

Developing The Global Gaze In Citizenship Education: Exploring The Perspectives Of Global Education NGO Workers In England

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ABSTRACT The field of global education in the UK consists of a wide range of individuals and organisations working for the greater integration of global issues and global social justice values into mainstream schooling. This paper draws upon a recent research project which sought to discover how activists in this field aim to distribute and transmit educational knowledge (particularly in the context of new citizenship education initiatives).

In order to highlight the pedagogic ideals and perspectives of those outside formal schooling working to influence the curriculum, I refer to data obtained from interviews with 32 global education NGO workers in England. Issues of citizenship education, curriculum boundary and critical pedagogy are considered in this exploration of how global educators conceptualise the ‘global learner’ and the ‘global teacher’. As an interdisciplinary theme global education has developed strong links with citizenship education and there have been a number of calls for global citizenship education. However this paper argues that the unclear knowledge base and mixed pedagogic messages of global education and global citizenship education can be problematic for teacher training programmes and teachers working within the performance-based pedagogy of mainstream schooling.

Introduction

Global Education in England has experienced something of a rejuvenation in recent years in the light of new citizenship education initiatives and government recognition of the need for ‘an international dimension’ in education (www.globalgateway.org). This paper considers the perspectives of 32 global education Non-Governmental Organisation (NGO) workers from a wide range of NGOs in England who have been working to include a global dimension in schools, partly by working with the new Citizenship Curriculum (statutory at Key Stages 3 and 4 [ages 11-16] in England and Wales from 2002; DfEE/QCA 1999) and by working more closely with teacher training programmes. I refer to interview data collected in 2003-4 through open-ended interviews with a sample of global educators in the England structured to elicit responses about the pedagogy and curriculum of global education. This sample did not include all organisations, individuals or global education traditions active in the UK, rather it concentrated on providing a snapshot of the situation in England – a country with an identifiable history of global education (see Heater 1980; Hicks 2003; Holden 2000). Interview

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data was supplemented with other documentary sources from related policies and websites.

In this paper I make reference to a sociological conceptual language and the work of global education theorists and practitioners. I begin with the contextual by outlining the field of global education in England before moving on to discuss some of the data – that is the pedagogic and curricular perspectives of global educators. The second half of the paper focuses upon the relationship between the teaching of global education and citizenship education by continuing to draw upon the perspectives of those working to promote global education and notions of global citizenship in schools.

Introducing the field of global education in England

Global education is interpreted here very broadly as an umbrella term covering a range of related educational traditions – such as development education, world studies education or human rights education – advocating the greater integration of global issues and global social justice values into mainstream schooling. Many of these traditions also work actively outside mainstream schooling in civil society, but the focus of this research has been those who work with schools and/or teachers particularly at secondary level (Key Stage 3 and 4 [ages 11-16] in line with the statutory Citizenship Curriculum which officially endorses a global dimension).

Global education has been described as an adjectival (Davis et al 1990:17) and holistic (Noddings 2005) educational form and it has often been associated with a critical pedagogic approach (such as the work of Paulo Freire, 2005) as the following quote suggests;

*Global education encompasses the strategies policies and plans that prepare young people and adults for living together in an interdependent world. It is based on the principles of co-operation, non-violence, respect for human rights and cultural diversity, democracy and tolerance. **It is characterised by pedagogical approaches based on human rights and a concern for social justice which encourage critical thinking and responsible participation.** Learners are encouraged to make links between local, regional and world-wide issues and to address inequality. (Osler and Vincent, 2002:2, my emphasis).*

Although this definition appears lucid, my research revealed much ambiguity associated with the terminology – whilst some interviewees were comfortable using the term global education (particularly the younger generation), many were not. Some of the terms used in interviews for this research include: global education; global perspective; global dimension; education for global children's rights; education for a global community; development education; education for global social justice; sustainable development education; education for global understanding; and, relevant to this discussion, global citizenship education. Whilst citizenship education is clearly linked to global education in some ways (as suggested by Davies, Evans and Reid 2005), the pedagogy and history of the latter is distinct from that of citizenship education (as explored by Heater 1980; 1984) – furthermore not all global educators in this research necessarily believe global citizenship education to be an objective or indeed possible.

Over the last sixty years or so the movement for global education in England (and the UK more widely) has consisted of a variety of different traditions each with their own distinct histories, pedagogic approaches and objectives – I call the movement a ‘field’ because it most effectively caters for this heterogeneity. Some of these traditions advocate the same sort of pedagogy and global knowledge whilst others do not. Sets of data from two interviews in particular helped inform the following list of traditions associated with global education (to which more examples and further detail could be added, see Heater 1980; Hicks and Townley 1982; Selby 2001): *world studies/future studies* with its roots in education for justice, equity and sustainable futures using participatory learning approaches; *human rights education* which is guided by the UN Declaration of Human Rights; *North-South linking* with its concern for a better understanding of the South; traditional development education more concerned with sustainable development and with traditional development education as its knowledge base; *development education in the era of globalisation* which is a more recent tradition with globalisation theory as its knowledge base challenging some of the ideas of traditional development theory (differences explored in Schuurman 2001); *global citizenship education* which is a tradition working with current official discourse and through citizenship education; *Christian global education* which is about understanding global interdependence and issues of justice with an underlying Christian message; *environmental and sustainable development education*; and *African, Southern and anti-racist global education* which might be more effectively articulated as a collection of separate traditions. International, national and regional NGOs in the field some are often linked to one or a combination of these traditions, and the strength of the tradition often relates to the position of the NGO within the field. For example, the education sections of agencies such as Christian Aid-UK or the Catholic Association for Overseas Development-UK (CAFOD) have had the financial and professional support of the parent organisation and have been able to fund and produce resource production which emphasise the Christian global education and/or development education traditions. Alliance between traditions has not always been easy and furthermore some traditions have experienced internal disparities over definitions and meanings. For example, development educationalists have disagreed on the significance of globalisation and the changing political climate of the last fifteen years (Schuurman 2001), this was revealed when one interviewee differentiated between traditional development education and development education in an era of globalisation.

In recent years the field of global education has adapted to a changing political, technological, academic and international climate. My research identified at least seven core internal and contextual themes affecting the processes of change and development within the field in the last decade including: the co-ordination of global education NGOs and consolidation of global education traditions; the continued significance of a few key individuals; the increased emphasis on working with teachers (particularly with citizenship teachers) and teacher educators; the increased interest of official or governmental educational institutions and individuals in global education; the broadening media coverage of the global agenda; the growing interest and concern about globalisation and its meanings and effects upon society (and education); and the new world threats provoking new calls for global education and global understanding. In this context the movement for global education has been strengthening and consolidating its position within some universities, journals and schools. The manner in which global education has begun to feature in UK postgraduate degrees (such as new Masters Degrees in York and Plymouth

Universities) and academic journals has been particularly important. This has meant that the knowledge base of global education has now obtained more clearly identifiable roots. Meanwhile from the late 1990s increased funding and endorsement has been made available through governmental channels, first from the government Department for International Development (DfID), and later from the Department for Education and Skills (DfES). However it is important to remember the marginal status that global education retains in the official educational arena of government departments, the state and local education authorities – it represents a tiny fraction of the work of DfID and the DfES, who respectively have different political goals and educational remits; DfID being guided by its goals of international development and poverty alleviation, DfES having a more specific educational agenda in relation to curriculum, skills and assessment.

In the last few years global educators have re-examined the position of the field of global education vis-à-vis official centres of educational power – during the 1980s especially some elements of the field had become ensnared in oppositional politics and were strongly criticised by those on the political right such as Scruton (1985) concerned about educational indoctrination amongst other things. Global educators active today find themselves working within an educational movement that seeks educational change but simultaneously official support and recognition. Arguably, this complex relationship has compelled global educators to make compromises (particularly in relation to the critical nature of global education pedagogy) and become better co-ordinated (in relation to curriculum and how organisations and activists work with one another and with teachers).

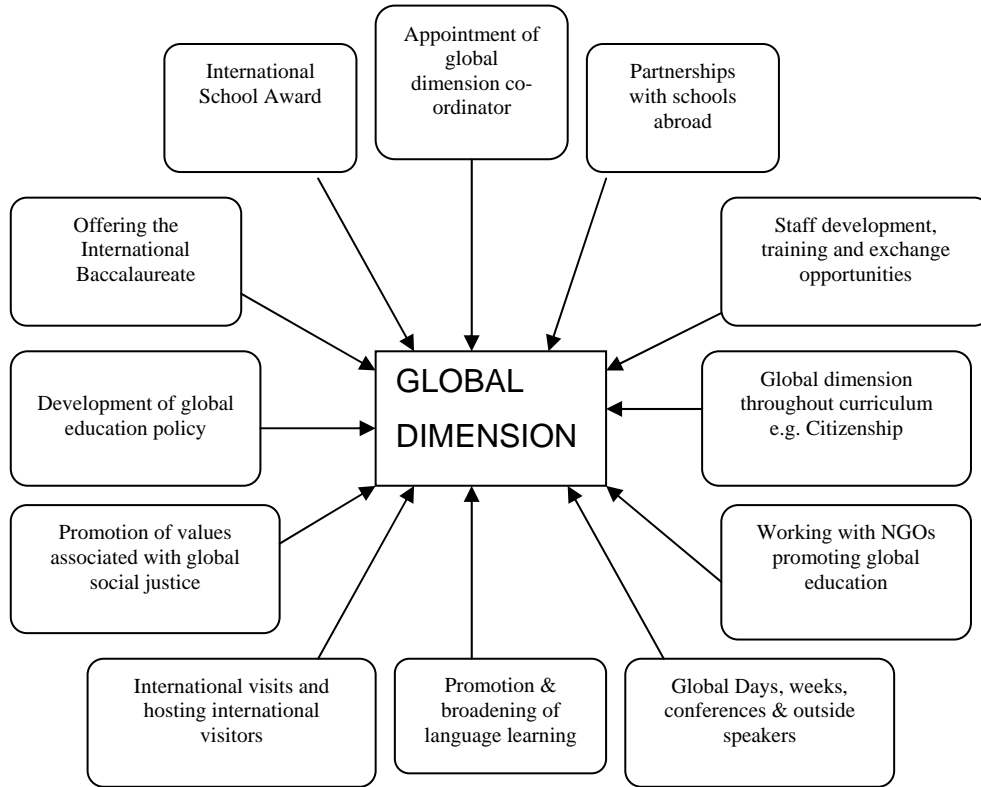
Getting global education into schools

NGOs and individuals in the field suggest that global education can be delivered in a variety of ways in schools, and Figure 1 illustrates some of the ways schools can develop a ‘global dimension’. This figure incorporates the chosen terminology of the NGO/DFES/DFID 2000a document *Developing a Global Dimension in the School Curriculum* and some of the criteria of the British Council’s International School Award (awarded to schools in the UK since 1998 who can prove that they have developed an international dimension; see www.britishcouncil.org).

Working with a variety of these methods, some NGO global educators attached particular significance to the relationship between the new Citizenship Curriculum (DfES/QCA 2000) and global education, even though not all global educators believed that citizenship would remain in its current form for long. It is possible that the Citizenship Curriculum recommendations with its particularly important ‘active citizenship’ strand complement the strong skills dimension of global education. However, some interviewees were aware of the low status of citizenship education and felt that it was more important to emphasise the curricular links between global education and more established National Curriculum subjects.

The implications of the marginal status of global education within the National Curriculum were clearly of concern to global educators. Some of this concern might be linked to the mixed pedagogic messages being imparted by the field. The next section will consider some of these pedagogic and curricular ideals of global educators before moving on to discuss the relationship between these and citizenship education.

Figure 1: Methods of developing a global dimension in schools



The pedagogic ideals of global education as articulated by global educators

In the study from which this article is derived I considered how global education curriculum was conceptualised by reviewing perspectives about the construction of curricular boundaries in relation to global education – this was done by collecting the pedagogic and curricular ideals of global education activists/NGO workers. I summarise some of these ideals below.

Conceptualising the ideal global education curriculum: policy and terminology

The ill-defined knowledge base of global education made it difficult to research how the field of global education engages in the processes of selecting and classifying curriculum - although suggested conceptual frameworks exist (for example the eight key concepts of the global dimension as suggested by DFES/DFID 2000a/2005, revisited later, or the five aims of global education identified by Pike and Selby 1988 [1]), the holistic ‘process’ of including global education is more often discussed.

It is evident that *something* ‘global’ was being recontextualised or reconstructed in global education and this something has adapted to an ever-changing globalising context. My exploration of different traditions within the field of global education suggested that in recent years each tradition has attempted to increase the direction

and scope of global educational knowledge. Despite the differences between most share important integrating values and ideals relating to *global social justice* and to a loose notion of *global citizenship*. Interviewees conceptualised global education and global education knowledge vis-à-vis these integrating values. Some organisations and/or traditions had more influence than others in that the more dominant voices had published/publicised their global education curriculum ideals in some form (such as Oxfam's *Curriculum for Global Citizenship*, 1997;2002).

It was interesting to collect perspectives about how a global education curriculum was understood in relation to international recommendations and national policies. Whilst some international policies were recognised as important by global educators (e.g. those relating to the United Nations Development Goals and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights), a surprising number of international human rights statements and policies relating to global education teaching and learning were rarely mentioned by activists and organisations (e.g. the UNESCO publications on education for human rights and international understanding, UNESCO 1974; 1995; 2002). Attention was more generally focussed on national educational policies such as DfID's white paper on *Eliminating World Poverty* (DfID 1997) or the *Citizenship Curriculum* (DfEE/QCA 1999). Documents relating specifically to global education such as *A Curriculum for Global Citizenship* (Oxfam 1997; 2002), *Citizenship Education: The Global Dimension* (published by the prominent umbrella NGO the Development Education Association [DEA] 2001a) or *Developing a Global Dimension in the School Curriculum* (DfES/DFID 2000a/2005) were cited most regularly. Interviewees made particular reference to the latter document (which is supported by governmental and non-governmental bodies) and the way it articulated global education – an example of which is given below;

Including a global dimension in teaching means that links can be made between local and global issues and that what is taught is informed by international and global matters... young people are given opportunities to examine their own values and attitudes, to appreciate the similarities between peoples everywhere, to understand the global context of their local lives, and to develop skills that will enable them to combat prejudice and discrimination. This in turn gives young people the knowledge, skills and understanding to play an active role in the global community. (DfES/DFID 2000a:2/2005)

In this recently updated document (2005), the eight key concepts underlying 'a global dimension to the curriculum' were identified as *citizenship, sustainable development, values and perceptions, interdependence, conflict resolution, human rights, diversity and social justice*. The document particularly emphasises the need for teacher training when developing this global dimension in the curriculum, saying that 'all teachers need the space to reflect on the purpose, benefits, meaning and implications of making the global dimension central to their practice' (DfES/DFID 2000a/2005:19).

Different global education traditions and concepts have been combined to shape NGO publications and resources such as *Get Global!* (Price 2002), and yet groups and individuals have simultaneously tried to carve out distinct 'niches' in the field. Some NGOs for example have become known for working on specific aspects of global education such as global children's rights or the importance of fair trade. Also some NGOs work predominantly with teachers and teacher training institutions,

whilst others prefer to work directly within schools with students. Overall the curriculum strategy of global educators and NGOs appeared to be aligned with the broader call for 'active' global social justice. Indeed, global educators were sometimes more concerned with the 'how' of global education rather than the 'what', in other words there appeared to be more clarity about the affective and participatory domains of global education than the cognitive. For example, whilst the concept of 'globalisation' appeared to feature as an important *topic* for global education, the knowledge base of global education itself seemed not to be rooted in any *theories* of globalisation – the same often applied to references to citizenship.

Mixed pedagogic messages

The research produced much data pertaining to global education pedagogy, teaching and learning. Global educators articulated two types of delivery in reference to the boundaries of global education and its relationship with the National Curriculum – either it permeated every curriculum subject, and/or it was treated as a separate theme perhaps through extra-curricula activity. The first 'permeation model' reflected the ideals of those in the field of global education, whilst the second 'separate theme model' (such as a module in citizenship or an extra-curricula event) reflected the anticipated pedagogic reality. It was implied that insufficient debate had taken place amongst global educators about the pedagogic relationship between global education and the National Curriculum specifically at Key Stage 3 and 4 (ages 11-16). Although global education NGO workers often preferred the permeation model of delivery in secondary schools (through all subjects), they appeared to be more confident about finding space within primary schools and 6th form age groups (16-18) sometimes bypassing the 11-16 age groups. An exception to this rule was the Citizenship Curriculum (DfEE/QCA 1999), since there is the official endorsement of a global dimension within the 'knowledge and understanding' section of this document and the active citizenship section suggests a potential participatory, critical pedagogy similar to the ideals of global educators.

The mixed pedagogic messages of global educators were manifested in other ways. Whilst some believed global education should embrace a visible or explicit pedagogy similar to that of mainstream schooling, other activists supported an invisible pedagogy relating to child-centred, progressive practice (Bernstein 1990). Where sequencing refers to the progression and pacing refers to the rate of acquisition, I suggest that two models of pacing and sequencing were discussed by interviewees – a more hierarchically structured model where local to global issues progress with age which seems to be more in keeping with the dominant knowledge structures of National Curriculum subjects, and a 'slice' model which identifies more the pedagogical ideals of global educators which involves teaching about all key concepts and local, national and global issues simultaneously no matter what the age of the student. If the field of global education is to be successful in its aim to work more closely with teachers and teacher trainers, it is not unreasonable to suggest that more continuity is required in these areas.

The global gaze

Global education NGO workers had much to say about the role of the mainstream classroom teacher. Interviewees described their ideal pedagogic relationships and visions of ideal global teacher and global learner. The empowering and democratic pedagogic relationships between teacher and student advocated by

the global educators (revealed in my research and conveyed by many of global educationalists in *Developing the Global Teacher*, Steiner 1996) suggested that global education had strong links with theories of participatory and child-centred learning. Global educators hoped that the student of global education would develop the appropriate gaze or global outlook. I have considered the ‘global gaze’ as a term denoting a specialised language or ‘a particular mode of recognising and realising’ a particular reality (a concept used by Basil Bernstein 2000:164) as espoused by global education. The ideal represented by global educators appears to be a matter of acquiring a social justice (and/or global citizenship) perspective or ‘gaze’. This pedagogic ideal may therefore prove to have a difficult relationship with the pedagogic perspectives of National Curriculum subjects. A critical global education might invite students to question hierarchical structures and transmission practices in schools.

Global educators articulated an ideal global learner that corresponded with an ideal global education teacher. I identified at least eight pedagogic ideals in relation to the delivery of global education in schools, many of which hinged upon every teacher (especially those at the senior management level) ‘embodying’ a notion of global justice and if possible, global citizenship. Figure 2 summarises the pedagogic ideals, structures and skills that were described by the global educators interviewed for this research.

Figure 2: The ideal global education pedagogy for schools

Eight Pedagogic ideals	The ideal model of the global learner	The ideal transferable skills
The inclusion of global education policy at all levels	<i>The Slice Model :</i> A slice of the whole student involves teaching her/his local, national and global identity simultaneously (as opposed to a hierarchical model which sequences local to national to global issues in relation to age incrementation)	<i>Critical thinking skills:</i> Questioning and critical awareness
Senior management supportive of global education agenda		
The appointment of an international or global education ‘co-ordinator’		<i>Research skills:</i> Information enquiry, collecting and selecting
The fostering of a ‘global’ school ethos in all parts of school life		
The integration of interactive, pupil-centred teaching methodology		<i>Communication skills:</i> How to argue and put up a defence
For all teachers to have experience of ‘the global’		
For all teachers to convey passion for the learning of global education		<i>Skills for envisioning the future</i>
For global education to happen ‘naturally’ in schools		

The global education gaze is therefore something that appears to be required of both the student and the teacher during the teaching and learning process. Some NGO workers suggested (albeit implicitly) that in order to successfully transmit this gaze to students, teachers need ideally to embody its principles. Ideally all teachers of global education should perceive the world in relation to values of global social justice – they should have obtained the gaze, embodied its principles and, most importantly, ‘act’ accordingly. Interestingly a recent piece of research on citizenship education provision found that ‘pupils see parents, teachers and politicians advocating some things while preaching or doing something else’ and that such contradictions ‘do not depress or alienate the young so much as disinterest them’ (Leighton 2004:179). These sentiments and concerns appeared to underlie global educators’ pedagogic ideals about the role of teachers of global education in mainstream schooling.

Looking for space in the National Curriculum for the global gaze: The relationship between global education and citizenship education

In the complex global context, the field of global education searches for space in the school curriculum. Although global educators considered the influence of official documents such as DfID’s white paper on *Eliminating World Poverty: A Challenge for the 21st Century* (DfID 1997) or the 1999 *McPherson Report* [2], they focused more upon the influences, opportunities and barriers offered by the National Curriculum and its cross-curricular themes and initiatives. For example, interviewees made reference to the UK’s Healthy Schools Initiative (www.wiredforhealth.gov.uk), the cross-curricular theme Education for Sustainable Development and, of course, specific global dimension in education documents (such as DEA 2001; Oxfam 1997; DfES/DFID 2000a/2005). Of particular significance were allusions to the Citizenship Curriculum (QCA 1999) and the National Curriculum (DfES 2000b) in general – even though opinions about both varied considerably with both being in receipt of some formidable attacks. In this section I will begin by focusing upon the relationship between global education and the National Curriculum.

Global education and the National Curriculum

It is important to note that there was a significant, but often indistinguishable difference between how global educators perceive the *ideal* and *reality* when considering global education’s relationship to the National Curriculum. This difference permeated answers given to questions about how global education relates to other subjects in the National Curriculum and what a global education curriculum consists. Underlying such answers was an understanding that global education represents an implicit challenge to the structures of the National Curriculum and the corresponding subject boundaries. Whilst global educators discussed the ideal situation where global education is cross-curricular and permeates all subjects (but without being a ‘box-ticking exercise’), there was a general recognition that this was not the situation in reality.

The relationship between the National Curriculum and global education is perceived to be determined by a variety of dimensions – in particular the role of the teacher and the ethos of the school. For example the following respondent from a large national NGO reflected upon the power of the teacher, more than National

Curriculum-related documents or examinations, to enforce and uphold curricular boundaries,

HM: What do you think the relationship is between National Curriculum subjects and global education? What do you see as the boundaries from your experience?

NGO worker: The boundaries are where teachers put them and that depends on what teachers know and what interests they have. My background is science teaching, and because I've had an interest in development I've tried to bring in development education or global issues wherever I can... I don't see a situation where global education is seen as a separate subject taught in the curriculum. So to actually cover it it's got to be taught through the other subjects...most subjects can cover an element as long as teachers are aware of how to do that.

HM: So it hinges quite a lot on teacher knowledge and teacher enthusiasm?

NGO worker: I think so, definitely. (Interview 1)

Another global educator from a similar sized NGO with a human rights focus considered the important role of teacher trainers, senior management staff and a school's overall ethos,

Well I think in reality it's hugely dependent on the ethos of the school. If you get strong and passionate and committed leadership in a school where the heads or departmental heads can see the need for a global dimension to be infused across the school, then it's natural for the biology department to look at some of the international dimensions of international consequences of genetic engineering for example.... and social issues like the impact of AIDS, I'm not sure where that would come in the curriculum, but it's having the imagination and the capacity to train teachers to be mindful of their responsibility in an increasingly interdependent world. (Interview 24)

The relationship between global education and National Curriculum subjects was sometimes discussed with confusion and this may be because there has been limited debate about the ideal or current relationship between global education and the National Curriculum, as a global educator of a national NGO who had been in the field for over ten years considered,

... what surprises me is the lack of debate there has been about the relationship of these development and global education movements with subjects. Theoretically there's a lot of connection with geography, but when we've had the debate on geography it's come back saying what we're really talking about is the concept of space. (Interview 5)

Nevertheless there does appear to have been debate about the relationship global education has with geography, religious education and more recently, citizenship. Data relating to the relationship between global education and citizenship education is now considered.

Global education and the Citizenship Curriculum

When interviewees were asked to comment upon the relationship between global education and the National Curriculum, the new Citizenship Curriculum featured regularly. This may have been because one of the first interview questions related to perceptions about the impact of citizenship upon the priorities of the related organisation and also data was collected during the first statutory year of the Citizenship Curriculum. Whilst responses about the level of impact of the Citizenship Curriculum ranged from very little influence to too much influence, a positive influence to a negative influence, it was clear that it had at least been a hot topic of debate for the field of global education. An overview of the sorts of influences the Citizenship Curriculum was perceived to be having is given in Figure 3, where one can see that the impact of citizenship especially relates to its creation of 'space' for global education and because of its pedagogy (which was argued to be 'at odds with the rest of the UK governments' perspective on learning). Certainly citizenship has had a mixed impact in the field of global education, as one person highlighted,

Obviously citizenship getting into the National Curriculum has been helpful, but like all these things, it's a bit of a two-way sword because, once it becomes mainstream, big players who've perhaps got more of a conservative agenda get stuck in there and kind of, perhaps the radical edge of citizenship gets a bit diluted in that people want something that's easy to digest and teach. You do end up with this checklist of things you have to do. At the same time it's obviously an opportunity because it raises the profile of global education. (Interview 27)

Figure 4 further analyses the reasons for citizenship's different receptions within the field of global education by highlighting the reasons interviewees gave for perceiving it to have a more positive or negative impact for the global education field.

Although the nature of the influence of citizenship was considered in different ways, nearly all discussion about the Citizenship Curriculum (in interviews or documents) made reference to the notions of 'global citizenship'. When NGO workers were later invited to respond to the relationship between global education and global citizenship education (and the corresponding notion of the citizen underlying global education), many continued to deconstruct and ponder the relationship between global education and the National Curriculum and the Citizenship Curriculum in particular. Perspectives about the kind of citizenship underlying global education reflected notions of active citizenship, equality and social justice within a global context. However there was a perception that the liberal-individualist 'official' definition of citizenship currently permeating the curriculum differs from that within the broader definition generally subscribed to by global educators, and considerable cynicism and reservations about the Citizenship Curriculum exist.

Figure 3: Perspectives about the influence of the citizenship curriculum upon global education

Level of influence	Illustrative quote from interviews
Little influence	‘...not a lot of influence on our priorities or work... but we have tailored our programmes to meet the citizenship requirements’
Some influence	‘It has given us better access to schools and it has created some space for us... but it will depend upon how seriously schools take it’
Strong influence	‘We’ve produced a series of resources to fit with the Citizenship Curriculum and have had interest from teachers who we haven’t had contact with in the past. It’s a great opportunity for us, and we’re able to make use of the citizenship strand within the subject areas and cover issues when citizenship is a subject in its own rights’
Too much influence	‘Too much, there is also a difference between Citizenship Curriculum as outlined in terms of its orders... and the language of citizenship... people are not clear and are using the terminology interchangeably’
A positive influence	‘It recognises the global dimension of the curriculum and there have been calls to work on global citizenship issues’ ‘It encourages the development education style and approach to learning’
A negative influence	‘There is a danger that people think it’s going to carry the whole global education agenda, and it can ghettoise the whole topic’

Figure 4: An overview of the impact of the Citizenship Curriculum – the range of influences

Positive	Negative
Provision of curriculum space for global education Raising the profile of global education An endorsement of global education pedagogy Resultant funding opportunities Opportunities to work with others in education Offering opportunities in teacher-training Offering a different style/ approach to learning Encouraging thinking about the notion of ‘citizen’ Raising the profile of human rights issues Raising the profile of anti-racism Influencing the production of resources	People ascribing too much influence to it Only a vague understanding of citizenship in the education sector Little influence on the priorities of field Suspicion about government priorities Global citizenship and issues having a low status Education about sustainable development as priority over other global issues Problems and complications in the field’s reaction to citizenship education

Looking at the history of where citizenship as a formal subject came from, there was a great focus on the need to engage people with the political process and understand national institutions. That wouldn't be my definition of citizenship. My definition of citizenship would be very much about understanding your role in decision making... your responsibilities and your rights as a citizen, what you can expect from other people, what you can expect from institutions, your part in those and also your part in the global economy and the global environment. So citizenship again doesn't necessarily equate with global citizenship but it ought to in my view. (Interview 7, national NGO worker from an environmental global education tradition)

I think the concept of citizen is actually quite tricky if you are looking at equality issues because the Citizenship Curriculum doesn't engage pupils with that. (Interview 31, interviewee from a national NGO with a focus on education about Africa)

Whilst some dispute existed about whether global citizenship education necessarily equated with global education (relating to the fact that global education does not always deal with democracy for example), most global educators appeared to be comfortable talking about global citizenship education in relation to the role of the teacher. There was a strong sense that global citizenship education discourse is more accepted today in the UK than fifteen years ago when terms like world citizenship were under attack (as also suggested in a recent international study by Schattle 2004),

What we were talking about in the early 1990s was totally rubbished, in that how can you be a world citizen? Which goes to show how much things can change because now everyone uses it. On its simplest terms... it's freedom of movement, of access, things like the internet, travel... it's an interesting point that you can debate for hours whether freedom to move around makes you a global citizen but it's one way of defining it. (Interview 26)

Interviewees envisaged the ideal global citizen where there was an identifiable set of morals and values and corresponding right and wrong behaviour;

There's a whole spiritual dimension of recognising the enormity of what it is to be a human being, the great potential, and reflecting the wonder of the earth to each other... having the right relationship with each other and the right relationship with earth... if we actually planned out what that would mean, I think it would come out as being a global citizen with all these things as part of it. (Interview 13)

Whereas discussion about citizenship education often incorporated a more binary discourse (i.e. citizenship as national versus global, the Citizenship Curriculum as positive or negative), global educators seemed more aware of, but less keen to articulate, the complexities of global citizenship education. Global citizenship was often talked about by posing a variety of questions, particularly in relation to the boundaries of citizenship – for example, interviewees probed the relationship

between the local, regional, national and global citizen (answers considered how citizenship in the current context involved the complex interplay of all these dimensions). Much reference was made in interviews to the Oxfam UK documentation on global citizen and the DEA's (2001) publication on a global dimension to citizenship education – although little reference was made to related websites such as the government funded www.citizenship-global.org.uk.

Ultimately global educators seemed concerned that there is still a lack of space within the National Curriculum for global education even as an interdisciplinary subject. However, a variety of factors such as the Citizenship Curriculum and the cross-curricular theme of sustainable development, seem to have raised the profile of the movement for global education – even if they do not, in reality, provide any curriculum space. Arguably the relationship between the National Curriculum and global education is not as contentious as it was in the late 1980s/early 1990s when it had a more marginal status (a period when the UK Conservative Party was in power and when the current National Curriculum was formally introduced). However, it appears that nearly all identified sources of hope and inspiration for global education are also potential barriers – citizenship, the role key government departments, the impact of globalisation, the National Curriculum and so forth. Underlying some of this uncertainty is an awareness of how different sources of knowledge and different curriculum disciplines vary in status, and that this status is determined by a variety of factors such as the dominance of economist, human-capital discourse within official, policy-making circles as illustrated in this quote from the government's statement of values, aims and purposes of the National Curriculum,

*Education is also a route to equality of opportunity for all, a healthy and just democracy, a **productive economy**, and sustainable development. (www.nc.uk.net, my emphasis)*

The global education field seems aware of the lesser status (perceived or real) attributed to subjects such as citizenship, PSHE (personal, social and health education), religious education and the humanities where global issues have traditionally been located, despite the fact that the National Curriculum's most recent statement of values goes on to emphasise the importance of such knowledge in the changing global, economic and political climate,

...education must enable us to respond positively to the opportunities and challenges of the rapidly changing world in which we live and work. In particular, we need to be prepared to engage as individuals, parents, workers and citizens with economic, social and cultural change, including the continued globalisation of the economy and society, with new work and leisure patterns and with the rapid expansion of communication technologies. (www.nc.uk.net)

Concluding remarks and areas for further investigation

There is a wide range of literature relating to global education and its related educational traditions and anyone interested may wish to consult those such as (Hicks 2002; 2003; and with Townley 1982), Holden (2000) Osler and Vincent (2002) and Pike (1990; 2000; and with Selby 1988) to name but a few. In another recent UK-based empirical study Davies, Harber and Yamashita (2005) also offer

some fascinating insights into current global education practice, and into teacher and pupil perspectives about global citizenship education. Over the last few years in England global education has developed strong links with citizenship education and there have been a number of calls for global citizenship education within the field of global education. However setting global education and citizenship education in the performance based pedagogic culture of the school – where assessment requirements are emphasised and curriculum boundaries are strong – creates a variety of barriers to developing the global gaze and places great emphasis on the role of the teacher.

One of the most regularly cited topics in relation to the inclusion of global education in mainstream schooling related to the importance of the inspirational global education teacher and the need for improved teacher training in this area (sentiments often reflected in global education literature, see Pike and Selby 1988 and Steiner 1996). Over the last two decades many NGOs in the field of global education in England have chosen to focus more upon teacher training as opposed to working directly with pupils inside schools. For example, the work of NGOs and key specialists in the field has been reflected in the work of the Global Teacher Project which works to promote global education through teacher training (www.globalteacher.org.uk), and last September saw the launch of a ‘Global Trainer’ Advanced Certificate in training for NGO workers, youth workers and other interested parties (a collaborative project between the Development Education Association and the Institute of Education, London). Teacher training and NGO worker training programmes in global education delivery and curriculum reflect a growing interest in the need to strengthen the relationship between the global education NGO worker and classroom teacher – and it seems citizenship education is a much discussed topic within this relationship and within these programmes.

This short paper suggests a number of areas for further debate and investigation for teachers, academics, citizenship and global education specialists. Firstly there is the need to explore further the relationship NGO workers have with schools, teachers and students in these areas. We could probe deeper into the knowledge base of global education and recognise that global citizenship education is a much disputed term and not necessarily something that will come through traditional models of citizenship or global education. We might want to urge teacher educators to encourage teachers (and where countries like England have them, citizenship teachers in particular) to take time to reflect upon the special relationship between citizenship and global education and the implications of this relationship for teaching and learning. Finally, where similar movements exist, it would be fascinating to explore some of the above issues comparatively at an international level.

NOTES

1. Firstly four dimensions of globality are identified – the spatial dimension, the temporal dimension, the issues dimensions and the human potential dimension – and these link to five key aims of global education: systems consciousness; perspective consciousness; health of the planet awareness; involvement consciousness and preparedness; and process mindedness (Pike and Selby 1988)
2. The McPherson Report was a report into the murder of a black teenager making a number of recommendations aimed at challenging racism and promoting cultural diversity including broadening the National Curriculum to include cultural diversity and monitoring the relationship between school admissions and levels of achievement and ‘ethnic’ origin.

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Global awareness has been representing a key feature of Italian education policy and practice, inspiring the scope and reach of these initiatives addressed to children, youth, adults and families. Against this backdrop, the recent political change as a result of the 2018 Italian general elections, marked an unprecedented turn in the way the work of NGOs is perceived and, on their possibility, to significantly contribute and be involved in GCE policy and practice. While the ongoing situation is still fluid, what seems to be at stake is the ethical foundation of the.Â Developing the Global Gaze in Citizenship Education: Exploring the Perspectives of Global Education NGO Workers in England. *International Journal of Citizenship and Teacher Education* 1 (2), 76â€“92.