and geographical location. Practically speaking, it is very limiting and extremely difficult to find schools whose cohort, socio-economic background, ethnic make-up, religion, and gender balance are similar. If one is to attempt to reframe validity of research away from replication of results and more static understandings of these variables, as Erickson (2011) argues, then validity can be traced to clear decision making. This form of case study therefore allowed for richness of data and exploration as with traditional case study design but also permitted more flexibility and freedom in school choice that was far more practical and allowed me to target leading schools most appropriate for the study. It also made more room for context – particularly historical and socio-political context that is central to the argument of the study.

The research design itself took a matrix approach of four schools in the hope these would cover the larger issues in the research questions. Chapter 3b explores the schools in more detail:

	Independent	State
A level	'Riverside'	'Towers'
IB	'Hills'	'Greenlane'

Table 4: Case Study Matrix

By selecting four sites, it was hoped that one could maximise the utility of this kind of case-study and develop a critical and rich narrative. It was hoped this would not only produce valuable research but also re-frame the case study as a research framework and open the possibilities of this research design for understanding the complexities of issues like global citizenship by using multiple sites to develop a case study of GCE. Until now, there have

been very few studies on GCE within schools except for single cases (Blackmore 2014; Yemini 2018) or short-term studies (Davies et al. 2005; Marshall 2007b). Whilst case study research on GCE exists outside of England, it is a rarity for comparative case study design in the England particularly at 16+ level which could develop a different perspective on both case studies and, more centrally, how GCE is constructed and perceived in UK.

School Recruitment

Like Yin (2009) though, the case study design was still bounded. Rather than geographically or demographically, the boundaries came from methodological process with research undertaken in a similar way across all sites – beginning with lesson observations followed by interviews and focus groups drawn out from findings within said lessons to enhance validity (Heath and Street 2008).

Whilst each school is introduced in the next chapter and summarised in Appendix 4, this section covers the logic for their recruitment and the process itself. School and participant selection was grounded in information richness not available through random sampling (Reybold et al. 2012). Purposeful selection of schools covered different aspects of the study: state/independent, IB/non-IB designed for making meaning in a mindful and accountable way (Patton 2002). Selection therefore became a multifaceted approach for quality, focus and an integrative method (Reybold et al. 2012).

First, selection was crucial for quality of data. Schools were selected to represent different aspects of the research both in the curriculum they offered and being either independent or state. Equally, the differing purposes and history of IB grounded in international understanding alongside an A level deeply connected to national identity creation (Hill 2002). As such, covering the four areas was important for data richness. In this sense school selection was purposive; it selected leading schools in these four areas in the hope for rich data. Schools were considered leaders either in relation to relevant body assessments (Independent Schools Inspectorate or Ofsted), academic results or in a commitment to Global Citizenship Education in their policies and marketing. For independent schools, I began by looking at the top performing schools academically at A level and IB and then

school values and approach to GCE. For state schools, I looked at both academic attainment and commitment to GCE in school marketing. The selection process is explained further below.

When it came to this study, history and context were central. The study was designed to represent a selection of schools that could equally represent a mosaic of interpretations and enactments of GCE as well as challenges; direct comparability was, therefore, less relevant - meaning finding schools with similar cohorts, demographics was less pertinent than the right schools for depth of data and richness of response. The recruitment process centred on this.

Using previous experience both as a teacher and 'School Relationship Coordinator' at an education company, I knew the channels to find schools e.g., via the IBO website or through colleagues. Initially, the idea was to identify schools most likely to be fully invested in IB ideology and I therefore avoided dual economy schools that offered A level alongside IB on that basis. For quality of research, it felt that more difference could be found in those schools who taught different curricula – those that did both were therefore not suitable. Equally, I wanted a state IB school that was not only exclusively IB but also predominantly non-selective, arguably, representing a wider cross-section of society. This was especially challenging given only 22 state IB schools exist in the UK with the majority of those being 6th form colleges or selective grammar schools. For me, the crux of this study was in understanding how GCE exists in these schools and the role curriculum might play in that so selecting well-established schools that had a particular reputation for global citizenship and teachers who knew their systems well was paramount. In this way, it was hoped the story could be both told and, simultaneously, built in the decisions made (Reybold et al. 2012). Selection criteria was less focused on demographics of the schools being similar, instead, it focused on schools that were leaders in their respective fields. All the schools are in the top 20 nationally for their academic results or progress in each field (co-ed or independent/state) or leaders in global citizenship according to their websites.

For A level schools, the choice was far more varied. In State schools, selection began by looking at academic results along with Ofsted reports to find – at least by government body

standards – leading schools around the country that could be contacted. Once identified, all schools were sent an introductory email (Appendix 5) framing research. Once again, the process aimed to reflect Patton's (2002:245) comments:

> "Validity, meaningfulness and insights generated from qualitative inquiry have more to do with…richness of cases selected…than sample size."

In this sense, selection also became an integrative method (Peshkin 2001). Recruiting a State A level setting proved to be the most challenging aspect of selection – either because of lack of interest in research, time or fear of the results and reputation (Johl and Renganathan 2010; Okumus et al. 2007). Despite the number of leading state schools in UK, no responses came from initial contact. As with the other schools, the challenge of recruitment came in trust. This was overcome through use of teaching networks, accessing an academic trust I had previously worked with – one of the schools was part of my PGCE programme. I contacted previous colleagues at the Girls' school to explore the possibility of working in the Co-Ed Sixth form that was based in a Boys' School elsewhere in the town. This permission was then granted via the Head of Sixth Form.

As Fine (1994) argued, subjectivity in selection is about situating oneself in relation to inquiry and choice. This was pertinent to Riverside, Hills, and Towers. These sites required negotiation, gaining trust and, ultimately, use of my personal network as gatekeeper (Johl and Renganathan 2010; Wasserman and Clair 2007) whereas Greenlane immediately responded to contact to confirm entry. As earlier researchers have commented, outsiders to institutions – particularly schools – are often not welcomed (Okumus et al. 2007). Ordinarily this would mean significant time building rapport, and this was still true when it came to use of data and ethics. However, my role as a teacher helped with recruitment.

At both Riverside and Hills, connection through teaching networks was a common theme; without my previous experience and connections in the sector, to get such high-profile schools on board would have been a significant challenge. I reflected on this in an autoethnographic diary in Appendix 6. Both schools were accessed through my teaching networks which improved my credibility with the target schools and therefore enhanced trust. At Riverside, the Deputy Head responded to the initial contact email granting

permission for research – this was done on the basis that the Deputy Head had worked in my own previous school and contacted colleagues to assess my trustworthiness. Hills was slightly more complex. After no response to the initial email, I contacted an ex-colleague who had worked with the Headmaster of Hills. My ex-colleague then reached out to the Headmaster of Hills on my behalf to confirm trustworthiness – at which point access to the school was granted.

Combined, the selection and recruitment process, grounded in data richness and finding the best schools for the study, was one of quality procedure, subjective focus, and an integrative method. By using my own network, I was able to recruit schools that represented leadership roles in delivering IB, a commitment to diversity or global citizenship in their values and attainment – all considered outstanding by their relevant assessing bodies. By being so selective in school choice, this then made recruitment of participants much easier.

Participants
Targeted sampling, searching for students/teachers interested in the project, was purposeful with a desire for participants interested in, engaged with GCE and in decision-making roles (Saunders 2019).

As Reybold et al (2012) argued, it is one thing to describe participants (see Appendix 9) and another to explicate the reasons for it. This section explains these decisions. Given the recruitment process, in all schools, there was support from administrators to organise my time at school. Having agreed to research, I liaised with each relevant contact providing more information for both teacher and student participants (Appendix 7 and 8). Administrators then sent prospective emails to staff and students that may be interested in the research. I also provided these staff with a set of preferences for participants based on richness and representation in the school. Specifically, I wanted Year 12 students across all subjects and diverse backgrounds, staff from diverse academic backgrounds and those that operated at multiple managerial levels. The idea was to represent each site as comprehensively as possible within the one-week time frame of data collection. In total, 81 participants were interviewed across the four sites alongside informal discussions and lesson observations.

What teachers and why?

To access understandings of global citizenship, intentional pedagogical practices, content choices and whole-school policies, it was essential that teachers were interviewed and observed. In discussion with administrators, I requested a range of subject teachers to watch and interview. The reason being, that the study is one of each school not one limited to individual subjects. As discussed, historically, GCE has been situated in the field of social sciences over others (Lawton 2000), so observing these alone would not develop a narrative of the school nor reflect the practices of other teachers. Of course, this was dependent on availability and willingness to participate when the visits were organised. Given the timing of the study in the spring/summer terms of 2022, I was acutely aware that many teachers were under pressure due to examinations and wider school commitments.

Beyond teachers, it was also important to meet with members of senior management to understand whole school visions particularly related to curriculum. As such, the aim was to recruit either the Head of Teaching and Learning or Head of Sixth Form in each school for interview – not least to establish the nuances between their vision, values, and the narratives of less senior members of staff and students. Again, the focus was one of richness and depth. These were all organised and timetabled ahead of my visits.

Why Year 12 students?

Recruitment of students was more complex because participants needed to be interested in the study but also representative of the site. As such, many students were recruited via administrators in the first instance with more becoming involved on the ground as the research evolved; this is discussed in the section on reflexivity. Importantly though, whilst prior recruitment supported data collection, I also needed to find students that had not been pre-selected. These students, whilst potentially less directly related to research, offered insights into different interpretations, enactments, and challenges on the ground that previously recruited students may not. In terms of parameters for students, they also needed to be current Year 12 students. The reason for this was one of practicality and timing. Taking place just before Easter (Riverside) and the summer term, meant that older pupils were engaged in examinations and simply not available beyond informal conversations. Whilst this could be perceived as limiting, interviewing Year 12 students also

presented opportunities. Given the timing of research, students were comfortably into the IB/A level process rather than just commencing it. As such, it was thought they would have enough perspective to reflect on the first year. Equally, they were not yet at the stage of examination and, therefore, engaging heavily with assessment expectations. Instead, all students were focused on content knowledge and beyond the proverbial leap from GCSE/IGCSE provision. The aim was around ten interviews/focus groups in each school alongside lesson observations and document analysis. In total, 81 participants were involved across the four sites covering individual and group interviews. A summary of all participants can be found in Appendix 9.

Research Methods

The nature of the following methods is such that they focus on multiple contextual and intersecting factors in more detail than other approaches (Cohen et al. 2018). They offer the possibility of holism to case study design whilst exploring socio-cultural constructs and context that is rich in description (Bryman 2008; Creswell 2012; Denscombe 2014). Given the philosophical grounding of this research, one arguably needs to immerse oneself in the culture of each school to gain an understanding of how GCE is constructed but also the power relations at play beyond classroom practice. In the first stages, time was spent examining school policy, subject specifications and guides alongside examination requirements. These provided an understanding of expectations for teachers and reasoning behind the content of observed lessons and activities around school. When entering school itself, lesson observations were collected first to ascertain GCE in pedagogical practice and how this connected to the curricula studied. Lesson observations were followed by group and individual interviews to develop richness of data via individual perspective.

Observations

Lesson observation allows the phenomenon of GCE to be situated linguistically, tacitly, or explicitly in schools. Its open nature allows GCE to move beyond the confines of specific spaces or subjects in the curriculum to one that can, potentially, be identified informally in

everyday practice. Before describing how observation was used, this section explains both what form and why observation was specifically selected.

Bryman (1988a: 52) argued, "to assist in understanding social reality, we must…directly experience that reality". Observation can reveal the importance of the everyday and illuminate understanding via verbal and non-verbal interactions in natural settings (Clark et al. 2009). Its validity arguably hinges on the purposes of the researcher in context (Cohen et al. 2018; Waddington 2004;). The researcher chose to operate primarily as semi-structured observer-as-participant via classroom observations and wider public-school environments. The purpose of an 'observer-as-participant' (Cohen et al. 2018) is that the role of the researcher is clear and visible whilst not testing hypotheses. As Patton (1990) argues, the continuum of researcher role from structured to unstructured determines what/how a phenomenon is observed. Given the exploratory nature of GCE, observation here was not about testing a hypothesis but observing how students and staff interpreted GCE in practice. The observation of both classroom practice and day-to-day life, during lunch, in boarding houses, and moving through school, was intended to explore the dynamism of GCE. By operating is an observer, it was hoped that the researcher could gain a level of autonomy in the classroom whilst simultaneously developing relationships within the school (Simpson and Tuson 2003). Crucially though, it was important to see the physical manifestations of GCE beyond an interview because the two could well contradict one another (Cohen et al. 2018; Gans 1999).

The observations were conducted over the course of a week in each of the four schools. Classroom observation took place in the first stages of research in the form of semi-structured non-participant observation. Whilst teachers and students were aware of my role as an observer and broadly knew my topic (see ethics), they were not yet informed of the key aims of the classroom observations. It was felt that, if one were to tell them, there could be an element of presentation, with teachers deliberately altering their practice and student response to elicit GCE in an unnatural way (Cooper and Schindler 2001; Flick 1998). Similarly, it created a starting point for further data collection within and between the different sites despite their differing locations and backgrounds. The observations focused as much on physical surrounding, classroom configuration as language use and pedagogical

practices, so meaning could be derived rather than tested (Hamilton and Corbett-Whittier 2013). For instance, the Deputy-Headteacher of Riverside argued that the best examples of GCE could be found within Humanities and concentrated her efforts on exhibiting classroom practice within these subjects. I therefore had to request wider observations during mealtimes and boarding houses in the evening.

Beyond the classroom, the research adopted a similar semi-structured approach to fieldwork notes – observing GCE construction in common places such as corridors, common rooms or boarding houses and cafeterias. Given the exploratory nature of the research design, it was felt that observation across different areas of the school could allow wider interpretation, analysis and adjustment which could be used in later interviews and focus groups. Carrying a fieldwork note journal operated as a way of noting unexpected interactions with students and staff during the day as well as reflecting on my own assumptions, emotions and values related to the research. These interactions often occurred between lessons, in the staff room or at lunch with the students and added to the richness of the data collected. It worked reflectively throughout the day but also after each visit to consider interactions, body language and my own feelings about the responses/observations found (Boutilier and Mason 2012). Appendix 10 gives excerpts from these notes and observations.

Interviews and Drawing
Aside from observation, semi-structured individual and group interviews were used to develop rich narratives and establish commonalities within and between sites. Semi-structured interviews, in this case, refer to an approach with scaffolding but "also relies on open-ended questions to allow for spontaneity by the participant" (Savin-Baden and Howell Major 2011: 177). As opposed to specific parameters, the research used a guided approach covering topics derived from literature (see Appendix 11). Questions also centred around the interviewee's profile, pedagogical practices, curriculum, perceptions of GCE and engagement. All interviews were conducted in person on site in a room designated by the team. These were meeting rooms in all four settings. Interviews lasted 45 minutes to an hour but dependent upon timetabling both staff and students.

Group interviews were conducted in the same format with both student and teacher groups. A key advantage of group interviews was the level of interaction between students and how they make meaning. Similarly, some of the most illuminating discussions came between teachers who often had conflicting views on GCE as a concept and if/how it should be integrated into teaching practices. As O'Reilly (2009:80) comments, group interviews offer:

"Conflicting ideas, cause people to think about things they may not have considered alone… cause participants to question assumptions, and to perhaps change their minds."

Group interviews were particularly useful for understanding wider school constructions of GCE, how these were interpreted by students and if there was agreement across the student body. Group discussion diverted power from me as an authority and questioning being perceived has having a 'right' or 'wrong' answer (Brenner 2006; Cohen et al. 2018). In the case of teachers, semi-structured discussion on the nature of GCE allowed specific focus on the role the curriculum plays and how different subjects interpret and enact GCE.

Unlike more structured forms of interview, the approach here was based on the responses provided by participants (Kvale 1985; Saunders 2019). Given the complex nature of GCE, it was felt that reflexive engagement better enabled construction of meaning (Cassell 2015) and exploration of potentially emotive topics relating to identity. As Saunders (2019) argues, the very nature of dialogic semi-structured interviews is one of non-critical acceptance or leading of interviews such that the phenomenon can be explored freely. Described by Rabionet (2011: 563) as a "flexible and powerful tool to capture voices and the ways people make meaning of their experiences", a guided approach has many merits particularly in exploratory case-study design. Unlike more unstructured approaches, however, it was felt working within the school timetable and with students under 18, some framework was appropriate for discussion to be productive (Cassell, Cuncliffe and Grandy 2017). The topics also needed a logical order to build upon (see Appendix 11). Like Bloom's taxonomy for teaching (1956), researchers often suggest moving from accessible to more complex concepts (Jacob and Furgerson 2012). Simple, descriptive questions often relax the

interviewee whilst allowing context to develop. As the interview progressed, questions began to engage with more emotive and potentially controversial ideas around critical and post-critical GCE.

However, semi-structured interviews also present challenges. The tone, comments or non-verbal behaviour of the interviewer can impact the responses interviewees provide – both negatively and positively (Saunders 2019). In this context, it became a balance of approachability for students whilst maintaining professionalism with teachers. As Sudman and Bradburn (1982) found in relation to race, similarities and differences relating to identity often illicit different responses in interview settings which can skew data. This does not necessarily equate to having to adopt the identity of the interviewee though. For instance, later studies found that having the same race as the interviewee did not negate differences of age, class, or family (Kennedy-Macfoy 2013) so attempting to control these does not necessarily increase validity and reliability of data. It is simply something to be cognisant of.

The second potential issue relates to interviewee or response bias linked to perception of the researcher (Saunders 2019). Narratives could have been affected here in relation to willingness to participate – given interviews were conducted during free lessons. Axinn and Pearce (2006) refer to these as "respondent fatigue"; as such, I needed to be aware of time and maximise the space to generate effective and rich data. Equally, interview style can often offset any fatigue with effective natural communication (Fielding and Thomas 2008). Again, this returns to rapport. Thomas (2013:195) argues "establishing rapport is not simply a mechanical process to be gone through; it is a process of actually making contact – of proving that you are human." By establishing a common interest, a personal, rich, and credible data set can develop.

In relation to group interviews, often issues related to voice and dominance in the conversation. Some students were more vocal than others and, given they knew each other, socio-cultural factors could have been at play with some nervous of the consequence of voicing certain opinions (Cohen et al. 2018). This could have led to one voice appearing to be a group narrative (Lesham 2012). However, by conducting the interviews in a single

location known to all students, providing anonymity, and encouraging wider voice, it was hoped these potential problems could be overcome. Crucially for me, it was important for students to understand I was not an "ordinary" adult or teacher but acting from a position of exploration and non-judgement. Great care was taken to ensure students felt valued and heard – intentionally repeating words or phrases more so than with teachers was a particularly effective way of achieving this.

Drawings, as part of qualitative research, originate in the field of psychology (Banks 2001; Ward and Shortt 2012), but entered the social sciences in the early 21st Century (Cross et al. 2006; Mason 2005). Much as the dialogic process of exploratory interviews aims to construct meaning via emotive and personal conversation, drawings are used as a conversation starter. The innate value of drawings is their ability to express topics in a different way, enabling communication and a grounding to interviews that can enhance comfort for the interviewee (Kearney and Hyle 2004). It can also give an interviewee more control over the direction of discussion. In Kearney and Hyle's 2004 research, interviewees commented on how drawing slowed them to step back from an issue and draw out unexpected, private feelings; a view reflected by Morgan et al. (2009).

The second value of drawings was communication. As Glegg (2019) and Clark (2012) argue, visual tools work especially well with those that struggle to formulate complex concepts and children whose cognitive ability is developing. Drawings can tackle cultural and linguistic barriers as well which was particularly useful in this research when discussing GCE with students and teachers from a plethora of contexts. As Pain (2012) explores, images and language are processed in different areas of the brain so using the two together can enhance meaning and access complex narratives without forcing the issue. The multi-faceted nature of GCE is such that outward and inward understandings of it could differ. Drawings were therefore used as a preliminary method to begin interviews and as a grounding method to support the interview guide. See Appendix 12 for an example.

Of course, drawing has limitations. Its origin in therapy means that drawing could be perceived negatively or to 'diagnose' a problem that does not exist (Guillemin 2004b; Ward and Shortt 2012). Participants could also fall back on old adages like 'I can't draw' (Glegg

2019). My role therefore became key as a reassuring voice. This was done at the point of consent before the interview began.

Document Analysis

Document analysis formed the final element of the methodological framework. This included relevant school policies, vision statements and the specifications themselves. In some cases, it even included a poster in one of the boarding houses visited that related to a hair charity (Halo Collective). Savin-Baden and Howell Major (2011) argue that combining a variety of documents across the field can form a kind of tapestry for thematic analysis.

In terms of the process itself, Bowen (2009) argues that document analysis requires that text and images be examined to elicit meaning, gain understanding and develop empirical knowledge. In relation to GCE, an analysis of the subject guides and specifications used by schools was a starting point for interview discussion – particularly with the teachers of those subjects. At a wider level, policy documents and vision statements were discussed with senior management to examine the ways global citizenship was imagined in each site. As Bowen (2009) argues, document analysis involves a process of skimming, thorough examination and then interpretation. Documents were then used alongside other data to develop a picture of GCE in practice as well as potential challenges.

Researcher Reflexivity

Intrinsic to the research was critical self-reflection and adapting practice accordingly. Reflexivity:

> "Acknowledges that the orientations of researchers will be shaped by their socio-historical locations, including the values and interests that these locations confer upon them. What this represents is a rejection of the idea that social research is, or can be, objectively carried out" (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007: 15)

Researchers are inescapably part of the research process from inception to data collection and later analysis. This, arguably, enhances transparency but also circumvents potential reactivity to specific findings (Cohen et al. 2018). As Reybold et al. (2012) argue, researchers must account for the relationship between themselves, and participants selected to

represent 'reporting in' and 'reporting out'. As such, adaptations and potential issues must be considered.

By "turning back on oneself" (Davies 1999: 4) it was hoped that I could circumvent issues whilst also being aware it is not a panacea for understanding. As Fox and Allan (2013) argue, when research occurs it is inevitable that we are inextricably linked – whether that be because of the subject choice or via interpretation. Whilst there have been criticisms of reflexivity in relation to "danger of overindulgence of the self (Lamb 2013: 85), it would seem untrue and lacking to avoid it (Nadar 1972). As Galletta and Cross (2012: 12) argue, ultimately, the process of reflexivity serves to:

"Strengthen the rigour of the design by attending to your thought processes, assumptions, decision making, and actions taken in order to locate and explore ethical and methodological dilemmas."

Rigour of design comes through reflectivity and decision-making; reflexivity then becomes the gold standard for qualitative research methods. Here it took several phases: before visiting, within schools and between each site visit. Prior to research, I spoke to staff at the school to direct recruitment of students and adjust how best to interview them based on their own frames either via interview or in a group setting (Court and Abbas 2013; Saunders 2019). Students were then organised into individual and groups depending on their preferences.

Greenlane presented a challenge for practicality because sixth form students did not have free lessons. Speaking to staff, the shorter school day and intensity of IB, meant 6th form students did not get free lessons. Instead, I met with students during lunch or break time to not disrupt their day. Fortunately, data collection took place in June meaning several school trips were ongoing given it was the end of the academic year. That meant I could access students not on trips or with lessons cancelled because of trips. As a result, data primarily took the form of formal individual interviews and informal group discussion in the time available.

The final practicality issue was at Towers. Towers was the final site for collection and took place in the second week of July – the end of the academic year. This both allowed access to

students whose lessons had ended and presented challenges. Many teachers were involved either in moderation of exams or on school trips so accessing them for interview was limited beyond informal discussion in the staff room. I was also cognisant that, of the four sites, this was the most familiar – having completed PGCE training at the girls' school. Whilst, of course, the students did not know me, some of the staff did. To avoid any potential bias, therefore, it was important that I focused on teachers who had no previous relationship with me and adapt interview space to staff room discussions when they were free. Arguably though, having the PGCE connection developed trust and ease in said teachers beyond entering the site without any background so, in many ways, enabled richer data.

Positionality and identity also informed reflexive practices on site. Whilst my role as a teacher did develop rapport with staff, I was conscious about being a researcher rather than a colleague. On the one hand, staff appeared more open and empathetic towards me because I have operated in similar settings and therefore deeply aware of the relevance of curriculum, pedagogical practice, and pressures in a school environment. Similarly, observation of classroom practice could have had added depth in relation to pedagogical practices such as differentiation, flipped learning and constructing knowledge given my own training. Discussion therefore naturally developed into more sensitive and emotive areas without my leadership because of this sense of familiarity.

Having worked in the independent sector, although trained in the state sector, I was also acutely aware of the historically politicised environment of British Education. There was a concern with regards to potential hostility in relation to my previous experience and resultant guardedness of staff. At Greenlane this was immediately apparent. Staff became visibly more guarded if my previous work came up in discussion. Developing rapport became even more salient here. As such, I spent significant time with staff in common areas and during lunch breaks discussing their personal areas of interest, the IB and strategically avoiding any discussion around school type. It was essential staff felt I was supportive and focused on exploration rather than critique of practice when it came to interview. Over the course of the week these relationships evolved naturally which is why teacher interviews were undertaken on the final two days of the visit.

My previous role also played a role in student interviews. It was challenging for me to not assume an authoritative teacher role with students because that seemed more natural. However, by creating that dynamic, it could have resulted in more guarded responses. As such, I ensured that students referred to me by first name making a clear distinction between my role and myself as a human which seemed to relax students.

Beyond role, reflexivity also related to identity particularly when it came to ethnicity. This was most evident at Greenlane a hyper-diverse site in London. I was acutely aware that being a white woman, I was in the minority in the school, and some may see me as representative of certain social structures – particularly given experience in the independent sector. This was a challenge. To overcome potential guardedness, I used previous experience to develop rapport with students, focusing instead, on my own study of IB and life in South Africa and Ghana in the hope they could connect. Spending a week at the school helped students ease into having me there and being visible over the school day meant students could engage when they felt comfortable.

Preliminary Work

Between schools, I was able to reflect on my own practices within interview. As part of preliminary work and between schools, I conducted a pilot interview focused on my interview practice. Less about questions or wording, it was about my interactions with participants giving them space to evolve their answers. This was achieved by Conversational Space Mapping (CSM) developed by Reissner. The CSM measured the number of words in each utterance between interviewer and participant and then visualised it. In doing so, I developed a picture of patterns, turning points and power before deeper conversational analysis was applied (Reissner 2017). The CSM showed periods of explanation but also when emphasis was placed on specific forms of critical global citizenship and perhaps affected responses. It was hoped that later data analysis could be given context as well as adapting my language between interviews. For example, at Towers, I had to spend more time contextualising the project and terms for students breaking GCE down to its constituent points before I could access richer responses.
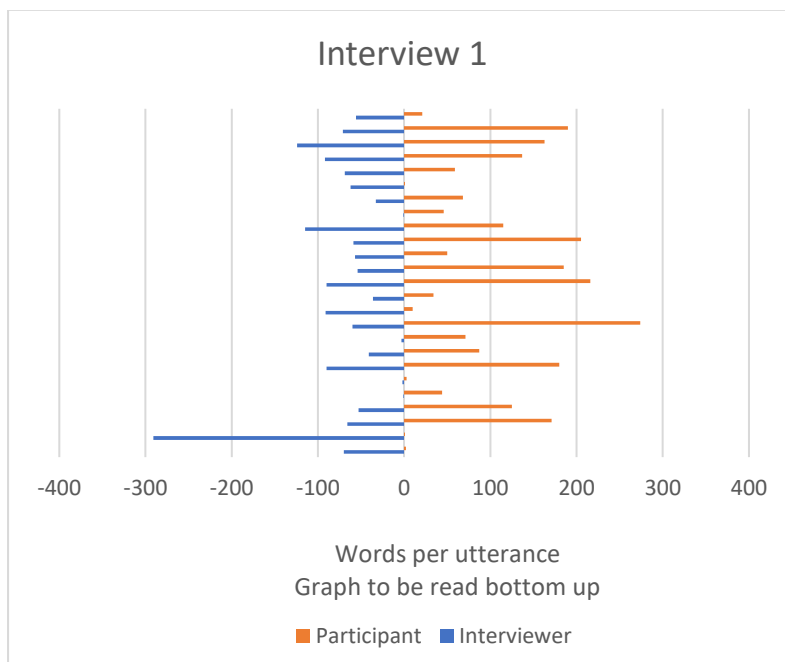
Figure 5: CSM graph of utterances

Within school, multiple adaptations were needed to ensure quality of data collection, some related to practicalities and some my own positioning as a researcher, former teacher, and self. On a practical level, interviews and focus groups were restricted to free lessons. In all schools, I had to navigate around the school day, meaning both staff and students were restricted in how long they could talk. Equally, I was only able to access staff and students who were free during my visit.

At Towers, significant time was spent in the 6th form centre meeting with students and developing relationships with them during break time. By talking about their interests and roles within school, I was able to recruit a diverse range of students covering subject areas from Computing to Sociology, Music, History and STEM. Similarly, at Riverside and Hills, whilst students had been organised, I wanted to ensure a wider spread of respondents that felt comfortable to talk. Again, this entailed lunch discussions in the dining hall, but I also took advantage of the boarding school settings. In the evenings, I visited boarding houses to see students in a more relaxed environment. The houseparents gave me freedom to discuss research with students in their smaller communal areas meaning wider recruitment for the

following day's individual and group interviews. Said access, although unexpected, also provided rich opportunities for observation beyond traditional classroom space watching interactions between students, observing documents/advertising on notice boards as well as wider school life.

Data Analysis

The nature of this study as an exploratory process of meaning making pertained to an equally exploratory analysis. Analysis was employed throughout stages - starting with data collection moving into thematic analysis via the use of *a priori* coding alongside *axial* coding more akin to grounded theory (Charmaz 2006; Glaser and Strauss 1967; Richards 2006). The research questions employed are both theory-driven linked to practice and emic in terms of personal meanings, so a combination of analytical processes was considered appropriate along with combining findings with analysis and then further discussion.

At the point of data collection, both *a priori* codes linked to literature and a more flexible process were used that grew as data was collected and transcribed. Whilst interview topic guides linked to literature were helpful, discussion regularly emerged and evolved in unexpected ways. Rather than limit those, they were explored to access rich story telling. In this sense, an analysis process was employed as I moved from interview to interview and between sites. As I spent more time on site, questioning became increasingly tailored and sophisticated – a good example being on the diversity training at Riverside between students and staff another on the relationship between GCE and religion identified at Riverside and questioned at Hills. As Male (2016) argues, this blurs boundaries between analysis approaches in a kind of '*codified common sense'* (see Robson 2011). It was done to establish commonalities in and between sites but also to make use of data to inform subsequent data collection. Given the case study is an exploratory process so was data collection and analysis.

Of course, this then presented challenges for data reduction and coding. As Punch (2009) explains, data reduction occurs throughout analysis to manage output and focus on meaning. Data reduction took several stages – from note taking via field notes on site to

writing summaries for each school and transcriptions of each interview/focus group. After each site, interviews were transcribed to text, re-played, and re-read to generate initial ideas of codes and themes (Male 2016; Silverman 2011). It was focused on moving between the experience on site and connecting to theory (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007). Immersion in the data was the focus before any specific codes could be formulated beyond separation by research question (Jamieson 2016). As Male (2016) argues, whilst tempting to begin coding, immersion must be the first step; spending several weeks summarising similarities and differences vertically and horizontally in each school really helped to build a clearer narrative. Whilst time consuming, having summaries made later referral between sites much easier and strategic (Appendix 16 and 17).

Out of personal preference and in a desire to physically connect with data, it was decided to code and theme manually rather than via software like NVivo. Of course, this can lengthen the process, but it was felt that, in doing so, I could engage more closely with the context, expression, and intensity in a tangible way (Basit 2003; Delamont 1992; Ely et al. 1991). *A priori* codes played a role here with initial coding based in the literature around active citizenship, understanding of others, critical GCE, social and environmental justice GCE (Andreotti 2008; Oxley and Morris 2013; Stein 2015). These provided an initial framework before emergent codes could be developed (Richards 2006). When it came to interpretations, codes covered areas like multilingualism, experience overseas, intercultural awareness, volunteering, tolerance, and acceptance – meshing a plethora of structures and social phenomena. Figure 4 represents this combination of *a priori* and *axial* codes (Mayer 2015).

A priori codes
- national identity
- social justice
- neoliberal GCE
- environmental
- liberal-humanism/civil society

Emergent codes
- multilingualism
- time overseas
- tolerance
- legal freedoms
- social justice/questioning metanarratives

Interpretations of GCE THEMES
- Active citizenship
- Understanding Others
- Critical GCE
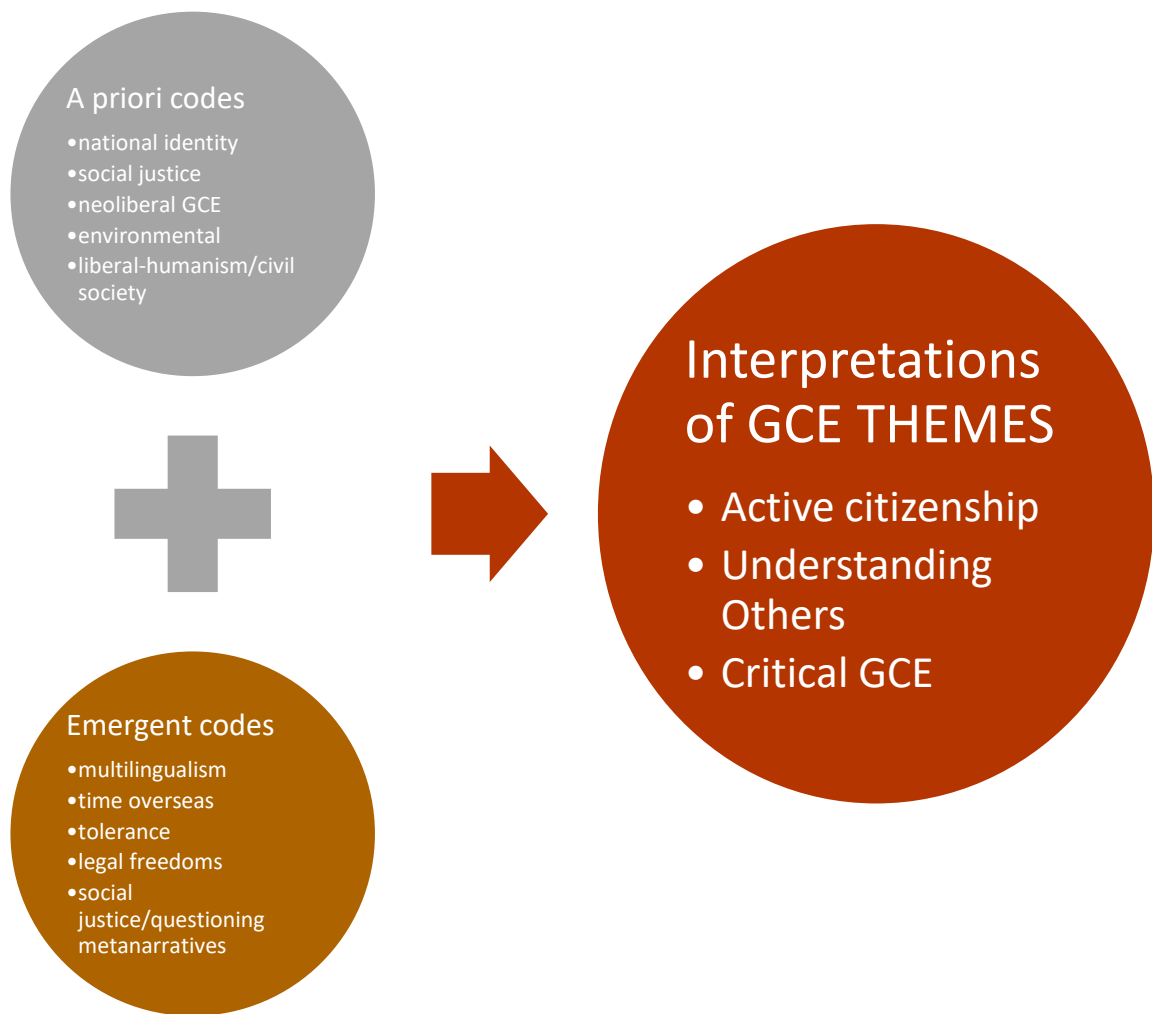
Figure 6: Example of Initial Coding Process

Data displays such as figure 4 helped to assemble information and evolved as I moved through interviews and between sites (Mayer 2015). With the unit of analysis being individual people, coding needed to be flexible to incorporate each voice and develop wider themes that represented those voices. Inter-coding was important at this stage – testing the stability of codes between interviews and sites which, in turn, adapted themes (Beach 2008). Having established codes, themes began to evolve in the data.

The importance of calibrating codes and themes was supported by the collaboration of data types: individual and group interviews, observations and document analysis of school policy and specifications. Like Neilson and Pritchard (2009), the goal of combining data types brought focus to the complex nature of GCE processes between interpretation, enactments, and challenges. Whilst observations grounded future interviews, they also formed a

constituent part of analysis and understanding GCE in action along with document analysis of syllabi and, of course, the interviews themselves. In this sense, using multiple data types, focused on rigour, was data centred collecting information in different ways and social situations and on a variety of people (Mayer 2015). This data was then combined to create, code, inter-code and, ultimately, produce themes. Taking a holistic approach like this was about exploration and representation of complexities, richness, and narrative rather than generalising or creating a set of ubiquitous rules; rather, it was hoped that the themes identified could enrich academic debate and resonate with practitioners alike.

Validity Issues

Rigour of research in education often pertains to reliability, generalisability, replicability, and internal validity (Boaz and Ashby 2003; Saunders 2019). As Saunders (2019) discusses, rich qualitative case studies are often not intended to be replicable because they represent a specific place in a specific time subject to a plethora of contextual factors. Whilst they do represent different arenas in the education field in terms of IB, non-IB, state and private and single-sex or co-ed, it would be very difficult to argue they are representative of the entirety of England, moreover, that is not the aim of case study research. That does not mean credibility cannot be derived from the research – instead, this came from the decisions made above and sensitively accessing interviewee knowledge and meaning (Saunders 2019). They were also leading schools in their field either because of academic results or because of their focus on GCE.

The value of qualitative methods here was in their flexibility and ability to capture data that is deeply personal and otherwise everyday but enabled a rich understanding of each site. Internal validity of the research refers to inferences and constructions of meanings that are derived from interviews, observations, group discussions and wider documents. Combining different data also supported validity of findings. It aimed to combine all methodological techniques employed to check for narrative inconsistencies as well as draw out common themes (Dabrowski 2018; Gergen and Gergen 2000).

Rather than inferring one system to be better than another, this thesis is concerned with analysing the constructions of GCE in different education settings and through different curricula. It is designed to be an exploratory piece of research with practical ideas for teachers working across the education sector in an English context.

Ethical Considerations

Adhering to ethical principles helps to assure the rigour, dependability, quality, and credibility of research. In a qualitative study, ethical principles are particularly important given the in-depth nature of the study. These ethical considerations ensured research reduced any potential risks to participants, protected their right to privacy and elicited continued consent.

Initially, prior work on safety was important – first via gaining ethical approval (see Appendix 13) from University. Second, given the research was working with students, all sites required an enhanced DBS Certificate as part of their safeguarding processes. This was applied for and obtained via the University DBS team before research could move to consent.

Informed Consent

Consent was a multifaceted process that remained open to participant wishes until the withdrawal date of April 2023 by which time analysis was complete. In line with BERA (2018) guidelines, I endeavoured to ensure all participants understood their role in the study, how data would be used, protected, and stored. This formed the contents of consent forms issued before individual and group interviews (British Psychological Society 2021); see Appendices 14 and 15. Given the age and maturity of students being over 16, it was felt that students could form their own views and therefore able to consent to the research without asking parental permission (Department for Education 2023; Ofsted 2014; UNCRC) alongside prior consent from senior management in the school.

However, consent in lesson observations was more complex. Whilst every effort was made to be transparent, the nature of research meant students and staff, arguably, could not give

full consent without changing their pedagogical practices or behaviour. Whilst consent to enter the lesson was provided, if they knew the nature of the study it felt the value of observation could be in jeopardy. As such, the evolutionary nature of the project meant consent was given after the lesson and formally approved before being interviewed (BERA 2018; Kemmis and McTaggart 2005).

Transparency

Linked to consent was transparency. As discussed, initial transparency was complex in lesson observations because full disclosure could have jeopardised data. Rather, I offered partial explanation of the study via the information sheets (Appendix 7) and an introduction on my role as researcher. Upon completion, all participants were offered comprehensive debriefing on the project's key research questions alongside a copy of the final report and/or a condensed version for their records (BERA 2018).

Privacy, Protection and Right to Withdraw

From the point of consent to final reporting, privacy and protection was paramount (Arifin 2018). That meant being adequality informed as well as consistently reminding participants of their freedom and right to withdraw. Participants were offered the right to withdraw until April 2023 (see participant rights in Appendices 14 and 15). Concurrently, their privacy and identity were protected.

The BERA guidelines make it clear that schools and individuals are entitled to confidentiality and anonymity. In the case of sites, reasonable precautions were taken to avoid too much specificity and therefore identification whilst respecting their values and the reasons they were selected for the study (Nespor 2000). All schools therefore used pseudonyms.

For individuals, privacy began by conducting interviews in quiet spaces in allocated classrooms whilst remaining visible to adhere to safeguarding requirements. Anonymity and confidentiality were preserved via pseudonyms and IDs. Equally, there were times when more was required. For instance, one participant did not wish to record a section of interview because of their role in the school. This had to be respected and recording stopped with data not included out of respect for privacy and protection (Kemmis and McTaggart 2005). Being aware of potential harm was crucial to a successful study particularly when discussing potentially traumatic issues around gender identity, ethnicity,

religion, values, and sexuality (Hicks and Bord 2001). Care was taken to ensure comfort and wellbeing of participants making interviews a space for reflection not judgment (BPS 2021). For students, that meant ensuring my role as a researcher and not as a teacher were made clear from the start.

Conclusion

This chapter has covered the philosophical and methodological framework of the study. It situated research within the comparative international education paradigm. It also explained the methodological choices made – designing a four-site exploratory case study frame that collected data qualitatively via several streams. Given the exploratory nature of research, it was felt an equally exploratory design was needed that could access rich and interesting narratives for making meaning. The next mini chapter introduces these four sites in more detail for the reader.

CHAPTER 3B: THE RESEARCH SITES

For the purposes of data and participant protection, the names of each school have been changed. Whilst the following section gives an overview of each site, it does not give explicit detail to protect their identity.

Greenlane School

Greenlane is an Ofsted Outstanding Academy in the London offering the IB diploma programme with an average point score of 35 (2023) and over 1100 students and 70 languages spoken, an international focus and hyper-diverse cohort with 91% from the global majority. It was the first UK state school to join the Educational Collaborative for International Schools. Students come from surrounding areas both low-income estates and higher-income academics' children actively wanting an international education but for free. There are notably several European students who have migrated to UK specifically to access the school. Having been established in 2006, the school is relatively new in the IB world.

It has also been awarded an International School Award for its commitment to embedding international work and global citizenship within the curriculum. This was one of the key reasons for selecting the school. In their marketing, the school use the global citizenship programme to explore issues from Black Lives Matter to Climate Change. Explicit reference to global citizenship offered an incredible opportunity to explore its role within the school. At the same time, being a state-maintained school, there are references to British Values on the website which offered an interesting opportunity for discussion on balancing the two paradigms.

The school very specifically links to the aims of the IB with references to intercultural understanding, respect, and tolerance as well as managing conflict. Interestingly, the school reference the need to equip students with the responsibilities of the contemporary World and aim to celebrate different cultures within their curriculum via a 'family' environment. The notion of responsibility features heavily across school marketing which was fascinating to explore with students and staff.

The values of the school focus on honesty, enterprise, responsibility, and opportunity. They claim to focus on inquiry-based learning that encourages action in the 'real world' with connections to local businesses.

They are the only school with a distinct anti-racism policy adopted in 2022 developed via a whole school decision panel. The policy states a commitment to curriculum based on respect, valuing diversity, and recognising situated historical understanding alongside a co-curricular environment that celebrates culture and promotes racial harmony in preparation for living in a diverse society. They acknowledge institutional racism within 'processes, attitudes and behaviour which amount to discrimination through unwitting prejudice, ignorance, thoughtless and racist stereotyping which disadvantages minority ethnic people' (Macpherson Report, 1999). Equally, they acknowledge education on British history has often neglected the work of non-white people and seek to eliminate, what they term, systemic injustices.

Whilst non-selective in Year 7, there are requirements for 6th form entry. Students must achieve 5 Grade 6 GCSEs including English and Maths – a similar requirement to Riverside. Students must have achieved 7s to take specific courses at Higher Level: English, all Sciences, Maths, Economics, History and Language B. Interestingly, all students are required to take a level 3 course in Maths whether they do the Diploma or Careers Programme. The school received funding in 2022 to providing extra tuition for all students to ensure continued Mathematical learning into Year 13.

Towers School

Towers is an Outstanding State Academy in Oxfordshire offering the A level programme. The school itself is single sex but Co-Ed at the 6th form working with the local Boys School as part of an Education Trust. The school has approximately 24% of students from the global majority. The Trust's core values cover integrity, ambition and leading for legacy with a commitment to excellence. In 2022, the school was awarded an International School Award from the British Council for work on bringing the international/global into its classrooms.

The school has a cohort of almost 1400 girls from age 11-18 and 1000 boys, making it the largest of the sites – with students largely coming from the local catchment area. It is consistently one of the highest performing schools in the UK, in the top 3% nationally at GCSE for progress and 66% A* - B grade at A level. Entry to the 6th form is selective with students needing 6 level 6s in their GCSEs although there is no specific requirement for chosen A level subjects. In this sense, it is the least selective of all the schools in the study. The school is non-denominational.

Again, non-denominational, the school instead promotes values of resilience, inclusivity, and mutual respect through their approach to teaching and learning and pastoral programme. They are explicit that they aim to promote British values such as tolerance and respect with a focus on adapting to the contemporary world and inducing leadership in students. They also promote social justice saying they are determined to ensure the most disadvantaged students thrive, students are challenged to reach the "destinations" they desire and promote respect through listening.

One of the key reasons for selecting this school was not only their academic reputation but also the active engagement of students. The school places emphasis on the notion of partnership between students, staff, and parents throughout and has an active student council. The website also states that students have had a significant impact on decision-making within the school and wider policy which was explored on the research visit.

Outside the classroom, students undertake "Ethos" weeks that celebrate diversity in the sixth form in areas like LGBTQIA. As part of their entry to 6th form, the school says they complete a 'Pivot Programme' designed to build confidence. This programme considers leadership, critical thinking, understanding difference and independence. In Year 12, students follow areas on consent, healthy relationships, navigating social media and personal finance. In Year 13 this moves to recognising and challenging discrimination for acceptance – including work on trade unions and professional conduct, parenthood and transitioning to adulthood.

Riverside School

Riverside is a relatively small Independent A level school in Southeast of England. Based in Cambridgeshire, they are semi-rural with access to large green space. The community was a total of almost 600 pupils 200 of those across Year 12 and 13. 80% of Sixth form are boarders with about 15% of boarders being international pupils largely from Asia, Europe, and the Middle East.

As such, the school advertise themselves as a small and friendly community whose pastoral care is one of the core values of the school based on Methodist Christian foundations. The focus on promoting individual strengths and developing unique personalities via small student to staff ratios of around 10-12 students in Sixth form classes. Academically, they are a high achieving school with 80% A* - B grades at A level in 2023. They are, however, less academically competitive than other schools in the area. To enter the sixth form, students need to average 5.5 at GCSE and at least a 5 in Maths and English along with a 7 in their A level choices.

This school was specifically selected because of the academic nature of the environment but also their specific pastoral values. On their website, Riverside frequently reference their goals to support students develop independence of thought and equip them with the skills to face challenges beyond school. In their aims, the school promote and respect Fundamental British Values including tolerance, mutual respect, and liberties. They also aim to be non-judgmental about global challenges and explore new ideas. They claim to blend value of courtesy, tolerance, and respect with being forward-thinking for university and beyond.

Perhaps most interesting about Riverside is that their values are explicitly connected to religion in their Christian origins and policies. Whilst not promoting a specific faith within the school, their aims relate heavily to moral values, responsibility, and community. They explicitly aim to engage students with a sense of right and wrong and explore the importance of common humanity and life. Their values focus on kindness, independence, and communication as well as responsibility as citizens.

The RSE framework, claims to focus on challenging pupils' perspectives and controversial conversations to understand global issues. Alongside personal relationships, RSE at the school encourages self-reflection and valuing diversity in and outside the classroom. It acknowledges the fluid nature of pupil identity development whilst encouraging students to engage with global issues.

There is a distinct focus on sustainability overseen by Head of Sustainability with student groups covering: fair trade, climate action, biodiversity, and energy efficiency. Students follow one of three strands outside of the class varying from CCF (Combined Cadet Force) to Model United Nations and volunteering.

Hills School

Hills is a relatively large independent school offering IB in semi-rural Southeast England with over 1000 students. It dates to the 15th Century and has run the IB since the late 1970s. The cohort itself attract students from across the world with over 45 countries represented across the student body and 40% of students classed as international. The teaching body is similarly diverse with several teachers from around the world – particularly within the modern languages department which the school argues bring cultural diversity to the staff room. The school has no religious affiliations.

The school itself has an outstanding reputation for teaching and learning, having been rated excellent by the ISI (Independent Schools Inspectorate) for attainment and personal development. It has won a myriad of awards for academic results and pastoral development. Whilst averaging over 39 points (out of a possible 45) in 2023 making it one of the highest attaining schools both in UK and across the IB world, the school aims to provide innovative thinking and a leading service programme that encourages community engagement both locally and internationally with connections to charities overseas.

Interestingly, the aims of the school are explicitly beyond a specific religious lens despite its age. The school is non-denominational, preferring, instead to use the framework of the IB to promote respect, tolerance, and open-mindedness. Regular assemblies and meetings are

held to promote these values and foster, they argue, a lifelong commitment to service, compassion, and preparation for leadership.

It aims to develop a global focus on the world which the school defines in relation to principles, compassion, and leadership in the complexities of the globalised world. Similarly, they argue that diversity is integrated into teaching such that it is a productive mechanism for enhancing international thinking and a curiosity about other perspectives. There is no reference to British Values at any point in the school's marketing.

Entry is highly selective. Students must present evidence of all-rounded ability beyond high academic results – specific grades are not presented on the school website. All students take four examinations to the school covering: English, critical thinking in a Social Science, Science and Maths.

RESEARCH FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

CHAPTER 4a: INTERPRETATIONS OF GCE AND CONTEXT

Introduction

The following chapter explores different interpretations of global citizenship education across the four school sites. It begins with interpretations in order to frame later enactments and challenges found in each of the school settings – these enactments and challenges were informed by the interpretations discussed by respondents. Of particular interest on interpretations were both how students saw GCE as a concept and how teachers conceptualised GCE which then informed their pedagogical practice, content choice and super curricula programmes in each of the four different sites. The chapter explores if and how interpretations of GCE are different in different curricula settings and what the importance of context might be for understanding types of GCE. The chapter is broadly separated into two sections: the first section covers interpretations of GCE grounded in a shared sense of humanity, community and responsibility for others which was observed in all four settings in different ways, the second section looks at other critical interpretations GCE which was only observed in IB settings. The chapter concludes therefore, that multiple interpretations of GCE were in operation in different settings and, specifically, the pivotal role of IB for consciously accessing critical forms of GCE at Greenlane and Hills.

Different Interpretations of GCE

Findings overwhelmingly suggested that students and staff in all settings ground their understanding of GCE in ways related to a shared sense of humanity and global community. Thematic analysis indicated a strong connection to commentary on common humanity, shared values and being a citizen of the world. This connection to shared values translated into openness towards others, a focus on internal and external social cohesion and active forms of citizenship.

Understanding and openness to others

There was a common focus in all schools, around understanding others and respecting different perspectives as a starting point:

Student1Hills (St1): "I'd like to think [GCE is about] the openness and acceptance of other cultures, other viewpoints and perspectives, others who maybe haven't been in the same country or the same social, economic situation and being able to listen, accept and factor those perspectives into your own views".

St5Greenlane: "you're trying not to let yourself be restricted by these ideas of you belong to this certain group or that group. I think if you're a global citizen, you're kind of trying to see things from others' perspectives…that you previously might not have been aware of because of the way the world is presented or other people from other cultures are presented…I think it's about being open to being surprised about certain things and learning new things."

Both of these students explored a connection to openness towards other perspectives and, as student 1 said, an acceptance of those cultures into one's own understandings. Both students explored the idea of seeing the world in different ways.

The Modern Foreign Languages (MFL) teacher at Greenlane expressed a similar understanding of GCE:

"It is this idea of having a global view of the world. So, having knowledge of an experience and being receptive to all different cultures…wanting to share and learn and broaden your experience."

This sentiment of openness and understanding of others was also articulated by students in both A level settings:

St3Riverside: "in terms of culture and other people's culture – being open to just listening to other people talking to you about it and not necessarily feeling the need to jump in with your own opinion"

Focus Group 5 (FG5) Towers: "I think it's important to understand other people's perspectives because everyone is going to have different views…I think if you discredit

others' opinions, you're going to end up being so fixed…never going to learn anything new".

The comments were interesting not only because they suggested the value of openness but also the importance of accessing wider knowledge to develop oneself. Specifically, the MFL teacher appeared to connect understanding of others to existing beyond the national and in a larger global forum; a similar sentiment made by focus group 5 at Towers when the student said, "if you discredit others' opinions, you're going to end up being so fixed". In a sense, openness to others was almost an imperative for accessing global society and sharing knowledge. Openness, whilst developing social and emotional growth was also a competency needed to succeed in the workplace. The idea of social mobility appeared to be intimated in the IBDP Coordinator's (Greenlane) response to GCE:

"I believe that a global citizen needs to be savvy and aware of what is happening around the world to really understand that different countries, different cultures, different societies approach very common problems in their own way. When I think of global citizenship, I think of an understanding of multiple perspectives and different cultures particularly different languages…a lot of people I grew up with, spoke multiple languages…I've experienced, here in the UK, I think a lot of people have preconceived notions about other cultures or how other people live."

The IBDP Coordinator drew on understanding of others and openness as foundational for global citizenship – specifically, the teacher suggested use of different language as a way to access other knowledges. The IBDP Coordinator also appeared to agree with focus group 5 at Towers that lack of exposure or acceptance of other culture could be limiting by saying "I've experienced, here in the UK, I think a lot of people have preconceived notions about other cultures or how other people live". This was an interesting comment about the specific context of England and, when questioned, the IBDP Coordinator later connected the reasoning for this partly to the education system – a challenge explored later. Across many students and staff in both A level and IB settings, openness and understanding of others was foundational to accessing a sense of global citizenship. There was also a connection between openness and understanding of others and access to global society. In terms of GCE, the quotes above drew on a common sense of humanity and empathy for others to

drive collaboration for good. Equally though, the selected comments above also appeared to accept others, valued opinion but did so as part of an imagined global society that appeared universalised and equally openness was a skill or competence required to exist in the contemporary world whilst accepting current global political and economic systems. Both teachers and students explored how lack of openness to other perspectives could be restrictive – in a sense making it a skill or competence required for access to the imagined "global view of the world." The comments on openness suggested a complex reality in all four settings where GCE sat within and between different understandings of GCE.

Openness/Understanding others in internal practice.
A key finding on openness was that A level settings exclusively focused on understanding and acceptance of others through *internal* practices rather than in connecting to wider society. At Riverside, the internal focus on understanding others manifested itself in Diversity Training.

Across both staff and students at Riverside, many references were made to the Diversity Training introduced in 2021 for Year 9 and 6th form students.

> St2FG2 at Riverside explained: "we had diversity training, so a couple of guys came in and they just, it was quite open. People were just discussing things and giving examples of how that might affect someone – you just wouldn't really notice you're doing it. In the boarding house, if there's someone who is cooking food from their background, if you made a comment like 'oh that stinks,' although that seems kind of everyday and may not have racist intent that might come across differently to someone."

Other students said:

> "Something that stuck with me was this idea of Black parents having to speak to their children and sort of having this talk with them about how they're perceived in society, and it shocked me."

The Religious Studies teacher also reflected:

> "We've had older pupils and alumnae come and do diversity training with the 6th form and year 9 and I think that's resulted in good open forums and discussion on specific

issues linked to diversity and sharing the experience – particularly what happens informally within the houses".

Diversity training was alumni-led and orientated towards everyday practices for students. By engaging previous students and looking specifically at individual experiences in the boarding houses or specific students, the focus appeared to be about understanding others for internal cohesion. Both the RS teacher and St2FG2 discussed the value of Diversity Training within pastoral environments like the boarding houses. As such, GCE took on the form of inclusion and acceptance of difference for community *within* the school itself.

This focus on internal community was reflected elsewhere via World Culture Days celebrating cultural diversity in Riverside with presentations, music, and food. The Head of Teaching and Learning even described a "poverty lunch" designed to develop wider awareness of different socio-economic environments and empathy for others. Whilst problematised later, activities linked to celebration of cultural differences, understanding different socio-economic groups and how the lived experiences of different communities *within* school combined to create a sense that Riverside was trying to engender empathy amongst students and others as an interpretation of openness.

Engendering openness for the internal community of school was also observed at Towers. Here, evidence of understanding others came from assemblies and societies like LGBTQIA society led by people identifying themselves in that capacity:

St2Towers: "we have quite a few representatives in our school. We have an LGBTQIA society where people are encouraged to go and express their views and be open and teachers asks us to lead assemblies sometimes."

Ultimately, whilst focused on appreciating and valuing others, these actions do not go any deeper. The example given at Towers was about LGBTQIA. Student 2 explored the presence of "representatives" in the school that have formed a society and were called upon to lead assemblies. An interesting point – again similar to Riverside – was that the "teachers ask us to lead" on expanding knowledge of others much like the Diversity Training. At both Riverside and Towers, ownership of inclusion and openness towards others beyond the classroom was placed in the students rather than the teachers. Students were asked to

reflect on their perspectives by other students grounding GCE in student responsibility rather than staff. Taken together, interpretations of GCE in A level settings predominantly translated into internal practices to promote cohesion of the community, an interesting and key finding. At IB schools, interpretations related to understanding others translated into active citizenship beyond the school.

GCE as Social Responsibility and Active Citizenship

Interpretations of GCE at IB schools extended to responsibility, service, and active citizenship beyond the confines of the school. Active citizenship at Greenlane and Hills was rooted in volunteering that was common across both IB and A level settings but only translated into tangible action in IB settings.

Every student interviewed in each of the four schools understood an element of GCE as working together and being part of a global community:

St1Greenlane: "it is about working together to improve the world…creating a sense of togetherness if we want to achieve true global citizenship"

St1Towers: "We are all part of the world together…work together and take steps to make the world a better place"

FG3Towers: "we have commonalities in language, society, culture…everyone is part of a global community because we're on the same planet"

For teachers and students in the IB schools, though, that sense of global community, cosmopolitanism, translated into a practical need or responsibility to act. For instance, the Head of T&L at Greenlane said:

"I think global citizenship is taking responsibility for things that happen in the world. It's easy isn't it for us to believe that we make decisions on a micro level and therefore what we do doesn't have a global impact. But, to me, it's about being part of bigger infrastructure."

The Head of Teaching & Learning (T&L) at Hills – also IB – echoed those sentiments:

"[GCE] is a recognition of the role that any individual plays as part of a community…that sort of recognition carries weight both within a local environment in action but also part of a much wider environment."

This was reflected across all students and staff regardless of level. For instance, the English teacher at Greenlane, state IB, said:

"You take responsibility for people in countries all over the world. Being a global citizen is teaching our children that the idea of a country is a made-up concept to start with. So, if you are going to be a citizen, the only moral way is to be a citizen of the world meaning to take responsibility for people around you and in countries all over the world as well as the world itself."

Both the English teacher and Head of Teaching and Learning used the word responsibility in reference to engaging with others. Responsibility, arguably, evoked a sense of connection to wider community but also a sustained power dynamic of those with economic freedom and those in need of help – almost a kind of saviourism in IB schools. By focusing on responsibility to act, the staff and students did not consider the power dynamics of volunteering and how volunteering could serve very little to enact meaningful social change without self-reflection.

A student from Hills said:

"Morally and ethically [GCE is about] helping other people who are less fortunate."

As the Head of T&L at the school said, the idea of responsibility for others related to actively engaging with community. In practice, that varied from working with local primary schools to retirement homes and fundraising events. As part of their IB Creativity Action and Service requirements, all students engaged with service learning at Hills and Greenlane.

Head of T&L Hills: "clubs and activities where students are engaged give particular currency in the service and outreach programme where you've got students working with communities both locally and overseas."

FG2Hills: "we organise a student robotics team together as we do outreach as a regular part…we bring our robot and maybe some parts and equipment to primary

schools…they can have a hand in building some robots, trying to drive them. We explain how we both manufacture and design everything. So, it's trying to engage primary school students in doing robotics later."

St2: yea and we do charity drives with other schools too".

Similarly, students at Greenlane looked locally with volunteering in dementia homes. As the CAS Coordinator said:

"Students volunteering at a day centre for people with dementia and they relate that to global importance because it's an issue that faces every country in the world. So, I do think service is important in terms of leaving boundaries because my impression is very much many of them don't leave London often…the idea of helping others, doing volunteer work, and making a difference to communities is a big part of global citizenship. I think if you're helping and volunteering, you're becoming a better person."

The examples given, grounded this form of GCE beyond the internal community – as found in the A level settings and, instead, in the wider local community to active citizenship. The students at Hills expressed a service activity with primary schools that taught students to build robots. The idea appeared to be about giving access to materials, activities that these students may not have had already and engaging in a teacher/student relationship. The students at Hills took a leadership role in imparting knowledge to younger students which fed into existing power structures. Equally, the CAS Coordinator at Greenlane connected service to volunteering in dementia homes and "helping others." More so, the CAS Coordinator continued to connect volunteering with a kind of moral engagement and self-improvement by saying, "if you're helping and volunteering, you're becoming a better person." References to community projects and working with local schools were grounded in a sense of responsibility and commitment to society but it was also a kind 'Saviourism' because the students maintained a power status of those imparting knowledge or charity with very little self-reflection on power dynamics in the process of volunteering. As a result, potentially interpreting citizenship in terms of helping others, the IB settings were not addressing social injustice but working to develop individual skills and personal growth

based on common good and individual development at the same time. Again, the picture was complex and reflected a multifaceted understanding of GCE in IB across a number of different typologies.

Other interpretations of GCE

Interestingly, the IB students and staff were the only respondents to consciously interpret GCE in more critical ways. Central to many of their comments was the process of self-reflection and how exposure to others supported a reflexive process of self-development. For IB settings, interpretations of global citizenship education showed evidence of wider critical thinking and awareness beyond an appreciation of others or collective responsibility. In their work on self-reflection and changing perceptions, students and staff began to recentre narratives around inequality and social change in a way not voiced as intentional at Riverside or Towers. As a result, IB work on service-learning rhetoric and understanding others began to enter new areas in GCE more akin to critical theorists in the field.

The first area was in self-reflection. At Greenlane, the IBDP Coordinator said:

> "GCE requires us to be able to deal with the complex, complicated and controversial topics and to have educated discourse about them. To challenge our own views, our own biases that bring us into conflict with others but be willing to change our way of thinking."

Self-reflection was also referenced by students within the school.

> St6: "you may have gone on believing one thing entirely…but then you're brought this different perspective and might be like – oh you know what? I can't agree with this…I can adapt this and change my views."

> St7: "I think global citizenship requires you to kind of understand that your way of thinking is not the only way of thinking that exists".

The Head of TOK at Hills explained in more detail:

"The global citizen is one who can understand their own cultural perspective, the limitations, and strengths, I suppose…so students need to identify and understand issues like cancel culture and the relativity of words presented through social media like "culture wars" and think more critically. Instead, it is about exploring the value in others such as Indigenous societies and their roles. There's much more interconnection than there used to be in TOK connecting cultural practices, undermining the – I'm going to say – dominant Western narrative – and discussing post-colonial narratives."

In this quote, the Head of TOK referenced inclusion of Indigenous society discourses, now part of the TOK programme, to explicitly engage with wider discourses although the teacher did not elaborate on which narratives or ideas. Nevertheless, the reference showed an awareness of the critical literature particularly around representation but also disrupting "dominant Western narrative" to include other perspectives that would facilitate self-reflection. The Head of TOK, specifically seemed to see the importance of students accessing global issues through "relativity" of thought and in a more critical way for self-reflection and internal change.

Similarly, discussing their module on core critical thinking (see Chapter 5 Enactments), the Head of Philosophy at Hills said:

"Before it was very Eurocentric, and we were trying to diversify a little bit more and one of the ideas we came up with was global citizenship…we were designing lessons on language. So, the language that you speak ultimately determines the way you perceive the world. We wanted to get students to reflect on themselves and their positioning."

Here, both staff at Hills articulated an orientation relating to global citizenship that was more historicised and politicised for students. So, beyond understanding others from a cosmopolitan or common humanity grounding, this type of interpretation was about re-situating knowledge of others in a way that questioned the self and led to a significant shift in perspective. Self-reflection was centralised by teachers at Hills as the first step towards more critical approaches to GCE.

The next stage was to see how perspectives around self-reflection and change were enacted in co-curricular practice. Students at Hills gave examples of more critical approaches to GCE:

St5Hills: "pride society and an anti-racist society discussing current events…my friends ran like a diversity week which was partially about diversity in terms of other cultures and sexuality and then also about global ideas…we did movie night for younger students which was a film about a girl growing up with the Taliban and we talked about it after…we definitely wanted something that wasn't Western or British so they could learn about others but also begin to question perhaps their perceptions of life in Afghanistan".

St3Hills also said: "we have race club. So, we talk about race in the school and how we can improve as a school being part of the conversation…we made a survey asking students whether the school was racist asking students to reflect on themselves and their experiences."

This example shows both a more critical approach to learning and drive from the students themselves. In terms of criticality, the examples linked with exploration and interest in other cultures but also served to situate students within a wider global community to question their own frames of reference by examining cultural frameworks – particularly via the documentary work on the Taliban. Students at Hills – via pride society, anti-racist society and race club were engaging with critical reflections of the self and actively trying to acknowledge and change potential bias. However, self-reflection and change were not limited to students at Hills – a number of staff also explored interpretations of GCE:

St1 Hills began by saying:

"The teachers involved in the pride committee are very open and, my history teacher, who is Bi, has done several assemblies on being Bi, its validity, gender, and sexuality. As has the Spanish teacher who supports Pride committee. He walked through the lunch hall in drag once holding the LGBTQIA flag. I think because I've been able to be on all these committees, I've seen that the school are trying. I know the teachers have INSET days and days where they are learning how to be respectful. It's a very inclusive

school. There is not much bullying and, as far as I'm aware…I think that's seems rare, at least from other private schools where students have been before."

Discussing the approach of teachers, the Head of T&L said:

"Representation from diverse communities and backgrounds and recognition of this…their status as people from diverse communities is part of the fabric of the walls here. Then it has currency in staff training and CPD. We have been doing recently – addressing notions of diversity in the classroom – not just what you teach but in terms of the language you use and the unconscious bias that takes place."

These quotes appeared to suggest a unique reciprocity of learning about others happening beyond the classroom with teachers endeavouring to learn and change their processes. Teachers in Hills were reflecting on use of language but also used their own identities to support student groups such as LGBTQIA. Both students and staff at Hills used the co-curricular programme to challenge dominant narratives around issues but also reflect on their own positioning. Most interestingly for this research, self-reflection of positioning was not limited to the students but also with staff undertaking INSET work on language use in the classroom and "addressing notions of diversity in the classroom" around unconscious bias. Self-reflection was, once again, central to understanding and accessing different approaches to GCE.

The Head of T&L at Greenlane reiterated a similar approach to self-reflective practice and power imbalance through co-curricular learning:

"It is about changing the way we conceive of what it means to be educated in service learning away from the power imbalance of 'them' and us and donating money to a more interesting reciprocal dynamic relationship about mutual growth."

In their outward facing service learning too, both Hills and Greenlane showed evidence of growing criticality for social change. The first of these referenced a partner school in Ghana. Whilst Riverside *did* also have a partner school in Ghana linked to their Prep School, it was a totally different relationship than that of Hills. As referenced earlier in the chapter, service learning at Hills had in the words of Head of T&L, become:

"a more interesting kind of reciprocal dynamic relationship that is about mutual growth."

Members of Focus Group 2 explained this:

"St4: we help organise events and then we also do Science based STEM challenges for them.

St3: It's called EduSpots and under that there's EduSTEM and we create resources, teaching STEM camps.

St1: We get videos from them [Ghanian School] a lot and they have an Instagram page.

St5: Yea, we made a coding challenge. We did like, they must break the code or make a code for us to break too."

The idea behind this project was one of reciprocal learning based around STEM. Students in Ghana were challenged to engage with coding, whilst students at Hills also expanded their knowledge and understanding relating to STEM in Ghana and its context. The project was one predicated on reciprocal learning – students set coding problems for each other. The purpose was to understand different working contexts, work with others and challenge the language of service learning away from a power dynamic of social responsibility or imparting knowledge to those in need. In many senses, the project appeared to question a modern/colonial narrative of those with vs those without power by placing value in all groups of students and staff so that ideas of imparting knowledge from 'us' to 'them' was not dominant. Students in UK gained an insight into the needs of students in Accra whilst acknowledging the logistical challenges of coding in Africa whilst students in Ghana were exposed to new technologies that they may not have had through school.

As a concept, EduSpots was one based on communities having a central role in decision-making and co-creation of the "future they want to see through education." The idea was a network of students, staff, community members and leaders working together to develop the skills they wanted and needed – in this case relating to STEM. Having received initial training in Ghana, community educators created clubs for students in collaboration with

science and literacy partners in Ghana and beyond. EduSTEM was the example found in Hills, but they also ran EduLit to improve critical thinking skills on both sides. Simultaneously, teachers and volunteers arguably developed their skills in student-centred pedagogy (EduSpots 2023). From a critical perspective, the project was one grounded in working with and valuing others at equal levels through reciprocal learning rather than charity and therefore undermined potential power dynamics across the institutions and communities.

Reciprocity also featured at Greenlane via their work with an American International School locally. The CAS Coordinator explained:

> "Some of the American School kids work with ours and they plan a conference and get speakers and it's about issues important to young people. So, it's racism and mental health…we host a conference in the school and over 100 students from different schools. It's all about culture and identity…the fact that the American School kids are working with ours is a big thing because of the cultural clashes – with them paying tens of thousands of pounds a year and we are free. It's a very white, rich kind of school and then ours so there's challenges in terms of different styles…but it's realising you can work with people who have a very different background."

By collaborating on key issues like identity, racism and mental health, students at Greenlane were transcending a single world view and actively engaging with their community in the form of another school. More importantly though, the American school was a totally different cohort to their own. Unlike Greenlane, the American School was highly selective, economically elite, and predominantly White. The students at Greenlane were therefore being asked to address preconceived ideas about these students and learn to collaborate with them in a productive but, crucially, equal way. The conference was held at Greenlane and run jointly. Perhaps more interestingly though, given the context of Greenlane – a free, state academy, is that this dynamic directly contradicted the idea that international schools are elite-class reproduction-based institutions because its students did not fit that demographic. Whilst Greenlane did not openly say they were international, much of their identity would suggest they are – particularly ideologically, by teaching the IB and having a

hyper-diverse cohort. In fact, aside from the academic requirements of 5 6s at GCSE, the school is open to all students regardless of background. In the case of the conference, students were having to work together and develop empathy with people they may have had preconceptions about. Moreover, the topics included spoke to areas of social justice, voice, and self-reflective practices.

Why the difference between IB and A level schools

Whilst the interpretations offered insights into how the schools framed GCE, different interpretations also highlighted the central importance of context when trying to understand why there was such a marked difference between IB and A level schools.

For teachers, a defining factor in interpreting GCE was the International Baccalaureate itself. Within Greenlane, the IB Diploma (IBDP) Coordinator said:

> "The whole philosophy is creating what, Alison Yang calls agile learners in a volatile world. Starting very broad by helping students understand different academic disciplines – helps you understand the world in a different way, like a different language to life. It's not the knowledge – the knowledge is peripheral to the development of the student. The IB focuses on what's logical which is adult-centred education. It's about – you must connect learning to that student and the student connect to the knowledge. That's why IB talks about inquiry driven learning and those ATL skill sets because they are the core."

The IBDP Coordinator's comments appeared to indicate that IB was driven by understanding different perspectives and the development of skills linked to that. Indeed, the IBDP Coordinator suggested knowledge was peripheral to the development of individuals and specifically, skills involving questioning, discussion, and critical thinking to be practical in an uncertain world.

The IBDP Coordinator at Greenlane continued:

> "The whole philosophy – starting very broad - helps students have an articulate understanding of different academic disciplines. When you learn about an academic discipline it helps you understand the world that you live in in a different way like a different language of life. As students start to articulate these different disciplines,

they move into being more open-minded. It's what the entire programme is trying to create and curate. That's why the IB talks about inquiry driven learning. It's why they talk about ingraining those skills because they are core. As the students work their way out, they're better prepared to articulate and handle academic knowledge."

Discussing the process of the IB, the Head of Teaching and Learning at Hills agreed that the programmes focus on specific values of open-mindedness and critical thinking but were designed to apply in all teaching contexts:

"The IB has a set of values that should underpin any school – the way in which those values manifest themselves will, of course, slightly vary. If I was working in an inner-city school with a more entrenched sort of culturally diverse representative of students from other countries or faiths, then the way I approach the IB mission might be more nuanced but the values remain the same regardless so IB schools should feel similar.

Similarly, the Chemistry teacher at Greenlane said:

"The IB inherently, by being a global education system, just the way it's been built – means it's a curriculum for students all over the world. It's designed to cover different subjects in different systems and languages so needs to be broad. You know, you can be in the UK or in South America and the students learn the same subject. They are, I think, more well-rounded and think, you know, yes, I do Chemistry, but I have five other subjects. There are times when they bring in stuff they've learned and I think, you wouldn't have been able to say that if you had just done what most students who do Chemistry in UK have – Maths, Physics etc."

These comments alluded to a kind of cohesion gained through membership of the IBO and delivering the IB programme. As both the Chemistry teacher and Head of T&L at Greenlane said, the IB was designed to be applicable to any context both culturally, demographically, economically, and religiously. Underpinning the transferability of the IB, they said, was a core set of values that were central to education beyond the content actually being taught. The commitment to openness, acceptance of other perspectives, critical thinking, and adaptability at the core of IB ideology could be the reason why Greenlane and Hills accessed

understandings of GCE that crossed a number of typologies because specific values were at the core. The comments of the IBDP Coordinator at Greenlane in particular, appeared to echo elements of many different types of GCE: openness to others and a grounded sense of global community; development of skills for an uncertain future and preparing students to exist in that society without endeavouring to change it as well as critical thinking/adaptation of self for equality. IB, he said, provided the framework in its core values for students to approach education and the world in such complex and nuanced ways and therefore the capacity to access GCE in similarly complex ways. For interpretations of GCE then, the nature of the IB and its ethos was a key driver for staff at Greenlane and Hills. Senior members of staff at both schools commented on how the IB acted as a framework for understanding GCE and resultant enactments of it at school.

Summary of findings

This section has considered the differing interpretations of GCE across the four secondary sites in the study. The findings on interpretations of GCE concluded four key ideas: all schools recognised openness towards others as foundational to global citizenship. Openness towards others, in all four schools, was grounded in being part of a shared global society. Openness towards others, however, translated differently between A level and IB schools. The former used openness and a desire to understand others in promoting internal cohesion practices such as Diversity Training or assemblies from LGBTQIA communities at Towers. In IB schools, interpretations of openness translated into social responsibility and external action designed to connect students with the wider community through volunteering work. Nevertheless, both the external and internal practices of all four schools were largely driven by interpretations based in shared community and social responsibility.

Findings also highlighted how GCE was interpreted in overlapping and complex ways in different sites with IB schools. In looking at interpretations in a more open way, the research could saw how these interpretations interacted in productive and interesting ways in the daily life of schools. Equally, findings around critical interpretations of GCE centralised the idea of self-reflection as a starting point for students at Greenlane and Hills and teachers at Hills. Self-reflection through co-curricular work intentionally led students to recognise

alternative knowledge frameworks for some level of internal change. IB schools were the only sites where students and staff consciously discussed ideas of change. The students and staff often framed GCE around self-reflection and internal change – almost an interface between social change and a desire for justice as well as developing skills that could be used for individual success. Through reciprocal service learning and discussions on Indigenous knowledge in TOK, students were changing their perceptions of knowledge by reflecting on their existing knowledge frameworks. However, the critical reflection was about development of the self in many cases which felt more individual in its manifestation and for personal development – the notable exception being EduSpots. Findings in the IB context offer an interesting movement for academia because they also showed glimmers of connection to critical and post-critical understandings of GCE as well as using values beyond pre-determined forms of GCE. It appeared that the vibrant discussion that has driven the academic community is now becoming more mainstream in practice as Pashby and Sund (2019) found in England, Finland, and Sweden.

CHAPTER 4b: DISCUSSION ON INTERPRETATIONS OF GCE

Introduction

The next section explores how the literature helps to make sense of the key findings above and what contributions the findings make for understanding GCE in English Schools. The section covers how interpretations at all four schools were framed in similar ways to existing models in the literature. The section then explores how this empirical research reflects similar empirical work. Next, the section considers how findings differed from other empirical efforts because many actions – like Diversity Training – were not designed to be assimilationist as other empirical work had discovered. Finally, the section considers an interesting development in IB settings that showed evidence of more nuanced and developing connections to GCE explored at length in academia played out in the school environment as well as using IB values to move beyond pre-defined forms of GCE.

Understandings of GCE in theory and practice

There was clear cohesion across all sectors that openness was linked to better understanding for the purpose of cooperation, appreciation, and respect. In A level settings, openness towards others was focused on internal cohesion within the school community itself. Focus on internal cohesion seemed to draw parallels with Schattle (2008)'s discussions on liberal multiculturalism. Liberal multiculturalism covers:

> "Moral visions of mutual respect and engagement across cultures as well as the duty
> to protect the rights of ethnic, religious, linguistic and cultural minority groups within
> a diversely populated nation-state, thereby encouraging minority groups to maintain
> particular traditions even in the face of pressures to assimilate into a dominant culture
> (Schattle 2008: 77)"

This perspective clearly explains the interpretations of GCE seen at Riverside. Whilst many students valued Diversity learning, the practice rarely framed learning within power dynamics or for social justice. Indeed, students from the global majority felt more could be done and an uneasiness at the expectation that they be the beacons of knowledge. In this

sense, Diversity training had the potential to fall into a kind of reductive tokenism bolted on to the school and enhance difference rather than embrace it (NAHT 2011; Oxley and Morris 2013). The Diversity Training, arguably, served to engage a sense of mutual respect for the purposes of cohesion in community but not in questioning frameworks of power. The focus on inward cohesion was like the work of Dvir et al. (2018) in Chicago and Yemini's (2018) work in inner-city London. Both studies found that GCE was used in more diverse schools as a source of commonality and understanding to address tensions between student groups.

However, Diversity Training did have potential. As Pashby et al (2020) explained, cosmopolitanism through openness to others and representation of groups in society, can lead to meaningful discussion and relativism of thinking by causing students to reflect and therefore bring different voices more to the forefront of social discussion and policy. Social GCE – described by Oxley and Morris (2013) covers both the relativist and the more radical approaches to the goal of representation (Oxley and Morris 2013) that could be seen in Diversity Training.

Equally, definitions of GCE across all sectors were often grounded in a sense of global community, shared humanity, and resultant responsibility for others but in a one-dimension way. The comments on global society and "working together" could also be better understood through moral cosmopolitanism and the work of Schattle (2008), da Costa, Hanley and Sant (2024) and Oxley and Morris (2013). In this perspective, students, and staff at all four schools were connecting to an imagined sense of universalised human values and ethical responsibility to protect and enhance human dignity (Oxley and Morris 2013). As Schattle (2008) explained, a moral cosmopolitan approach to GCE then connects to a sense of responsibility or obligation to enhance wellbeing of all for a kind of common good (Peterson 2011) – in this case, through volunteering in dementia homes, working with primary school students and recycling.

The Head of Politics at Riverside connected to international institutions to fulfil those societal "obligations" via Sustainability goals and the UN. Arguably, such a connection to global governance could reflect Gaudelli's (2009) discussion of a World Justice model. In the Global Justice approach, discourses around humanity and morality connected areas like the International Criminal Court or Human Rights charters and codified human rights

frameworks to function in an imagined global moral order Whilst Gaudelli (2009) then explicates this in educational contexts through Model United Nations, the example given by the Head of Politics connected to UN Sustainable Development. Equally though, the focus on institutionalised global justice did not aim to disrupt global order or question existing economic and political frameworks but work with them for positive social change.

Connection to empirical work

In many ways, the findings across the four settings, were not dissimilar to earlier empirical work on GCE that found perspectives around social responsibility and common humanity as core to GCE practices in schools. As Ferguson and Brett (2023) found across Netherlands, Finland, and Australia – understandings of GCE were grounded in a similarly cosmopolitan framework which translated into community service and charity work. The students and staff interviewed, similarly spoke of an imagined global society and sense of common humanity that often led to celebratory events or volunteering to support the wider community. Similarly, in their study of Swedish students in Tanzania, Pashby, Sund and Tryggvason (2023) found students centred their experience through a 'taken-for-granted' lens. Students' work in Tanzania served to highlight their own privilege in education, food, and lifestyle which, arguably, cemented an 'othering' process and desire to help those in the developing world rather than situate the experience in historical structures of power. A charity framework of help was similar in Hills' work with primary schools and Greenlane's work with dementia patients. In a sense, students at Hills, Riverside and Greenlane were gaining skills like intercultural understanding and improving their sense of self whilst in a framework of moral responsibility. As Pashby et al (2020) noted, the charity work undertaken was potentially at a 'liberal-neoliberal interface' because the charity work served as a mechanism of self-improvement that could be used for University applications and individual success as much as via a grounding in common humanity but without a real desire for societal change or understanding structural injustices. The students did not consider structural inequalities that lead young/old people having differential access to services. Interpretations of GCE across the schools, though, were not limited to one's role in

society or openness to others. In the IB settings, some of the interpretations of GCE showed antecedents of connections to critical approaches.

However, some of the findings in this study did differ from empirical work. Unlike the work of Woods and Kong (2020) and Wang and Hoffman (2016) whose findings in China and USA, suggested a universalist approach to understanding the world through assimilation into a single-world view there was evidence at Riverside that assimilation was not the objective. Woods and Kong (2020) found that whilst the schools in their study promoted inclusion, the reality was a project of assimilation as was the case for Wang and Hoffman (2016). But the Diversity Training at Riverside was different – the students were not assimilating into a single vision of the school but reflecting on their previous positioning towards others and trying to be more accepting of difference – particularly in the boarding house. Whilst not touching on power structures or underlying assumptions, or the role of teachers, it did offer a space for reflection and, therefore, a kind of liberal and, potentially, critical interface if used more consciously for that goal (Pashby et al. 2020) by engaging students in a shared sense of humanity and care for their environment as well as determining potential social justice practices for individuals.

Equally, the use of assemblies and societies at Towers was designed to include the voices of different communities into the school and not assimilate them into a single world view. Unlike Woods and Kong (2020) the internal form of GCE was more about promoting social cohesion within Towers.

Seeing the critical in IB settings

Interpretations of GCE across the schools, though, were not limited to one's role in society or openness to others. In the IB settings, some of the interpretations of GCE showed antecedents of connections to critical approaches. Through self-reflective practice, understanding and critiquing one's own lenses and then translating that into meaningful reciprocal learning, students at Hills and Greenlane and – crucially also – staff at Hills were beginning to engage philosophically with idea of power dynamics and social order with a

view to social justice practice; this is an interesting finding because it counters much of the earlier empirical work on GCE practices particularly in IB settings.

Self-reflection was central to many of the discussions across Hills and Greenlane. As Skelton (2007) explores, sense of self was directly linked to the ability to understand other cultures – the two are linked (Byram and Feng 2004; Deardorff 2004). It was a cognitive process that involved gaining clarity, interest, and desire to explore other cultures so that one can critically reflect on the self (Chen and Starosta 1996; Walton et al. 2015). In an IB context, self-reflection pertained to the origins of IB and its language around intercultural understanding, but it could also be connected to critical literacy. As both the IBDP Coordinator at Greenlane and students commented, there was an acceptance that their knowledge was partial and incomplete – instead, culturally constructed as Andreotti (2006, 2014) argued of critical literacy. Andreotti (2006, 2014) suggested, that to expand one's knowledge, one must engage with our own frameworks of understanding as well as others to transform those perspectives; Andreotti phrased this as thinking otherwise (Andreotti 2014; Andreotti and de Souza (2008a). This was exactly what the students and staff across Hills and Greenlane were doing both via exploring Indigenous knowledges in TOK and within their service-learning programmes. Critical literacy was, therefore, less about revealing a universal sense of truth for individuals but about being a space for self-reflection of a person's truths, their misconceptions about the world, skills development and then reflexivity based in wider understandings of power, language, and social order. As the TOK teacher mentioned, students were beginning to question universality in their learning and engaging with other narratives and knowledges. By exposing students to different communities – both in class and via the EduSTEM programme at Hills and conference at Greenlane, students were developing critical literacy skills and thinking about social change and justice (Aktas et al. 2017) by learning to unlearn, listen and accepting that conflict can be productive particularly the case at Greenlane) as in the *Through Others Eyes (TOE)* project (de Souza and Andreotti 2009).

However, the research findings here did suggest an underlying desire to be productive – via reciprocal pedagogical practices or a successful conference with actionable outcomes. Whilst the *TOE* project exposed students to Indigenous perspectives, it also asked them to

re-arrange "their attachments to absolute certainties and desires for consensus intelligibility and discursive completeness" (Andreotti 2014: 143 cited in Stein 2015: 247) in a way that the projects at Greenlane and Hills did not quite do. As Stein (2015) explains, the TOE project was less about self-reflection, finding connection or about understanding others but more focused on questioning the existing modern framework and questioning possibilities for change that may have been previously inaccessible. Arguably, Greenlane and Hills were still predominantly sitting in the stage of self-reflection and understanding of others whilst also engaging with other narratives through their anti-racist societies, TOK programme and LGBTQIA work at Hills. Perhaps, then, the work of Greenlane and Hills and their understandings of GCE sat at a 'liberal-critical' interface (Pashby et al. 2020).

Oxley and Morris' (2013) model of GCE potentially help to explain the findings of this study particularly around EduSTEM at Hills. Oxley and Morris (2013) positioned critical GCE as a subset of 'advocacy' and social GCE. In the model, advocacy GCE was described as connected to, "transnational activism, including 'capitalist, institutional, cosmopolitan universalism and localised, grass-roots post-colonial relativism" (ibid: 311 cited in Pashby et al 2020). By connecting critical GCE to 'advocacy', it appears there was a link to working with NGOs and international organisations as a way to enhance representation of global majority communities and human rights (see Abdi and Shultz 2008). In taking a more pragmatic approach, Pashby et al (2020) explored how Oxley and Morris' (2013) model could represent a 'liberal-critical' interface. If one looks to EduSTEM, arguably there was a similar connection to NGOs for social justice advocacy. Oxley and Morris (2013: 11) refer to approaches like EduSTEM as "grass-roots post-colonial relativism" because there was clearly a critical element with regards to balance of power and reciprocal service learning but still within a framework of charity through NGOs. The relationship between EduSTEM, Hills and their Ghanaian partners was more complex than a charity framework but, perhaps, still working through an NGO founded in UK, it was not at the point of social justice in the same way as other forms of critical GCE would advocate (Andreotti 2014).

IB schools at a crossroads

Arguably, the IB schools - Hills and Greenlane through their understanding of GCE were operating in a similar way to Rizvi's (2009) paper on critical cosmopolitanism. Rizvi's work discussed a kind of critical cosmopolitanism that still valued a common sense of humanity beyond the state but also examined structures of power and the political dimensions of global society. Rizvi (2009) proposed placing the global empirically and normatively to develop epistemic transnationalism that enabled students to work ethically or, at least, not further social inequities and be more inclusive. In Rizvi's (2009) work, students critically explored - via open-ended exercise – notions of cross-cultural relationalities and become reflexive of epistemic assumptions. On a critical level, students engaged with representation issues and theories of oppression but then placed that within a common humanity framework for consensual progress. In a similar way to Shultz's (2007) transformational approach too, students at Hills were engaging with dialogue between groups and society by being companions, "accompanying the other on a journey to find just and compassionate responses to injustice" (Shultz 2007: 256)" but they did so within a framework of globalised society and commonality of life in the 21st century particularly when it came to use of technology and the need for coding itself to be competitive in the global economy. Whilst students at Hills engaged in ethical work with the Ghanaian community they still did so within a framework of responsibility for individuals and existing in the 21st Century where IT-literacy is necessary for economic success.

Greenlane, however, were slightly difference in their use of language and therefore action. The words of the English teacher are particularly pertinent:

English teacher at Greenlane: "…Being a global citizen is teaching our children that the idea of a country is a made-up concept to start with".

Similarly, the Head of T&L at Greenlane said: "It is about changing the way we conceive of what it means to be educated in service learning away from the power imbalance of 'them' and us and donating money to a more interesting reciprocal dynamic relationship about mutual growth."

Both of these comments were particularly important because the teachers seemed to be engaging with debates beyond an 'us' and 'them' discussion or a predisposed acceptance of the nation-state to a wider ontological consideration. In the case of the English teacher specifically, there seemed to be a question around what it means to be a citizen itself and reframing perspectives to the world that were predicated on the Westphalian narrative developed in 17th Century. Arguably, the responses of the teachers at Greenlane suggested a questioning of the imaginary of 'us' and 'them' and potentially accessed other forms of GCE. As Pashby et al. (2020) explained, GCE is often predicated on a single direction of social change and an assumption that everyone must work towards a similar vision of change. However, Pashby et al. (2020) concurred with Stein (2015) that if one remains constricted by a modern/colonial binary one denies the duality of human existence and the entangled nature of the modern economic system and colonialism. Like Stein (2015), Pashby et al. (2020:160), offered the idea, instead, of sitting in the "limits of a modern/colonial by asking questions about limited thinking. This is exactly what the English teacher and Head of T&L at Greenlane seemed to do in their comments about the concept of a country and othering processes involved in service learning.

Finally, the role of teachers was fundamental to understandings of GCE as more critical and in need of reflection. For the English teacher and Head of T&L, that involved re-framing one's perception of established processes but at Hills' it also meant considering language in the classroom through meaningful CPD. In this way, both schools seemed to be developing their critical practice in a, not dissimilar, way to the recent empirical work of Pashby and Sund (2019; 2022) or Andreotti's Broccoli Seed Agreement (Andreotti 2021). Like both Hills and Greenlane, Pashby and Sund (2019) found discussion the key to more post-critical approaches to GCE although, in their study, discussion was facilitated by the HEADSUP tool (Andreotti 2012). Pashby and Sund (2019) similarly found that discussions on GCE often acknowledged power dynamics but resulted in a model of 'Salvationism' as could have been the case for some of the charity work in Hills specifically. However, by using INSET sessions at Hills and language around 'othering' at Greenlane, teachers were – as HEADSUP tries to facilitate – rethinking structures of oppression particularly in the language they used.

What is important for this research is that, as Pashby and Sund (2019) similarly identified, discussions on oppression, power and reconstructing ideas beyond the state are beginning to take place in schools – in their case in England, Finland, and Sweden. The findings in this research reiterated that both critical and potentially post-critical work is beginning to appear in the narratives of teachers – whilst, admittedly, in IB settings in England nevertheless this is, arguably, an important contribution to the GCE field.

Discussion on Context as a reason for interpretations

The final section uses other empirical work to explore how context could have affected interpretations of GCE in the four school sites. It focuses specifically on the role religion might play in understanding GCE and the role of the IB.

The findings from teachers at Greenlane and Hills in this study were interesting because they used IB to ground their understanding of approaches GCE many different connections. Specifically relevant to this study, were the suggestions from the IBDP Coordinator at Greenlane and Head of T&L at Hills that IB values and its educational philosophy naturally facilitates more nuanced approaches to GCE through transferable pre-defined values such as open minded-ness that sit at the core of the programmes.

The role of IB approaches to learning and understandings of GCE has been explored in empirical work. Earlier empirical studies though found that context was more important to driving interpretations of GCE than the IB itself. Dvir et al. (2018) and Hameed (2018) looked at IB and GCE in different contexts. Whilst both studies accepted the origins and cohesion of values in IB, they found that specific school context was most important to understandings and enactments of GCE. Dvir et al. (2018), particularly, found huge variety in interpretation across the schools researched in Chicago, Hong Kong, Netherlands, and UAE. Whilst some schools in the study interpreted IB as a form of social mobility (UAE), others saw IB as offering a connection to cosmopolitanism and cohesion around common humanity (Chicago). In Chicago, Dvir et al. (2018) found that diversity of the student body was driving a force for GCE centred on moral responsibility and commonality to enhance cohesion. Hameed (2018) found similar differences in interpretations of global citizenship in a study on schools in Singapore and Australia. The school in Singapore appeared to be more focused

on approaches around common humanity, democracy, and empathy with other communities whilst in Australia, GCE was centred on exchange programmes that operated at a 'liberal-neoliberal interface' as in Pashby, Sund and Tryggvason (2023). Taken together, these empirical findings argued it was individual teachers and schools that determined the approach to GCE enacted in each setting not the IB itself. The findings in this study suggested otherwise – that it was the IB itself that created a framework for understanding GCE and that understanding covered many different elements of GCE in one. This is an interesting finding not least because it disputes early work but that in sitting in the complexity of GCE, the research found that GCE exists in overlapping forms at Greenlane and Hills – one of which being more critical – but all informed by IB ideology. Perhaps the findings are a result of the fact that the study is focused on two IB schools in England rather than across countries, but it does offer questions about cohesion within country and how influential IB could be to understanding GCE in specific countries.

Summary

Considering the findings alongside literature illuminated areas of crossover and challenge as well as new areas for further consideration, First, whilst both the A level and IB settings did interpret GCE in different ways, this did not then necessarily translate into the assimilation processes other empirical work has found. Instead, A level settings in particular interpreted appreciation of others to create spaces for internal cohesion within the school via workshops and assemblies. Whilst these activities rarely went beyond an appreciation of other perspectives, they did not seek to assimilate others into a single vision of the school environments and suggested students were becoming more globally oriented.

Second, a conscious connection to critical approaches to GCE was only seen in IB settings. Whilst observed in all (see later), it was only students and staff in IB schools that understood GCE in more critical ways. They said, this was primarily down to the framework of IB. Once again, unlike earlier empirical work that found context to be the primary driver of understanding GCE in schools, this research found it was the IB itself that steered understanding towards many different approaches to GCE. Perhaps such a finding was because both schools were based in England or, perhaps, because the study actively aimed

to explore the complexity of GCE and therefore found evidence of all types in schools rather than sought to place each school's interpretation into a singular box.

Third, for IB schools, connection to critical understandings of GCE meant students and staff were potentially at a 'liberal-critical' crossroads (Pashby et al. 2020). Many students and staff expressed critical and post-critical ideas – such as the English teacher on relevance of nation states – but still within the framings of the IB as an educational approach developed in Europe based in shared values for IB students. Students and staff still often led interpretations with discussions on common humanity and shared values whilst also then touching on the critical without much self-reflection.

Taken together, this meant findings in IB schools were particularly overlapping and reflected a complexity at work in IB schools as students and staff navigated the curriculum demands with a desire to question established structures of knowledge. However, exploring that complexity was rich, insightful, and produced exciting results for this research precisely because it did not seek to compartmentalise or categorise schools into types of GCE understanding and practice.

CHAPTER 5a: ENACTMENTS OF GLOBAL CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION

Introduction

The following chapter explores how different forms of GCE were enacted across the sites through classroom practice. Specifically, this section considers the importance of pedagogical practices around discussion and independent research. Connected to pedagogies, the research illustrates the importance of teachers taking a conscious lead in adapting their practices and content provision relating to different forms of GCE. Finally, it looks at the content itself considering how subjects across the spectrum offer different elements of global citizenship.

Pedagogical Practices

Pedagogical practices formed a critical element of global citizenship engagement across all the school sites. Commonalities included the active role of students in knowledge creation, efforts to incorporate different perspectives into the learning process and making global citizenship part of the everyday school environment. The following section explores enactments through pedagogical practice, illustrating the central importance of teachers and senior leaders constantly analysing, critiquing, and adapting their practices to meet the needs of their students.

Discussion as a pedagogical tool

Student discussion was a key pedagogical tool for accessing different types of GCE. Many students across all school settings felt they were better able to engage critically, appreciate other perspectives and, to a certain degree, question their predisposed narratives. Within Riverside critical discussion was predominantly observed across the Humanities:

FG1St5: "lessons like English and Theology in History are discussion lessons and you are all raising ideas".

FG3St1: "usually my teacher will make us sit in the circle…just make us talk which is quite intimidating. But, what we usually do for prep, is research and then we just come in and argue about certain different topics."

Students at Towers, A level state, reiterated this:

FG5St1: "It's very relaxed, anyone can jump in. It's very much conversational. So, I think through that discussion, we can see everyone's opinions. People have completely different opinions of a character [in English] or a tone and seeing that generates a new opinion for me."

This was a similar case in the IB settings. Student 2 at Hills, said of her lessons:

"If you have discussions in class, you often get different perspectives because someone will say, I'm Japanese this is my take or personal experience…and then someone else will put their hand up and say – I respect your opinion but here is an alternative because of X, Y and Z. It really helps to develop alternative perspectives and consider how they might change the way we look at the world. I think discussing issues means we start to see different arguments".

The importance of discussion was that it encouraged students to access knowledge frameworks that were beyond their own across all settings. Whilst discussion usually centred on technique or skills acquisition as in English at Towers, the final quote from Student 2 at Hills illustrated the value of discussion in accessing different cultural paradigms. As Student 2 said, discussion in class offered space for "different perspectives" based on cultural or "personal experience". For GCE, discussion acted as a starting point to both appreciate others or develop, as Student 2 says, "an alternative" on the basis of different cultural framings which caused the student to at least consider different ideas. Whilst offering an alternative perspective may not move into the critical forms of GCE in terms of complicity, it does suggest the beginnings of more awareness around issues covered in the classroom.

Within the observed Philosophy lesson at Hills, discussion was at the centre of learning – not only in terms of language – in this case relating to metaethics and personhood – but, also,

the room itself as a U-shape designed for student interaction. Student 6 at Hills said of Philosophy:

"Sometimes we get stuff to read and discuss and I'm like, oh I have this opinion and someone else has an opposing one. And the teacher tries to see points and ask – have you read this? What do you think about it? It's very much let's hear from everyone in class and analyse everyone's perspectives."

The teacher, here, both facilitated and subtly drove discussion to enable access to other perspectives. In this quote, it appeared that discussion was situated contextually but also ethically to facilitate critical thinking in Philosophy. It appeared the teacher was trying to direct discussion beyond opinion to more knowledge-informed perspectives by connecting to wider reading. Within the lesson itself, the students explored personhood and when people become sentient beings. The teacher facilitated discussion on different knowledgebases from John Locke on consciousness to religious teachings on souls. The purpose of discussion in the classroom was in exploring different theoretical and cultural perspectives on personhood as an idea. When addressed in later interviews at Hills, students said discussion and the teacher enabled them to access cultural diversity and place value in alternative narratives. For instance, Student 5 at Hills said:

"Teachers bring in reading or theories from around the world to really push our understanding. For example, we looked at Amartya Sen when we did development and discussed how, like, development is not just about making money and being able to afford things but also being able to do things like vote or go to school."

At Riverside though, discussion was more of an academic endeavour – students and teachers valued the practice of alternative viewpoints to broaden knowledge. FG2 said of Economics:

"it's discussion and group-based…the teacher brings up a topic so, say inflation, then he would ask us about links, and we have to write essays on the topics to bring up logical chains of reasoning."

In the example of Economics, the means of discussion were similar to Hills and did engender an aspect of global citizenship in critical thinking but to different ends: one end based on expansion of cultural literacy at Hills and the other on developing transferable skills for examinations which seemed far more grounded in skills acquisition and exam result rather than innate moral academic value of understanding different perspectives and changing one's own approach to the world for social justice. Focus group 2 at Riverside saw the importance of other perspectives and debate but not from a citizenship grounding, more for academic merit and the value discussion then had on an individual level for attainment. As such, discussion, whilst useful, remained a pedagogical tool for developing cognitive skills more than being used for cultural questioning or self-reflection.

Discussion as a pedagogical tool exposed students to different academic and cultural perspectives serving as a catalyst for, at least, being more inclusive in knowledge production. The students and teachers at Hills observed discussion as a tool for exposing other perspectives and developing more relativist thinking on an issue. They were beginning to self-reflect and question their knowledge frameworks through discussion to develop a more critical approach to learning that could be developed. At Riverside though, discussions were used by teachers as a way to encourage critical thinking for the purpose of more developed essays that exhibited logical chains of reasoning. Taken together, discussion as a pedagogical tool then showed multiple different types of GCE co-existing and overlapping; appreciation of others via shared humanity, connections that encouraged students to reflect on their knowledge and change their opinions and as a tool to develop skills that could be used for examination.

Independent Research, Knowledge Construction and STEM pedagogies

Another pedagogical tool that appeared across settings was the importance of independent research as a way of constructing knowledge. Of particular interest to the current study was how research functioned in STEM classrooms.

In the IB settings, independent work in STEM often focused on questioning existing knowledge and presumed fact. The Maths teacher at Greenlane said:

"They research the history of Maths – such as SohCahToa in trigonometry and links to Egyptian and Sanskrit culture not the Greeks. It's important to understand how the knowledge developed and re-conceptualise where they think Maths comes from. It makes them realise that Maths is not a Western idea only. If you want them to be Mathematical thinkers, they need to go beyond application to think critically and this is all part of that learning process.

This point is reflected in the account of Student 8 at Hills, saying of IB Maths:

"When we look at the history of Maths, we get to go inside a Mathematician's brain to see what they're thinking and how their context and views affected the Maths we know today – even though Maths is numeral it's really not – it's cultural and philosophical too."

The comments on Maths were very interesting not least because the IB teacher asked students to use independent research to question dominant ideas of many mathematical theories being Greek. Instead, the teacher asked students to consider other uses of Maths in Egyptian and Sanskrit culture. Independent research was designed to reframe students understand and, as the student said, appreciate Maths as cultural and philosophical.

In contrast, the A level settings were much more application based in STEM. Delivery was more teacher-centred with students then applying knowledge to experiments or exam questions. The focus on application was evident from lesson observations and interview data. Students at Riverside spent time explaining their STEM subjects. FG2:

St1FG2: "The Physics teacher kind of goes through an idea and examples and ways to apply that. Then you write some notes and doe some exercises.

Student 2 at Riverside: "We usually learn from textbooks in Chemistry, I guess because it's established Science and confirmed theories rather than theoretical debate – we know it's fact. Then the teacher asks us to apply that to an experiment or some exam questions"

Similarly, in Towers, one student said:

"Most of the time we apply what we are taught because that's what the exam is about. It's similar in Physics – we might discuss what would happen in scenarios, watch things and experiments, and then apply them."

When questioned on the role of research versus application, a Science teacher at Riverside said:

"The focus is really application of the Science, there's a huge amount of content to cover and research is just limitless so takes up too much time. Understanding Scientific process and method is important. Yes, we link to issues like climate change, that's important but the primary focus is understanding and application of knowledge."

Looking across all four schools, the data therefore presented a clear difference in STEM and its pedagogical practices compared to the Humanities subjects; the focus in A level settings seemed to be on knowledge acquisition and application to understand scientific method. The students explained the process in their Chemistry and Physics lessons was one based in gaining knowledge through media and textbooks, without really discussing the origins of that knowledge. Content knowledge was then applied to experiments with a focus on method. Interestingly, Student 2 at Riverside said that independent research on scientific theory was used less in the classroom because "it's established Science and confirmed theories rather than theoretical debate – we know it's fact". This quote exemplified a lack of critical thought from the student about the historical contexts of scientific knowledge and debates around the concept of fact; student 2 did not understand the relevance of critical reflection of sociopolitical, historical, or cultural contexts of science, given that they did not have a conception of knowledge as being constructed- but rather as "confirmed" fact. Instead, STEM practice at Riverside was, as the Science teacher said, more about application of established knowledge in practice. Whilst valuable, application of knowledge in science did not pertain to developing an approach to GCE. Conversely, the comments of both Student 8 at Hills and the Maths teacher at Riverside both said Maths covered historical and cultural elements through independent research on the origins of mathematical thought. As the Maths teacher said, students used independent research on the history of SohCahToa to both develop critical

thinking skills and question narratives that Maths comes from Greece when, in fact, trigonometry was developed across the world many thousands of years before.

The Head of Teaching and Learning at Hills, independent IB, considered independent research and the role of different subjects to deliver critical thinking:

> "Teaching independence and learning to think critically should not be the remit of just arts and humanities. I think if you believe in it [independence] as a set of values that then informs, in different ways, every subject. In my view, the considerations of these kinds are not at odds with one's subject – they can be infused, wrapped around, or lead discussions about, say, genetics in Biology or origins of knowledge in Maths just as much as a play exploring racial inequality in South Africa. A way of thinking and a curriculum can, and should be, driven by values that are not at the expense of exams but require a bit of imagination and time to make our students think more critically and be more culturally aware."

His comment connected independence and values relating to cultural learning and critical awareness with curriculum across all subjects. STEM, therefore, became important pedagogically in delivering GCE, through discussion, research, and independent thought. More interestingly, the Head of T&L said of teaching independence through research skills, that teaching independence was not driven by exam results or skills acquisition but designed to "make our students think more critically and be more culturally aware." For GCE research, this comment seemed to sit at an interface where students appeared to use independent thinking to become more critical, empathetic, and culturally aware whilst still not using that for social justice practices or questioning existing socio-economic and political frameworks. In a sense, the teacher reflected on students seeing the connections between subjects and respecting their academic value, a "curriculum…driven by values that are not at the expense of exams." The teacher seemed focused on producing "culturally aware" students that understood more of the world in a critical way in areas like genetics or Maths just as "exploring racial inequality in South Africa." As such, the students were gaining a more critical perspective of both knowledge and global issues.

Active role of teachers, adapting the curriculum

The quote by the Head of Teaching and Learning at Hills on independence, also appeared to hint at the importance of the teacher in developing GCE in the classroom. The following section considers the role of teachers and how they were adapting pedagogical practice in the classroom for different types of GCE.

Except for Towers, the state A level school, all other teachers in the study had begun to adapt their practice – particularly in English - with a view to enhancing diversity of voice in the classroom. Unlike earlier research, this study found a clear intention to diversify and deliver more critical perspectives in practice. Within Riverside, both students and staff referenced changes of text for the purpose of diversity of voice. One student at Riverside, independent A level, said of the English teacher:

> "I don't have any students of colour in my class, but I know all of us appreciate it. She said, I'm going to teach differently this year, I can teach at least one set of texts from a different background, and I remember thinking, that's so cool Miss. You don't often get that, like, she went out of her way to learn a different book."

FG3 expanded:

> "She's purposefully changed this year – so she chose Derek Walcott so we would have a person of colour. Obviously, he writes a lot about St Lucia and Colonialism and then we did Handmaid's Tale so that's lots of feminist context and history."

In a conversation at lunch, three students at Riverside explained the decision to change the specification in more detail saying change came from student demand but also fell in line with wider agendas at the school like the diversity training discussed earlier. The students said that, whilst older years had shied away from difficult conversations, the rising presence of female leaders globally and social change meant a desire to learn more as well as react to wider global issues. Student Group 1 said:

> "I think we, as a year group, are just a bit less scared to talk about issues and, also, we are mostly girls in the class, so it makes sense to do more books on feminism even in the gothic section and, like Jane Eyre, are still pushing us."

"Yes, I mean, I also think school are trying harder with things like diversity training and maybe that's because of what's happened with BLM or because we are trying to be more inclusive as a school."

This conversation was particularly interesting for two reasons: first, the adaptation of the specification occurred despite the lack of students of colour in the class and second, because of the political backdrop. From a policy perspective, the *Commission on Race and Ethnic Disparities* (2021) called for a more inclusive curriculum to link stories of different ethnic groups to a more unified British identity. It expressly referenced using commonwealth writers like Derek Walcott to diversify learning. Whatever the reasoning, the outcome was a change in both content and pedagogical approach to learning with the express aim of developing more critical awareness around identity and British history particularly connected to colonial legacies and the Caribbean. For GCE, the content change identified by students across Riverside, suggested an intentional move to think more critically about knowledge in English literature and therefore created, at least, a space for more critical discussions to emerge in class.

In the IB contexts, English content and observed practice was grounded in critical understanding of others. In an observed lesson at Greenlane, the teacher used a media campaign prompt on charity in Africa to dissect notions of a single story and power. The lesson entailed questioning the advert which was a satirical campaign by RadiAid on Africans helping 'poor' Norwegians to pay heating bills. Whilst not translated, the teacher asked questions like: *How is the 'other' represented? Who is the Saviour? How does this perpetuate a sense of inequality to breakdown dominating stereotypical representations of 'us' and 'them'?*

St1: "I don't think I've ever seen a representation of a functional town or city in the developing world".

The aim of the questions appeared to get students to connect to power and global issues which is a key component of IB English. The teacher exemplified global issues in relation to representation of women, global majority, and heteronormativity.

Similarly, the Head of T&L at Hills said of teaching practice:

"a more interesting way of teaching literature is in context. You don't teach the book or even the theme but, rather, look at the book as a way of seeing what it teaches about colonial relationships in the 19th Century or how texts can teach us about power imbalances between groups and communities. You can study a poem as work of literature and study narrative voice and imagery – but, if that's all you do why bother? It's from another culture, time, so I think we should think – how can literature reflect cultural attitudes or values and how might those vary? And, how your own perspective might shape the way you respond – so, for IB, it's an underpinning framework about how you teach, the IB wants people to think about life and preparing kids for the future whereas some see it more referring to the exam and assessment tasks. I'm a strong believer that you are teaching content and skills for modern society and ideas – some of which are not going anywhere near the exam. It's important to talk to students about the value of longer aims for education."

This discussion explained, from the perspective of the Head of Teaching and Learning, the intrinsic link IB has to diverse learning and the importance of connecting to cultural context and diversity. Indeed, the Head of Teaching and Learning directly connected to understanding "power imbalances" as part of contextual understanding in literature and the importance of self-critical reflection to understand "how your own perspective might shape the way you respond." By connecting self-reflection with social dynamics, the teacher's comments were accessing other understandings of GCE particularly around critical literacy because they were thinking more about the origin of knowledge and power dynamics behind their own "framework." The teacher also made a clear distinction between the value of developing culturally aware knowledge and examination requirements. The teacher appeared to consider the importance of teaching values and cultural awareness beyond the exam purely for the value of personal growth and the students' future roles within wider society.

In a similar way, the English teacher at Greenlane adapted their practice based on developing critical cultural awareness particularly in relation to single story narratives. In the interview, I questioned further those pedagogical decisions. The English teacher said:

"I always say, if you find a body of work you want us to teach, let me know and I will put it in the curriculum. I ran a student panel last year and asked for feedback – one of the things they said is that a lot of issues we did linked to racism and sexism which is what I, as a white liberal woman who went to school in Tanzania, interested in. But they wanted more on either Islamophobia or misuse of religion, classism, and privilege. My bias seeps in when students ask for an Arabic author because I know less about it. So, I've got loads of books at home that I'm trying to get through that are translated but it's hard without the initial knowledge."

The teacher continued:

"I just think it's important to model to them that everyone is wrong. Everyone is flawed. Last year, one of our students pointed out that we teach a perception on forcing the veil on women and a lot of our students wear hijab. But one of our students pointed out that the Sheikh, who is represented as the epitome of free choice, banned wearing the veil so actually lots of women want to. So, we changed all those lessons to include that as well. Just because it doesn't appear in Western media doesn't mean it's not valid knowledge. Academically, it's really freeing for them to know there's no such thing as a universal right or wrong."

Students within the school also picked up on the changes referred to above – discussing starter activities in lessons linked to stereotypes, personal experiences and power:

St6: "Africa is so often put on the back burner, so she tries to pull it out of us and asks us to like list stereotypes and discuss them with guiding questions. She might say – oh, how was it when you lived there? Or did you feel a certain way? So, you get completely different sides – the told story and what critics think and then it's all linked back to the learner profile."

St5 said: "Our teacher opens our minds. She took out Jane Eyre because we didn't want to do it. Now we are talking about the dangers of a single story in Africa, and we push boundaries."

The practices of the English teacher exemplified the importance of the teacher and them undergoing a process of self-reflection to access more critical thinking in the classroom around representation across the developing world, feminism, language, islamophobia, and understandings of faith via the hijab. Self-reflective practice was two-way: students were reflecting on the "dangers of a single story in Africa"; the teacher was reflecting on internal biases around representation of religion and exercising reflexivity in practice – "it's really freeing for them to know there's no such thing as universal right or wrong." The teacher took experiences of the students to adapt practice by teaching works of literature originally written in Arabic and then translated.

The practices of English at Greenlane arguably accessed a more critical and, potentially, post-critical element to GCE. Whilst the other schools were creating spaces for discussion and reflection and students developed value in other perspectives and compared them to their own approaches they did not necessarily then change those perspectives for social justice. On the critical side of GCE, the adaptive teaching observed by the English teacher at Greenlane was centred on recalibrating students' understandings around Africa or the teacher's perspective on religious representation for social justice. The teacher was adapting practice to represent diversity of perspective in and outside the classroom in a critical and, potentially, post-critical way by questioning 'othering' processes particularly when it came to religious representation and embracing alternative knowledge that undermined narratives around 'us' and 'them.' As in the post-critical forms of GCE, the teacher appeared to move beyond binaries and, instead, begin to connect and re-frame teaching practice to be more reflective as was exemplified in the discussion on wearing hijab.

IB and A level Content and GCE

The next section on enactments considers the content of A level and IB, how curriculum was driving the pedagogical practices discussed and, as a result, how GCE was manifested within the learners. First, the chapter finds that across the spectrum, the IB programme appeared to be geographically mandated for different knowledges with a focus on connection and interdisciplinarity over content depth. Second, learning about others – particularly in

relation to gender and ethnicity – was evident in all settings which is an interesting development in the field. It's use, depth and criticality, however, was fundamentally down to teacher agency alongside curriculum. Whilst it does seem that IB programmes facilitated learning about others more naturally, it was still down to teachers to interpret and communicate that in all curricula settings. There was, however, evidence in the subject guides and examinations for IB, of an effort to connect to different aspects of GCE.

GCE and IB Subjects

Evidence from the students and staff was that IB content is clear in its desire for geographical and ideological differences to be explored. At Greenlane, students of English referenced the study of Nigerian literature, exploration on the commodification of the Black body in Noughts and Crosses and the exploration of Authoritarianism in History comparing Mao with Hitler. Student 4 at Greenlane said:

"I think History has given me the understanding of how the world has changed and thinking critically about how people lead the world. We critically analysed Authoritarianism through Mao and Hitler and thought about how that impacts the people living there. It also gave us understanding of similarities but also the cultures in which they came to power. I think you can't understand how someone came to power in an area if you don't understand the culture and context before – so, what's happening and how did that enable this leader to exploit the circumstances?"

The Head of T&L at Greenlane, and a History teacher, explained:

"The IB is geographically mandated to be more diverse. You must do things from different regions and contrast them specifically, so it gives breadth in a different way. IB does comparison from region to region much more strongly than A level and part of the way they want the qualification in History. I think it means that they have a much broader geographical knowledge and global approach to History."

A focus on comparative study and culture was framed in the subject guide itself. Conceptually, students were expected to engage with multiple perspectives theoretically

but also to appreciate the complexity and interconnectivity of structures (IB History Guide 2015). The subject guide also said teachers must: "promote international mindedness through study of history from more than one region of the world" (IB History Guide 2015:11). Focus on transnational comparison was found in other subjects beyond History.

At Hills School, regular reference was made in Psychology and Philosophy to demands for geographical comparison. Students in Psychology said they regularly considered the creation of stereotypes and importance of cultural norms and traditions that engender different behaviours:

"We often ask – is this study conducted in the West and what might the researchers' values be that could affect the study? We cover lots on stereotypes and how particular groups and the World discriminates against them in a conscious and subconscious way. Then how that is internalised during childhood but also via collective memory and social class."

Student 4 at Hills was more explicit:

"We learn different ways that sociocultural factors can affect your worldview. We look at things like conformity, if groups are more collectivist and the reasons why collectivism exists and how that influences their behaviour – we then apply that to critique cultural norms and traditions – things like heteronormative relationships or hierarchy in Western society."

The Head of Philosophy at Hills reflected on her own subject:

"In Paper 3, one of the higher-level papers, we really question what Philosophy all about is and bring in criticisms of traditional Philosophy by female philosophers or those who come from different socio-cultural backgrounds. To me, global citizenship comes into pretty much every philosophical question. So, the core being the human aspect, human nature and second is mind and body, mind and machines and freedom. So, whilst these ideas seem abstract, we must, according to IB, connect to global examples. IB are always trying to diversify so they have just added some classic Eastern Philosophy to work alongside 'Western' and Paper 3 is now more linked to

how Philosophy can deal with socio-political issues like structural inequality and environmental change".

Again, the Head of Philosophy referred to the geographical and ideological diversity inherent to the Philosophy course. Within the prescribed texts, the guide had content from Descartes to Franz Fanon's *Black Skin, White Masks* – although this was a new addition for the 2023 programme (IB Philosophy Updates 2023). Indeed, the subject guide specifically asked students to develop an appreciation of diverse perspectives, traditions, and approaches within philosophical thinking (Philosophy subject brief 2023: 1). Students were encouraged to consider Philosophical traditions across historical time periods and a variety of cultural and geographic contexts – as the teacher referenced in global contexts and with female philosophers. Within the core on humans, for instance, students considered notions of different freedoms and the role of culture for shaping a sense of identity (IB Philosophy guide 2016). Across the optional modules too, students looked at culture, treatment of the global majority linked to Indigenous people, gender, race, and sexual orientation. Within political philosophy, themes covered bias and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, works of Confucius and Ibn Khaldun. Beyond this, there was a clear reference made to critical examination of one's own perspectives and self-reflection.

Across History, Psychology and Philosophy the IB students were engaged in a self-reflective thought process. As both students at Hills said, Psychology began with a critical discussion on knowledge and social norms to illuminate issues around heteronormativity and social hierarchies in a way they had not previously considered. Similarly, the Philosophy teacher noted how IB curriculum uses 'Eastern' Philosophy to address global issues like inequality and environmental change. Exposure to alternative perspectives encouraged students to reflect on their own philosophical frameworks and bias. Engaging with alternative perspectives for self-reflection was also a part of the English curriculum.

Across both IB settings, there was a clear narrative of using literature to explore other voices. For example, Joseph Conrad's *Heart of Darkness* was studied alongside Chinua Achebe's *Things Fall Apart* to consider the impact of colonialism and de-humanising language used by Conrad. Student 3 from Hills said:

"We're studying the idea of economic and structural inequality through our books. So, we started with Heart of Darkness and then studied a bunch of African authors, and it was good because it's a counter narrative. Like we read some essays by Chinua Achebe, and it was, like, wow here's the other perspective on his language use."

Student 5 at Hills expanded on the impact for herself:

"It started by looking at the effect of Imperialism on the coloniser and how that can be corrupted as well as the impact on the colonised. But learning different perspectives helped me to see it culturally, like, from a European perspective whereas we did another looking at a character moving to Europe and the process of colonisation and how he presents it in an active way. Having the counter narrative means I have it from a more international perspective. I didn't really have a full understanding of what it meant for the culture that was being colonised or the long-term psychological effect on the whole community. We talked about if Joseph Conrad was racist or just portraying something but also how it links to relations between countries now."

For students at Hills, the texts were a vehicle for accessing counter narrative and understanding power dynamics through voice. Student 5 particularly, spoke of the impact of studying the two literature works together and how it introduced different angles but also exposed the student to "the long-term psychological effect on the whole community". In expressing the impact of colonialism in this way, the student was both reflective but also appeared to connect historical context to contemporary understandings of structural inequality. Students at Greenlane also spoke about the content of English and accessing 'counter narratives.' Student 2 said:

"We consider the different critical ways to look at things. We just read a book – it was coming of age story for a girl in post-colonial Nigeria. We looked at it through a postcolonial lens and then also applied it to political philosophy like Marxism. We also read *Things Fall Apart*, and it helped us see the white 'Western' influence on their culture and how harmful it continues to be and made me more cautious of narrative and voice when reading something new. One of the things that struck me – we went through the entire book looking at one man's life and at the end he dies and then we

learned one of the white missionaries in Nigeria wrote about him too, but it was literally a sentence in his journal and imagining people reading it would have such a limited perspective. And we also did Noughts and Crosses and considered things like the commodification of the Black body."

Student 4 also referenced exploring counter narratives within wider media and, what they refer to say, the dangers of a single story.

"We are doing some satirical adverts on RadiAid, and it made me change how I look at charity ads and just being presented this single story of some cultures and certain parts of the world like generalising the whole of Africa in this umbrella term. I'm guilty sometimes – like my grandmother was born in Angola but I usually just say I'm part African and now I've noticed I might have been doing it wrong and that everyone has a different perspective. These RadiAid ads really make you think about what message you have been presented and how that reduces the voices of the people that live there. We have also studied Purple Hibiscus too."

Both these students – and others – spoke of the profound impact of the different texts on their sense of self. As Student 5 at Hills had mentioned the "psychological impact" of colonialism, Student 2 at Greenlane seemed to go further discussing, "the white 'Western' influence on their [colonised] culture and how harmful it continues to be and made me more cautious of narrative and voice when reading something new". The student exemplifies this critical thinking by comparing the story of one man in Nigeria with a text written from a British perspective at the time. Similarly, student 4 began to unpack ideas of a single-story narrative and connected singular representations of Africa in the media with their own identity as part-Angolan. Taken together, it seemed the students were developing a contextualised understanding of oppression and exploring notions of power and narrative through the content of IB English. Indeed, they showed a sense of critical thinking in action that was, arguably, beginning to dismantle a narrative on the developing world as in need or powerless and 'African' identity in line with critical approaches to GCE by exploring power dynamics in literature and media.

When questioned on critical reflection in the curriculum, teachers in both IB settings commented that the IB is one very much linked to global social issues and culture. The Head of T&L at Hills said of the English course:

"A third of the course effectively makes students engage with literature in relation to context, culture, and link to the global and local in terms of power. It's a very explicit kind of area of inquiry that we must address things like power, communication, or gender representations. When you're teaching a text in translation, another key part of the course, you must study context."

Similarly, the English teacher at Greenlane referred to the importance of connection to global issues that defines the English course.

"The English – and Social Anthropology which I also teach – courses are all about global issues and transnational issues like the representation of women. I don't think there's any other subjects that embody or criticise the concept of a global citizen quite as much. I can pick whatever I want with very few restrictions, so we do things like *Things Fall Apart, Purple Hibiscus* by Chimamanda Adichie and an Iranian text and texts from Japan. The IB specifies you have to teach texts from different continents and countries and different languages. Originally, this was the World Lit we were talking about earlier but, as I said, I found that just othered everyone else as 'non-Western' whereas now it's just translated. But, as I said, the IB has always been about diversity of voice in its courses."

Both teachers explained the reasons behind texts and concepts identified by the students. It appeared English, along with Philosophy, was pushing IB students to move beyond diversity of perspective into one of self-reflection, critique of social structures and ideas of social justice. The Head of Teaching and Learning said of IB, "A third of the course effectively makes students engage with literature in relation to context, culture, and link to the global and local in terms of power" – power dynamics were central to contextual understanding of literature and core to the IB English course. As the English teacher said, the "IB has always been about diversity of voice" but addressing power was more than exposing students to different opinions and, instead, grounded in a critical critique of social structures. Indeed,

the English teacher identified how earlier iterations of IB – whilst focused on diversity through the 'World Literature' section, had "just othered everyone else as 'non-Western'". As a result, the IB had changed the section to translated texts focused on representation and power whilst trying to move beyond a binary that "othered" the global majority.

Theory of Knowledge

The nature of IB though, is such that GCE teaching did not just come from academic subjects but the core. Whilst CAS (*Creativity, Action, Service)* was discussed in connection with interpretations, another important role relating to GCE was played by Theory of Knowledge.

Student 6 Greenlane said of TOK:

> "We talk a lot about different perspectives internationally, like how different languages are formed and how different people values different things and why. I feel like TOK is a very hard subject to wrap your head around – it kind of makes my head hurt in a good way. It's very much focused on the idea that there's no one answer. We looked a patented technology and how it exists elsewhere and the hypocrisy of patents."

Student 1 Hills gave a specific example:

> "Knowledge in Indigenous societies, that's probably the first thing that comes to mind as being directly related. So, in that, we did things about patents and two-spirit peoples and how they have existed for centuries but in European cultures it is only, or non-binary people are just being allowed to exist."

The example Student 1 gave on "two-spirit peoples" exemplified how TOK was exposing students to different knowledge frameworks but also challenging dominant narratives – in this case, the assumption that LGBTQIA community is centred in "European cultures" and non-binary people are somehow new. This student commented on learning how the notion of being non-binary has actually having been part of Indigenous societies for centuries. Student 1 appeared to use the example of Indigenous societies and "two-spirit people" to explain how TOK challenges narratives and asks students to think beyond their existing positioning. As Student 6 at Greenlane said, the result of TOK is an understanding of "how

different languages are formed and how different people values different things and why…focused on the idea that there's no one answer". TOK then, creates a space for different knowledge frameworks.

Interconnectivity between subjects was also at the centre of TOK. As student 1 Hills said:

"It [TOK] forces you to think about things you don't usually do and bring different ideas from different knowledge…I haven't studied History since year 8 but thanks to TOK I've gotten to know a lot more about History".

The Head of Philosophy at Hills explained:

"let's unpick knowledge and see what it means. We don't want to see ourselves as separate but as complimentary to subjects. Students have a prompt and discuss what are the constraints of the knowledge."

TOK appeared to be as much about seeing different academic perspectives as about different cultural perspectives; TOK was a vehicle for questioning existing cultural understandings and academic paradigms by asking students how knowledge in the academic discipline came to be – in a similar way to the example given by the IB Maths teacher at Greenlane on the origins of Trigonometry. In both IB sites, there was a clear narrative that TOK encourages connection through critical thinking. TOK, as the Head of Philosophy at Hills said, is based on unpicking knowledge, exposing students to alternative perspectives both culturally and academically. As core to the IB programme, the quotes from Student 1 at Hills and the Head of Philosophy at Hills, explored how TOK allows students to engage academically beyond their chosen subjects but also use critical thinking to, potentially, question the epistemological and ontological groundings of certain subjects. Indeed, the programme itself looks at what it means to see knowledge from a natural sciences grounding vs human sciences and arts. The subject guide itself said, TOK aims to "encourage students to reflect on the central question, "How do we know that?", and to recognise the value of asking that question" (IB TOK Subject Guide 2022: 1) and "encourage students to be more aware of their own perspectives, to reflect critically on their own beliefs and assumptions and…make connections between academic disciplines by exploring underlying concepts and by identifying similarities and differences in the methods of inquiry

used in different areas of knowledge" (IB TOK Subject Guide 2022: 1). As the Head of Philosophy said, students at Hills were engaging with the "constraints of knowledge" to foster critical thinking in a way very much in line with different approaches to GCE.

A level and GCE

There was also evidence in both A level settings of different types of GCE in action. Beginning with Geography, this research found the contrary interesting elements of GCE at Riverside. Within a development lesson – one focused on measurements – the teacher spent considerable time signposting students to books like Paul Collier's *Bottom Billion* and linking Development to Human Rights in Afghanistan – one of their modules – as well as the historical role of the developed world. The lesson served to ask students to not only understand measurements of development but question their origins and narratives. After the lesson, the geography teacher said:

> "Things are interrelated and multifaceted. Students needs to understand how Eurocentric their perspective is and if you only consume what you see, your view of the developing world is skewed. I'm trying to get the students to develop critical thinking on reliability of the data but also what we mean by developing and what we are educating for – why is the world this way."

The geography teacher acknowledged student ways of seeing as "Eurocentric" and connected a singular perspective of the world as skewing understanding. In this way, the practices of the teacher were not dissimilar to some of the evidence found at Greenlane in English and the dangers of a single-story narrative around the developing world. Students within the Geography class at Riverside also noted how the teacher used content to expose them to alternative perspectives. Student 1, for instance, said:

> "We have spent lots of time of different examples of human rights and genocide from migration in Australia to Afghanistan. I think I feel more aware now of how your actions can affect others – like buying from a brand that uses child labour but also being able to critique developed countries. I was really surprised by how immigrants

were treated in Australia and how it goes against the Human Convention on Rights so that gave me a wider view on different people's experiences."

There was a similar effort in Riverside to work with curriculum to develop meaningful interactions on different cultures. Students at Riverside said of History:

St2FG3: "I learnt about the crusades, so we learn about Muslims and how they split into Sunni and Shi'ite and how that affects current world affairs, and we are currently doing our coursework on Indian independence"

St3FG5: "now we're doing the Indian independence in History so for my coursework we're looking at the actions of the British and how it was incredibly controversial and we're challenging what we have done in the past. So, from the British perspective, they were civilising, and they were modernising, but, from the Indian perspective that was incredibly offensive to their culture, so we look at both sides."

On the topics of RE, the RE teacher at Riverside said similar of her subject:

"it's a great vehicle for decolonising the curriculum. It's also got to take responsibility for the role religion has played in colonising…it's a great subject for educating what's happened based on religion and a subject that enables, many different viewpoints."

The comments from students and teachers across the academic spectrum at Riverside, offered interesting insights into how the content of A level could include different perspectives. Both student 1 and student 3 in focus group 5, referred to accessing different perspectives of major global issues to broaden their understanding. Taken further, student 1 appeared to engage more reflectively with other perspectives and how they could alter understanding of a subject to move away from the "Eurocentricity" noted by the geography teacher at Riverside. Equally important was the RE teacher's reference to the curriculum. In the quote, the RE teacher appeared to use to the term beyond the sense of diversity in theoretical perspective in "the role religion has played in colonising." The teacher connected both RE and religion itself to the process of colonisation and historical events across the world. This seemed particularly relevant because it entailed a level of self-reflection in the teacher's comments that was more critical of RE.

Connecting the curriculum to current global social movements was also found at Towers, but, within Media and Sociology A level. Student 3 said of Media Studies:

"We talk about representations of groups in music videos like Beyonce and female representations but also the industry and considered Black Panther too. We look at the conventions, codes and connotations of colour and costume and how that constructs those representations and encourages audiences to interpret things in a certain way. So, in Beyonce's music video we talked about ethnicity and gender. With Black Panther we looked at cultural representations"

Student 3 commented on the content of Media Studies focused on ethnic and gender representation across the entertainment industry via figures like Beyonce and Black Panther. In doing so, the student was engaged in critical discussion on representation. Students of Sociology at Towers engaged with critical perspectives academically through ontological and epistemological difference. Focus Group 4 explained of the Sociology course:

"When you first start the Sociology course you begin by exploring different perspectives like Marxism, Functionalism, Interpretivism, Positivism and Feminism. We then apply those to how children are brought up and the socialisation process. Things like norms, values, family consensus"

"Yea, and in the exam, you're supposed to talk through the sociological perspectives and then evaluate them and say, well, this might be outdated because sociologists came up with this a few hundred years ago."

St3 said: "we get asked about how gender affects educational achievement, ethnicity, and social class too. But also, why people do things – so we study primary and secondary socialisation. Then the exam would be – using this evidence explain a Marxist perspective on differences in attainment."

The students in the focus group explained how the content of Sociology enabled them to access alternative academic perspectives on salient issues connected to "the socialisation process" particularly in relation to values and attainment. As student 3 explained, the

course asks them to apply different theoretical perspectives to explain issues like attainment. In doing so, the students began to think more critically about contemporary issues.

Combined, findings in the A level settings suggested that students were accessing more complex critical discussions socially, culturally, and theoretically from Geography to History, Media and Sociology. As the students and teachers commented, the A level specifications were encouraging them to think about alternative knowledge frameworks. Indeed, within the specifications, core themes relating to difference, culture, power, and identity all feature (AQA Sociology 2015). As the students at Towers illustrated, there was a link between theoretical debate and a desire to foster critical awareness of social structures particularly in relation to school. All students referenced the Sociology specification's connection to attainment linked to social class, gender, and ethnicity (Ibid 2015). Of note though, was the optional module relating to culture and identity that covers agencies of socialisation, identity, and construction of the self (AQA 2015; OCR 2021). In the OCR specification for 2021 this is now compulsory. There was also a heavy presence in both specifications on global inequality, the role of globalisation in that and critical analysis of structural systems of discrimination (OCR 2021). Again, much of which was situated optionally – suggesting both presence and, once again, the pivotal role of teachers. Whilst the subject did inherently address different perspectives, depth and connection to structural inequality remained the choice of teachers; in Towers the choice was on family structures instead. Nevertheless, across the Social Sciences spectrum, there was evidence of potentially more criticality at A level – particularly when discussing different perspectives.

It was also worth noting the changes schools have seen in the A level content in recent years. In Riverside, particularly, students and staff acknowledged the A level was changing to consider different perspectives and, therefore, providing potential space for GCE. As referred to earlier in pedagogical practices, teachers in English had recently responded to content change and demand from students for a more diverse literature. Focus group 5 said:

"We now look at the oppression of women and we are looking at two books about slavery which sort of fits within Gothic literature."

In the lunch discussion, the students' said teachers were responding to their demands for more diversity – whether that be themes on gender or race via the work of Derek Walcott. Beyond political context, one could see change in the different specifications. Whilst still optional, there seemed to have been a clear effort from the exam boards to focus on including different perspectives with additions like Mohsin Hamad (OCR English 2022) and Attica Locke (Pearson English 2022). Similarly, in Politics at Riverside, the HoD said:

"I was recently teaching students a lesson on liberalism and key components of it. Whilst I think there is a reticence to share opinions, they were forced to think politically and philosophically to consider their world views – something they found challenging. Whilst I struggle in that the board determine which thinkers to cover – it does expose them."

The HoD of Politics was referring to the 2017 addition of core political ideas in the specification; students must cover 'Conservatism, Socialism, Liberalism' and one option from: 'Nationalism, Multiculturalism, Feminism and Ecologism' (Edexcel Politics 2017). Much like Sociology at Towers, students were asked to apply theory to existing global issues to develop different perspectives. In 'Multiculturalism', for instance, students considered notions of integration, segregation, and cosmopolitanism – referencing global citizenship itself and the work of Nussbaum. The specification covered ideas on cross-cultural dialogue as transformative and the notion of citizenship itself (Edexcel Politics 2017). This was a particularly interesting addition for GCE practice because it placed GCE within a cosmopolitan and liberal framework for teachers on common humanity and global responsibility. It is equally noteworthy to discuss Ecologism in the specification. Whilst in the older iteration under Global Politics, here there was an entire module covering ethics, environmental consciousness linked to deep ecology and holism as in opposition to the more mechanistic approach of post-Enlightenment Science (Edexcel Politics 2017). Students studied the likes of Rachel Carson and Carolyn Merchant on the link between nature and gender oppression.

Whilst discussed in other subjects like English and History above, the changes in A level Politics identified by the HoD at Riverside were interesting because of the subject matter. Within both the core political theories of liberalism, socialism and conservatism and the optional modules of 'nationalism, multicultural, feminism and ecologism' one could see areas where different elements of GCE existed. Within 'multiculturalism', the specification itself asked students to consider global citizenship through the lens of Nussbaum. For this research, that indicated a connection to understandings of GCE related to cosmopolitanism and being citizens of the world. In the ecologism module though, there was evidence of connection to more critical approaches or advocacy models moving away from anthropogenic centred approaches to climatology. The students were asked to study Rachel Carson and Carolyn Merchant examining the connection between gender oppression and nature alongside the earth as a living system and having capital connected to economic systems. In this, students were asked to critique existing socio-economic frameworks to understand both social and environmental consequences and, therefore, alternative knowledge frameworks. Such a change in the specifications, therefore, presents an interesting finding for the research that suggests not only does A level have potential for teaching GCE, but the specifications are also starting to include different forms of GCE in their modules. Whilst often optional – across English, Sociology and Politics – the content has started to shift towards more critical awareness and, at least, inclusion of alternative knowledge frameworks which the students and teachers of Towers and Riverside were aware of.

Summary

Taken together, this chapter identified commonalities and differences between A level and IB in content and approach in the four case sites. It found, particularly within Arts and Humanities, that often the IB programme appears mandated for diversity both Philosophically and Geographically. However, evidence also shows different perspectives are present and becoming more so in both A level settings – specifically through Sociology and Media at Towers and History, Politics and English at Riverside. Like earlier research though, much of the findings here reflected a grounding in principles of human rights and inclusion of voice whilst maintaining dominant discourses (Kim 2020; Wang and Hoffman

2016) with limited self-reflection. There was still a risk of 'othering' that maintained a hierarchical division between 'us' and 'them' if a more critical approach on complicity was not considered.

Unlike earlier research, though, evidence from both IB and A level settings – particularly English – suggested a move towards criticality and even post-critical GCE in elements of TOK and A level Politics should teachers opt for the modules. In emphasising not just the dangers of single-story narratives but also complicity in the system and asking students to reflect on their positionality by engaging with other views, content could move beyond common humanity.

The evidence here suggested a substantive effort across settings in recent years to consider ethnocentricity, open discussions on complicity and re-shape student perspectives. The empirical research showed evidence in both A level and IB settings of changes to pedagogical practices and content that were attempting to create, at least, an interface between a connection to common humanity or social responsibility, active and more critical enactments of global citizenship education. This is a new and interesting set of findings: all settings enacted different forms of GCE showing the richness of sitting in complexity across the different types to develop a more realistic picture of schools; whilst not always explicit, schools were navigating across, between and within different types of GCE rather than practicing one form alone. Equally important, it was not just IB settings that engaged with GCE – in both content and pedagogical practice, evidence from Riverside and Towers suggested different types of GCE were present in A level environments.

CHAPTER 5b: DISCUSSION ON ENACTMENTS OF GLOBAL CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION

Introduction

The following chapter considers how literature on GCE explains the enactments above around pedagogical practice and content of the IB and A levels. First the chapter considers how discussion and independent inquiry were being used to access different forms of GCE and how these practices connect to literature on GCE. Then the chapter reflects on, along with more recent studies such as Pashby and Sund (2020), how discussion could be and was being used in IB settings to access critical and post-critical elements of GCE alongside valued a shared sense of humanity and open-mindedness. Third, it explores the findings in A level settings that content was beginning to access critical forms of GCE rarely seen in previous empirical studies. Finally, the chapter discusses how enactments of GCE, much like interpretations, in all settings were far more complex and connected to overlapping forms of GCE – that complexity was rich and should be embraced to understand how schools are integrating GCE into practice whether that be consciously or otherwise.

Discussion/spaces for debate

Other work on GCE has highlighted the importance of discussion as a pedagogical tool to access alternative perspectives (Singh and Qi 2013; Miedema 2012; Gaudelli 2009; Gulmohamad 2008; Wright and Buchanan 2017).

The use of discussion as a pedagogical tool for GCE across all settings, appeared to be grounded in understandings around mutual respect for and a desire to engage with other cultural perspectives or, as Schattle (2008) proffers a kind of 'liberal multiculturalism'. Liberal multiculturalism covers:

> "Moral visions of mutual respect and engagement across cultures as well as the duty to protect the rights of ethnic, religious, linguistic and cultural minority groups within a diversely populated nation-state, thereby encouraging minority groups to maintain particular traditions even in the face of pressures to assimilate into a dominant culture (Schattle 2008: 77)"

At Hills, in particular, a desire for engagement across cultures appeared to be at the centre of discussion as a tool; students referenced the inclusion of other linguistic and cultural groups in the classroom to express how their personal perspectives differed from others in the class. Vandeyar (2021) also argued the value of pro-active students in the classroom and approaches to learning that allowed students to develop their own knowledge bases through discussion. As did Rizvi (2009) whose work proposed placing the global empirically and normatively to develop epistemic transnationalism and understand how different perspectives work ethically; in class, students critically explore - via open-ended exercise – notions of cross-cultural relationalities and become more reflexive in practice. In a sense, discussion as a pedagogical tool for global citizenship aligns with Gaudelli's (2009) paper around language.

Gaudelli's (2009) paper explored using open discussion to question established ideas around "us" and "them" or, in the case of this research, cultural difference. The development of discussion in pedagogical practice as observed in all 4 settings, enabled students to encounter multiple worldviews and share them – as the students and staff discussed. As Gaudelli (2009) explained, the presence of developed discourse provides space for the synthesis of perspectives about global issues and make explicit ideas that may have been implicit without discussion. Rather than teaching students of a singular world view, a discussion-based approach offers multiplicity of thought. Where the students needed to be careful was not to assimilate different worldviews into a singular practical approach/solution as previous research has found (Peterson, Milligan and Young 2018; Woods and Kong 2020). Research did not find this to be the case in the school sites. Unlike the work of Woods and Kong (2020) students were not developing a single worldview or solutionist approach that did not fully embrace alternative perspectives. Instead, as the students at Greenlane said, "you get completely different sides – the told story and what critics think and then it's all linked back to the learner profile" and "our teacher opens our minds. She took out Jane Eyre because we didn't want to do it. Now we are talking about the dangers of a single story in Africa, and we push boundaries." Students were not focused on solutions but on re-framing metanarratives about Africa and developing different perspectives on the continent.

The practice of discussion as a pedagogical tool at Riverside in particular also appeared to reflect some of the ideas within Shultz's (2007) paper on Transformational GCE. At Riverside, students were building empathy through engaging with different communities and others through dialogue and spaces of discussion in a similar way to Shultz's (2007) Transformational GCE. In Transformational GCE, the global citizen is a "companion, accompanying the other on a journey to find just and compassionate responses to injustice" (Shultz 2007: 256). Transformational GCE, as Shultz (2007) discussed, still frames discussion in a common sense of humanity and shared concerns within the global majority as a way to build authentic challenges to oppression. Transformational GCE, according to Pashby and de Costa (2021) represents an interface between critical and liberal understandings of GCE. In its positivity and approach to globalisation as a dynamic process that facilitates both inclusion and exclusion, Transformational GCE works *with* rather than against the existing global order (Shultz 2007). In the context of Riverside, this involved connecting global issues around representation and social justice for women in an English history context via the gothic texts. Students were engaging with global citizenship by reconsidering the gendered narratives in English literature and historical context. Whilst exploring gender in this way exposed students to alternative knowledge and, potentially developed a better understanding of oppression, exploration in the classroom did little in the way to then promote social justice nor did it consider the lived experiences of different women at the time. For instance, students at Riverside did not explore literature around the global majority at the time and the experiences of Black women but rather an analysis of all women and therefore an assumed sense of shared identity.

Independent Inquiry

The second pedagogical tool referenced by students and teachers in Greenlane and Hills specifically – was the importance of independent inquiry across all subjects. Teachers in STEM, for instance, used independent inquiry to situate their subject in wider cultural frameworks and develop critical thinking skills. Whilst students in areas like Maths gained a more open understanding of knowledge, they also did so from an individual perspective aiming to develop thinking skills that would enable their academic success and develop skills

for the future on an individualised basis. Wider literature explains why students and staff were enacting GCE through independent inquiry.

As Stewart (2009) found, purposeful inquiry not only enables learning but engenders a better understanding of multiple perspectives on an academic level. Within the Maths teacher's response at Greenlane, there also seemed to be a connection to more critical pedagogical thinking in relation to socially constructed understandings – especially in relation to power structures. The Maths teacher alluded to the idea of narrative when it came to the origins of Mathematical knowledge and, in doing so, redressing power imbalances in the subject. As Biesta (2007) found, in using pedagogy to facilitate independence and autonomy academically, one also promotes a sense of citizenship from below. The students developed a sense of agency and active citizenship of their own beyond a top-down management led approach because they internalised a sense of desire to know more on their own.

As Franch (2019) found in their study on GCE in Italy, by addressing individual and alternative narratives, teachers – such as this Maths teacher – are inviting students to sit with and engage in complexity and uncertainty which then evolves into problem-solving abilities.

Equally though, this data does not appear to go as far as more critical theory when mobilising knowledge but, rather, the knowledge and ability to thinking critically still functioned as an individual endeavour for personal growth or success academically rather than addressing social justice in any form. Nevertheless, the presence of more open research and thinking in the IB settings would suggest there is space for more critical or even post-critical thought to take place. Again, it is, as Franch (2019) found, the role of the teachers to facilitate the transition from knowledge or skills acquisition to utilising new perspectives for social change and engaging with GCE in their own ways.

Critical Literacy and Deconstructing Narratives through discussion: The role of the teacher

Evidence from this study highlighted both the importance and value of individual teachers particularly when accessing different forms of GCE. As earlier research has found, teachers such as those at Riverside, functioned as facilitators of discussion by offering alternative perspectives (Gulmohamad 2008; Meidema 2012; Franch 2019) or – as at Hills and Greenlane - engaged in their own self-reflection and reflexive practice. Unlike other empirical work though, there was clear evidence at Hills and Greenlane that discussion combined a number of different approaches to GCE simultaneously.

Specifically, both the observed lesson and later discussion with English students at Greenlane suggested a different shift in this setting than the others. Whilst Riverside was adapting practice to be more inclusive and address difference through discussion, the pedagogical practice at Greenlane was focused on decentring knowledge by discussing "the dangers of a single story in Africa" or asking, "*how is the 'other' represented and how does this perpetuate a sense of inequality to breakdown dominating stereotypical representations of 'us' and 'them'.*

In asking questions around the 'other' and single narratives, one could see parallels with the work of Andreotti (2006, 2014, 2021) drawing on Spivak (2003). In questioning the students' knowledge framework, the teacher at Greenlane was positioning knowledge as partial and incomplete (Andreotti 2014). Much as Andreotti (2014) argued, that to expand one's knowledge, one must engage with others to transform those perspectives, the teacher was asking students to step beyond their existing knowledge and question how it had been formed and what the consequences of a single worldview might be.

At Greenlane specifically, the English teacher and students were engaged in more than an appreciation or understanding of others but in more critical reflection around knowledge frameworks and their perspectives of the developing world – instead, trying to draw connections rather than asserting differences. Interestingly, the teacher's practice was not perpetuating current economic systems or ignoring complicity in discrimination as Stein (2015) had found of the anti-oppressive GCE; nor was there an assertion of innocence but,

instead, a space for students to reflect on their perspectives and how the media might have formed these.

As the English teacher said, "Just because it doesn't appear in Western media doesn't mean it's not valid knowledge. Academically, it's really freeing for them to know there's no such thing as a universal right or wrong." The focus for students was an analysis of their own assumptions and collective social conscious in relation to 'freedoms,' 'rights' and 'values.' This reflects the earlier work of Andreotti (2006, 2014) around the notion of culturally relativist understandings of 'right' or 'wrong' and understanding the underlying assumptions that led students to the conclusion that something is true or false. Critical literacy was, therefore, less about revealing a universal sense of truth for individuals but about being a space for self-reflection of both the students' and teacher's truths, skills development and then reflexivity based in wider understandings of power, language, and social order.

For the English teacher at Greenlane in particular, one could see the centrality of self-reflection as part of pedagogical practice. The teacher acknowledged potential bias, the value of student perspective and resultant reflexivity in practice that changed perspectives around religious representation and encouraged further reading of Arabic texts in much the same way as the Head of T&L at Hills referenced in identifying power imbalances. Self-reflection and sitting in particularly uncomfortable issues that questioned bias, as fundamental to the recent work of Stein and Andreotti (2021). Stein and Andreotti (2021) explored the use of a 'Broccoli Seed Agreement' as a pedagogical tool. The agreement offered discomfort rather than the 'candy' that Stein and Andreotti (2021) found students wanted – asking people to take responsibility, observe their reactions and assumptions thereby problematising 'business as usual.' In the self-reflection on wearing the veil, dangers of a single story on Africa and attempting to add Arabic literature to the curriculum, the English teacher was doing the same. As was the Maths teacher at Greenlane when asking students to research the history of Pythagorean theorem to undermine the narrative of Maths as a creation of Ancient Greece. The teachers and students were sitting in discomfort. As McLaren and Bosio (2022) found, by engaging in this way, the teachers were actively reconstructing narratives and connecting students to a global community by being critically literate.

Earlier empirical work has not found critical self-reflection particularly evident in GCE practice. For instance, Woods and Kong (2020) found, everyday teaching practices often served to undermine inclusion and created a tension between ideology and reality becoming, as Shultz (2007) explored, a tool for homogenisation that placed certain ideas at the centre of knowledge or 'universal' when they lacked cultural awareness. Similarly, earlier has research found that concepts of Development are usually framed in ways that revert to classic modernisation narratives like Rostow's Model of economic development in stages rather than academics like Amartya Sen, post-Development theorists like Escobar or alternative economists like Ha-Joon Chang (Lambert and Morgan 2011).

The picture was far more complex particularly at Greenlane and Hills when it came to pedagogical practice. In observed teaching practices across the schools from Philosophy at Hills to English at Greenlane, pedagogies were being used that asked students to reflect on their bias and preconceived knowledge frameworks to consider alternatives. This is a new finding in the field with the notable exception of recent work by Pashby and Sund (Pashby, da Costa and Sund 2020; Pashby and Sund 2022; Pashby and Sund 2019). In their study across Finland, Sweden and England, Pashby and Sund explored the importance and impact of creating spaces of discussion. Whilst they found that teachers still wanted action for social change beyond discussion, they also found that schools were beginning to create spaces for critical and post-critical forms of GCE.

Pashby et al. (2020:160), offered the idea of sitting in the "limits of a modern/colonial imaginary that is inherently violent and unsustainable" by asking questions about limited thinking; questions like – how is the existing modern/colonial ontology restrictive? (Pashby et al. 2020). As Ferguson and Brett (2023) explained, the HEADSUP resource facilitates discussion by engaging with global issues from an ethical decolonial standpoint, adding nuance and opportunity for teachers to dismantle unequal structures of dominance. The idea is to think beyond reinscribing a sense of paternalism and heroism that does nothing to move beyond colonial frameworks (Andreotti et al. 2018) because it still creates a sense of 'us' and 'them' or 'coloniser' and 'colonised' rather than considering the interactions between them. This could be an interesting future

opportunity in the context of existing discussions and pedagogies already taking place at Hills and Greenlane in particular.

For Hills and Greenlane, it could, more explicitly, provide a framework for the already interesting work going on in critical and post-critical approaches to GCE. Notably though, the findings at Hills and Greenlane suggest beyond earlier empirical work that GCE is being interpreted and enacted in new and exciting ways that move beyond the established definitions of GCE.

IB and A level content

There was also evidence of critical approaches to GCE emerging in the IB and A level content across the four settings. Unlike some earlier empirical studies in GCE, evidence in this study suggested both IB and A level content contained a combination of different typologies of GCE designed expose students to alternative knowledge frameworks and ask for more self-reflection. Whilst IB was found to be more geographically diverse across all subjects, A level subjects like History, English and Sociology were also moving towards more critical connections to GCE. Even more so, findings suggested potential both within the A level Politics and the IB content in TOK and wider academic subjects like English to access discussions that undermined modern/colonial imaginaries (Pashby et al. 2020) and move towards a potential 'critical-post critical' approach to GCE. Fundamentally though, as with pedagogical practices, it was the choice of teachers to actively choose optional modules and content that would facilitate more critical and post-critical approaches to GCE.

Unlike findings in this study, many earlier empirical studies have struggled to find GCE practices in the teaching of academic content beyond, as Woods and Kong (2020) found, a project of assimilation to specific cultural identities and perceived universal values. Similarly, the work of Wang and Hoffman (2016) in US high schools, found content of curricula did not consciously engage with GCE beyond operating as a universalising construct that marginalised other perspectives. Instead, Wang and Hoffman (2016) found that global citizenship education in US high schools was dominated by singular thinking and individualism with American identity centred. Kim (2020) also found a similar response

when examining Geography textbooks in South Korea. Examining Geography content, Kim (2020) found themes around, modernity, discrimination, and objectification specifically around normalising neoliberal economic order as accepted. Specifically, Kim (2020) commented on language around Development, measures of said development based in economic growth and GDP (Gross Domestic Product), arguing it simply served to maintain a divided way of viewing the world. Kim (2020) explored how the textbooks present charity and fair trade as alternatives to economic growth as development when they do not fully address socio-cultural and political structures that maintain power dynamics and perceptions of Development itself.

There was evidence of one-dimensional views on Development and progress in the study, however, the findings in this study also found new alternative approaches emerging. Across English and Maths at Greenlane, TOK and Philosophy at Hills in their exploration of Indigenous knowledges and in the A level specifications themselves – see Politics at Riverside and Sociology at Towers – findings suggested more critical global citizenship education is present than Woods and Kong (2020) and Wang and Hoffman (2016) found. Students in all settings were moving away from singular thinking and individualism across a plethora of subjects. Specifically in relation to Indigenous knowledge, the student at Hills said, "two-spirit peoples and how they have existed for centuries but in European cultures it is only, or non-binary people are just being allowed to exist." Students were not maintaining power dynamics as earlier empirical work has found (Kim 2020; Wang and Hoffman 2016) but exploring different perspectives and addressing power dynamics in their learning – they were creating their own orientation towards GCE (Peterson 2020).

Commenting on A level settings specifically, often empirical work has found the only form of GCE present beyond universalising human rights values was a kind of 'Technical-Economic Instrumentalism' connected to corporate capital (Young 2008). As Young (2008:22) argued of the UK context, "the curriculum has always been, albeit selectively, related to economic changes and the future employability of students" particularly when placed alongside teaching standards and competition like league tables in the English context (Blanden and Machin 2007; Walford 2002). Marshall (2011) argued that technical instrumentalism has often dominated education policy in UK based on economic need both nationally and

nationally. As explored earlier, technical instrumentalist approaches to GCE saw education and knowledge as a means to an end rather than the end itself (Shultz 2007; Schattle 2008). Marshall (2011) explored the context of England, arguing that policy has historically focused on educating young people for the 21st Century and equipping them to work in the global economy and "ensure that the EU becomes 'the most competitive and dynamic knowledge-based economy" (DfES 2004 cited in Marshall 2011).

In specific IB settings too, earlier research found common narratives that placed GCE within a framework of responsibility and values but did little to undermine existing power dynamics or conceptualisations of knowledge. Such findings, whilst present in this study on enactments, found less of the critical elements that were in the IB schools of this research. For instance, Dvir et al (2018) found different IB schools in UAE more explicitly driven by other agendas – "in the UK, IBO graduates are more likely to attend the top Universities and enter a professional programme than their counterparts graduating from National Curriculum Schools" (ibid 2018: 467). In Chicago, Dvir et al. (2018) found schools used GCE to ground their demographic in a multi-ethnic approach to learning – almost in a similar way to Yemini's (2018) work in inner-city London. Here, Dvir et al. (2018) found that diversity of the student body was driving a form of GCE centred on moral responsibility and commonality to enhance cohesion in the classroom. Whilst connecting to common humanity, little was found in the way of critical thinking and social justice as was the case in this research. The examples found this this study showed complexities and nuances that represented a shift towards more criticality and, at least, some interfaces between strands of GCE that were creating spaces and potential for more critical and even post-critical discussion to take place as well as students and staff creating their own hybrid forms of GCE (Peterson 2020).

This research however, found that both IB and A level subjects were engaging with multiple different approaches to GCE – via appreciation of other perspectives in A level English or History but also critical approaches to GCE in Sociology content on epistemological approaches to social issues, representation of the global majority in A level Media and decentring people in Politics A level content. Students and staff were beginning to engage with Indigenous knowledges in TOK and, via the process of self-reflection these students,

and some teachers, were shifting mindsets such that a number of understandings of GCE all co-existed. Such a finding is both interesting and encouraging particularly given that there was evidence of many different approaches to GCE in both the IB and the A level content. The challenge appears to be more about how to operationalise that change into meaningful and conscious practice.

Moving towards more criticality

Much as Karsgaard (2019), Ferguson and Brett (2023) found there was space in practice for more critical approaches to GCE, this study agrees that space was being created in all four settings for critical connections to GCE. In Northern Ireland, Reilly and Niens (2014) found that teachers understood GCE to mean raising awareness and being open to others but failed to acknowledge that global/local nexus identified by Yemini (2018) in London. Teachers in the study, whilst connecting GCE to understandings of global issues, did not address conflicts, tensions and the self-reflective work needed for critical approaches to GCE (Reilly and Niens 2014). Nevertheless, the study also indicated, like Ferguson and Brett (2023), the potential opportunities and need for critical GCE at local levels and through specific units and pedagogical practices.

The potential growth of critical approach to GCE was evident in both the IB and A level settings particularly as the content had changed. At Hills, for instance, students and staff explored how the curriculum facilitated critical thinking on different knowledge frameworks particularly in IB Philosophy and TOK. Equally, English content at both IB and A level was beginning to explore the importance of cultural context and history for thematic analysis of literature in a way that moved away from the charity-based practices or sympathy as Ferguson and Brett (2023) has found.

Unlike earlier findings from Andreotti (2014) who said of the English Education System that it whilst different cultures are now more present in policy, they remain entrenched in 'traditions' and 'beliefs' whilst the 'West' is based on 'knowledge' which is presented as universal, here there did seem to be an active decision to move away from the idea that "different cultures only have 'traditions, beliefs and values' while the 'West' has (universal) knowledge and even constructs knowledge about these cultures" Andreotti (2014:25). As

Andreotti (2006, 2014) argued of thinking more critically, content in both the IB and A level schools was beginning to at least create space for the voice of others and some exploration of alternative theoretical perspectives that could lead to wider understandings on complicity that has perpetuated dominance. Critical literacy in this sense, referred to less of a 'universal' sense of truth for individuals but about being a space for self-reflection of a person's truths, skills development and then reflexivity based in wider understandings of power, language, and social order. Teachers and content were indeed, creating space for reflection of perspective – commented on by a number of IB students specifically – by exposing them to other knowledge frameworks that were not mysticised but taught alongside a collection of different narratives.

Spaces for alternative knowledge and reflection were particularly evident in many of the discussions in the IB settings. At Hills, for example, Psychology students commented on research, asking where studies were conducted and "what might the researchers' values be that could affect the study? We cover lots on stereotypes and how particular groups and the World discriminates against them in a conscious and subconscious way. Then how that is internalised during childhood but also via collective memory and social class" and applying theory to "cultural norms and traditions – things like heteronormative relationships or hierarchy in Western society." As a subject, Psychology asked students to question themselves and their internalised biases (Andreotti 2008, 2012, 2016), particularly when it came to application of cultural norms.

Equally at Greenlane, students in English and History explored identity and colonialism through voice – exploring journals vs works of literature from the time to consider power narratives and alternative perspectives. One student then linked exploration to a process of self-reflection on their own identity and voice. Findings in this study echoed the value of exploring other perspectives for self-reflection and argued, unlike Christoff (2021), that a critical understanding of GCE was not just understood but really embodied in some of the content of IB across English, Psychology and others and beginning to emerge in some A level content. The students at Greenlane particularly were engaging in a process of unlearning and reframing their perspectives – in particular, in relation to Africa and the continued economic structural inequalities affecting people. Equally, the IB curriculum – from teaching

of Eastern Philosophy to translated texts in English – appeared to indicate a changed relationship with knowledge. At both Greenlane and Hills, teachers and students were moving towards more critical thinking on power dynamics, narrative and voice in a way that also centred common values of open-mindedness.

GCE Connections in Content

However, the journey towards critical connections to GCE practice in both IB and A level settings was dynamic and complex. Whilst evidence of criticality was found in the content of all settings in this study, more often, practice showed complexities between types of GCE and more interfaces and interactions between them. As Riverside's History students studied socio-historical processes and constructions of specific narratives relating to culture and identity, others in Geography and Sociology at Towers engaged with new perspectives that questioned ideas like values. Similarly, students at Hills referenced discussions in TOK around two-spirit people and undermining ideas that multiple genders are a new construct. As ever, the danger though, was that students, whilst exposed to critical narratives simple continued an 'othering' narrative between 'us' and 'them' that further entrenched cultural difference and a sense of 'beliefs' from sources rather than valued knowledge (Pashby et al. 2020). Whilst students and teachers in this study were acknowledging different perspectives in both A level and IB settings and undergoing processes of self-reflection towards more culturally relativist understandings, content was not yet at the point of acknowledging complicity and seeking productive social change. Instead, the IB content and some elements of A level existed at an interface (Pashby et al. 2020) between critical approaches to GCE whilst still being framed in a way based on understanding and appreciation of different knowledges but not power dynamics of knowledge. For instance, whilst students covered other knowledge perspectives in A level History, little was made of how the colonial system of power facilitated later dominance or how state-protectionism enabled the growth of nations who then enforced a system of liberal economics on the rest of the world (Chang 2022). Equally, whilst students in A level Geography at Riverside were exposed to alternative perspectives like the *Bottom Billion,* pedagogical practice did not then tie oppression to economic models of dominance or complicity in said process through Trans-national

Corporations. Students in the class were engaged in critical discussions around development, poverty and inequality but maintained the framings working with civil society rather than critiquing the economic model of contemporary society. Practices seen at Riverside were not dissimilar to the Transformationalist form of GCE discussed by Shultz (2007) and represented a 'critical-liberal' connection (Pashby et al. 2020).

As Shultz (2007) explained of globalisation and development, globalisation has perpetuated inequality and embedded the dominance of economic models of free trade and competition, as well as also resulting in complex and dynamic relationships worthy of exploration. The Transformationalist form of GCE arguably represents a kind of 'liberal-critical' interface of GCE because it is centred on connection to different perspectives through dialogue and reading but working with civil society and a common sense of humanity and shared concerns within the global majority as a way to build authentic challenges to oppression (Shultz 2007). Transformational GCE, according to Pashby and de Costa (2021) represents an interface between critical and liberal approaches to GCE. In its positivity and approach to globalisation as a dynamic process that facilitates both inclusion and exclusion, Transformational GCE works with rather than against the existing global order (Shultz 2007). By exposing students to alternative models of development in Geography content or re-examining partition in India through A level History coursework – there was a similar space of positivity, connecting to transnational networks and a desire to reconsider the 'best way forward' for social development.

Evidence from across the IB and A level schools also appeared to highlight an interface similar to Andreotti's (2014) discussion on critical humanism. At Towers, for instance, students of Media and Sociology explored representations of Black popular culture, understandings of gender and different philosophical approaches to social issues. Similarly, at Riverside, students of English considered gender in gothic literature and emancipatory trajectories of women in historical contexts. Equally, at IB, students of Philosophy at Hills were encouraged to explore colonial representations of race via the work of Franz Fanon and notions of different freedoms and the role of culture for shaping a sense of identity (IB Philosophy guide 2016). Across the optional modules too, students looked at culture, treatment of the global majority linked to Indigenous people, gender, race, and sexual

orientation. Within political philosophy, themes covered the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, works of Confucius and Ibn Khaldun. At Greenlane, students in History looked at the importance of culture and context for the development of Authoritarianism and the perspectives of marginalised groups at the time. Taken together, evidence from both A level and IB content then, appeared to connect to clear common values of good but also placed critical thinking alongside existing systems such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Theoretically, Andreotti (2014) explained how connection to the critical through a singular lens of progress was more akin to Critical Humanist GCE. Critical Humanism expands the idea of inclusion and representation of marginalised groups into human progress efforts – for example, areas covering sexism, classism, racism, and heteronormativity that can all be connected to critical theories. Critical Humanism also questions neoliberal models of economic growth as the basis for development and the role of transnational corporations in that process instead focusing on the importance of "consensual human progress" (Andreotti cited in Pashby et al 2020: 155). Within a critical-humanist understanding of GCE, students engage with representation issues and theories of oppression but then place that within a common humanity framework for consensual progress. The IB and A level content observed in the four school sites appeared to do the same; content explored critical theories and exposed students to theories of oppression but then placed that knowledge alongside a common sense of humanity and connection for students. In a way students were using common humanity as a vehicle for positive and affectual social change but through one lens of what that change should entail. Whilst some may argue that common values may be possible, it seems questionable that a singular consensus on justice and development can be achieved.

Moving to alternative forms of GCE
In both IB via TOK and A level Politics, there were moments of opportunity in the content for moving beyond GCE interfaces or even a binary that still produced a sense of 'us' and 'them.' At IB, students at Hills exemplified reframing of knowledge in their comments on "two-spirit" people and, perhaps more pertinently, the inclusion of Indigenous knowledge in the curriculum. Student 1 appeared to use the example of Indigenous societies and "two-

spirit people" to explain how TOK undermined narratives and asks students to think beyond their existing positioning but also reframe knowledge itself. As Student 6 at Greenlane said, the result of the TOK content is an understanding of "how different languages are formed and how different people value different things and why...focused on the idea that there's no one answer". TOK then, created a space for different knowledge frameworks that undermined absolutes. Similarly, A level Politics offered opportunities for a more critical/post-critical approach to GCE in its optional module on Environmental Philosophy. The content asked students to study Rachel Carson examining the connection between gender oppression and nature alongside the earth as a living system and having capital connected to economic systems. Students were asked to critique existing socio-economic frameworks to understand both social and environmental consequences and, therefore, alternative knowledge frameworks. Such a change in the specifications, therefore presented an interesting finding for the research that decentred anthropogenic understandings of the world and, instead, offered a deep ecology approach.

As previously explored, reframing knowledge to centre ecological justice was explored by Andreotti et al. (2018) and Stein and Andreotti (2021). The EarthCARE global justice framework also seemed to offer an alternative way of thinking about the world that did not offer solutions but a path to thinking differently about the world and therefore the possibility of alternative solutions. As Ferguson and Brett (2023) explored, critically discussing, and engaging with global issues from an ethical decolonial standpoint, adds nuance and opportunity for teachers to dismantle unequal structures of dominance. The idea is to think beyond reinscribing a sense of paternalism and heroism that does nothing to move beyond frameworks of difference and power (Andreotti et al. 2018).

For both TOK and A level Politics, then, there appeared to be a seedling of opportunity to engage with global issues in different ways to push students beyond seeing economic systems and environmental systems as mutually exclusive. This was an exciting and interesting finding that suggests, unlike earlier empirical work, a more critical angle in both the A level and IB is beginning to emerge.

Summary

By looking at the findings on enactments alongside literature, the research found new and interesting areas for further development. First, pedagogical practices on discussion operated in interesting ways across both A level and IB settings that could be considered interfaces (Pashby et al. 2020) between types of GCE. Discussions at Riverside, for instance, operated in a way that echoed Transformational GCE (Shultz 2007). Students were exposed to different perspectives in a number of subjects but did so through a framework of transformation without critically evaluating social and economic structures of power. Discussions in IB settings – particularly Greenlane – had begun to explore ideas around bias and frameworks of knowledge.

This discussion fed directly into the teachers themselves. Discussion explored how access to newer forms of GCE for the likes of the English teacher at Greenlane, could only be done through a process of self-reflection. Teachers at both Greenlane and Hills were using professional development and content to reflect on their own framings of knowledge such as wearing of the Hijab or translated texts in English or Indigenous knowledges in TOK. Beyond much of the empirical work to date, the research found a complex and evolving relationship between teachers and GCE that included far more self-reflective practice in a similar way to the work of Pashby and Sund (2019). Self-reflection was central to accessing different forms of GCE at Greenlane and Hills.

Second, and promisingly, there was evidence in both the A level and IB content of different overlapping types of GCE; of particular importance was the inclusion of more critical content via a range of authors and inclusion of different knowledge systems seen in A level English, Sociology, Politics and IB TOK, English and Philosophy. Unlike earlier empirical work by Woods and Kong (2020), Wang and Hoffman (2016) and within England (Young 2008) and the IB world (Dvir et al. 2018) both curricula were changing and adapting to accommodate different knowledge bases in their learning. This was a significant and exciting finding not least because it suggests that both the IB and A level are moving forward and offer the possibility to enact multiple elements of GCE in their content. As Karsgaard (2019) and Ferguson and Brett (2023) found, there was and is space being created in the content for accessing different types of GCE that have not been seen before.

Finally, discussion highlighted and explained many of the different types of GCE observed across the four sites. Using Pashby et al, (2020), discussion on literature explored how 'liberal-neoliberal, critical-liberal and liberal-critical interfaces' of GCE were observed in the four schools through their discussions on Development in Geography at Riverside, treatment of colonialism in English at Riverside and Hills and inclusion of Indigenous knowledges in TOK at Hills. Once again, the interactions and connections between types of GCE offer a rich narrative of GCE in the four schools and highlight the importance of sitting in the complexities of GCE in empirical research.

CHAPTER 6a: CHALLENGES FOR DELIVERING GCE

Introduction

The final chapter considers the challenges facing the schools in delivering global citizenship education. The chapter covers four broad areas: interpretations of GCE, whether global citizenship is intrinsically valued, the role of teachers and the curricula themselves as barriers. Building on previous chapters, identifiable issues related understanding different forms of GCE simultaneously, the importance of teachers both as gatekeepers and barriers to the delivery of global citizenship especially in relation to values and the curricula themselves. Where the IB curriculum may have lacked structure, A level was grounded in a more internalised connection to British identity which was leaving teachers having to work *beyond* much of the specifications despite recent additions discussed in the previous chapter.

Interpreting Global Citizenship Education

The largest challenge when it came to delivering GCE was presented in terms of understanding what it actually entails. As the first chapter exemplified, GCE is and can be understood in many ways. This was problematic particularly for A level settings because lack of clarity could lead to lack of intentional implementation of GCE. In the case of Towers, the confusion surrounding global citizenship meant that most students fell back on notions of legal and identity citizenship supported by their academic learning or did not make the cognitive connection between some learning in the classroom and global citizenship education. Most interestingly though, was a consistent criticism of GCE as having a problematic narrative. In both IB and A level settings, teachers reflected on global citizenship as a concept. For instance, the Head of TOK at Hills said:

> "To what extent global citizenship does not come with the baggage of what it means to be Western or have a Western paradigmatic outlook. That's the issue isn't it – when you're talking about global citizens, are we talking about global citizens? are we talking about somebody who's unshackled from predominant Western modes of

thinking and is that a kind of meta flaw? You're trying to unpick it [GCE] from a Western point of view."

The Geography teacher at Riverside similarly said:

"I do think this idea of global is very hard to have a set of global values. There's 7 Billion people…a lot of it is people think global citizenship is Americanisation. It's a homogenous culture and one thing we know about the world is that it's not homogenous. That's very dangerous to start trying to teach that we should all be the same. If anything, we should be teaching we're **not** all the same and be tolerant about that. The thing that doesn't sit well is an awfully presumptuous authority – we will teach GCE in UK because we know what that means and I'm not sure – it's a neo-determinist view. Well, you're going to be a global citizen but we're basing it entirely on Western ideals and values. Most pupils, you know, British – we talk about British values and that's a British lens, it's a Eurocentric view and how can you map or match a Eurocentric view with being a global citizen – we seem to be basing it entirely on Western ideals and values."

The RS teacher at Riverside agreed with the Geography teacher:

"Without unpacking the actual words: global citizenship, it's very difficult to get beyond that important first stage of – essentially isn't it dialogue and allowing dialogue between pupils in terms of experience? I think it's difficult because of who would be defining it and how it's being defined. Even within UK, you would get people defining it in different ways let alone Europe or between Continents. There are also some places and people who do not want to be global citizens. They do not want consumer culture."

Similarly, the English teacher at Greenlane said:

"What does it mean to be a global citizen? Like when we say that we are all working together that's sort of pre-supposing that we're all alike – the idea of development for example – pre-supposing we are developing to become more like us."

These teachers all touched on the problematic nature of power and narrative when it comes to understanding GCE; on the one-hand encouraging cross-cultural engagement; on the other a set of skills and dispositions set within a framework derived in transnational but worlds like UNESCO that is based in Paris. The RS teacher commented on power in terms of voice and who was defining the idea of global citizenship whilst the English teacher at Greenlane appeared to question the framework of Global Citizenship Education in "pre-supposing that we're all alike." The English teacher seemed to suggest the problem of common humanity and resultant singularity when it came to models of development which pithily summarised the point made by the Geography teacher at Riverside.

Even more surprising in this research was the pedagogical response some teachers had to their interpretations of GCE. On the one hand, the geography teacher at Riverside did little to enact the challenges to GCE, instead, the teacher used Universal Human Rights as a starting point. On the other hand, the Heads of T&L at both IB Schools discussed the importance of pluralism of voice – to them that meant ensuring a voice for the global majority *and* maintaining a space for the political right. The geography teacher at Riverside said:

> "I think we look to certain values that are predominantly globally accepted as a framework for global citizenship and accepted. Now there are, of course, some societies where if you look at things like equality within society, women's rights, the view of people running those countries is very different to ours. But I would say its globally accepted it should be equal."

On the other hand, Greenlane looked at pluralism but in a surprising way. At Greenlane, the Head of Teaching and Learning said:

> "I do worry a little bit about our ability to think through kindness in the modern world, especially in academic literature and perspectives. Some people have said it's not appropriate to be kind because we should be challenging people if they are offensive. But it might not be offensive to you. I'm passionate about decolonising the curriculum and its extremely important. I do think though, that it's also important to understand different perspectives on this rather than silencing it. Which is where I really hope

critical global citizenship allows for pluralism. I don't want to get into the murky territory of de-platforming somebody."

The English teacher at Greenlane reflected:

"It's important to have both sides – so we introduced Jeremy Clarkson and prepared the students. We wanted to expose them to be able to tackle texts they don't necessarily agree with in a way that's calm and means you have your voice heard. A lot of liberal people – me included – have the tendency to demonise people who have more right-wing views. But that's a key aspect of being a global citizen – trying to empathise."

This was surprising because whilst the teachers at both Riverside and Greenlane engaged with critical perspectives around GCE, the evidence from English and the Head of T&L found a desire to ensure teaching did not lose any perspectives. Academically, differences between interpretation and action suggested a tension for teachers that they needed to navigate. Interestingly though, the IB teachers in particular were actively trying to ensure a sense of balance in literature and discussion given their own political views. As the Head of T&L at Greenlane said – the teacher did not wish to "de-platform" but, rather, engender pluralist discussion by highlighting, permitting, and encouraging all voices to be heard. The comments raised questions of intentionality when it came to the practices of GCE observed in earlier chapters.

Is Global Citizenship really valued?

This research found an underlying tension in all schools between a desire to engaging with other knowledges, perspectives, and positive social change vs the perceived need for skills development in order to access University or future employment. There were tensions between seeing value in GCE whilst operating in a context that appeared to prioritise attainment. Whilst present in IB settings, the focus on attainment and skills development was most apparent in A level settings. Equally, time was an issue with GCE often taking a secondary role in favour of content, again, much more so in the A level schools. In the IB settings, tension was less related to the value of GCE and more about the form it took. In

terms of valuing GCE, there was no discernible differences between state and private, but differences, instead, across curricula type.

The Head of Teaching and Learning, and Biology teacher, at Riverside touched on it:

"For all this to be engageable or to make conclusions, as a child, there needs to be a clear ethical framework – ethics that enables them to conclude that recycling, for instance, is a good idea. Something that makes them think critically in every subject across the school and explore different ideas. But it's not the guts of my lesson to teach philosophically, the gut of the lesson is why fish farming is good or bad not judging whether we should be doing it in the first place. I don't have time to break things down at an Ontological level for them."

In the same conversation, the Head of Geography argued:

"there's lot of political decisions in how you teach, and I don't want and probably *shouldn't* be saying 'oh this is right.' It's important to get the whole sweep of arguments and make decisions. The role of Geography is not to break down and culturally question knowledge and power, it is an academic subject, delivering content and never values."

The Head of Geography appeared to entirely detach a kind of values-based learning and the academic subject itself. Instead, the academic subject was seen as almost objective in content that needed to be delivered without any particular moral grounding. The comments from the Biology and Geography teachers at Riverside were in stark contrast to Hills and 's teachers who were using the academic subjects specifically as a vehicle for values. Instead, content knowledge and acquisition, seemed to be at the heart of academic subjects in Riverside – at least within STEM and from the perspective of the Head of Geography. Whilst the Head of Teaching and Learning acknowledged the need for, what was termed, an "ethical framework," GCE was placed as supplementary to the core of the lesson. Similarly, the comments from HoD Geography were interesting given the nature of Geography itself – an interdisciplinary subject between Humanities and STEM. The HoD appeared to see the subject in a more objective light offering theoretical perspectives but without criticality linked to values.

Some students and staff said that heavy content limited time – making GCE additional rather than integral.

The HoD Geography at Riverside:

> "If I think about Geography, the One Child Policy is quite interesting because it's been in Geography for ages, and we touched on it a bit. But I guess, it links to discussions around abortion and culture, but we never go into that because it's just not the focus and the spec doesn't allow for it – it's just, this is what happened, and this is the consequence. But there's no scope within that for discussion about what was right. So, in Geography – because we must cover so much it's a case-by-case basis."

Students agreed with the comment on Geography content.

> St1FG4: "in Geography textbooks, it would be like, so and so country has this percentage of poverty but it's never from the perspective of the people involved it's just a fact that we gloss over and move onto the next topic because there is so much to learn".

This was not limited to Geography, in Economics too, the HoD at Riverside said:

> "In brief patches we can discuss different economic models but it's not a significant part. I think the biggest issue is finding resources that are relevant and accessible to their age group. I mean the core of the exam is arguing and making judgments and trying to think beyond the spec but then it would be good to see more. It's a very Keynesian neoliberal focus there's not as much of a Philosophical argument – the only thing really was about the financial crisis."

The issue seemed to relate here to limited time in the specifications for discussion. These teachers said that the specification simply does not facilitate wider thought and alternative approaches due to lack of resources as well as time; the focus was on teaching a pre-determined content for examination purposes. The Head of T&L at Riverside elaborated:

> "I'd love to – in Biology – say, for fish farming, talk about how you can make decisions, whether you think it is right or wrong. I think science, religion and ethics absolutely go

hand in hand. So, from an educational perspective, sure – there's huge merit in it. But when push comes to shove, in every subject, you have X number of minutes a year and in lessons Y number of minutes to deliver content. Y is normally bigger than X. Therefore, these nice and beneficial things that would take a couple of lessons you just have to shelve."

This perceived pressure from the specifications was common across the A level settings. Students and staff, including those in favour of GCE, saw it as an add on and therefore expendable given the examinations.

Students in FG3 Towers:

St2FG3: "We're very much taught what we need to know and that's it. Especially in the China unit there's just so much to know our teacher is like – right, you just need to know this don't worry about going deeper into Marxism. I feel like it's quite limiting because I'm only taught what I need for my exam."

"Yea, like in Maths sometimes, teachers limit what we learn because they're trying to get results. But I don't think it's the teachers more the exam boards and how they mould the information to the questions they want to ask. Possibly for ease for us or for them examining us. We have so much information that I only have like a half hour exam on."

These comments were interesting in that both students linked limiting knowledge to both quantity of the content to cover and how that knowledge must connect to exams. Once again, both students and staff in these A level settings appeared to be grounding what they learnt/taught and why in the exams. Thus, the challenge for GCE at A level seemed rooted in having so much content being taught. The focus on enormous content knowledge for the purpose of examination meant, as Student 2 said, that students cannot explore perspectives like Marxism in any depth or critically discuss it because there simply is not time. Conceptual discussions on Marxism were not examined and therefore, appeared to lack value in some senses. Interestingly, criticism of A level content was also picked up in IB settings by teachers who had previously taught it. The Physics teacher at Greenlane said:

"it's just about passing exams rather than learning Science and skills. So, if my memory serves me, they used to have core practicals and then get tests on that. But obviously, everyone just cheats in schools, and it was all pre-prepared. The A level was fixed. It's more what's in the box and prescriptive."

The IBDP Coordinator similarly said, the result of focusing on content knowledge for examination at A level was that many students became driven by the exams in the same way teachers were:

"Some students felt uncomfortable when we started to deviate from the spec. Let's only talk about the Bank of England or Thatcherism. Taking a deeper approach, they were more reticent, and it goes back to that transactional approach. I don't think these students hated the idea of internationalism; I think they were just hyper-focused on the spec. They didn't really care to know too much about how monetary policy works or difference between open market operations. It was just, tell me the least number of things I need to know to get the A*. I need to go to University and that's what is driving it. I don't think it's a UK centric problem – a more competitive world, higher costs of HE and socio-economic situations all add up to A levels being a hoop to jump through. It's not about learning for learning."

These final comments presented a challenge for GCE; if global citizenship remains beyond the remit of the exam/content, it could become extraneous and therefore removed when the pressure for examination results and social mobility into higher education overrides educational principle. Whilst the A level students interviewed disputed the IBDP's point on wanting to learn more, they did still appear to see theoretical discussion and accessing more critical forms of GCE as beyond their respective subjects; if not examined, GCE is not a priority. This research therefore argues the challenge for delivering meaningful forms of GCE in both A level settings is not just limited to teaching approaches but speaks to the purpose of A level in its entirety.

Equally, the Head of T&L at Riverside mentioned time to discuss concepts at a theoretical level which was echoed elsewhere across the study. At Riverside one student said:

"there's not really time in lessons because they've got a spec to teach. But there's also not really time in school or space to have a conversation about it…people just sometimes can't be bothered when it's at an inconvenient time and you must go to this talk, and you feel you know everything about it. It's usually end of the day or a Saturday morning or during prep time when I could be working."

St2FG5 at Riverside was stronger:

"I think school should just focus on teaching the subject and then in PSHE we focus on UCAS applications because, ultimately, the point of school is to get us to University."

Other students explored the link to exams further, agreeing with those in the focus groups in terms of focus. Student 2 for instance:

"I don't think it [GCE] should fall to the school. I think on one hand, school is a place of Education. So yes, it's good to educate people about citizenship but on the other hand, schools have a goal, and this is GCSEs and A level results. The focus is grades and the highest you can. I think it links to University, and, setting you up for the future. You sort of go – if I'm not going to receive good grades, what's the point? I don't think it's an enforced pressure from school more just the structure of the system. It means that the more A*s you have, the better you are and when schools advertise themselves, they don't say oh we teach diversity and are inclusive, they say oh, 50% of our students get a 9 at GCSE and A level."

The rhetoric on attainment featured in every interview with students at Riverside. All felt the focus of school was very much one of grades and social mobility. Students believed, intrinsically, the purpose of school was delivery of content for examination and everything else operated as supplementary to that. This was something identified by the Politics teacher:

"The extent to which pupils feel a sense of global identity and obligation…I'm not entirely convinced they have a sense of obligation to even the national society they live in. So, the extent to which they have an obligation to a global society is an entirely different question…our main job is to get the grades for the kids which is desperately

mercenary, isn't it, but that is the expectation of our clients…and I think there is a strong movement towards a mercenary attitude within modern education which is very sad…my personal view is that having moral discourse is problematic in the world we live in and I think its problematic for children. I think the public forum for moral discourse these days is extremely confused and in crisis because the narrative is now all over the place. They are grasping for something though…equally though, a lot of our students, quite frankly, see A levels as a mercenary operation and I just need to know this stuff to move forward."

The Politics teacher's response suggested a systemic tension between wanting to teach aspects of GCE and demand from students and parents for specific academic outcomes. The comments also suggested that the teacher prioritised national identification over global – identity was hierarchical rather than being alternative or overlapping. Similarly, the Politics teacher touched on elements of GCE like other teachers at Riverside on difficulties to define GCE in a meaningful way and therefore reverting to a focus on attainment. The teacher appeared to suggest a lack of clarity resulted in confusion and ultimately, a process that reverted to prioritising academic attainment over having those complex discussions or "moral discourse."

The focus on attainment for social mobility was not, however, limited to the fee-paying environ of Riverside. Indeed, responses from students at Towers – the state academy – were strikingly similar:

St2FG1: "I think, personally, they [teachers] dedicate so little time to discussing important issues that it feels very rushed and forced like its awareness month, but we do one random assembly and then move onto the next thing. I think they dedicate so little time they're not able to successfully kind of promote values."

St1FG1: "Our grades and where we're going in the future, we have, literally, every week something about going to university. And I think they say that they're focusing on Uni, and they'll move onto apprenticeships. But, so far, all I've heard about this whole year is about going to Uni. They haven't done any of the kinds of things like issues with the world. It's all about where we're going and our grades."

Student 2 in the group went on:

"I think that they don't care so much about our education in the sense that they care about what grades we get and that's it. What we are taught is very much pressured into – we need to do well to succeed and get out of 6th form to the next big step. I don't think they dedicate much care to our wellbeing or issues that affect us. One thing they keep saying is like you've got through GCSEs, you're here and better than those people that didn't and forget that those people are our friends."

Again, these comments suggested an institutionalised sense of purpose and drive for academic attainment. Of course, this may just be Riverside and Towers and not A levels themselves, but it was an interesting finding, nonetheless. Students and teachers were part of a wider narrative on attainment, progression and social mobility that was politicised and placed self-worth in exam results. There was a clear sense of connection between attainment, higher education, and later success such that it had become the focus for both students and teachers. The tone throughout though was critical of the focus on content, standards and University whilst dropping wellbeing and values, but there was also an acceptance of it as the dominant discourse. Within the interviews, some students said it was teachers focused on the grades or institutions using them as a marketing tool whilst the Politics teacher placed responsibility on a confused "public forum for moral discourse" that made discussion of complex valued-laden issues difficult.

More than that, discussions on attainment and GCE appeared to dichotomise knowledge taught through the specifications and GCE – in that global citizenship was not part of that content. GCE was almost seen as outside of rather than intrinsic to the learning taking place. Instead, the focus at Riverside and Towers was on content knowledge acquisition rather than all other elements that could be part of global citizenship. Even the teachers' responses seemed to separate GCE as a moral or politicised endeavour different from academic subjects rather than the content being a vehicle for global citizenship learning. As a result of cognitively separating GCE and academic knowledge, the schools arguably became limited in how and where GCE could be intentionally enacted within the school – although, as observed, GCE was operating through various elements of A level content and beyond the

classroom. One could therefore question whether teachers were consciously or unconsciously enacting the forms of GCE observed in the classroom without really understanding it to be global citizenship. Again, this suggested a communication tension between academic GCE and practical interpretations and enactments in the field.

Tensions between type of GCE to enact.

The issue was slightly more nuanced in IB settings. Perhaps, given the nature of the IB discussed in the chapter on interpretations, seeing value in GCE was less of an issue for Hills and Greenlane. Students and staff noted the link between GCE and the content/examination process. However, the tensions at Greenlane and Hills had a similar undertone to Towers and Riverside. Whilst not as widespread, there were still mentions of GCE linked to skills in an individualised capacity. The IBDP Co-ordinator at Greenlane said:

> "As students start to articulate the different academic disciplines, they move into those skill sets that students need to be successful. As you get into the ATL (approaches to learning) skills, its these common communication skills, self-regulation that creates agile learners and helps students react to an unpredictable future."

Whilst the comments may still be grounded in preparation for a changing world and "agile learners," the IBDP Coordinator appeared to be connecting GCE to a set of tangible skills as opposed to a perspective on the world or desire for social justice. Equally, student 7 at Greenlane considered the importance of attainment:

> Student 7: "at the end of the day, global citizenship is important, but you still must hit those marks and get a good grade…essentially the whole point is that they're trying to prep you for Uni so lead you down the academic route. I do think at the end of the day you're taught for the exams even if that includes GCE. But I can't tell how much of it is IB curriculum that says you should be focused towards exams and how much of it is a British interpretation of IB for our context knowing how competitive HE is."

This was an interesting comment because the student acknowledged the value of GCE and related GCE to the nature of IB but equally considered how GCE is juxtaposed with academic

pressures. The student questioned whether that academic pressure was the IB itself or a British context where Higher Education is extremely competitive. Nevertheless, the student did not seem to connect an understanding of GCE with academic success but as something different that is embedded in IB content.

Those undertones of pressure for academic attainment were also briefly mentioned by students at Hills – independent IB school. FG1 said:

> "Everyone wants to get into a good University and for the good University you need good grades. You need to be smart. I think cooperation is part of that…how people can come in from anywhere in the world, you're exposed to more competition from everywhere else."

These comments were the only links to skills-based learning and attainment in the IB settings. In many instances, both staff and students acknowledged the allure of GCE becoming something that enhanced skills and exam results but disputed that this was the only goal of GCE. The Head of T&L at Hills acknowledged IB teachers can be drawn to teaching to the exam, but said that teaching to the exam misses the point of IB ideologically, and, indeed, doing so can equally result in lower grades because GCE is integrated into the assessment:

> "I think sometimes people sort of see the teaching of the text as being something associated with assessment tasks. So, I'm going to teach this book because you've got to do an oral on it. Students then say, well if this is not on the course I'm not worrying. Equally, we might argue there isn't time to develop our practice and really consider values: the students need the skills to help society but it's also ridiculous because our entire job is about instilling values and outlook so they can be inclusive members of society."

The Head of Teaching and Learning made an interesting observation about the nature of GCE but also the connection to pedagogical practice itself. It seemed, unlike earlier comments from both the IB students and A level contexts, the Head of T&L connected GCE with academic success rather than see it as an add on. Equally, the Head of T&L – unlike comments made by the Head of Geography and Head of Teaching and Learning/Biology

teacher at Riverside – disputed arguments that GCE isn't taught due to lack of time because "our entire job is about instilling values and outlook." In particular, the comments on values appeared diametrically opposed to the Head of Geography at Riverside who felt the role of Geography was objectively academic, offering content rather than values. Such a different mindset was both stark and illuminating when considering the value of GCE in context. Indeed, the comments around value of GCE in pedagogical practice highlighted the importance of individual teachers when it came to enacting all forms of GCE.

Teachers

Whilst complex interpretations of GCE and debates on intrinsic value were challenges unto themselves, they were both connected to two core elements: the curriculum and the teachers. Drawing on the findings, these components were the largest hurdles in all settings when delivering GCE. The second half of this chapter examines curriculum and teachers' relationship to that curriculum finding the importance of English political context for both. Core themes across the schools related to apprehension addressing controversial topics, the restrictive nature of teaching standards, debates on values teaching and responsibilities alongside day-to-day practicalities of GCE in and out of the classroom.

Addressing Controversial Issues

The first issue facing GCE was uneasiness relating to controversial topics. Students across school settings mentioned a perceived widespread anxiety to discuss complex issues. Students at Riverside said:

> St1FG1: "I feel like the teachers wouldn't really know how to respond, like is someone says something slightly controversial, the teacher just kind of sits there and doesn't say anything"

> St8FG1 "I'm going to say the opposite. I don't think teachers should express their opinions on topics because I feel like the teacher is more a role model…I feel like if a teacher did say something controversial some students who are indecisive might be like, 'oh I should follow it'".

The teaching standards themselves historically commented on teachers' responsibility to not 'indoctrinate' students with opinion (DfE 2011), although this was altered in 2021 to

"not undermining fundamental British values, including democracy, the rule of law, individual liberty and mutual respect, and tolerance of those with different faiths and belief" (DfE 2021).

On this last point, a student at Towers agreed – saying "I think some teachers just want to stick with what they feel comfortable with." The RS teacher at Riverside picked up on this in her role – stating that, as an RS/ethics teacher, controversial discussions are often accessible and comfortable for her, but others may not feel the same:

> "it's difficult with controversial issues. I'm an RS teacher its part of my job and I'm comfortable with it whilst others might feel less like that."

The Head of Philosophy at Hills said similar of teachers:

> "I think a lot of the time people don't come forward and I always really try to encourage it and say, please do let me know. But I have had some teachers come forward saying – I don't know how to deal with this when delivering TOK. Could we potentially talk it through or sit in my lesson whilst I teach this. But sadly, I think not enough teachers say it because they don't want to lose face."

These comments suggested an underlying uneasiness perceived by students and staff when discussing controversial topics in a way that could limit their value. But the Head of Politics at Riverside commented that fear around controversial topics was more about the students, saying that pupils fear conflicting opinions because of societal pressures or simply not caring enough:

> "What students are mainly dealing with are notions of Wokeism which are being foisted upon them by a fairly irresponsible adult press who don't care – I mean, they don't care what effect it has on young people, and I think that's why students are very hesitant to make judgments."

This was an interesting take on the reason for student fear. Here, the Politics teachers blamed the media for enforcing specific ideologies – what he called 'Wokeism' on students as the popular approach meaning schools lose their previous role as a forum of learning and

expressing difference. However, when I proposed this to the students at Riverside the response was entirely different. In a focus group discussion students said:

> "So today in Chemistry we were like balancing equations. And we were talking about whether we can cancel these things, but my teacher made a comment about cancel culture and work. I think I have noticed sometimes that teachers are very quick to make a mockery of vocab and what they deem to be our generation's activism. And when we try to participate in activism they just say, 'oh you're just a young person being woke'".

In this quote, the student seemed to speak directly to the comments of the Politics teacher on 'Wokeism' but not that they feel Wokeism was being "foisted upon them." Instead, this student stated a desire to raise awareness, and questioning issues was met with dismissal as generational and therefore muted. In terms of GCE, the quote raised questions of voice – whether students felt they should think a certain way and fear making a 'wrong' move or not feeling heard. Whilst this may have been an isolated comment, the comment on voice did speak to a tension between mindsets of teachers, perceived mindsets of students and the problem with universalising the student experience; some students did want to discuss further but needed to space to do so. The reflection on voice also spoke to the importance of studying GCE in context – particularly today. There seemed to have been a shift in schools from ignoring complex issues to them being at the forefront of society and needing to negotiate them in school settings. The context of movements like BLM, race riots in France 2023, Israel-Hamas conflict, stop and search in UK were all being seen by students.

Policy: Fundamental British Values and the Teaching Standards
The impact of policy was also notable in many of the teacher responses to challenges of delivering GCE. Much discussion in the school settings revolved around British teaching standards and expectations of teachers in relation to values-based teaching embedded in GCE narratives. The first discussions on policy related to Fundamental British Values and then, at Riverside, expanded into all values teaching. The British values policy expected teachers to uphold tolerance, freedom, and respect which the IBDP Coordinator at Greenlane reflected on in the context of GCE saying:

"If you want to help students understand what it means to be a responsible citizen we have British values – mutual respect, tolerance, democracy, law. These are not alien to any other curriculum. They're kind of empowering teachers to move away from outdated models of 'this is my worldview, and this is what you need to believe'".

Equally, the Head of Pastoral care at Riverside (independent A level) agreed:

"The closest to citizenship we have is fundamental British values which probably everyone would agree to in principle."

RS teacher at Riverside: "I mean the name is silly, isn't it? The British part – but I think it's hard to argue with those particularly. I whole-heartedly think we should be teaching responsibility and what does it mean to be a member of humans on earth and the responsibility we have."

The teachers' responses around fundamental British values appeared to suggest that the conceptual idea of FBVs was not in question beyond labelling them as British. Where the challenge arose was in critically engaging with them and the parameters set on teachers for said discussion which, could, result in the fear to discuss controversial issues entirely. There was also the issue of moving beyond abstract values to operationalising values into practice for students to tangibly understand. Operationalising values was a common issue raised across IB and A level settings. In a teacher focus group at Riverside, the Head of T&L and Head of Pastoral discussed their limitations:

"If we have a set of standards which we are held to as a professional body that we're not allowed to critically analyse and in that there are values that people would not necessarily buy into then the system is broken…I think as a teacher you've got every right to – we should be able to talk about them. You can't say we teach global citizenship and ask people to come to their own conclusions but at the same time say these things, these 'values' well you just have to accept them."

The Head of Pastoral said in response:

"For example, when you get into the favourite nitty gritty of say, the sex and relationships legislation and we are explicitly told to teach that certain practices are

wrong and happen in this country in this group of people and then you are being told to teach, you know, a heterosexual family which is married is great but there are also other families available. So, I think it is all contradictory and problematic – still Conservative right-wing driven plus with some liberalism thrown in here and there. But we can't legally question, we are legally bound to teach them. In fact, we are inspected to make sure we have covered and delivered certain views. That, I find descriptive so you can pass or fail as a school on delivering certain staff just saying: 'this is heterosexual, this a homosexual relationship, X is wrong.' This is wrong. I'm not arguing certain things are right but there's no room for discussion."

This example, citing the 2021 guidance, illustrated the restrictive and definitive nature of many of the teaching standards based on moral judgment and something being 'right' or 'wrong'. As the Head of Pastoral care said, whilst some areas around heteronormativity have expanded to be more inclusive, other areas around cultural practices prohibit discussion at all. As the teacher said, specific issues are given "no room for discussion" on the basis that they are deemed "wrong" by the UK government. From a GCE perspective then, limits on the possibility of discussion and defining something as necessarily 'right' or 'wrong' is a problem if teachers are trying to access more critical and alternative approaches to understanding others and the world. On a more specific level, teachers at the IB state school, Greenlane, said similar.

English teacher said:

"I understand why the UK government has this British values thing. But the fact of the matter is – it's not simple to decide what is 'right' or 'wrong' and the UK government hasn't decided it either which I think is impossible. It's the same with this idea of tolerance. We really need to unpick the idea critically. I have a problem with the word tolerance, and I talk to students about this as well. Tolerance is this idea you are graciously just accepting something."

The Geography teacher at Riverside also picked up on use of language:

"We talk about British values, tolerance and right and wrong but that's a British lens. It's a very Eurocentric view and how you can map or match a Eurocentric view to

being a global citizen…doesn't gel very well. If you're going to be a global citizen you've got to be able to look at lived experiences from different perspectives"

The challenge of both language and delineated ideas about 'right' and 'wrong' was ubiquitous across the school settings despite the Head of TOK at Hills saying:

"The relative nature of right and wrong certainly comes across and the desire for cultural relativism is almost old hat in IB now it's so engrained."

It seemed, the context of the UK and, subsequently, UK teaching guidelines was important for this study not just in state A level but across independent and IB settings too. Whilst IB may have appeared to allow for freedom of discussion in its literature and guidelines as the TOK teacher said, along with independent schools, the response from teachers suggested the omnipresence of policy and legislation is a barrier rather than being a facilitator for discussion on controversial issues and accessing different forms of GCE. The findings, therefore, suggested a specific challenge for schools enacting GCE in England but also posed the wider questions in relation to who delivers a moral framework linked to understandings of GCE and how on a practical level. Many of the teachers appeared to question the moral authority of UK government to make judgment calls about contemporary issues.

One of the most interesting comments on values-based learning came from the Head of Geography at Riverside:

"there's lots of political decisions in how you teach, and I don't want and probably shouldn't be saying, 'oh this is right.' It's important to get the whole sweep of arguments and make decisions. The role of Geography is not to break down and culturally question knowledge and power, it is an academic subject delivering content and never values."

Whilst the comment seemed to support the argument on moral relativism and avoiding clearly defined ideas of 'right' and 'wrong,' what was interesting was the reasoning behind the point. The Head of Geography said of the subject, that its role is "not to break down and culturally question knowledge and power" instead it must be "an academic subject delivering content and never values." In essence, the teacher wanted to distance values

teaching entirely from the academic endeavour of the subject which was contrary to almost all the comments by IB teachers at both Greenlane and Hills. Why the teacher wanted to disengage with values teaching in the classroom is an interesting question perhaps related, again, to the teaching standards which state that teachers must ensure: "personal beliefs are not expressed in ways which exploit pupils' vulnerability" (DfE 2011 edited 2021). Perhaps the HoD of Geography did want to appear to be providing personal beliefs or perhaps, it was personal choice and practically easier to not engage with values-based learning in the classroom. Arguably though, nuance in the teaching standards does not preclude teachers from discussing moral quandaries but, rather, avoid "exploitation of pupils' vulnerability" by enforcing personal opinion only but having an opinion is entirely acceptable.

Interestingly, the comments on lack of moral discussion, were contrary to the original aims of the Crick report. Whilst designed for Under 16s, the premise of both reports was arguably one grounded in both political and moral value and active citizenship. The Crick report clearly connected community engagement to a foundation of moral value. Indeed, the QCA (1998) guidelines asked students to consider:

1. Concern for the common good
2. Belief in human dignity and equality
3. A desire to work with and for others.
4. Concern to resolve conflicts.
5. Practice tolerance.
6. Courage to defend arguments.
7. Openness to change one's own opinion.
8. Concern for human rights, environment, gender equality

As such, older policy did seem to accommodate for moral and values-based discussion and, interestingly, having "courage to defend arguments" (1998:44). Taken together, one could make an argument that whilst policy could be perceived as restrictive – as the teachers identified – perhaps the challenge for teachers was in interpretation of policy and which policy they were engaging with in their pedagogical practice. It seemed the challenge was

about having space to discuss and critique guidelines such that space was made for GCE learning.

Curriculum
IB Curriculum Challenges
The final section considers the overarching issues both IB and A level curricula appeared to create when enacting global citizenship education. It begins by looking at IB.

Findings suggested that, despite appearing to be more inherently global, students and staff still felt IB is too grounded in a single perspective/approach to knowledge and has the potential to become mechanistic, covering too much and leaving little time for grounded reflection. Across both IB settings, teachers specifically, commented on the fact that IB remains grounded in, what they termed, 'Western' narratives and, where attempts to diversify have been made, it has been haphazard in places. Discussing the English programme, the English teacher at Greenlane said:

"They [IBO] want people to be global citizens; they want to make the world a better place, but you can still 'get away' with it and say – we're going to take on American texts and UK texts – that counts as two different continents but obviously excludes lots. You know, you can choose to avoid teaching colonialism which seems problematic. I remember my school in Tanzania was one of the only schools in the entire world to teach African history. The option is there but there's limited resources and teachers aren't prepared so they stick to what they know."

The Head of T&L at Hills made similar comments of the course, saying:

"it [IB] has its roots in Western literature and generally in education pedagogy. There is a tension in the sense that, you know, the philosophy of IB is driven by a set of values and all those things which are admirable and laudable. But, at the end of the day, it's still kind of disciplinary so you've got to do English or first language and, in some respects that kind of traditional or Western way of thinking about learning in terms of subject discipline can feel slightly at odds with the noble aims. It's not an easy thing to shake and the IB has such a high status. I think the IB is cautious to make

dramatic changes. But it must reflect a community that is international – in effect, you can still 'get away' with doing the IB without really attending to many of the ideas on equality, justice etc. I don't think you would be doing it 'right,' but it is possible."

This comment was interesting because the Head of Teaching and Learning supported the comments of the English teacher at Greenlane but also says that the issue of the IB is the IB structure itself beyond which texts are selected by teachers. Instead, the Head of T&L reflected on the IB as "kind of traditional of Western" in its composition – focusing on individual subject disciplines in each group of the Diploma programme – which the Head of T&L connects to discrete subjects - rather than wider ways of knowing or thinking about knowledge. The Head of Philosophy at Hills exemplified how rigidity in traditional subjects could lead to loss of diverse knowledges:

"The IB is very geared towards Western philosophy despite its breadth, just because of the themes covered. This year, as a school, we've been grappling with and talking about how it's very easy to provide a perspective of Philosophy which isn't very global and largely Western dead white men – I came across a resource which was like the whole IB Diploma in five philosophers and it's like Aquinas, Aristotle, Plato etc. I know the IB is writing a new spec but one of the difficulties is that with EE, if they do Philosophy, they can't double dip so you can't cover something you did in class. So, we are trying to diversify our curriculum but then it seems unfair that we then say to students 'oh no that's off kilter.' It stunts meaningful discussion."

The English teacher also commented:

"The IB are trying to force diversity and respect, and I've noticed changes recently particularly in Anthropology and English. They've also added Indigenous societies, but, it's an option and I have a problem with that. It's suggesting that Indigenous knowledge systems are somehow different to the correct, core, scientific knowledge or less than."

In a sense, these teachers were reflecting on the one hand, that the IB is restrictive in insisting that certain geographical areas or academic disciplines are covered and on the other, the freedom of IB means teachers can avoid different perspectives. Thus, whilst

appearing to value difference, it remains incumbent upon teachers to actively engage with global perspectives meaning there remains pockets of IB where students can succeed academically without engaging globally. Equally, as the English teacher at Greenlane commented, where changes have been implemented, the way in which these have been done has still been from a place of 'othering' knowledge or placing knowledge as different to 'traditional' approaches. As the English teacher said, whilst Indigenous knowledges have been added to Anthropology, by placing it as an option, "Indigenous knowledge systems are somehow different to the correct, core, scientific knowledge or less than" in a way dichotomising different knowledge as an add on. It seems the English teacher was articulating that IB messaging, whilst trying to engage in more diverse discussion, was doing so from a position that cemented power dynamics of knowledge vs belief or needing to understand shared humanity rather than focusing on equality of knowledge systems and social justice. Taken together then, the challenge for the IB settings was one of structure that, whilst IB appears to be more global, was still driven by specific and restricted conceptions of knowledge both in terms of individual subjects and the content within them.

The A level Challenges

Challenges connected to A level were more widely discussed by students and staff in both IB and A level settings. The research found three issues: the restrictive nature of A level limited to 3 subjects meant depth rather than interdisciplinarity; a lack of time to deliver GCE because of that depth and the inherent British identity embedded in each subject focused on retrospection rather than geographical diversity. Overwhelmingly, respondents said that A level, in its preference for developing depth of subject knowledge, meant students were restricted in breadth. This can also lead to ontological restrictions with students opting for subjects with similar perspectives like STEM or the Arts. The IBDP Coordinator at Greenlane was particularly critical:

> "The problem is that, like Politics in UK, you've got an Education system that is
> piecemeal from different political parties that have come to power to change
> education. I'd say in many ways, the A level curriculum is based on what we thought –

what the world was in the past where being hyper-focused on a very narrow specialisation was preferable to a very broad articulate liberal education. You know, I want my doctor to be able to understand the physiology of the human body. I want them to be incredible at Maths for some reason and good at Chemistry, but I want my doctor to be empathetic and listen to me…maybe this is from an American bias, but it seems intimidating that would go from 10 GCSE subjects to then focus on 3 that are going to determine the rest of your life…these kids are 16. So, naturally what happens is that students pick their 3 strongest because they want to achieve good grades because of education in UK being driven by external assessments. When students become hyper-focused it really neglects the peripheral growth and ideological growth students can have."

This criticism of A level as restrictive was a common theme. Many students from IB settings said the restrictive nature of A level was the key reason for moving away from the qualification.

St1Hills:

"The restricted nature I've heard from snippets from friends. You know, it's very clear in the content what you need to know and need to do. So, there's not that flexibility to explore academically or link to current world events. I guess the rigid structure is good for mark schemes, but I don't think it's as useful for the future everyday – you're in an interview or engaging with people from around the world, you don't have points on a mark scheme to hit. I have a friend who does Russian A level, and she doesn't study it in the same way as me. It's a lot about memorising facts, applying certain words, or knowing vocab. Whereas, for us, it's about applying, learning roots so we can decode and communicate. So, we know less vocab but can apply more."

When asked about these criticisms, students at both A level settings acknowledged them – particularly in relation to STEM. Indeed, many connected the "rigid structure" referenced by Student 1 as the reason behind lack of discussion:

St5FG5 at Riverside:

"So, I do STEM subjects, and I really haven't heard anything much about other knowledge systems. There are some small topics maybe – like in Chemistry we talked about the Haber process and how initially that was bad but that's very niche where most of the time we don't talk about any kind of morality mostly just scientific facts."

Similarly, in FG1 at Riverside, students commented on lack of exposure to debate/discussion and connected it to subject choice.

St2FG1: "I don't think the syllabus covers global issues. Maybe in Human Geography but I don't do subjects like that. I kind of wish we did somewhere. I think with Physics; to be able to critically debate theory you must have a strong mathematical understanding of why something is right, and I don't think I could. It's just the nature of the subject. With Maths and Physics, you've got a set answer, and I don't necessarily think they are even the right environment to integrate discussion."

St1FG1: "they [students] probably do it in theology, but in terms of Science, we are just exposed to the established facts. For some subjects it's just too hard and doesn't relate. In Maths we don't talk about people at all. It's literally just numbers' It's like if you study humanities, it will help your learning of the subject. In STEM I think it would be kind of irrelevant to the course/exams so should be outside of lessons"

This final point was particularly interesting. Both students are of the opinion that critical discussion is not only limited by subject choice but should be – it lacks relevance in the STEM arena. Equally student 1 in the focus group used the term "established facts" in reference to science. The assumption being one of power in that scientific knowledge is fact whereas discussion would involve connection to theory or opinion. Arguably, such a comment reflected a wider discussion on power and the dominance of certain narratives that could place positivist paradigms as more valuable or established than other approaches. Compared to the comments of the IB Maths teacher at Greenlane who covered the cultural history of Mathematical theory – the comments from A level students illuminated a critical challenge in Riverside. The students saw their subjects as discrete, lacking philosophical grounding and discussion but based in objective fact. This ontological separation across academic fields was also exemplified well by a student at Towers:

St3FG1: "Chemistry is chemistry. It is what it is. Inherently, they are in different places – one is a humanity [referencing History] and one is a Science. So, one is opinion based and one is factual science. It is what it is unless proven otherwise – you are taught what it is and then apply it."

Limited discussion then, was linked to subject choice and perceptions of what each subject entails. Again, the notion of power dynamics in knowledge systems was implied within the student's comments with Humanities operating in a state of "opinion" whilst Chemistry was one of "factual science" – the two could not cross over nor could Chemistry be questioned but rather taught as fact and applied.

A level grounding in British Identity

Beyond the limits on subject choice, depth and purpose, the final major challenge to developing different forms of GCE was a perception that A levels remain grounded in an almost nostalgic British traditionalism. In both A level and IB settings, students and staff noted that, despite recent changes, A level remains fundamentally focused on Britain.

The Geography teacher at Riverside (independent A level) said:

"The human side of Geography has changed and continues to change in terms of content – to an extent. But the people who are writing these specs keep going back to a certain lens – it's very Eurocentric. There is still that kind of unwritten moral authority within the specification and, a lot of the time, it's also male authority. That's the point, until there is significant change and different groups in society start to write the National Curriculum that's not going to change. All due respect to people like me – if you've got middle-aged white men writing them [specifications] it's always going to make global citizenship a difficult thing to achieve."

St4 at Riverside said:

"We look at deprivation in areas in UK which, perhaps, are still deprived and looking at whether the North South divide is still present. So, we do case studies comparing Liverpool and Cambridge looking at different measures and compare it, to, say 20 years ago and whether there's been good/bad social change. We don't really critique

the measure but kind of looking at the problem of judging deprivation on just a few factors."

St3 Towers said regarding Geography:

"So, we have done a bit on inequality in UK and looked at the London riots 2011 and - that sparked a debate on the lower socio-economic classes, job opportunities in the city centre and how the more middle class live in the suburbs – like the Burgess Model".

Reference to the Burgess Model was interesting from an academic perspective given how old, and often critiqued the model is – having been developed in 1925. The student connected inequality to the model but did not reference economic approaches like neoliberal capitalism and Milton Friedman versus the likes of Ha-Joon Chang and alternative economic models at any point. Arguably, the lack of reference could have indicated a lack of exposure to said theoretical approaches and therefore a lack of academic grounding in the concept of inequality. Indeed, the evidence from within both the A level schools was limited and heavily grounded in very old Geography like the Burgess Model or Rostow's stages of Development that were developed based on a 'Eurocentric' view of the world and the path of development taken by UK in particular. Instead, the focus was on measurement of deprivation not the underpinning reasons linked to economic and political philosophy. Despite recent changes to A level Geography, it seems content and delivery was still grounded in both British narratives and older theory with criticality left to the discretion of teachers.

The focus on Britain was seen widely across other subjects too.

St1 at Towers said of Music:

"Our content is dominated by European men – more than I would like sometimes - so we study Bach and Beethoven."

St1FG1 at Towers said:

"So, our last topic in Photography was called English. You basically start off brainstorming things that are British or English and go from there and take pictures. I think the teacher picked it because we all live in England and all British so it's what we know."

The same was true across the Humanities. A student at Riverside said of Economics:

"it's all very UK focused – ultimately, the exam question is going to be UK focused so it makes sense. For example, we did Pure Gym – we usually do British based businesses and look at how things affect the UK market."

Even in areas that appeared more diverse, the teaching was grounded in chronological in-depth assessment in one geographical area. At Towers, English was a good example. Whilst covering themes around identity, gender and class, the texts were all written in the geographical 'West'.

"we've done Handmaid's Tale and Streetcar Named Desire so looking at problems of abuse and sexual assault. So, we learn about how it's changed and socially how it was seen as attention seeking. We have also done Revolutionary Road by Richard Yates and then we do poetry on war and love but focus on America and different time periods and it was interesting to see how race issues were less kind of derogatory but not as much."

Looking at the English A level specifications themselves, across the exam boards, time featured heavily with AQA specifying components like *Love through the Ages* – one text of which must be Shakespeare. There were requirements for study of texts written pre-1900 and one post-2000. AQA argue, the focus should be exploring themes over time and diachronic comparison (AQA English Lit A 2021). Within the optional content (World War I and aftermath or 1945 to present) core texts varied from Brian Gardner – *Up the Line to Death* to Joan Littlewood – *Oh! What a lovely war* with comparative set texts like Ben Elton and Hemingway. Missing, however, was any literature from the global majority or ethnically diverse authors. Whilst *The Help* and *Colour Purple* are optional texts, there appeared to be little on empowering the global majority, positive narratives, and diverse authors.

Beyond AQA though there was more opportunity for GCE integration into the syllabus – specifically with new changes from 2022 onwards. Pearson, for instance, have added *Home Fire* by Kamila Shamsie and *The Cutting Season* by Attica Locke (Pearson A level English Lit 2022). Whilst still temporally focused, the addition of these authors and playwrights like Lynn Nottage seemed to indicate a renewed focus in the curriculum on diverse voices and therefore the possibility of accessing different forms of GCE. Similarly, and like IB, the OCR specification suggested comparison between *Heart of Darkness* and *Things Fall Apart*. In the OCR specification there was also the potential to study Mohsin Hamid – a British Pakistani novelist and Henry Roth's work about Jewish settlements in New York's Ghetto – *Call it Sleep* (OCR 2022). Whilst content in History at Towers did have geographical breadth in the study of Mao in China and Stalin's Russia, the focus was not comparative but, rather analysis of how they came to power and chronological contextualisation as with English.

St3SchD said: "Yea, I've done stuff on 1920s Soviet Russia and then how that affects life today. So, we look at foreign policy context of 1920s because we are mainly interested in Stalin's rise, looking at the Communist turn".

FG4 said: "So we do Russia from 1917-1991 and Communism and then Mao's China from 1949-1976 and look at economic theory. So, why that developed and how it changed over time. For example, we start off with Marxism then Marxist Leninism, then the culture of Authoritarianism and focusing on leadership. Then we compare that to Deng Xiaoping from '62 and solidifying power as opposed to use of terror so it's really about how China changed and why"

Whilst referencing theories likes Marxism and Communism and theoretical connections to economic theory, one could make the argument that A level content still somewhat exoticises Russia and China. There was a sense in the quotes and conversations that the students were 'othering' themselves away from Russia and China focusing on "how China changed and why" rather than any potential similarities between Russia, China, and the UK. Intent focus on developing depth of the history from 1949 – present day and Russia 1917-1991 meant that students could not cognitively grapple with the ideologies across different scales and therefore compartmentalised both the modules and the concepts – like Marxism

– within them. Similarly, the students did not mention exploration of Confucianism or different forms of Socialism in their historical explorations. From a global citizenship perspective then, one might argue that compartmentalising culture in this way, simply reinforced the Orientalism arguments of Edward Said rather than seek to find connections and critical awareness of others. Instead, the A level at Towers reinforced a view of the world that was constructed on the premise of ideological dominance from the developed world that values its own interpretation of democracy above others.

Looking at the specifications, whilst the History National Curriculum states students must: "comprehend, analyse and evaluate how the past has been interpreted in different ways" (History National Curriculum DfE 2014: 2), it does not specify other Historians from around the world. Similarly, students only need to study one country or state beyond the British Isles – at Towers that was Russia and China. That meant diversity and race discussions were limited and remained in optional studies on the US civil rights movements, South African Apartheid, or colonial India (Edexcel 2015). For instance, the Transatlantic slave trade – whilst addressed in US race and civil rights - is only referenced in relation to abolition elsewhere rather than asking students to critically engage with origins and ramifications today.

Combined, the comments from students painted a picture of Towers, particularly, that was grounded in British identity creation – in an almost nostalgic way- considering change over time as well as what it means to live in Britain today. The drive in every subject was content focused on assessing British identity and developing a cultural picture of UK versus others for students. Across Music, Photography, History and English teachers appeared to be delivering content that was familiar or as Student 1 in the Focus Group said, "I think the teacher picked it because we all live in England and all British so it's what we know". Whilst one could not surmise that there was a deliberate avoidance to access more diverse material, the outcome of teaching choices was that different perspectives were not captured by the students. Once again, then, the delivery of GCE became incumbent upon teacher choice to actively seek to teach forms of GCE rather than being guided to do so by the specifications.

The IBDP Coordinator at Greenlane though, stated that Towers was merely a product of a wider socio-political system where A levels are the by-product:

"When students become hyper-focused it really neglects the peripheral growth, they can have…I taught OCR Economics and I like it. It's straightforward but it was very Eurocentric and heavily focused on what is happening in UK. Teaching resources were written by British teachers…I think the problem is that, at the moment, like the politics in UK, you've got this educational system which is piecemeal from different political parties that have come into power to change education and then there are the remnants of grammar schools, I'd say, in many ways, the A level is based on what we thought was – the world as it was in the past"

As the IBDP Coordinator said, it appeared at Towers and Riverside that the A level content was 'Eurocentric' on account of being "written by British teachers" with successive educators and governments adding to the depth of content in an almost culturally truncated way that is "based on what we thought was – the world as it was in the past." As the IBDP Coordinator suggested, the content appeared have a kind of reverence at Towers and Riverside in valuing more and more content at the expense of critical thinking about *why* students were learning about business development, inequality, or American literature. Similarly, that content, as the IBDP Coordinator said, was potentially out of date with the contemporary world instead, reflecting, a complex political landscape and entangled relationship between agendas of the state and the importance of education. With a top-down approach, the A level remained in a confused and contested space. The students and staff at Towers and Riverside, whilst wanting to engage in more critical discussion seemed limited rather than facilitated by the curriculum.

Summary
The research found several key findings when it came to challenges of delivering GCE in the four school sites. Whilst many of these challenges have also been explored in empirical work, the challenges found in this study often related to the context of England and therefore add to existing work arguing the importance of context. First, many students and staff struggled to grasp the meaning of GCE as an idea. There was a notable gap between

dynamic academic discussions on the types of GCE and its understanding in practice with students and staff across all schools relying on common humanity, valuing, and understanding other perspectives to ground their understanding. The challenge for this study, was not simply limited to lack of a clear framework – as most empirical work has found – but in missing wider discussions of what GCE entails because academic discussion is not translating into practice. If GCE is to be successfully and consciously delivered in schools, the connection between academia and practice needs to be far more explicit for teachers.

Second, as with other empirical work, there was a notable tension within A level settings specifically, between the perceived value of GCE and desire or, demand, for attainment which many seemed to disconnect with others forms of GCE. Whilst previously noted, the research found that the context of England exacerbated this tension in ways potentially not seen elsewhere. Many students and staff in A level settings appeared to disassociate their interpretations of GCE around common humanity and responsibility for others with the A level programme and, instead, focused on attainment and the desire to use A level as a way to access future employment or Higher Education. Whilst acknowledging GCE was of value – in a plethora of different forms – students and staff often did not seem to see the immediate evidence of different GCE approaches within the specifications or as being central to their time at school. Again, one could suggest these perceived tensions are due to a lack of connection between dynamic discussions in academia and practice.

Third, many teachers – beyond those in social science - were often underprepared or had a reticence to addressing controversial issues in the classroom that would have accessed critical forms of GCE. Across both IB and A level settings, students and staff commented that teachers often avoided difficult topics out of a fear of 'getting it wrong'. Whilst not a new finding, what was important for this study was, again, the role of context. Many teachers commented on the restrictive nature of policy in UK particularly around ideas of 'right' and 'wrong'; they commented on an inability to discuss different ideas from a culturally relativist stance because inspection bodies such as ISI and Ofsted would not permit such reflection. This is a key finding because it identifies a challenge for GCE in the UK specifically – accessing different forms of GCE with intentionality is challenging for all school settings because they must do so within the remit of restrictive and, often, dated policy frameworks.

Fourth, when it came to curricula itself, across both the IB and A level teachers, particularly, found framings of the two a challenge for GCE. Whilst these framings were at different scales, international and national, they did have much in common. For teachers at both Riverside, Greenlane and Hills, comments were made that IB is still perceived as being 'Western' in orientation which they qualified as related to discrete subject teaching or in actual content. Similarly, many teachers – particularly from IB settings – said of the A level that it is too grounded in British identity creation; the A level is a government-led qualification whose specific goal is to produce British citizens in the vision of the state. As a result, many teachers felt the A level is a complex and convoluted qualification that represents a similarly complex history across successive British governments all with different practical agendas.

CHAPTER 6b: DISCUSSION ON CHALLENGES FOR DELIVERING GCE

Introduction

The final discussion chapter explores how GCE literature helps to explain the challenges identified in the IB and A level settings. The chapter considers how findings are similar to earlier empirical studies on understanding GCE and valuing GCE in a competitive knowledge-based economy like UK. The chapter also covers surprising findings from the research that counter earlier empirical work – particularly on the IB as a mechanism for competitive advantage. Next the chapter explores the role of teachers as a challenge to delivering GCE alongside earlier research on the importance of teachers as leaders in the delivery of GCE. Finally, the chapter considers challenges around IB and A level content as barriers to accessing different forms of GCE.

Understandings of GCE

Lack of clarity in understanding what GCE entails and the diversity of discussions around global citizenship education, was a common theme across the different schools – most predominantly so in A level settings. In the case of the two teachers at Riverside, they raised concerns about global citizenship being a concept grounded in 'Western ideals'- which were not then qualified or explained. Both the RS teacher and Geography teacher were concerned about narratives and power around GCE and where policy and theory were being produced for them to then apply at school level. The issues they both raised on narrative and power have long been discussed (Andreotti 2006; Davies 2006; Marshall 2011) and critiqued particularly in earlier literature. However, the two teachers did not appear aware of the academic research that discusses issues of voice and narrative in GCE (Andreotti 2006; Spivak 2004; Dobson 2006). It seemed the challenge for enacting GCE at Riverside particularly was in connecting those discussions and critiques to practitioners working on the ground and the dynamic ways they were already interpreting and enacting GCE.

Much like recent calls from Pashby and da Costa (2021), the evidence highlighted a barrier between vibrant theoretical discussions in GCE on the interfaces between types and what is

happening on the ground. In a way, there was a tension between the realities of teaching practice around global issues and wider ontological and epistemological level discussions on GCE occurring in the academic field (Khoo and Jorgenson 2021; Pashby and Sund 2020; Pashby and da Costa 2021). The GCE term was rarely used at Riverside or Towers. In the long term, students, and staff at Towers and Riverside instead reverted to spaces often grounded in a sense of charity or service to community on the basis of responsibility and being part of community. As Pashby and Sund (2019:101) said, the result of not discussing different approaches to GCE could be staff and students that focus on action in a model of "Salvationism" (Pashby and Sund 2019: 101) and therefore complicity in existing political structures rather than just sitting in the discussion itself and having the space to do so. Whilst teachers at Riverside were engaging in more critical thought than Reilly and Niens (2014) found, lack of connection to the academic field of GCE ran the risk of Salvationism in the same way as Pashby and Sund (2019) because they did not have a clear framework or overt understanding of different types of GCE. Much as Ferguson and Brett (2023) found and Rapoport (2015b), lack of guidance for teachers and a clear framework for GCE meant teachers at Riverside particularly were willing to deliver GCE but did not really understand the complexities of it nor how to translate that into pedagogical practice.

Valuing GCE: Tensions within schools

Findings from the research suggested a tension between different forms of GCE when it came to time and examination pressures – especially at Riverside and Towers. Particularly in the A level settings, respondents dichotomised GCE and exams at opposite ends. Content and delivery appeared far more focused on attainment and GCE was not a factor but a useful add on to enhance students' understanding and approach to the world - as was reflected in the comments of teaching staff at Riverside and students at both Riverside and Towers. Treated in this way, GCE often lost clarity and ended up, ostensibly, becoming a tool for skills development and competency in the pursuit of upward social mobility potentially because of wider social pressures for attainment and competition to access Higher Education.

Most interestingly though was the finding that: a) both A level settings were far more outwardly focused on attainment and social mobility than either of the IB settings and b) there was no discernible difference in this focus between state and independent A level settings. For staff in the A level settings, GCE simply could not be the focus either – as the Head of T&L at Riverside commented – because of time pressures or because students saw the focus of school to be about attaining grades and moving to higher education. Indeed, many of the students at Towers felt the focus of teachers in other areas of school such as assemblies or PSHE was centred on attainment and careers. As Young (2008:22) found, "the curriculum [A level] has always been, albeit selectively, related to economic changes and the future employability of students" particularly when placed alongside teaching standards and competition like league tables (Blanden and Machin 2007; Walford 2002) so the results in this study are not surprising this regard. Marshall (2011) argues that technical instrumentalism has often dominated education policy on the basis of economic need both nationally and internationally – in UK that means a knowledge-based economy, so the pressure Towers and Riverside all referenced in terms of attainment spoke directly to feeding that knowledge-based economy. This was a similar case in da Costa, Hanley and Sant's (2024) study of teachers as they grappled with ideas around moral cosmopolitanism and the development of cultural competences for students.

In the context of a deregulated global market, the technical instrumentalism approach focuses on helping students develop the tools to thrive economically in a far more competitive arena (Schattle 2008; Gaudelli 2009) both nationally and globally (Weenink 2008). As Gaudelli (2009) identified in the different dimensions of GCE, this perspective is focused on increasing transnational mobility and global economic participation. GCE then becomes an exercise where students and citizenship have a primarily economic role – as member of the economy but also as a consumer which in turn influences society through patterns of consumption (Shultz 2007). It seemed this was the particular focus for Riverside and Towers.

There was a tension in many of the comments from teachers and students at Riverside and Towers who saw value in GCE but could not reconcile it with wider pressures to be part of the knowledge-economy identified by Marshall (2011) and da Costa, Hanley and Sund

(2024). Despite policy changes such as the second Crick Report (DfEE 2000) and the content itself, teachers were struggling to offer more learning in class-based in discussion and depth alongside preparing students for examinations. Whilst a different context, Peterson, Milligan, and Wood (2018) found a similar case in their study of Australian education. In their study, whilst the Melbourne Declaration on Educational Goals for Young Australians (MCEETYA, 2008) specifically stated the importance of students becoming responsible local and global citizens by understanding global issues and via active citizenship, often it was left to individual schools and teachers to engage with GCE in practice. Teachers in the study, whilst seeing value in GCE – perhaps to a greater degree than some of those at Riverside – were deeply cognisant of curriculum pressures, resources, age of the students and their ability to develop meaningful practice. As such, in Australia, teachers struggled to navigate both the academic tensions in global citizenship education and pedagogical pressures all within the wider policy environment. Similarly in UK, Yemini's (2018) found a tension between school marketing on global citizenship in the study and the reality that GCE became more about cultural capital as did da Costa, Hanley and Sunds (2024) study of teacher education in England. It appeared that tensions between pedagogical value and attainment is common and enduring in many different locations.

IB schools and different forms GCE

Meanwhile, whilst referenced by a handful of students at Hills, attainment and developing a collection of competencies simply was not a key theme in IB settings. There were mentions from staff like the IBDP Coordinator at Greenlane around skills and preparation for an uncertain world which could have been interpreted as an individual endeavour and focus on employability, but said comments were framed as preparation for handling global issues rather than becoming a tool for competitive advantage. The lack of comment on attainment and IB settings was an interesting finding given that it contradicts many other studies in the field of IB being a pedagogical tool for elitism (Bunnell 2014; Fielding and Vidovich 2017; Lauder 2007).

Unlike earlier studies and, indeed, those in different geographical contexts (Dabrowski 2018; Lauder 2007), these IB schools acknowledged the challenge of pressures for attainment, but also thought a little more critically about the intrinsic value of other forms of GCE particularly both the Head of T&L at Hills and the IBDP Coordinator at Greenlane. Given both schools lacked widespread reference to skills/cultural capital acquisition, it could be that the schools studied here were less concerned with social mobility and competition than other IB settings or respondents wanted to be perceived in a certain way in the study or, perhaps, this could have been a product of context with both schools located close to or in London as a world city with access to an array of services already. Nevertheless, the finding remains that IB settings were not overtly focused on using the IB as a tool for upward social mobility but rather its ideological value.

Taken together, it seemed as though competency-based learning coexisted in IB settings with other forms of GCE at different interfaces and in interesting ways. Whilst the skills students developed were designed to enable access to employment and higher education, they were also often grounded in understanding the wider world and actively engaging with it for positive social change. In this sense, enacting a form of GCE on moral grounds that equally accepted the validity of the currently global economic system (Pashby et al. 2020). Much as Schattle (2008) said that schools operate in web of GCE where multiple meanings co-exist, without contestation or resolve, the IB schools in this study existed in complex web where competencies existed alongside seeing the moral and political dimensions of GCE. This study equally represents complexity of multiple ideas in action and the challenge of navigating seemingly disparate ideas about GCE in practice. Beyond being in conflict, the challenge for the IB schools was in sitting in that complexity and clearly making decisions about how to frame the inevitable connections between IB theory, content, and attainment pressures.

Teachers – controversial issues, policy landscape
Looking at teachers specifically, challenges to delivering GCE centred on reticence to address controversial issues in class and lack of training which results in teachers either

thinking it was not their place to deliver GCE or having a sense of fear around saying the 'wrong' comment compounded by a different policy landscape. Common across all settings were reservations about addressing different perspectives in the classroom; some teachers - as in the Head of Politics at Riverside – felt that students did not want to discuss different perspectives whilst others – like the Head of Geography at Riverside – did not think it was their responsibility to impart values in the academic setting of a classroom. Even amongst teachers that felt able to address controversial issues in lessons, often discussions lacked a social justice narrative. Instead, discussion remained a tool for skills development or developing understanding of others – as in Economics at Riverside and Sociology at Towers. Instead, discussion as a pedagogical tool for accessing different forms of GCE often remained focused on skills or 'soft non-threatening' global learning that engaged with some alternative perspectives but rarely with the goal of self-reflection or critical social justice. For instance, English content at Riverside facilitated wider discussions on gender narratives and the representations of women throughout English history but the students were not exploring differential experiences across cultural – ethnic or religious for instance – groups. The exception being the English teacher at Greenlane, and some CPD offered to teachers at Hills on individual bias in the classroom. When asked, teachers and students at Hills felt the reason for not moving towards critical self-reflection and therefore reflexive teaching was lack of training and lack of diversity in teaching cohorts whilst teachers at Riverside attributed challenges to restrictive policy in UK.

The findings in this research on lack of teacher training and reticence to teaching more critically has been a common theme in many other empirical studies. Yemini and Maxwell (2018) found teachers dictated what discussion occurred or, as in the Politics teacher's case, dismissed alternative views as Wokeism because they did not feel equipped to manage discussion on other areas. Yamashita (2006:1) put it nicely in findings saying, "teachers feel haunted about upsetting children." Perhaps this was why Riverside and Towers placed aspects of GCE onto the students because they were too nervous of teaching GCE themselves particularly more critical forms. Drawing on Bryan and Bracken's (2011) study of post-primary schools in Ireland, Franch (2019) explained how GCE – in whatever form – was

predominantly led by teachers who want to engage rather than had to – as with the English teacher at Greenlane.

Other empirical work found lack of critical discussion was not about fear to deliver more critical forms of GCE but that many teachers felt more critical reflection was not relevant to who and what they were teaching (Rapoport 2010) – this certainly seemed the case with the Head of Geography at Riverside. As Davy (2011) found, GCE must entail active self-reflection of one's own lens which requires bravery. GCE asks teachers to operate beyond the bounds of comfort to reconceptualise ideas and identify their own prejudices by engaging in a self-reflective process – the only school engaged in self-reflection at an institutional level was Hills in the other sites self-reflection was led by individual teachers.

In other instances, it was not fear to engage critically with global issues nor a lack of responsibility but the constraints of policy that were given credence. In particular, the Head of Pastoral care and Head of T&L at Riverside commented on restrictive policy as a challenge to accessing different forms of GCE. Both teachers referenced challenges with the teaching standards and ISI (Independent Schools Inspectorate) as absolutist in their language around morality and teaching students 'right' and 'wrong.' In their own work both Bamber et al. (2018) and Maylor (2010) found that teachers feel restricted by legislation in the UK. Maylor (2010) specifically, found, British values – if too stringent and devoid of discussion – risked reverting to meaning English 'whiteness' and, even, Christianity. Bamber et al (2018) equally noted that the teaching standards still appear to exist with "liberal nationalist intent…to buttress political, legal and civic institutions" (ibid: 435) as opposed to connecting with intentions of GCE grounded in a shared sense of humanity or responsibility to community. Whilst not entirely the case for Riverside, the Head of Pastoral care similarly struggled with changes on the one hand related to LGBTQIA relationships and more restrictive topics that did not permit any discussion or even understanding of cultural differences such as FGM. Whilst not advocating for the former, the Head of Pastoral care felt that there was a double standard in policy that promoted one set of values whilst not giving freedom to consider the relativity of 'right' and 'wrong' in different communities as Bamber et al. (2018).

IB as one-dimensional

Beyond the challenges of teachers or valuing and understanding GCE, the findings in this study suggested curriculum itself was a barrier to delivering meaningful forms of GCE. The next section considers how these findings relate to earlier research in the field. Comments from the Head of Philosophy and Head of T&L at Hills referenced the origins of IB with – as the Head of T&L said: "respect for traditional or Western way of thinking about learning." Indeed, the specifications across a number of subjects are often centred on knowledge from Europe or USA. As the Head of Philosophy noted, "it's very easy to provide a perspective of Philosophy which isn't very global and largely Western dead white men…like Aquinas, Aristotle and Plato." An underling sense of 'Western' narrative and lack of grounded reflection presented a challenge for delivering different forms of GCE in Hills and Greenlane.

Whilst focused on the IB learner profile, earlier studies found similar challenges relating to voice (Starr 2009; Tarc 2009). From its inception, the IB has sought to create a kind of 'international mindedness' facilitated by the learner profile values like 'open-minded' and 'risk takers' (Hill 2012). These values have remained static and originating in Switzerland where the IB was formed. For instance, IB learners in so-called 'East Asian' education systems often operate in culturally conservative contexts meaning 'risk-taking' is simply not appropriate or desired (Lai, Shum, and Zhang 2014). Instead, claims have been made that learner profile traits and resultant curriculum remain in the mould of the Enlightenment (Walker 2010) much as the Head of T&L referenced in the traditional categorising of subjects and the content itself. As Chernoff (2021) surmised, there was no mandate students learn social/cultural history so teachers, most often, maintain the status quo by teaching what they know – given the dominance of European/US staff, that invariably means IB History remains largely focused on Europe or US History as was the case at both Greenlane and Hills. The example of History by Chernoff and Philosophy and English at Hills represented this point: the practicalities of teachers and content fails to discuss the learner profile values contextually and dismantle them to enhance deeper meaning. As a result, the evidence here supports earlier literature claims that IB is static or slow-moving.

The outcome for IB content was the risk of a sense of heroism predicated on innocence and a failure to recognise one's complicity within existing economic frameworks or their

motivations for change. In centring philosophy written in Europe or English literature and placing Indigenous knowledges as optional or, peripheral, arguably the IB was not supporting teachers at Greenlane or Hills to reflect on complicity and reproduced, instead, coercive relationships and the colonial violence that this position critiques" (Andreotti, Stein, Ahenakew, & Hunt (2015) cited in Stein (2015:247) however unintentional. In a similar way to Stein's (2015) critique of different forms of GCE, approaches to learning that do not evaluate what is meant by the 'West' arguably do nothing in terms of social change.

Drawing on Nayar (2013), Stein (2015) explored if universalism was the foundation of Western onto-epistemology, then GCE must not simply become an attempt to include marginalised voices; in focusing on inclusion of voice alone, one maintains existing boundaries but also maintains power structures where inclusion can only be achieved by the dominant group and the 'other' must adapt to be included (ibid). This appeared to be the case in IB settings. Whilst the IB content did offer alternative approaches to learning such as African History modules or translated texts in English and Indigenous knowledges in TOK, teachers acknowledged they were placed as an adjunct to the 'core' learning taking place. As such, the IB at Greenlane and Hills was potentially stuck at a kind of 'liberal-critical' crossroads (Pashby et al. 2020).

Lack of clarity in the IB curriculum and struggling to adapt it to a local context has been a common theme in earlier research. Christoff (2021) found similar elements in teacher responses. Lack of clear guidance from IB messaging on equality of knowledges meant forms of GCE that explored other knowledges for social justice were rarely observed in practice with teachers – as at Hills and Greenlane – broadly opting to teach content that was more familiar or, "traditional" as the Head of T&L at Hills said. Christoff (2021) found that demographic diversity in the school and teaching IB did not necessarily equate to delivery of GCE in pedagogical practice often because that practice was more reactive to change than focused on delivery of multiple perspectives or criticality.

However, as some teachers and the Head of T&L at Hills indicated, the IB is changing – with areas like Indigenous societies and cultural contextual study in English. As Wu and Tarc (2021) found, epistemic diversity is beginning to enter the programmes – particularly since

the BLM and global ecological crises have entered the media. Equally, IB policy has turned to consider knowledge in localised contexts far more (Singh and Qi 2013; Sriprakash at al. 2014). Indeed, Rizvi et al. (2019) study across India, Hong Kong and Australia found, local context was of core importance, and they found notable evidence that critiqued the idea the IB learner profile as 'Western'. Whilst the findings in this study appear to agree more with earlier work on IB Eurocentricity, Rizvi et al found that the entire idea of IB as 'Western' is problematic because it is being adapted by teaching staff to their local contexts, interpreted in ways that meet the needs of their children and allows them the freedom to choose modules/knowledge frames for their cultural context.

Instead, Rizvi et al (2019) suggested the idea of being 'Western' is predicated on the assumption of knowing what 'Western' values are in an imagined East/West binary that appears to exclude other knowledge. Said (2001) said an East/West binary exists on the basis that it simplifies and combines cultures that are divergent: e.g., Thailand, Japan, India, and China as 'Eastern'. Feeding this binary are perceptions of Chinese educational philosophies relating to conservatism, rote learning (Du 2017) based on Xueji. Thus risk-taking, critical thinking and open-mindedness as IB values seem to be at odds with Eastern perspectives – as in the comments from Head of Philosophy at Hills and English teacher at Greenlane. However, Du (2017) surmised the East/West binary based on values is a misrepresentation of theory that simply illuminates a teacher-directed and student-engaged approach. In reality, the students across the 'East' are very much active members of the classroom and therefore the IB values cannot be considered 'Western' at all.

Instead, then, the real challenge for GCE at Greenlane and Hills was two-fold: teacher perspectives that dichotomise East/West instead of seeing culture as fluid and changing and also missing the importance of context. Whilst the IB does have a clear mission statement and connection to different forms of GCE, there is a dialectic between this messaging and local context (Rizvi and Lingard 2009 cited in Dvir et al. 2018) that needed to be better explored by Greenlane and Hills through a process of self-reflection on what it means to be 'Western'.

A level structure and British content

When it came to A level content and GCE, findings suggested that the key challenge was volume of content to cover and its preoccupation with British identity creation either retrospectively in History and English or in comparison to others as in Geography. Evidence from both Riverside and Towers in Geography, for instance, suggested a preoccupation with national disparities, measurement of development, and mapping skills but not a theoretical examination of the concept of Development itself, who Development was defined by and why it might be problematic. Expanded, one could also surmise that measurements of Development simply served to compare and cement older binaries on 'Less/More Economically Developed Countries' that perpetuate a mindset of 'us' and 'them' (McQuaid 2009; Mikander 2012) which applies at international and national levels with the North/South divide. Despite recent changes to A level Geography, it seemed content and delivery was still grounded in both British narratives and older theory with criticality left to the discretion of teachers.

Kim (2020) found similarly within a different national context in South Korea. Kim (2020) looked at the topic of Development: use of language around 'developing' countries and measurements of development served to maintain a divided way of looking at the world with 'More-Economically Developed' Countries and their respective economic models placed as superior whilst similarly failing to acknowledge the political and cultural-historical connections (Kim 2020). By universalising Geography through a lens of GCE focused on individual freedom, competition and economic growth, Kim (2020) found a similar issue to Woods and Kong (2020) in that students became assimilated to a single perspective of the world much as the A level Geography course appeared to do for students at Riverside.

Wang and Hoffman (2016), looking at US high school curricula, also found a similar universalising construct of GCE that served to marginalise other perspectives. Looking at two US high school curricula and resources, Wang, and Hoffman (2016) found GCE was similarly based on universalising constructs underpinned by values that were perceived as American and fundamental to citizenship. Drawing on Dill (2015) who also found GCE to reflect ideas around autonomy and individualism in US school programmes, Wang and Hoffman (2016) found that global citizenship education in US high schools was dominated

by singular thinking and individualism for personal gain and profit. The findings in this study from Riverside and Towers echoed a similar sentiment when it came to A level – much of the content was grounded in placing UK and British identity at the centre. In English and History, students focused on British history over time or thematic analysis of issues like gender in the UK over time. As Alexander and Weekes-Bernard (2017) found of English and History A level, both subjects remain grounded in chronological comparison and continued to be focused on Britain as an imagined nation such that issues of race and ethnic equality were broadly sidelined.

For GCE, an introspective focus on national identity without criticality is complex. Andreotti said that that lack of criticality not only affirms power structures but can also affect perception of "self and legitimises cultural supremacy" (ibid 2014: 26) as da Costa, Hanley and Sund (2024) explored in their critique of cosmopolitanism. As Chang (2002) explored, many of the global 'North' economies and their development initiatives fail to acknowledge their own imperial history and trajectory of development, instead, projecting more contemporary ideology like neoliberal economics onto the developing world. Drawing from Spivak, Andreotti (2014: 25) calls this the "sanctioned ignorance of the role of colonialism". Andreotti (2014:25) developed Spivak's (1988) argument further to suggest that such "sanctioned ignorance" masks the reality of global relationships and the complicity which continues to perpetuate unequal relationships; instead, policies and approaches by institutions like the IMF have, predominantly, resulted in placing the responsibility for poverty in the global 'South' and justified their actions as a kind of 'civilising mission' (Andreotti 2014:26). Students at Riverside did not explore the role of colonialism in their Geography content. Equally, the History content was often isolated in its analysis of change over time e.g. rise of Mao or Stalin but did not consider culture or context in analysis saying little time was given to theories like Marxism. The result was, potentially, a truncated understanding of History and lack of criticality when it came to the rise of Britain and its relationships with other global powers. As a result, students often made comments about the 'failure' of socialist regimes without thinking about them in any depth beyond tracing events over time.

Unlike Andreotti's point though, there was evidence of some connection to colonialism when it came to History – via the coursework on Indian partition which did, at least offer, students the possibility of re-evaluating Britain's role in historical global events. Equally, the Geography teacher at Riverside was delivering a more critical understanding of Development by exposing students to books like *The Bottom Billion.* Of course, though, this was discretionary to the teachers rather than a structural focus on criticality which is the key point.

Aside from content, British centricity was identified across History, Economics, Photography, Music, and English in both Riverside and Tower. The geography teacher at Riverside said this is not only because of content but because of who was writing the specifications. As Alexander and Weekes-Bernard (2017) found, comments from the geography teacher on who was writing the specifications were unsurprising given policy contexts. Michael Gove's changes to the National Curriculum when he was Secretary of State for Education, and the latest versions of A level specifications not only return to 'traditional' academic subjects but also British citizenship with the use of Fundamental British Values and PREVENT[1] (Maylor 2015). In History, for instance, Alexander and Weekes-Bernard (2017) state that Gove pushed for a return to Kings, Queens, and Wars so that "our students have a better understanding of the linear narrative of British History and Britain's impact on the World and the World's impact on Britain" – the idea being to celebrate and enhance a sense of British identity – "this trashing of our past has to stop" (ibid).

In many ways, a focus on British citizenship is rooted much further back. As Jean-Jacques Rousseau would suggest – education has always been designed to create a sense of patriotism towards one's nation (ibid 1775) – a tool to connect citizenship with an imagined identity. Indeed, regardless of which political party has been in charge, such ideas have influenced their policies towards education. Whether it be Margaret Thatcher insisting on British History or Gordon Brown introducing 'shared British values' or, more recently, David Cameron arguing the importance of clear and active values. In many ways, the UK state is still forming, promoting, and engendering a specific type of citizen in a way that a global education cannot because it is beyond the state and therefore less subject to a specific set of values decided upon by the governing party of the time. The curriculum, designed and

informed by the government, ties directly to what it means to be British and what constitutes essential knowledge to achieve becoming a productive British citizen. The challenge for delivering meaningful GCE in an A level context then, is adapting GCE to local contexts in a way that facilitates self-reflection and critical discussion on British identity and what it means to be 'Western' first.

Summary

Literature helped to explain the issues on understanding of GCE in more detail. Whilst comments from teachers suggested GCE is too 'Westernised', the literature explored how such comments represent a larger gap between dynamic academic discussions on GCE and understanding in practice such that misinterpretations emerge (Davies 2006; Bourn 2015). Other empirical work also found schools often fall back on interpretations and enactments of GCE based in a shared sense of humanity or responsibilities to others because they don't necessarily know of the dynamic discussions taking place in the academic field (Reilly and Niens 2014; Buchanan et al. 2018; da Costa, Hanley and Sant 2024).

Second, tensions between a desire to nurture caring, thoughtful and engaged students vs demands for employable skills or attainment for University were common as with other empirical work. However, unlike research on IB, the schools in this study were not focused on developing GCE for skills/competencies in the contemporary world (Bunnell 2014; Fielding and Vidovich 2017). Whilst acknowledging that discussions on the tensions between types of GCE and social pressures were present, the focus on attainment alone was far more prevalent in students and staff in A level settings. Future research on GCE in England should be aware of how the pressure of competitive advantage and Higher Education market could be creating challenges to enacting GCE in schools in England.

Third, findings on teacher reticence to teach controversial issues and alternative perspectives for more critical connections GCE was common across empirical work (Yamashita 2006; Rapoport 2010; da Costa, Hanley and Sant 2024). As Bamber et al (2018) also found, policy in UK was a factor in unwillingness to teach more complex topics.

Across the literature, there was agreement that self-reflection is fundamental for students and teachers to access different types of GCE. Without self-reflection, empirical evidence

suggested that teachers do return to understandings in IB that are grounded in common humanity but lack a focus on change for social justice purposes (Christoff 2021) or British identity in the A level (Maylor 2015; Alexander and Weekes-Bernard 2017). To be critical is to move beyond the inclusion of other perspectives towards a far more self-reflective process including, for IB, what it means to be 'Western'. Indeed, the literature disputes the challenges identified that IB is 'Western' and other systems are not considered in its values (Wu and Tarc 2021; Du 2017).

CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSION

Summary of Findings

Borne out of a desire to explore global citizenship in practice, this study has been a project on interpretation, enactments, and understanding the challenges of GCE in English Secondary Schools. The thesis above has observed and identified enactments of GCE and recognised the importance of context for understanding tensions and challenges in England. It did so by asking: How is global citizenship education interpreted and enacted in different curricula contexts within English Secondary Schools?

1. How are global citizenship discourses interpreted in different English secondary school settings?
2. What is the potential impact of contextual setting on interpretations of GCE?
3. How is global citizenship enacted in different settings and what is the perceived impact of curriculum on these enactments?
4. What are the challenges associated with enacting GCE in different curricula settings?

Research found both a connection to interpretation and enactments but also a disconnect. Indeed, it seemed with restricted understandings of GCE, enactments were often sporadic or unconscious rather than explicit and effective. Alongside the legacy of curricula, all schools in the study grappled with tensions around a political preponderance for academic attainment and complex policy change overtime whilst also having to negotiate the demands of curricula and pedagogical practices. Whilst the IB schools had the framework of IB, they still had to navigate the IB values and pedagogical groundings within an English context - making this an even more interesting study. An English context that, arguably, remains perplexed within a web of language on responsibility and tolerance or respect and appreciation. Faced with these complexities, many respondents preferred to use moral and active understandings of global citizenship. Across all four settings, most students and staff interpreted and enacted GCE in ways that simultaneously considered shared humanity, responsibility and active citizenship in volunteering whilst also developing specific skills to operate within a highly competitive market driven by individualism. Notably though, the IB settings also showed glimpses of conscious connection to criticality in their interpretations.

Arguably, because of their core – TOK (*Theory of Knowledge)*, EE *(Extended Essay)* and CAS *(Creativity, Action, and Service)* – these schools were beginning to grapple with ideas around voice, power, and reciprocity. Operationally, this entailed STEM coding challenges between UK and Ghana and organising conferences between state and elite fee-paying schools in London. The express aims for these schools were to reframe GCE based on appreciation for and embracing of difference and, at times, undermining a dominant narrative of knowledge in both their pedagogies, co-curricular and content choices.

Secondly, unlike earlier research, all schools showed evidence of changing pedagogical practices to adapt to and embrace transnational society even if many teachers and students did not see this as part of global citizenship education. In all schools, there was evidence of overlapping connections to different forms of GCE. Particularly in English, teachers at Riverside, Towers and Greenlane were selecting more diverse voices and juxtaposing them with the dominant narrative. Whilst an intentional move, students at Riverside did not overtly connect alternative voice with critical approaches to GCE whereas IB students and staff did. Moreover, the IB programmes appeared to embrace different perspectives more consistently throughout their subjects. A level, however, appeared to be newer to the GCE field with many options to essentially avoid teaching different academic perspectives which was often limited to certain teachers and/or subjects – Social Sciences and the Arts taking the lead.

Nevertheless, across both IB and A level schools, there was evidence of nuanced complex and interesting forms of GCE evolving. Whilst largely grounded in enactments relating to common humanity and universal values, there were moments where criticality was growing which resulted in interesting interfaces between types of GCE in practice (Pashby et al. 2020). Even more so, there were moments where content and teaching practice in both A level and IB settings were moving into a critical and even post-critical manifestation of GCE. This was an interesting and encouraging finding.

Finally, the study considered the challenges in English settings arguing: explicit understandings of GCE remained an issue; despite its origins, there was an over-reliance on certain narratives and organisations in IB teaching; the A level was very much a historical

patchwork project of education policy in England often focused on British identity creation and a preoccupation with knowledge acquisition and assessment over philosophical debate; all settings faced the English context of governmental policy written at specific times for specific purposes and finally, all schools grappled with the moral-ethical elements of GCE and demand for academic results in a knowledge economy. Of note, the focus on attainment and social mobility was far more pronounced in A level settings that largely dichotomised GCE and exam success giving priority to the latter and reserving GCE as an add-on. Whilst two staff in IB Greenlane did refer to attainment, GCE was taken in relation to competencies for the contemporary world and the overwhelming majority of staff and students saw GCE, instead, as integral to education for more ethical reasons.

The challenge for the IB schools in this study, it seemed, was in reconciling IB agendas with a perceived underlying 'Western' narrative that served to 'other' and maintain a sense of difference whilst not really critiquing what it meant to be 'Western' (Winter et al. 2022) by connecting to the academic discipline of GCE. As a result, the transitions in areas like service learning were not focused on changing power dynamics or socio-political justice. Whilst teachers in the IB schools had seen a move in the IB for more nodes to knowledge, progress was slow, grounded in the importance of shared values and common humanity and reliant upon individual teachers and schools to push further and opt to teach more robust topics such as Indigenous knowledges and deep ecology. That challenge appeared even more localised in the A level settings who were delivering forms of GCE despite, rather than largely facilitated by the curriculum although, again, this was changing. Rather than focusing on global knowledge systems, A level curricula seemed entrenched in understanding British identity and culture over time with limited access to alternative perspectives. Whilst changing – see English, Politics and Sociology – it appeared, teachers were the drivers of change rather than specifications.

Contributions to Academia

For the academic field of Comparative International Education and Global Citizenship Education, this research arguably offers four important contributions. First, the study has aimed to answer earlier and ongoing calls for more empirical work in GCE particularly within

England at 16 plus. Second, the research found GCE to be a complex web within all school settings, arguing the value in that complexity and calling for other research to sit in the nuance and complexity to develop narratives of schools that are representative of action on GCE. Third, within the complexities of GCE, all four school sites showed evidence of interfaces between many forms of GCE that was both interesting and encouraging. Findings suggested that change was beginning to occur in the education world that reflects the rich discussion on GCE in the academic world. Finally, there was a clear connection from all findings on GCE, that self-reflection and reflexivity permeated every form of GCE and could be a starting point for students and teachers as they embark on the global citizenship education journey.

The study, as a piece of empirical evidence aimed to contribute to growing empirical work in the field of Global Citizenship Education whilst acknowledging, at present, empirical work remains far more limited than academic discourse in the field (Mannion et al. 2011; Marshall 2011; Pashby, da Costa, Stein and Andreotti 2020). Indeed, whilst notable research in UK has been done (Yemini 2018, Blackmore 2014, Pashby and Sund 2019) covering different elements of GCE, there remains a notable lack of research in England and particularly at 16+. This research aimed to offer an exploration of GCE in the context of 16+ provision across both IB and A level settings and both Independent and State Schools across England. Its findings suggested that context was important to understandings and enactments of GCE but played less of a key role than the curriculum delivered – in this case A level and the IB Diploma. Nevertheless, it was always dependent on individual teachers as champions of GCE in all settings at the 16+ level in England and, as a result, there was evidence of different types of GCE in all four settings.

In researching GCE in different English Secondary School contexts, the study found a complex nuanced and rich relationship with global citizenship education. The research found intrinsic value in sitting in that complexity because it illuminated the myriad of ways schools were already connecting to and engaging with GCE in their day-to-day practices regardless of setting. Whilst focusing on one form of GCE has value, exploring the interfaces and overlaps between them, aimed to develop a more realistic picture of GCE in each school as well as offer opportunities for tangible growth in the future. Indeed, whilst many of the

responses from students and staff in all schools were grounded in connections to common humanity, there were moments of critical engagement, framings that focused on skills development for social mobility and developing one's own capital for higher education and even forms of GCE that considered narratives and social justice in both pedagogical practice, extra-curricular and content. This study invites future empirical work to equally embrace the complexities of academic discussions in GCE for more rich and reflective data.

The interfaces and nuances found across different forms of GCE developed a picture of the schools that GCE is becoming more critical and embedded within school curricula which is both interesting and encouraging. In both IB and A level settings, students and staff were beginning to include other voices and perspectives and using those to reflect on their own experiences and interpretations of the world. Common to all settings though was that accessing different forms of GCE requires intention. Through staff CPD to individual reflection on content and personal bias, self-reflection and reflexivity permeate every form of GCE and could be a starting point for students and teachers as they embark on the global citizenship education journey. Becoming conscious of oneself and the academic field of GCE to create a framework for learning should be both an academic and a practical endeavour.

Practical Outcomes for Schools

Working with the Curricula

Moving forward there is a need to decentre certain knowledge frameworks to facilitate GCE in the curriculum. Across all schools there was evidence this process has started and avenues for discussion are expanding. The objective is to question metanarratives by creating spaces for critical awareness moving towards social justice. For A level, that seems to begin by reducing the focus on Britain and integrating the changes in specification into teaching. Equally, the IB schools need to offer learning opportunities such as Indigenous communities as in TOK or offering translated literature in Arabic as at Greenlane or African History in critical and self-reflective ways. All could easily be integrated into different settings and made compulsory. For instance, in STEM, teachers could use GCE to reconsider the natural world and Indigenous community understandings of disease and spirituality

through anthropology. Focus could and should relate to GCE as an ethical values project where content facilitates students' acknowledgement of difference, community over individualism and celebrates it. Of course, the overt focus on assessment and content of exams would also need long term structural change for A levels to do that.

But teachers are key. Beyond the challenges of stringent teaching standards, evidence here reflects the issue of delivering GCE in contexts that lack sufficient training and diverse teaching cohorts which concurrently restricts activity in all settings. Beyond the limited few – often Social Scientists – many teachers and students in A level felt there was reticence to address controversial perspectives with some even saying it was not their role. Lack of teaching difficult topics at Riverside was attributed to lack of desire to learn – vehemently countered by the students. In Riverside this was made even more difficult via the Diversity Training which placed responsibility for learning in alumnae and current students – a similar story to Towers. It seems key that for self-reflective and productive critical learning to take place, students need spaces and individuals that facilitate it. Of course, self-reflection from teachers and an openness to learn requires time and bravery; an area where individuals like the English teacher at Greenlane and ongoing staff CPD at Hills was growing. Evidence overwhelmingly suggests, though, that more self-reflection is needed by staff in all settings to deliver more critically aware forms of GCE. Reflection that involves understanding of bias but also a more explicit awareness of GCE and how their content choices and pedagogical practices tap into that. At the least, there seems a need to better understand existing GCE practices in pre-service programmes in UK in relation to power and social justice alongside preparing teachers to engage in controversial discussions that is carried on through meaningful CPD in School.

Pedagogically speaking, more reflection, training and diversity in the staff would facilitate some of the positive practices observed. Examples across the spectrum on student agency in class, critical debate, independent research and problem-solving all showed evidence of GCE. Whilst grounded in endeavours for plurality of thought, evidence in all settings suggested discussion was central to post- 16 learning. Teachers are very much facilitators rather than imparters of knowledge. In this sense, GCE is not a set of tools or identifiable practices but a disposition for cultural relativism and, eventually, criticism of power

structures. GCE, used thoughtfully, can become a framework for delivery of content rather than supplementary - embedded in every subject and every lesson. Fundamentally, effective GCE requires teachers to a) want to engage at a deeper level and b) engage in complex and potentially difficult self-reflection on a regular basis so that they can adapt their teaching to the ever-changing cohorts of the students they educate.

Towards a reflexive global citizenship education and further research

Unlike earlier studies in GCE, this research comes at a time of global instability, arguably, not seen since the 1970s. The era of neoliberal globalisation has resulted in transmigration of people, technologies, goods, and services that have irrevocably altered social networks (Castles and Miller 2003). Equally, continued transformation of space has created real and imagined senses of place (Waters and Brooks 2012) that contemporary students - regardless of school type – must learn to negotiate daily. The double-edged sword of globalisation, though, has left communities disenfranchised, isolated, and simultaneously exposed to inequality (Nolan 2009). As a result, social-political changes have emerged; from Black Lives Matter to COVID, the Russia-Ukraine war and, most recently, the Israel-Hamas conflict. These global crises and instability mean both a call for and desire to know more and do more has never been more pertinent. I would argue, this is where GCE can offer a way to navigate the dynamic world for students.

The research finds, unlike some previous work, that there is evidence of change in both IB and A level schools. Equally, it finds that all four schools see value in learning about others beyond the desire to enhance employability or develop argumentation skills for accessing higher education, engaging with GCE in a number of interesting and complex ways. There is evidence of changes to content, pedagogical practices and student engagement that places more emphasis on diverse knowledge frameworks and, in some cases, narratives of power and social justice. It also finds challenges in delivery of GCE and urges staff to move beyond logistical barriers of policy and language to create content that centres voice and equality in all learning by first allowing space for self-reflection. It states the fundamental role teachers play in that self-reflection to ensure that GCE can access different approaches that ensure learning is productive and reciprocal. Staff learn from the students just as much as students learn from staff. Ultimately, whilst offering ideas and engaging with challenges for English

schools, this study suggests GCE can engender a regenerative rather than competitive form of education.

Academically speaking, the next stages are to turn to research that expands discussion in three areas; first, to connect the newer discussions on GCE interfaces and post-critical theory to practice; second, to conduct a longitudinal study on specific changes in School such as English curricula; third, to focus on specific IB school projects such as the alternative transcripts programme at Ecolint International School Geneva and the new- project based Systems Transformation Pathway at UWC Atlantic College (Atlantic College 2023). Along with Pashby et al. (2020) and Stein and Andreotti (2021), I argue the reductionism involved when compartmentalising GCE too far or considering it abstractly. All schools in this study exhibited different and colourful manifestations of GCE worthy of exploration. As such, the research calls for further empirical work exploring these multifaceted interfaces beginning to emerge. More empirical evidence could explore how changes to the A level specifications affects students and their relationship with GCE as they progress through school and beyond. As such, it would be interesting to take one of these schools, or another, and consider GCE over time: how it is understood and how GCE changes as new programmes take hold. For instance, one could study how English literature choices affect students over the two years at Riverside or how the core critical thinking project for younger students at Hills impacts their IB journey and beyond into adulthood.

Future research could also focus pedagogically on different IB schools and teaching practice. An interesting next step could be to look specifically at the new programmes coming out of the IB world – the Systems Transformation Pathway and how it may or may not be addressing some of the challenges identified. The programme is service-based with a focus on problem-solving in areas covering food security, energy, biodiversity restoration and forced displacement – particularly pertinent in 2024 (Atlantic College 2023). Equally, Ecolint ISG now offer an alternative transcript model covering local Swiss history, social psychology with a focus on prejudice, sustainability, and education for peace (Conrad Hughes 2023; ISG 2023). These programmes appear grounded in many forms of GCE and could offer a practical bridge between empirical research and academia (Pashby et al. 2020).

Ultimately, future research and the current study are all grounded in a commitment to collaborative exploratory study and using evidence to enhance meaningful and intentional practice in all schools. Further empirical research should connect dynamism in literature with dynamism in the classroom such that global citizenship education facilitates an education system predicated on regenerative, forward-thinking learning connected to positive social change, justice and equality.

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Appendix 1: Context of Comparative International Education

A brief history of Comparative International Education

The earliest foundations of Comparative Education are often traced back to observations from travellers – stories from Marco Polo (Latham 1958) or Ibn Batuta (1304-1368). As Brickman (1960) argues, whilst these are often categorised as the 'prehistory' of the discipline, simply describing other systems is evidence of a long interest in the subject. A mapping of orthodoxy in Comparative Education often actually begins with 18th and 19th Century texts of Berchtold, Basset (discussed later) and Jullien. Jullien called for research on the nature of foreign education systems, as Crossley and Watson (2009) argue, to reform and improve the international standing of France. From 1817, Jullien's work was symptomatic of a more positivist approach to research advocating descriptive and macro-historical comparisons to "deduce true principles and determined routes so that education would be transformed into an almost positive science" (1817 cited in Fraser 1964: 20). As Lauwerys (1959) argues, Jullien's work had two key differing principles which he calls: *Auslandspadagogik* and Comparative Education. Referencing Rossello's 1958 paper:

> "What matters is to recognise the facts that works on Comparative Education usually present two different facets: descriptive education (collection of documents, observation and facts) …the other, explanatory Comparative Education (investigation of the causes of comparative phenomena…predictions)" cited in Lauwerys (1959: 281)

Lauwerys argues, the desire to collate facts and deduce rules that could be applied in different contexts was predicated on the type of data collected and categories for comparison. In this sense, the dominant form of Comparative Education from 1817 was based on a deductive process of borrowing and transplanting educational practices from elsewhere in the hope these were the rule and not the exception.

The allure of the positivist approach to Comparative Education gained further traction in the creation of the International Bureau of Education (1925) and Post- World War II via UNESCO, OECD, and the likes of World Bank (Crossley and Watson 2003). Across the academic world, Anderson (1961) and Noah & Eckstein (1969) began to entrench the positivist nature of Comparative Education. Since then, Wilson (1994) argued that a wave of similar academics sought to delineate the field from wider educational studies to move beyond into theoretical perspectives and methodological approaches.

Crossley and Watson (2009) however, state that Comparative Education is less Darwinian in evolution but rather richer. Referencing Sadler in UK, they say he represented a socio-cultural and interpretivist paradigmatic perspective drawing on culture and context. They find his work paved the way for a different route. Sadler states:

> "a national system of education is a living thing, the outcome of forgotten struggles and difficulties and of battles…it reflects, while seeking to remedy, the failings of national character" (cited in Lauwerys 1959)

In this sense, Sadler's approach appears to undermine the objectivity of Jullien by adding context – arguing, as Higginson (1979:49) says, "we should not forget that the things outside schools' matter even more than the things inside the schools and govern and interpret the things inside". Further, authors such as Kandel (1933) emphasised the centrality of history for more effective analytical and explanative scholarship. It really paved the way for more anthropological and geographical approaches to studying education that placed centrality on place much like the work of Waters and Brooks (2012).

Bereday (1964) argues, however, that Sadler was not, in fact, dissimilar to Jullien because the goal remained prediction and borrowing from other systems. Perhaps, as Cowen (1996) contends, this meant that historical context was not rejected in the mid-20th Century but merely avoided in the pursuit for a rigorous science – particularly in United States. However, it could be said that Sadler was different and, at least, paved the way for new possibilities in the field; ideas that grew alongside wider theories on colonialism, neo-Marxism, and Dependency theories (Carnoy 1974; Altbach and Kelly 1978). Across the field, the likes of Barber (1973) began to attack positivist thinkers like Noah and Eckstein as 'problem-solving'. As Halls (1977:82) says:

"The truth is that if we borrow macro-concepts from other systems their application in our own is almost bound to fail. The most telling example of this is where implantation was forcibly imposed, as in the colonial territories."

Appendix 2: The Nature of Case Studies

The Nature of Case Studies

Not only does Comparative International Education create a theoretical framework for research but it also helped to formulate a methodological one. As Crossley and Watson (2009) argue, the transition epistemologically in the field also opened the possibility of different approaches. Stenhouse (1979) for instance, pioneered the use of empirically grounded qualitative case studies – this translated into later work by Osborn et al. (2003) that used case studies and qualitative methods such as classroom observations and in-depth interviews when examining teaching practices across England, France, and Denmark. More recently, as units of analysis have shifted beyond the nation-state one can, arguably, begin to make even more of a case for micro-level frameworks such as the case study.

The purpose of case study research can be multifaceted – an exploration of a phenomenon, an attempt to evaluate or explain a concept in context (Day Ashley 2012; Tight 2010; Cohen et al. 2018). Unlike other methodological frameworks, case studies offer the opportunity to provide a unique example of real people in context in an in-depth meaningful way. Dabrowski (2018) argues – whilst a qualitative case study is not distinct from wider ethnographies, the idea of a case study is a detailed focus on a contextual phenomenon within specific boundaries. Yin (2009) says this enables researchers to understand how theories and abstract principles operate whilst also acknowledging the innumerable variables that operate at a single case level. As Verschuren (2003) states, the approach of case study research is therefore one of holism as opposed to reductionism. According to Yin (1994), however, to be a case study, research must comprise several elements:

1. Clear Research Questions
2. Propositions/an attempt to portray richness of ideas.
3. A clear unit of analysis
4. An understanding of how data links to analysis, findings and aims.
5. A clear idea of how analysi
6. s will take place.

Cohen

et al. (2018) concur with the point on unit of analysis and what constitutes the 'case' whether that be an individual, group study or a bounded system like a school. Yin concluded that unit of analysis assisted with comparison and potential replication.

Beyond the components of case study, it is often thought that there are several case study options dependent on purpose. Denscombe (2014:57) distinguishes these as 'discovery-led' which use exploration, comparison and 'theory-led' which use experimentation. Yin (2009) says case studies operate in relation to 'outcome' – namely, exploratory used to generate hypotheses, narrative descriptive accounts, or explanatory testing theories; Merriam (1998) reflects these suggesting case studies fall into: descriptive, interpretive, and evaluative based on wider domains such as ethnography, history, and sociology.

This research fell into the former – an exploratory comparative case study design. In relation to comparison however, it disputes the logic of Yin that comparative case studies be analogous to multiple experiments following a replication logic (Yin 1994, Zucker 2009).

Bartlett and Varvus (2017) argue that case study research broadly fits into three categories: variance oriented, interpretivist and process oriented. The variance-oriented case studies are where Yin is broadly placed - focusing on variables and the correlations among them (Maxwell 2004). The case study examines variables in-depth and in-context with the intention of better understanding them. Bartlett and Varvus (2017) however, find this approach problematic.

First, they argue Yin's focus is very much contemporary. Indeed, Yin contends that researchers "avoid events extending back to the dead past where no direct observations can be made, and no people are alive to be interviewed" (ibid 2014: 24). Bartlett and Varvus go on to state "our notion of context as historically produced and multi-scalar redirects the impetus to treat a case as 'holistic' and hence difficult to analyse" (ibid:32). The second pertinent criticism of Yin's approach is in relation to bounding. Creswell (2013) and Stake (1995) both argue the importance of bounding the case in relation to time, social group, geographic area, insisting this maintains a reasonable and feasible scope. Bartlett and Varvus (2017), however, dispute this approach are almost neo-positivist in that it is pre-determined with some but little flexibility and bounding the case tends to rely on limited notions of context and comparison. They go on to say that in bounding research, Yin essentially applied positivist notions of validity to case studies. By having clear variables, validity can be achieved via multiple sources of evidence, observations, interviews and "pattern matching, explanation building and logical models" (Bartlett and Varvus 2017: 31). For multiple case studies, as

here, Yin (2011:57) argued replication to achieve external validity by "selecting cases that are expected to either produce similar results or different for a predictable reason".

School Name	Type	Location	Curriculum	Cohort	International Students or Global Majority	Religious Affiliation	Selective/Non-selective	Attainment

Riverside	Independent	Cambridgeshire	A level	600	15%	Christian	Selective	80% A* -B
Hills	Independent	Kent	IB	1000	40%	No faith	Selective	39/45 points 2023
Greenlane	State	London	IB	1100	91%	No faith	Non-selective at Year 7, Semi-selective for 6th form entry	36/45 points 2023
Towers	State	Oxfordshire	A level	1400 in girls' school 1100 in boys' school	24%	No faith	Non-selective at Year 7, Semi-selective for 6th form entry	66% A* - B

Appendix 3: School Profiles

Appendix 4: School Recruitment Letter

Dear X

I am writing to you about the possibility of participating in a research project on global citizenship and diversity. The research itself is interested in understanding your views on global citizenship education, the different ways it is constructed within your school – both by the leadership team, teachers and then interpreted by your students. Specifically, it looks at how different curricula – namely, the A level and International Baccalaureate system – aim to deliver global citizenship initiatives in their programmes. I have attached an information sheet for further details.

It is hoped that the findings from this study can be used to develop new ways that schools and teachers can integrate global citizenship education into school policy and pedagogical practice both at 16+ level but also younger years. As part of the study, you would be provided both a full copy of the research as well as an executive summary. I am also happy to provide an INSED session to teachers following the conclusion of the research.

To give you a little more detail about myself. I am a practicing Secondary School teacher - specialising in Geography and Politics having also headed up the Extended Projects Qualification. I am now working as a PhD researcher at University of Birmingham. I have attached a copy of my CV for your information.

The research itself would entail 4-5 days of observations within the school - inclusive of lesson observations, interviews with members of staff and students as well as a small number of focus groups that could all be held outside of lesson time to minimise disruption for the students. I am exclusively interested in interviewing students aged 16+, preferably in their final year of study. Of course, given the timing of examinations I would be very happy to work around the school.

If you are interested in being part of the study, please do let me know.

I look forward to hearing from you.

Kind regards

Emily

Appendix 5: Autoethnography on positionality

In this case, my role was fundamental to research on several levels. Having completed the IB programme in South Africa, I was acutely aware of my own experiences in country and in relation to the IB as a curriculum. It was a difficult and not-entirely positive experience that, for many years, meant a negative perception of the IB and International experience. Given the move to South Africa at aged 16, it was extremely informative and coloured by socio-emotional development at the time. It was not until later in life that I could compartmentalise these experiences and look more retrospectively and critically at the experience. Nevertheless, as my first contact with the International Baccalaureate, the experience remains pertinent to my position as a researcher.

Going on to live in Ghana and then completing a masters in international development, the connection to critical epistemologies and social justice was at the forefront of my own philosophical perspective particularly in relation to life in African nations and the UK curriculum itself. As was the relationship between migration, integration of students into society and the role of the school in this pastoral process. Having been a transmigrant myself, I experienced some of the challenges relating to moving globally but the experience of living within Sub-Saharan Africa is what has resonated most. Witnessing inequality, being part of and simultaneously segregated from relative and absolute poverty daily has instilled a deep sense of demand for social justice and valuing other cultures across the world. It also made me acutely aware of my own race for the first time because I was the minority for once. In Ghana I was surprised by the link to the British colonial era and the historic toxicity and complexity of rule – particularly in relation to the slave trade along the coast whilst at the same time promoting Higher Education Institutes linked to elite Universities in UK. The juxtaposition between these two was both interesting and problematic and led to an epistemological position of criticality in terms of narratives and the relationship between 'Western' powers and the developing world.

Similarly, then working for an IB organisation, I spent over a year attending International Education Conferences and interacting daily with educators in the field from across the World. As a regular visitor to IB schools across the UK, I have acted as an observer of teaching practice and the practicalities of working as a teacher in the field.

Finally, my own role as a qualified and experienced teacher influenced the research in several ways. First through teacher training – this was a complicated experience. The training itself was problematic in that much time was spent on behaviour management and tailoring teaching to

academic ability but little was spent on supporting different learners in the classroom particularly those from different socio-economic backgrounds and cultures. Whilst one training session looked at English as an Additional Language there was no training at all for adapting teaching practices to cultural complexities, migrant communities, or different races/religions. As a result, as my own teaching practice began, these issues came to the forefront of my own pedagogical approaches.

On a practical level, access to the schools in this study was primarily down to my previous roles – which were made explicit in recruitment emails. Schools were recruited often based on my IB experience but also due to my previous role with the support of ex-colleagues. Being a teacher, myself was both a help but also a potential challenge. On the one hand, staff appeared more open and empathetic towards me because I have operated in similar settings and therefore deeply aware of the relevance of curriculum, pedagogical practice, and pressures in a school environment. Similarly, observation of classroom practice could have had added depth in relation to pedagogical practices such as differentiation, flipped learning and constructing knowledge given my own training. On the other hand, having worked in the independent sector, although trained in the state sector, I was acutely aware of the historically politicised environment of British Education. There was a concern with regards to potential hostility in relation to my previous experience and resultant guardedness of staff. Finally, as a female middle-class white teacher, there are several gendered and racialised factors that come with the research – particularly given the complex nature of global citizenship education within the context of UK education. Prior to research, I spoke to staff at the school to support recruitment of students and adjust how best to interview them based on their own frames either via interview or in a group setting (Court and Abbas 2013; Saunders 2019). As such, being culturally reflexive about these frames was not only pertinent to research but also highlighted potential biases, issues with regards accessibility or over-relating in the research process.

Each of these roles were crucial to my epistemological approach, data collection process and potential analysis. By "turning back on oneself" (Davies 1999: 4) it was hoped that one could circumvent issues whilst also being aware it is not a panacea for understanding – indeed, many unexpected frames could have become relevant in the research that were not anticipated (Coffey 2002). As Fox and Allan (2013) argue, when research occurs it is inevitable that we are inextricably linked – whether that be because of the subject choice or via interpretation. Whilst there have been criticisms of reflexivity in relation to "danger of overindulgence of the self (Lamb 2013: 85), it would seem untrue and lacking to avoid (Nadar 1972). As Galletta and Cross (2012: 12) argue, ultimately, the process of reflexivity serves to "strengthen the rigour of the design by attending to your thought

processes, assumptions, decision making, and actions taken in order to locate and explore ethical and methodological dilemmas".

Appendix 6: Student Information Sheet

Embracing diversity: How do different curricula construct Global Citizenship Education

for Secondary School Students in UK?

Investigator: PhD Post-Graduate Researcher, School of Education, University of Birmingham

Contact: ████████████████████. *Primary Supervisor: Professor Dina Kiwan* ████████████████

Dear Participant

Please read the information below before commencing the interview with myself. If, at any point, you have any questions please do not hesitate to contact me at: ████████████████████

Overview

You have been invited to take part in a PhD research study looking at the concept of global citizenship education. The research itself is interested in understanding your views on global citizenship education, how it is constructed within your school and what that means for you in the long-term.

It is hoped that the findings from this study will then be used to develop new ways that teachers can support your development in relation to global citizenship as a way of preparing for life beyond school.

What you have been asked to do

As a participant, I would like to initially watch a lesson in which you are present. This is to see how global citizenship is constructed by your teachers as well as how you interact together as a class. You may then be asked to join a small discussion group to discuss the ideas of global citizenship in more depth. This discussion group would last 30-45 minutes and operate during the school day.

I would like you to participate in a confidential and anonymous interview that should last around 45 minutes.

The interview itself is split into two sections. First, we will look at the drawing you completed on global citizenship and what it means to you. From there, we will have an unstructured discussion on the topic – what you consider a global citizen to be, if it is of importance to you and how it could be developed by your teachers. Whilst I will be asking questions, there is no set format, and the discussion is really driven by you.

If, at any point, you decide that you no longer wish to be a part of the research process you can drop out of the study. You can leave the study at any point from the initial questionnaire phase, before, during or after the interview. The last point at which your information can be removed from the study will be April 2023 - at which point the data will already be included in data analysis and conclusions.

Your Data

The research has been reviewed by University of Birmingham's Humanities & Social Sciences Ethical Review Committee

For the purposes of enhancing data analysis and ensuring an accurate representative of your views, I would like the video to record the session. With your permission, I will transcribe the interview itself and use some of what you say - alongside others - in my final thesis and any resultant publications. Your quotes will be anonymised and great care will be taken to ensure that I accurately represent your feelings.

Your transcription will be confidential and stored on in an encrypted folder accessible only to me, the lead researcher. Your responses will not be discussed with other participants.

If you have any questions, please do not hesitate to contact me - as above

Thank you for reading this sheet and I look forward to speaking to you soon.

Appendix 7:Teacher Information Sheet

Embracing diversity: How do different curricula construct Global Citizenship Education

for Secondary School Students in UK?

Investigator: PhD Post-Graduate Researcher, School of Education, University of Birmingham

Contact: ███████████████████████ *Primary Supervisor: Professor Dina Kiwan*
███████████████████

Dear Participant

Please read the information below before commencing the interview with myself. If, at any point, you have any questions please do not hesitate to contact me at: ████████████████████

Overview

You have been invited to take part in a PhD research study looking at the concept of global citizenship education. The research itself is interested in understanding your views on global citizenship education, the different ways it is constructed within your school – both by the leadership team and, you, as a practicing teacher. Specifically, it looks at how different curricula – namely, the A level and International Baccalaureate system – aim to deliver global citizenship initiatives in their programmes and through teaching of your subject.

It is hoped that the findings from this study can then be used to develop new ways that schools and teachers can integrate global citizenship education into school policy and pedagogical practice both at 16+ level but also younger years.

What you have been asked to do

As a participant, I would like you to participate in a confidential and anonymous interview that should last around 45 minutes. Your participation in this study is completely voluntary.

The interview itself is split into two sections. First, you will be asked to create a visual representation of what global citizenship means to you and its relevance in relation to your teaching practice and your academic field. From there, we will have an unstructured discussion on the topic – what you consider a global citizen to be, if it is of importance to you and how it could be developed in the classroom. Whilst I will be asking questions, there is no set format, and the discussion is really driven by you.

If, at any point, you decide that you no longer wish to be a part of the research process you can drop out of the study. You can leave the study at any point before, during or after the interview. The last

point at which your information can be removed from the study will be April 2023 - at which point, the data will already be included in data analysis and conclusions.

Your Data

The research has been reviewed by University of Birmingham's Humanities & Social Sciences Ethical Review Committee For the purposes of enhancing data analysis and ensuring an accurate representative of your views, I would like the video to record the session. With your permission, I will transcribe the interview itself and use some of what you say - alongside others - in my final thesis and any resultant publications. Your quotes will be anonymised, and great care will be taken to ensure that I accurately represent your feelings.

Your transcription will be confidential and stored on in an encrypted folder accessible only to me, the lead researcher. Your responses will not be discussed with other participants.

If you have any questions, please do not hesitate to contact me - as above.

Thank you for reading this sheet and I look forward to speaking to you soon.

Emily

Appendix 8: Table of Interviews

Riverside

Method	Participants
Interview Student 1	Female, 6th Form Student, Year 12
Interview Teacher 1	Head of Politics
Interview Teacher 2	Economics Teacher
Teacher Focus Group 1	3 Staff – Head of Geography, Head of Teaching and Learning/Biology Teacher, Head of Pastoral Care
Teacher Focus Group 2	2 Staff – Geography Teacher and Global Programmes Leader, RS Teacher
Student Focus Group 1	5 students: 3 girls, 2 boys, Year 12
Student Focus Group 2	4 students: 2 girls, 2 boys, Year 12
Student Focus Group 3	2 students: 1 girl, 1 boy, Year 12
Student Focus Group 4	3 students: 2 girls, 1 boy, Year 12
Student Focus Group 5	8 students: 6 girls, 2 boys, Year 12
Total	30: Staff 7, Students 23

Hills

Method	Participant
Student Interview 1	Female, 6th Form Student, Year 12
Teacher Interview 1	Head of Theory of Knowledge
Student Interview 2	Female 6th Form Student, Year 12
Student Interview 3	Male, 6th Form Student, Year 12
Teacher Interview 2	Head of Philosophy, Head of Critical Thinking
Teacher Interview 3	Head of Teaching and Learning
Student Interview 4	Female, 6th Form Student, Year 12
Student Interview 5	Female, 6th Form Student, Year 12
Student Focus Group 1	5 students: 3 Female Year 12, 2 Male Year 12
Student Focus Group 2	4 students: 3 Male Year 12, 2 Female Year 12
Total	16: Staff 3, Students 13

Greenlane

Method	Participant
Teacher Interview 1	Head of Careers and CAS Coordinator
Student Interview 1	Female, 6th form student, Year 12
Student Interview 2	Male, 6th form student, Year 12
Student Interview 3	Male, 6th form student, Year 12
Teacher Interview 2	Head of Key Stage 5 English Teacher and Anthropology
Student Interview 4	Female, 6th form student, Year 12
Teacher Interview 3	IB Careers Programme Coordinator and IB Chemistry Teacher
Teacher Interview 4	Head of Extended Essay and Maths Teacher

Student Interview 5	Female, 6th form student, Year 12
Teacher Interview 5	Vice Principal – Head of Teaching and Learning and Head of 6th Form
Student Interview 6	Female, 6th form student, Year 12
Student Interview 7	Female, 6th form student, Year 12
Student Interview 8	Female, 6th form student, Year 12
Teacher Interview 6	Physics Teacher
Teacher Interview 7	MFL French Teacher, Year 12 Pastoral Coordinator
Teacher Interview 8	IB Diploma Coordinator
Teacher Interview 9	History Teacher
Total	17: Staff 9, Students 8

Towers

Method	Participant
Student Interview 1	Male, 6th form student, year 12
Student Focus Group 1	4 students: 2 girls and 2 boys, Year 12
Student Focus Group 2	4 students: 2 girls and 2 boys, Year 12
Teacher Interview 1	Head of Teaching and Learning
Student Focus Group 3	2 students: 2 girls, Year 12
Student Focus Group 4	2 students: 2 girls, Year 12
Student Focus Group 5	2 students: 2 boys, Year 12
Student Interview 2	Female, 6th form student, Year 12
Student Interview 3	Female 6th form student, Year 12
Total	18: Staff 1, Students 17

Lesson Observation and Field Notes

[Handwritten field notes — top left page]

dependent of on what A levels are done.
- teachers address OCE differently. some are pro-active whilst others avoid discussing
When asked why? to students referenced idea that teachers can't give opinions.

- know your culture day
  Ls try foods
  - stalls for each culture
  - demographics tend to be Asian and wealthy.
  - few scholarship students.

- English → Jane Eyre & Sense & Sens
  Why? Well good because focus on women in Lit. but seen as kind of classic British texts.

[Handwritten field notes — top right page]

[Dinner - 26/4. 6.30 - 7pm]

student discussion on what OCE is? spaces in the school for it?
- all mentioned the diversity training but questioned the format
- "it's with the whole year so you can't say anything controversial. Just say what you think they want to hear."

"also don't want to speak out ... in front of whole year"

"there isn't really a place to talk about stuff other than in house"

"no 'proper pastoral' team like tutors only discuss UCAS"
- commented on no support
- PSHE run once on a Saturday → no-one pays attention and it's really boring but could be good.
- teachers sometimes avoid discussing difficult issues like sex or /racism
- gender becoming more discussed
  Ls boys sport seems to take a precedence but girls becoming more visible

[Handwritten field notes — bottom left page]

- booklet provided with
- how 11 economic sector used to measure development
- issues with GDP
"explain how econ & social factors link"
→ "kids here are very eurocentric"
- "we are doing lots on diversity / diversity training"
→ "students practice with lived experience"
→ "we discussed the role of media & development / perceptions"
"if you only consume what you see your view of developing world skewed"

Issues of GDP
  Ls foreign business.
T: "only considers formal sector"
"in some count informal makes a sig. contribution" → reliability of data.
  Ls critical thinking.

"Nigeria rebased economy"
  Ls 35-28% agri
  IT services increased & mon...

[Handwritten field notes — bottom right page]

STUDENT   + link to theory
→ "GDP doesn't represent inequality"
  Ls example: Saudi Arabia
      Qatar → "oil wealth"
        → sovereign wealth funds
        → people that died
- link to voice / refugees → Ukraine meaning others lose a voice.

* Poverty — "no one mentioned poverty"
    absolute   relative
→ lots on measuring dev

"ab. 'worst... can't maintain basic living'"
  → food, water, shelter.

relative: "person's income too low for average living... in the country you're in"

Link to UK - "minimal but some"
         - "Cambridge homeless."

T mentioned "what's happening in UK?"

- compare → sim / differences

$ gap
  • use to [underscore?]
  • standard of living

Responses
- improvements
- standard of living
- progress / moving forward
- national scale
       ↓
    "we can look at
    global development"
    - "local scale" → link to standard
       of living"

- quality of life
- "we don't see food poverty here"
- how do we know
       ↓
    HDI   - life expect.
    → GDP

- comparing 'economic' vs 'social' measurement.
  econ "facilitates social development"

What scale
do we use?
→ comp.
countries.

→ CRITICALITY

- lots of measurement → ~~scaled/many settings~~

"what influences avg life expectancy" → nice link to
   wealth & diet.
- where I live "post-code lottery"

• "who influences healthcare??
                        ↳ link to gov. policy
"things are interrelated"
- "multifaceted" → need to have social progress
                        to really dev.
                  → PERSONAL (just/equals opp.,
• China   identity, culture)
     ↳ "not that developed"   - equality of opportunity
       "cotton pickers" "human rights"

"how is dev. in African compromised?"   } nice
     ↳ S: women / opp.   link
     "restricting 50% of brain power"   to racial
                                             equality

"freedom of speech"
       ↳ China vs UK.
    → INTER-RELATED   • link to Clare
                               Fisher Model
                               → jobs always
                                 aspired

Appendix 10: Interview Topic Guide

Research Question:

Embracing diversity: How do different curricula construct Global Citizenship Education for Secondary School Students in UK?

- Establish if there is a continuity in how IB schools' approach GCE and whether, given their ethos, they are promoting a specifically global interpretation of Citizenship Education
- Establish if existing global citizenship education is being developed and used in UK curriculum.
- Understand if these approaches are having deep and meaningful impacts on the emotional development of children and their outlook as global citizens.
- These approaches can then be translated into meaningful learning points and opportunities for embedding global citizenship into UK Secondary Schools via policy, pedagogy, and pastoral support.

Interview Topic Guide - Staff

(Purpose) Now, as you know, my research is looking at the idea of global citizenship at school, what/how to construct it in lessons and the wider school.

(Motivation) I hope to use the information you give to understand in what ways global citizenship is part of schools already and, perhaps, what can be done to enhance its teaching across all aspects of school life.

(Timeline) The interview should take around 45 minutes – please do remember if you want to take a break or stop at any time you are more than welcome to. Please don't worry, there is no right or wrong answer to anything we discuss – I just want to hear how you feel about different things. I will be recording the interview for my own notes – just to confirm is this, okay?

Perhaps we could start by looking at your drawing together…

Topic	Sample Questions
Describing Yourself	**What subject do you teach at A level/IB?**
Defining GCE (use drawing) Conventional	**Is there such a thing as global community?** **How do you think the world affects your community here?** **What aspects of global citizenship are important to you?**

| School Curriculum (Subject Specific)	What are your thoughts on the "British values" promoted in the teaching standards?
	How does your school/do you teach about moral values?
	In what area of the school is most global citizenship curriculum covered?
	How does your own subject cover GCE at A level/IB?
	Is there a space in the curriculum to discuss structural economic inequality – how do you do this in your own teaching? (ECONOMICS/BUSINESS)
	How do you define/teach development in A level curriculum? (ECON/POLITICS/GEOG/HISTORY)
	How does the curriculum deal with theoretical perspectives/alternatives to Neoliberal Capitalism? (POL/GEOG/ECON)
	When teaching Development – what theories do you tend you use with your students? (POL/GEOG)
	What areas of the A level/IB programme do you think could be changed to integrate GCE?
	Do you think the A level programmes address issues like race inequality and how?
	How does the A level/IB curriculum address Colonialism? (HIS/POL/GEOG)
	How does A level/IB history discuss communism or socialism?
	How do you address the origins and narratives of major theory (scientific or philosophical)?
	How does A level/IB Science link to global society and community?

What happens in lessons (pedagogical practice)	How do you promote critical evaluation in lessons?
	How do you enhance student voice in your classroom?
	How do you handle controversial issues/comments in your teaching practice?
	What would you consider a controversial issue to discuss?
	How do you address different cultures in your teaching?
	What impact do you think globalisation/migration has had on your school?
	Thinking back to your teacher training, what were you taught about handling controversial issues in class?
	During your PGCE, did you have sessions on diversity and inequality in school?
Wider School Life	What community involvement does the school/students have?
	Why do you think commitment to community is important for students?
	What role does student voice play at school?
	What role does school policy play in developing GCE?
Identity because of teaching	Has the A level/IB changed the way you look at the world?
	How has the material you have taught affected your identity?

UNIVERSITY^{OF} BIRMINGHAM

Application for Ethics Review Form

Project Title: Embracing diversity: How do different curricula construct Global Citizenship Education for Secondary School Students in UK?

Is this project a:

University of Birmingham Staff Research project ☐
University of Birmingham Postgraduate Research (PGR) Student project ☒
Other (Please specify below) ☐
Click or tap here to enter text.

Details of the Principal Investigator or Lead Supervisor (for PGR student projects):

Title: Professor
First name: Dina
Last name: Kiwan

Position held: Professor of Comparative Education
School/Department School of Education
Telephone: ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮
Email address: ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮

Details of any Co-Investigators or Co-Supervisors (for PGR student projects):

Title: Dr
First name: Laura
Last name: Day-Ashley

Position held: Education and Social Justice Department Research Lead
School/Department School of Education

Telephone: ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮
Email address: ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮

Details of the student for PGR student projects:

Title: Mrs
First name: Emily
Last name: Bernstein

Course of study: PhD in Education

Email address: ███████████████████

Project start and end dates:

Estimated start date of project: 01/09/2020
Estimated end date of project: 07/01/2024

Funding:

Sources of funding: CoSS Studentship in Social Sciences

Key research question: *Embracing diversity: How do different curricula construct Global Citizenship for Secondary School Students in UK?*

Research Summary

The Globalisation project of the late 20th/early 21st century has irrevocably impacted societies across the World and penetrated their communities and Education systems alike. From an Education policy point of view, much research in this area has been driven by UNESCO and its focus on Global Citizenship. As part of their focus on fostering peace and democracy, UNESCO have turned their attention to Education as a mechanism for Sustainable Development led by Global Citizenship. In UK, until recently, Citizenship Education has continued to have a "national" focus to address social divisions within the country. However, given the context of transmigration, Brexit, and COVID-19 arguably more needs to be done to educate students existing in a fluid and plural global society. As an educational philosophy, global citizenship nurtures mutual respect and understanding amongst students to enhance a "sense of place" through inclusion. It has three core ideals: respect for diversity, solidarity and a shared sense of identity and humanity.

On a societal level, the Geographies of Education are similarly transforming. Schools are no longer fixed in one geographical location but have cohorts that comprise of several different cultures and communities from around the world. Students are more mobile than ever before, often moving regularly throughout their school career. Several studies, largely within the academic field of social geography, have looked at the impact of migration in schools and how this is affecting student sense of identity and outlook. The majority of these, however, have been geographically based in migration heavy areas across South-East Asia and Canada rather than UK.

This research sits between the two fields to look at how global citizenship education is constructed and used within schools to help students navigate the new global climate both within and beyond school. It therefore aims to look specifically at IB Schools whose ethos is: "to develop inquiring, knowledgeable and caring young people who help to create a better and more peaceful world through intercultural understanding and respect" vs A level schools in the UK and their existing provision.

Expected Outcomes

- Establish if there is a continuity in how IB schools' approach GCE and whether, given their ethos, they are promoting a specifically global interpretation of Citizenship Education

- Establish if existing global citizenship education is being developed and used in UK curriculum.
- Understand if these approaches are having deep and meaningful impacts on the emotional development of children and their outlook as global citizens.
- These approaches can then be translated into meaningful learning points and opportunities for embedding global citizenship into UK Secondary Schools via policy, pedagogy, and pastoral support.

Research would use a multi-phase exploratory qualitative design. Research would begin with covert non-participant observations to assess the existing ways GC is exhibited within the school. Classroom observations will be completed to give an initial understanding of pedagogical practices.

Exploratory interviews and focus groups will follow the initial participant observations with students and teachers. Students will initially meet in focus groups. The logic behind this is the value that interactions between students can bring to the research. Talking between one another can spark new ideas as well as highlight any commonalities across different student groups. Focus groups are also more practical in the context of school life as opposed to getting the entire cohort together.

Both students and teachers will be interviewed in an unstructured way following a topic guide as opposed to specific questions. These will aim to be video recorded. The reason behind this is that video recordings can better capture non-verbal reactions and emotions in relation to potentially sensitive topics such as diversity, inclusion, and the meanings behind global citizenship. Alongside an initial drawing phase – to be completed before the interview – video recordings can better show how the interviewee interacts with their own work.

A third meta-inferences phase, combining the data – may also be used at a later stage as was the case for Engelbrecht and Savolainen (2018) in their study of inclusive education in Finland and Sweden

Research will take place in:
1 IB Independent School – UK based.
1 IB State School – UK based.
1 A level Independent School – UK based.
1 A level State School – UK Based

Given the current COVID-19 climate, it is hoped that access will be given to visit these schools in person. Of course, PCR tests will be required, and the researcher is double vaccinated.

Participants will be a combination of active teaching staff and students aged 16 and above completing the A level of International Baccalaureate Diploma programme.

The aim is for a 50:50 gender split across cohorts and 4 schools that have a similar cohort size.

Students must be in full-time education and, in the case of the IB, completing the full diploma programme as opposed to completing IB certificates.

The schools will not be delivering both A level and IB on the basis that they have not fully committed to either ideology or therefore it is expected that focus in the school may be similarly divided.

How will the participants be recruited?

Please state clearly how the participants will be identified, approached, and recruited. Include any relationship between the investigator(s) and participant(s) (e.g. instructor-student). Please ensure that you attach a copy of any poster(s), advertisement(s), or letter(s) to be used for recruitment.

Participants will be members of the school communities they are a part of both in terms of students and teachers. The intention is to recruit approximately 10-15 participants for interview and focus group numbers of 3-5 per group and 3 groups in each school. It is hoped that this will be both representative of the schools but also allow for rich in-depth responses that explore the complexities of global citizenship education.

Recruitment will be based on initial non-participant classroom observations and in conjunction with the Head of Sixth form/IB Co-ordinator in each school. Based on classroom observations, the researcher will identify and approach both teachers and students that have exhibited unique/interesting comments in relation to the area of study. Working with the Head of Sixth form, I hope to be directed towards specific staff that may have an interest in the area and time to discuss as well as specific students. Given teachers know their students best, arguably, it is important to include them in the selection of appropriate students at recruitment stage.

It is also important to try to have a selection of students that are reflective of the wider cohort. As such, diversity in terms of race, religion, gender, sexuality, disability, and social class is intrinsic to the research.

Given the age of participants, consent will be sought via the school and students themselves. There will not be any students under the age of 16 in the study. Please see attached a copy of the letter for recruitment.

What process will be used to obtain consent?

Describe the process that the investigator(s) will be using to obtain valid consent. If consent is not to be obtained explain why. If the participants are under the age of 16 it would usually be necessary to obtain parental consent and the process for this should be described in full, including whether parental consent will be opt-in or opt-out.

As above, consent will be sought through written confirmation of the school in question and the individual students. These children are not under the age of 16. Please see attached consent form

Please be aware that if the project involves over 16s who lack capacity to consent, separate approval will be required from the Health Research Authority (HRA) in line with the Mental Capacity Act.

Please attach a copy of the Participant Information Sheet (if applicable), the Consent Form (if applicable), the content of any telephone script (if applicable) and any other material that will be used in the consent process.

Use of deception?

Will the participants be deceived in any way about the purpose of the study?

Yes   ☒
No   ☐

If yes, please describe the nature and extent of the deception involved. Include how and when the deception will be revealed, and the nature of any explanation/debrief will be provided to the participants after the study has taken place.

Students and teachers will not be informed of the aim of research before non-participant classroom observation. This is to ensure that classroom behaviour and pedagogical practices are not unnaturally altered to overtly show intercultural understanding. However, it is important to still gain consent before conducting research particularly given that data in observations is likely to be used for data processing, analysis, and conclusions. As such, the research will be made more transparent by explaining to staff and students before the research begins. Rather than explain that I am analysing pedagogical practice in relation to global citizenship, I will state that I am looking to observe which different types of global citizenship already exist in the classroom. It is hoped that, in doing so, teachers will not be able to alter their 'natural' teaching styles, and neither will the students.

Different understandings of global citizenship and perceptions will then be explored via the focus groups and interviews.

What, if any, feedback will be provided to participants?

Explain any feedback/ information that will be provided to the participants after participation in the research (e.g. a more complete description of the purpose of the research, or access to the results of the research).

Access to the results will be offered to all participants if they so wish. All schools will be offered a summary of results as well as suggested information/ideas to enhance existing global citizenship programmes within their schools. This will be sent directly to the Senior Leadership Teams and Head of Sixth Form/IB Co-ordinator. The researcher will offer these findings both in the form of a summarised executive report but also as ongoing continuing professional development in the form of an INSED session for all staff within the school.

Students will be offered a more age-appropriate summary of findings should they wish.

What arrangements will be in place for participant withdrawal?

Participants will be informed about their right to withdrawal as part of the consent form (see attached). If participants choose to withdraw their data will be destroyed and removed from the study.

Please confirm the specific date/timescale to be used as the deadline for participant withdrawal and ensure that this is consistently stated across all participant documentation. This is considered preferable to allowing participants to 'withdraw at any time' as presumably there will be a point beyond which it will not be possible to remove their data from the study (e.g. because analysis has started, the findings have been published, etc).

Withdrawal of participation should be before 01/04/2023 when data analysis will already be complete

What arrangements will be in place for participant compensation?

Will participants receive compensation for participation?

Yes ☐
No ☒

If yes, please provide further information about the nature and value of any compensation and clarify whether it will be financial or non-financial.

N/A

If participants choose to withdraw, how will you deal with compensation?

N/A

Will the identity of the participants be known to the researcher?

Will participants be truly anonymous (i.e. their identity will not be known to the researcher)?

Yes ☐
No ☒

In what format will data be stored?

Will participants' data be stored in identifiable format, or will it be anonymised or pseudo-anonymised (i.e. an assigned ID code or number will be used instead of the participant's name and a key will be kept allowing the researcher to identify a participant's data)?

Data will be pseudo-anonymised with an assigned ID code for each participant and key that will be stored by the researcher only. It will be stored on an encrypted USB.
To protect the identity of all participants, consent forms and all transcripts will be stored using the University of Birmingham's Research Data Store centralised storage service. This is a secure system

Will participants' data be treated as confidential?

Will participants' data be treated as confidential (i.e. they will not be identified in any outputs from the study and their identity will not be disclosed to any third party)?

Yes ☒
No ☐

If you have answered no to the question above, meaning that participants' data will not be treated as confidential (i.e. their data and/or identities may be revealed in the research outputs or otherwise to third parties), please provide further information and justification for this:

How and where will the data (both paper and electronic) be stored, what arrangements will be in place to keep it secure and who will have access to it?

Please note that for long-term storage, data should usually be held on a secure University of Birmingham IT system, for example BEAR (see https://intranet.birmingham.ac.uk/it/teams/infrastructure/research/bear/index.aspx).

Data will be stored primarily on an encrypted USB stick because I will be working remotely - I am not currently based in Birmingham. Paper data will be stored in a locked cabinet. Both will only be accessible by the researcher.

Data retention and disposal

The University usually requires data to be held for a minimum of 10 years to allow for verification. Will you retain your data for at least 10 years?

Yes ☒
No ☐

What arrangements will be in place for the secure disposal of data?

Paper data will be shredded after 10 years and data on USB will be deleted.

Benefits/significance of the research

Outline the potential significance and/or benefits of the research.

(10) Please consider the impact of your research and how this impact is demonstrated to specialist audiences (e.g. publications and conference presentations)

It is hoped that this research will contribute to calls from the likes of Crossley on Comparative Education research that addresses the context of Globalisation and its impact on Education systems. It hopes to both acknowledge the problematic nature of comparing different systems whilst also offering potential learning points for BOTH the IB and A level schools in question. Whilst Comparative Education research is not new, very little research has been conducted to compare the IB system against the context of the UK Secondary system on a broad level let alone looking at global citizenship specifically. As such, it offers a new arena of study and opportunity for learning whilst also being a timely piece of research in the current global climate.

The research also draws upon research in Global Citizenship Education pioneered by the likes of Prof. Kiwan and Kymlicka. Global citizenship aims to tackle issues such as inequality and intolerance and removes the territorial element embedded in national conceptions of citizenship (Davies et al. 2018) As an educational philosophy, global citizenship nurtures mutual respect and understanding amongst students to enhance a "sense of place" (Massey 1998) through inclusion which can then be used to address the issues above (Deardorff, Kiwan and Pak 2018). It has three core ideals: respect for diversity, solidarity and a shared sense of identity and humanity (Deardorff, Kiwan and Pak 2018; UNESCO 2015)

On a practical level, global citizenship education channels these ideas into three spheres – cognitive, socio-emotional, and behavioural (UNESCO 2015). Effectively, global citizens are fostered via pedagogical practices focused on critical examinations of one's position/culture, emotional awareness of others and a common sense of humanity and acting as a member of community (UNESCO 2014)

Risks of the research

Outline any potential risks (including risks to research staff, research participants, other individuals not involved in the research, the environment and/or society and the measures that will be taken to minimise any risks and the procedures to be adopted in the event of mishap.) **Please ensure that you include any risks relating to overseas travel and working in overseas locations as part of the study, particularly if the work will involve travel to/working in areas considered unsafe and/or subject to travel warnings from the Foreign and Commonwealth Office (see** https://www.gov.uk/foreign-travel-advice)**. Please also be aware that the University insurer, UMAL, offers access to Risk Monitor Traveller, a service which provides 24/7/365 security advice for all travellers and you are advised to make use of this service (see** https://umal.co.uk/travel/pre-travel-advice/**).**

The outlining of the risks in this section does not circumvent the need to carry out and document a detailed Health and Safety risk assessment where appropriate – see below.

Potential risk of exposing strong opinions/views that may be perceived as discriminatory – this will be mitigated by anonymising participants such that they could not face any discrimination themselves. Pseudo-anonymisation of data so that it is ID coded, and the code is known only to the researcher. Record all responses in an area where students and teachers cannot be overheard by others.

Working with students in and around school. DBS checked and protected. Ensure that researcher wears ID badge identifiable to all students and always remains visible when conducting research (i.e. no closed window-less doors)

Potential risk to researcher during travel to and from destination either via car or train. This will be mitigated by following travel warnings. Ensure there are suitably priced and accessible hotels nearby if overnight stay is required.
Looking out of place on site/fitting in. Understand dress code for members of staff at school. Ensure that I am always dressed appropriately and professionally so that I reflect the existing members of staff within school.

COVID-19 contraction and spreading across schools. Student is double-vaccinated and received a booster and PCR tests will be completed before visiting each school. Masks will be worn if required by the school. Use of a mask and social distancing to reduce likelihood of contraction.

I submit this application on the basis that the information it contains is confidential and will be used by the University of Birmingham for the purposes of ethical review and monitoring of the research project described herein, and to satisfy reporting requirements to regulatory bodies. The information will not be used for any other purpose without my prior consent. ☒

The information in this form together with any accompanying information is complete and correct to the best of my knowledge and belief and I take full responsibility for it. ☒

I undertake to abide by University Code of Practice for Research (https://www.birmingham.ac.uk/Documents/university/legal/research.pdf) alongside any other relevant professional bodies' codes of conduct and/or ethical guidelines. ☒

I will report any changes affecting the ethical aspects of the project to the University of Birmingham Research Ethics Officer. ☒

I will report any adverse or unforeseen events which occur to the relevant Ethics Committee via the University of Birmingham Research Ethics Officer. ☒

Appendix 13: Student Consent Form

Consent Form

Title

Embracing diversity: How do different curricula construct Global Citizenship Education for Secondary School Students in UK?

Invitation

Before continuing, it is important that you understand the purpose of the study, and what it will involve. Please carefully read the following information, and take time to decide whether you wish to participate in this study or not.

I am currently a PhD researcher in the School of Education at University of Birmingham. Having previously worked as a teacher of Geography/Politics and Deputy Housemistress, I am now researching the different types of Global Citizenship and ways they exist in school and can be developed within schools. It is my hope that this study will provide an insight into current practices in UK schools across the International Baccalaureate and A level settings, such that, we can learn from each other and find new ways of developing global citizenship within schools. This research has been reviewed by University of Birmingham's Humanities & Social Sciences Ethical Review Committee.

Requirements

Please note, you must be a full-time student undertaking either the A level qualifications or **full** IB Diploma. Both males and females are encouraged to participate, as well as any ethnicity. However, this study is only suitable for current students.

Participants' Rights

You can drop out of the study at any time up until April 2023 and request that any data you have provided is withdrawn or destroyed. After April 2023, your data will have been used to inform analysis and conclusions of the research.

You can also refuse to answer any of the questions. You have the right to have your questions about the procedures of this study answered. If you have any questions after reading the information on this page, you should ask the researcher.

Risks

Participation in this study may involve answering potentially difficult or sensitive questions, especially those related to views of other cultures and sense of identity. Your responses are, however, entirely anonymous and cannot be traced back to you.

Confidentiality

All data gathered from your participation will remain completely anonymous throughout the entire process, and cannot be linked back to you. You will not be asked your name or identifying information such as an address. Only I will have access to the raw data. All data will be stored in an encrypted folder only accessible to me. The purpose of the study is to understand your own views on global citizenship and how it is taught in your school.

For Further Information

I would be glad to answer any questions about the study at this time. If you would like the results of this study, please contact me by email. Please find our contact information below.

Please answer yes or no to the following statements:

I consent to the researcher observing one or some of my lessons within school.

Yes/No

I consent to an interview with the researcher.

Yes/No

I consent to participating in a small discussion group with the researcher and other students at school.

Yes/No

I consent to be video recorded during my interview.

Yes/No

I consent to have my responses used for the purposes of data analysis and conclusions for this research.

Yes/No

I consent to my data being stored in an encrypted folder accessible only to the researcher.

Yes/No

I understand that I can drop out of the study at any time until April 2023

Yes/No

Appendix 14: Teacher Consent Form

Title: Embracing diversity: How do different curricula construct Global Citizenship Education for Secondary School Students in UK?

Invitation

Before continuing, it is important that you understand the purpose of the study, and what it will involve. Please carefully read the following information and take time to decide whether you wish to participate in this study or not.

I am currently a PhD researcher in the School of Education at University of Birmingham. Having previously worked as a teacher of Geography/Politics and Deputy Housemistress, I am now researching different understandings and types of Global Citizenship and ways they can be developed within schools. It is my hope that this study will provide an insight into current practices in UK schools across the International Baccalaureate and A level settings, such that, we can learn from each other and find new ways of developing global citizenship within schools. This research has been reviewed by University of Birmingham's Humanities & Social Sciences Ethical Review Committee.

Requirements

Please note, you must be a **current** practicing teacher delivering either the A level qualifications or full IB Diploma. You can also be included if you are a current member of a Senior Leadership Team but not actively teaching in the classroom. Both males and females are encouraged to participate, as well as any ethnicity.

Participants' Rights

You can drop out of the study at any time up until April 2023 and request that any data you have provided is withdrawn or destroyed. After April 2023, your data will have been used to inform analysis and conclusions of the research.

You can also refuse to answer any of the questions. You have the right to have your questions about the procedures of this study answered. If you have any questions after reading the information on this page, you should ask the researcher.

Risks

Participation in this study may involve answering potentially difficult or sensitive questions, especially those related to views of other cultures, specific school and national policies and sense of identity. Your responses are, however, entirely anonymous and cannot be traced back to you.

Confidentiality

All data gathered from your participation will remain completely anonymous throughout the entire process and cannot be linked back to you. You will not be asked your name or identifying

information such as an address. Only I will have access to the raw data. All data will be stored in an encrypted folder only accessible to me. The purpose of the study is to understand your own views on global citizenship, how it is constructed within your school and integrated into teaching practices across several different subjects.

For Further Information

I would be glad to answer any questions about the study at this time. If you would like the results of this study, please contact me by email. All schools and senior leadership teams will be offered a summary of the findings as well as possible ideas for constructing global citizenship education within school. Please find our contact information below.

Please answer yes or no to the following statements:

I consent to the researcher observing one or some of my lessons within school.

Yes/No

I consent to an interview with the researcher.

Yes/No

I consent to be video recorded during my interview.

Yes/No

I consent to have my responses used for the purposes of data analysis and conclusions for this research.

Yes/No

I consent to my data being stored in an encrypted folder accessible only to the researcher.

Yes/No

I understand that I can drop out of the study at any time until April 2023

Yes/No

Appendix 15: Summary Notes from Site

Greenlane Summary

Interpretations/Definitions of Global Citizenship Education

a) Understanding other cultures
   - Student 5 argued definition linked to exploration of opinions, experiences, and responsibility. Importance of teachers exposing students to diverse perspectives
   - Student 7 agreed, arguing GCE "requires you to understand that your way of thinking is not the only way that exists".
   - Student 6 relates GCE to open-mindedness, respect for others and communication.
   - Head of EE/Maths teacher argued GCE relates to understanding of other cultures. Later expanded in relation to her own subject – exploring new ideas/challenges with an open mind
   - Head of T&L also referenced understanding perspectives and voice but equally not silencing.
   - Chemistry teacher referenced student "recognition of place in the world and ability to interact and consider the world around them…viewpoints from around the world from different communities." IBCP Co-ordinator agreed in relation to embracing other cultures and being a "citizen of the world".
   - IBCP referenced use of different languages as key, but GCE is more in relation to cultural sensitivity.
   - Student 4 interview discussed thinking beyond artificial boundaries "kind of not letting that limit you in how you act…if you're a global citizen you're trying to see things from other people's points of view".
   - IBDP understanding multiple perspectives and cultures beyond stereotypes – inclusive of history and current events.

b) Acting/Responsibility to Act
   - Student 8 referenced community action in relation to climate change/interconnective action in relation to sustainability
   - Student 7 referenced the role of government practice and social/political responsibility i.e. collective action in relation to climate.
   - Student 6 agreed GCE is about coming together individually and collectively via government action this was supported by Physics teacher in relation to empathy and collaboration.
   - Student 1 argued for "togetherness" in relation to addressing global issues e.g. environment.
   - Head of T&L argued GCE relates to responsibilities on micro-levels/personal choice as well as large structural focus.
   - IBCP co-ordinator referenced helping others "importance of doing that is of global value".

- English teacher argued the need to teach "our children that the idea of a country is made up concept…only moral way to be a citizen is to be a citizen of the world, meaning you take responsibility for people in countries all over the world as well as the world itself".

c) Critical Understandings
- Student 7 argued issues in relation to Eurocentricity particularly in UK via media and education.
- Head of T&L whilst pro-diversity of voice, issued concerns about silencing others. "Allowing a pluralism of voices...element of global citizenship of healthy debate and democracy I think needs to be thought about very carefully alongside things like decolonizing the curriculum".
- English Teacher argued "when we are all working together, that's presupposing that we're all working on the same idea of development…developing to become more like us".
- "Talk about the paradox or how do you tolerate intolerance…we try to talk about right and wrong" discussions related to "universal rights and legal struggles with when a person is a person" i.e. questioning right/wrong dichotomy.
- Student 4 argued that understanding other cultures also links to changing opinions "searching for new information not just the people you see in your daily life".

d) Knowledge of contemporary issues
- Student 6 argued that whilst travel was not necessary for GCE, education was fundamental to understanding other ways of knowing.
- Head of T&L argued that responsibility must act in conjunction with knowledge of global issues and different perspectives.
- Student 1 argued need for knowledge as well as action.

    Student 7 referenced the importance of global citizenship from an economic standpoint – preparation for University.
    Head of T&L referenced "skills" e.g. problem solving alongside knowledge. "Is global citizenship about the ability to make academic connections beyond that there are certain skills you need…maybe. I don't know".
- Student 2 referenced need to abide "by cultural norms and regulations that have been almost set out for us by others…playing your part".

Enactments of GCE

IBDP Co argues that British values are not separate but complementary – empowering teachers. In IB it's just more explicit in mark schemes. "They are empowering teacher to move away from outdated models of this is my worldview and this is what you need to believe".

English teacher struggled with British values because they are not British – "indicative of Britain's view of itself as whole as being the centre of the world. There's a lot of overlap between the ideal learner profile and British values." "I have a problem with the word tolerance – the ideas that you graciously just accept something." Also questions the need to push right/wrong from the government.

1. Pedagogical Practices
   - IBDP co-ordinator argues that the biggest difference between A level and IB is pedagogical approach with the A level being more teacher centred and content heavy.
   - Argues that the IB is "adult centred education." As opposed to knowing advantages/disadvantages the student needs to connect knowledge via inquiry and "ingraining those skill sets as ATL skill sets." "students are constantly exposed to the evaluation aspect…its less about memorising…and more about articulating a justification for one course of action over the other".
   - History department argues that often responsibility falls to humanities to deliver current affairs training. Always connect historical content to current affairs
   - Textbooks are rarely used (Physics teacher)
   - Chemistry teacher aims to provide some content but often uses "the research route.
   - Chem teacher referenced students using their other subjects to bring into lessons – engaging with content in different ways. He argued this is different to A level students who often do Chem, Maths, Physics and only think in certain ways.
   - English teacher "I teach them there's no such thing as a right choice. Every decision has consequences".
   - Maths teacher argues the importance of contextualising maths and teaching the history behind it to understand links.
   - English teacher "they become reflective and non-judgmental…reflection on your rights and saying I did not take into account my privilege as a white man".
   - English teacher argued "it's really important to model to them that everyone is wrong/flawed." Example given in reference to hijab being forced but student said it was the Shah (who is presented as free choice) who banned wearing the veil but wanted to wear it.
   - Student 4 referenced teaching styles linked to debates – "allows us to kind of explore".
   - Student 4 referenced weekly science discoveries discussed in Biology linked to TOK and ways of knowing. Students research and present on new and current research in the field. "It enables you to develop your interest rather than your interest kind of being decided for you or steered in one way".
   - Student 3 referenced her Economics teacher using life experience to draw on in lessons – reference to time in Lebanon and using student experience of Brazilian parents to explore inflation.

2. Content/Assessment

   - Key point from Physics teacher – there is not a "spec" but a guide to help you teach the subject and things not in the guide may come up. He argues the premise behind this is putting students in unfamiliar situations, encourage wider reading and understand application in different ways than they have been taught.
   - IBDP argues the EE "personal inquiry and inculcating the skill sets".
   - Economics teacher/IBDP argued he regularly brings in economic theory, juxtaposes US federal reserve with Bank of England and European Central Bank. Uses micro and macro-economic theory and considers impacts from different country/cultural perspectives. "The truth is, the science doesn't change, economics doesn't change. It's just trying to understand the approach of the country".

- Head of T&L argues geographical component much stronger in IB history – compare regimes rather than look at the chronologic and internal comparison as in A level.
- In English, Student 5 discussed the teaching of Post-Colonial Nigerian author – coming of age story that students then consider through multiple lenses (Marxism, Post-Colonialism, Mental Health)…"they make it clear the White Western influence on their culture and how harmful it is in many scenarios…helps me become a lot more cautious that I look out more for when I like I read different stuff".
- English teacher argued students must groundwork in global issues via literature or media. Provides them with diverse options – wants to do an Arabic text to accommodate those in the class.
- English teacher argued that Anthropology embodies and criticised GCE more than any other.
- Student 1 referenced Internal Oral in English must be linked to global issues. Select 2 from 9 studied works and discuss a global issue covered in both e.g. objectification of women, white saviour complex.
- MFL teacher argued diversity in the French guide allows for development of French in different contexts – students study examples of media/literature from French speaking world such as Morocco or Canada. IB listening exam includes regional/global accents.
- MFL teacher argues IB differs from A level in relation assessment. A level students have a translation and grammar questions, but it is assessed via an essay at IB. Focus is on understanding and communication.
- Maths teacher referenced Paper 3 of HL Analysis is problem solving two questions 55 marks "stuff that is not in the curriculum…step further from something that have learned and need to discover" (recent change). They argue this is more linked to developing "mathematical thinkers."
- Student 4 referenced the study of authoritarian leaders, critically evaluating impact across societal levels and geographical comparison of leadership (Hitler, Mussolini, Mao, Stalin). "I don't think you can understand how someone came to power if you don't understand the culture and context before".
- TOK exhibition – students have prompts they choose and must discuss how different academic fields might perceive them.

3. Nature of the IB Diploma

- IBDP Co-ordinator is predicated on specific characteristics to produce "agile learners in a volatile world." "helping students have an articulate understanding of different academic disciplines…helps you understand the world that you live in in a different way".
- Physics teacher "the whole purpose of IB is to make the world a better place and believe in what it does for kids around the world".
- IBDP "through the act of learning about different disciplines and academic disciplines many of the classes are jumping from one country's approach to another country."
- IBDP "IB takes a whole different approach. It's not – knowledge is peripheral to the development of the student".
- Chemistry teacher agreed arguing the flexibility of the IB – designed to be taught in different languages and broader but within local context.

- IAs in each subject encourage practical experience and experiments (IBDP Co-ordinator). Physics teacher agreed the key difference in Science relates to IAs. Chem also referenced the value of IAs in relation to problem solving "solve It based on what you've been taught and how to apply equations" to a personal setting.
- History teacher referenced the freedom of choice in relation to IB which can enhance GCE (example given related to cultural revolution China). MFL teacher agreed in relation to book choice – language learning linked to student interests rather than "classic texts."
- History teacher argued that teachers rarely focus exclusively on academic attainment as a measure of success.
- Unlike head of T&L, history teacher argued that "soft skills" relating to academic skills and communication is inherently linked to GCE "giving students confidence is something that without that they will never be great global citizens." Head of T&L does argue however that "everything in the way that the idea is constructed gets them to think about those connections to the wider world, be that through what they are learning or the skills".
- MFL teacher argues the nature of the IB enables all language learning to continue which links to GCE.
- Physics teacher references the nature of the IB as more student focused learning driven by them and broader content "things about quantum mechanics that are less examinable when you actually learn it, but they do because it's just important to learn whereas in the A level it's all very practical, tangible stuff, which I can assess you on properly".
- Student 4, in reference to TOK said "your kind of exploring it for the purpose of understanding it better in the end and having a more critical mind in a way to the things that are out there". They argued that their views had been "challenged" as a result of taking the IB.
- Student 1 EE on cultural practices regulating capitalism and the effects on women in Niger – teacher prompt and then explore. (Social Anthrop HL)

4. Extra-Curricular
   - 6th form mentoring programme for young language learners.
   - CAS work with the American School in London to plan a conference for different schools on culture and identity. Guest speakers etc
5. Parental Roles
   - The role/approaches pf IB parents is different according to IBDP coordinator. UK context arguably leads to expectations from parents.
6. TOK/CAS
   - IBDP said "TOK…start with a critical evaluation of what knowledge is and your relationship to knowledge. And one of those ideas is stepping back and critically evaluating the impact of bias on your own understanding about things, also trying to take different perspectives and examine ethical constraints."
   - Argues that the core is the key to skills development "those skills that are going to create agile learners, help students react to an unpredictable future." Relate CAS to service learning and being open-minded (local context)
   - History teacher "TOK is probably one of the best programmes to get the kids to think about themselves because they've never thought about things in the way TOK makes

them" (reference to individualism in relation to GCE). Interesting response on Maths and asking students to be open to the interpretation of maths as a way of knowing.
- Head of EE argues that the independence of the EE is more about the journey, reflection, and personal engagement.
- Service learning according to IBCP is about being a better person and helping (less critical than Sevenoaks approach). One of the 7 learning outcomes is global engagement. Used example of dementia as a global issue - tenuous

7. Whole School
- WA house heroes related to the values of GCE.
- Chem teacher referenced innate diverse nature of the school linked to GCE and global mindset in-built (countered with Sevenoaks)

Challenges/Tensions

A number of students references a disconnect between GCSE and IB as a major hurdle.

1. Personal vs Collective
- Head of T&L referenced GCE in relation to personal development as opposed to collective responsibility, yet it can function as both. History teacher agreed it was related to personal growth.
- IBCP Coordinator thinks aspects of learner profile come through naturally as part of reflection. Is this true?
- English teacher argued often the open-minded students choose anthropology so other students can miss out despite diversity.
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2. Is it valued?
- Chemistry teacher did argue that the IB Chem course was still content focused in order to reach a specific level for University/HE.
- Chemistry teacher also (similar to Head of T&L at Sevenoaks) argued it is entirely possible to succeed in IB "having never considered the global concept" and questions whether students see the value or simple want top marks (this disagrees with students at WA)
- Head of EE did reference the value of EE in relation to skills and University (disagrees with History teacher)
- Head of T&L said GCE is no longer a strategy just embedded in the school practices.
- Issues with engagement of reflections in CAS
- Student 4 did reference teaching to the exam: "you do need to learn it in that way because of the exams whereas TOK there is not really a right answer". Student 2 agreed – "you still have to hit those marks and get a good grade".
- Student 7 referenced the fact the IB is designed to "prep for Uni, So they sort of lead you down the academia route, so every IA is supposed to be kind of an academic paper" (also an enactment)
- Student 7 "at the end of the day you are taught for the exams. That is the goal you're working towards" BUT "I can't tell how much of it is the IB curriculum says you should be focused towards exams and how much of it is a British interpretation of the IB code".
3. Teacher Training

- IBDP Co – argues that schools sometimes don't ground IB learner profile in the traits.
- IBDP coordinator argues A level is too content heavy for teachers which leads to burn out.
- English teacher referenced experience in Tanzania. African history was an option but not taught despite content due to lack of resources and training".
- Student 6 and 7 referenced the role of teachers – access to global issues/discussions related to training and personal interest. "I think we do often study books that focus or are palatable for a UK audience".

4. Content:
   - Chemistry teacher argued that the Sciences are more akin to A level in approach (Maths and Physics disagree)…"you just need to know that content level no matter where you are and what course/programme setting because you need to get to University in all these countries" "the actual teaching of the content you just need to teach."
   - Problem solving paper in Maths is only HL could other students be missing out?
   - Head of T&L argues issues in History related to depth of knowledge and chronological diversity focus is more geographical.
   - Head of T&L argues TOK teaches a very specific kind of thinking related to philosophy which can be a challenge and IB history forces a specific way of thinking which is more global but not always applicable academically/professionally.
   - English teacher argued IB can still be western. Example given on TOK Indigenous communities is good by "suggesting that Indigenous knowledge systems are somehow different to the correct scientific knowledge".
   - Student 4 argued that time pressure is an issue and there isn't time to discuss/explore in depth in lessons so much of the onus is placed on students to research themselves.
   - Student 2 argued that Physics is still dominated by white men and in Chemistry Paper 1 "they are just testing to see if you can remember it".

5. Definition
   - Head of T&L argued that critiquing epistemological issues in history is not GCE but rather academic understanding. Problems with connecting more critical definitions to practice perhaps?
   - Head of T&L questions the balance between diversity of voice and cancelling others on the basis they are "offensive" but what is offensive depends on the person/cultural context. E.g. Pro Decolonising the curriculum but thinks it's also important to include the more conservative voice for true pluralism. "Murky territory of de-platforming somebody." English teacher agrees they are concerned that they have a tendency to demonise those with more right-wing views.
   - Student 6 argued that lack of clarity in GCE "they don't use the words specifically it's just implicitly linked".

6. The A level.
   - IBDP Coordinator argued that A level tends to run on preconceived notions of culture and understanding that is stereotypical and problematic.
   - IBDP Co "When you teach A level Economics you would only talk about the BoE and rarely make these massive comparisons".

- IBDP argues the A level often becomes more transactional because "students pick the subjects they are strongest at because they want to achieve good results because much of education in UK is driven on external assessments".
- "When students become hyper focused on A levels, it really neglects a lot of the peripheral growth that students can have".
- IBDP "the A level curriculum is based on what we thought the world was as it was in the past – where hyper focused narrow specialisation was preferable to a very broad articulate liberal education…"
- In reference to A levels, Student 4: "I think every discipline in a way makes you think about things in certain ways and develop certain ways of thinking. And I think if you limit it, you will limit your strengths or other things. If you do Physics, Math, and Chemistry they are very similar kind of ways of seeing the world and your kind of seeing the world through one lens and one kind of knowledge. It can be quite limiting to people in the future because you will always be using this lens in a way to look at things. And I think by keeping it so broad it making you develop these different ways and actually thinking that I could look at it from this perspective".
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7. IB Set up:
- English teacher referenced cost of IB to run as a limiting factor.
- English teacher argues the spec is too free which can cause stress and disconnect with GCSE.

- History teacher argued the GCE should not be explicitly taught because it would be superficial "would just be another thing they're being told" IBCP coordinator differed saying "I don't think you can say we have lots of different cultures so then we are global."
- History teacher argued that IB often caters to students already engaged in global network – "children of diplomats and the upper echelons of society".
- The GCSE issue – History, Maths and students all argued GCSE does not set them up adequately for IB. IBDP Co argues that continuity across PYP and MYP is key to inquiry driven learning, engaging with communication and skills development. "What they prioritize is fundamentally different…easy for students to have a transactional approach to education".
- IBDP Co argued it can be difficult to teach GCE in a British context or specific location – students "felt uncomfortable when we started to deviate".
- English teacher argued one can avoid GCE in the course e.g. spec asks for different geographical contexts but one could do England and USA.
- Student 7 referenced disconnect between the course and the exams – "not a good way of testing kids' abilities…I think it makes it very formulaic".

Opportunities to integrate GCE.

- Student 5 argued that whilst different perspectives were proffered in history in relation to Cold War, Russian and Chinese History – would like to read more translated historical works than those in English because it is limiting.

- Head of T&L "benefits of either-or program you've got pros and cons for both…people at policy level are now more and more considering the breadth of the IB to be of benefit to being able to deal with the challenges of modern life".
- IBDP "we need to prioritise adaptability and grit, resilience over everything else".
- English teacher wanted to remove world lit because it has connotations of "non-Western" and positive about new focus on translated texts.
- English teacher argued you can never have truly objective learning…e.g. the fact we don't teach about colonialism is a choice and that is indoctrinating students by not understanding the full history of the UK.
- Student 7 referenced discussions/panels with teachers on text selection for IB and choosing texts relating to the cohort also fewer "written by white men and British" (in relation to GCSE)

Appendix 16: Comparison Table Enactments of GCE

Sub-topic one: Pedagogical Practices

Themes	Similarities within schools	Similarities between schools	Differences within schools	Differences between schools
Student-led learning (research and discussion) vs teacher led	Riverside – students and staff referenced regular discussions/discussion based: - Head of Pol argued importance of avoiding indoctrination/balanced argument. - See also English, Theology/History Use of research/contemporary events at start of each lesson at G (History, students reference Bio and Physics)	All 4 schools mentioned use of discussion-based learning driven by students. Riverside use of textbooks and Towers student reference to use of textbooks for teaching Maths challenge at T and Head of Maths at G on problem solving.	Differences across subject types – Bio/Science teachers reference to teach, model, and apply (R – Haber Process) Physics vs Chem teacher at on student vs teacher led. Chem was reticent to "go down research route… so much stuff is limitless" vs Physics who was more student led	Physics teacher v student led at G whereas students at R focus on teacher delivery then application in STEM (supported by IBDP) and see also lesson obvs Geography R T students more frequently referenced application of knowledge and copied off the board
Working with/adapting to your learners and curriculum	Economics and Politics teachers at R argued Westernised nature of the curriculum e.g. liberalism. Agreed spec is limited in choices. Student also mentioned Politics Lessons Changes within the English curriculum (R) - Students referenced change to Derek Wilcot - Teacher went out of her way and learned course for another book. - Students (focus group 3) linked Derek W and Handmaids tale, feminism. Studying poetry from a difference place in the world Both Head of T&L and English at G referenced looked at OWN practice, introspection and tackling own bias.	English teacher at G also changed reading spec but argued that student panel said focus was VERY focused on race and wanted more on mental health, religion, classism/privilege. Teacher wants to do Arabic texts. English lesson linked to dangers of single story/used of media. Switch out Jane Eyre. This was similar to the R English Department Students at R and G argued the importance of discussion/debates. - G "we are taught both sides of the story". - Student in G Eng H also switched English books see G and R		T, unlike all others, still focused on old books – American or British based.
Making GCE everyday practice	Regular practices/habits. Head of T&L referenced history reflecting on current affairs and student talked about weekly science discoveries. H – connections across subjects. See Bio lessons and lesson observation for Philosophy. Regular links to TOK	Teaching of contextual history (haber process – chem at R), English at Leys and SohCahToa – maths at G. Student referenced the philosophical side of Maths. T Economics – whats going on in news similar to G on		Head of T&L at H vs teacher at G on implicit vs explicit teaching of GCE via difference. Need to reflect on ways cultural differences are presented/manifested.

		links to contemporary issues. T student referenced sociology application to real life experiences similar to G		
Teaching different perspectives		English teacher at G and History teacher at T – use of voice and other perspectives Both G (IBDP) and H discussed interconnectivity across subjects. Use of TOK (see TOK) as part of Bio lessons and student at G discussed how maths made her better at history. Teaching of other cultures (Japanese) and perspectives similar to English teacher at G. Sevenoaks? H and G use of diversity in the classroom (English at G), student at Sevenoaks reference English and connecting with students Head of TOK at H and G English exposing students to other cultures and Western perspectives (deeper than R) - Way language is taught at G and H similar – consider language in different contexts and the class themselves. See lesson on French and Russian origins of words VERY different to A level. Use of students in class common theme across G and H. Adapting to learners in front of you intentionally. See G link to Brazil. T sociology teacher not teaching single perspectives (see all other schools) Similar to English G, students at T referenced studying class differences via school swap and classism. Positive but could be reinforcing difference?		

What is the focus (see challenges relating to pressures of the system)				Focus on G really driving individual learners. Students all referenced research, academic journals beyond the grade whereas T and R students focused on different views FOR essays/exams. Same as teachers focus on exams. H student (and Head of T&L) said everyone tells us that no-one will remember the grades in stark contrast to Leys/DGS where focus is attainment Exams – head of T&L Sevenoaks conscious that some teaching unrelated to exams. Teachers at R VERY focused on content related to exams. Perhaps because A level SO content heavy.