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The moral dimension of Global Citizenship Education in the Province of Trento. Perspectives and practices of lower secondary school teachers in a context of local and global policy changes

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Abstract

Rising nationalism and populism, the threat of neo-fascism, increasing xenophobia and racism, the growth of violent extremism pose significant challenges to human rights and the democratic values that have been the cornerstone of Western democracies since the end of World War two. These challenges are manifestations of a globalised system characterised by high levels of interconnectedness but also dominated by great poverty, rising inequalities within and between countries, violent conflicts, and transnational challenges such as forced migrations, environmental destruction and climate change. In this context, the last two decades have witnessed a resurgence of interest in a global notion of citizenship. While global citizenship is an ambiguous and contested concept, it is widely used in education to stress the need for a new citizenship education with a global orientation. Global Citizenship Education (GCE) is presented as a new agenda for citizenship education in a global era and has recently been recognised as one of the educational priorities of the 21st century. Yet, GCE is a highly complex and ambiguous idea, is infused with a variety of meanings, and is understood and used differently within and across a variety of contexts, including various sites of education.

This thesis explores how GCE is conceptualised and practiced in the Province of Trento in northern Italy. It studies the multiple meanings and perspectives that different provincial actors (decision-makers, key informants, teachers) convey through GCE. Based on Constructivist and informed Grounded Theory, the thesis provides a nuanced understanding of how GCE is conceptualised and translated into policies and practice. In the first phase of data collection, intensive interviews were conducted with 21 teachers from 9 local secondary schools and with 6 provincial representatives and key informants. Theoretical sampling was used in the second phase of data collection to elaborate and refine the provisional interpretative categories. It included thematic analysis of provincial policy documents, participation in a group of experts, interviews with 2 additional key informants, and re-interview of 9 teachers.

Combining the conceptual categories constructed from the analysis of the empirical data with the theoretical concepts in the scholarly literature, the thesis presents a typology illustrating four GCE ideal-types: Neo-liberal human capitalism, Cosmopolitan humanism, Social justice activism, and Critical counter-practice. The thesis highlights that GCE in the Province of Trento is broadly consistent with the Cosmopolitan humanism ideal-type, and is characterized by a distinctive moral dimension. On the one hand, GCE is constructed as a ‘new moral pedagogy’, which reflects adherence and commitment to what is perceived to be as a universal moral structure based on humanistic cosmopolitan values. GCE has a distinctive socialisation function, articulated in terms of the promotion and acquisition by young people of certain values and identities to become ‘better’ citizens of the global world. But GCE presents also elements of Neo-liberal human capitalism. It is in fact infused with a qualification function aimed at equipping students with the skills they need for life in the global society and work in the global economy. On the other hand, the moral dimension of GCE finds expression in the fact that GCE is not an educational imperative but it is rather a personal ‘moral’ choice. It is not a provincial educational priority and is not structurally embedded in the curriculum. Hence GCE is just a ‘moral optional’ in the hands of ‘willing and able teachers’ who are committed to cosmopolitan values. These teachers are highly motivated, and see GCE as a ‘moral duty’ for the teachers of the 21st century. The thesis suggests that overcoming a constellation of institutional, curricular, organisational and conceptual barriers is essential to facilitate the structural and systematic integration of GCE in the curriculum. The role of teacher education and an alliance between academia and practice are of paramount importance. They are essential to facilitate a more structural grounding of GCE in the curriculum and stimulate reflection on the necessity for political and critical GCE perspectives and approaches.
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List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

BERA  British Educational Research Association
CCI  Centre for International Cooperation – Province of Trento
CGT  Constructivist Grounded Theory
CSO  Civil Society Organisation
CSR  Corporate Social Responsibility
EC  European Commission
EO  Education Office – Province of Trento
ESD  Education for Sustainable Development
GCE  Global Citizenship Education
GEFI  Global Education First Initiative
GT  Grounded Theory
IDCO  International Development Cooperation Office – Province of Trento
IGT  Informed Grounded Theory
IPRASE  Provincial Institute for Educational Research and Experimentation – Province of Trento
LRA  Local and Regional Authority
MDGs  Millennium Development Goals
NGO  Non-governmental Organisation
OECD  Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
PISA  Programme for International Student Assessment
SDGs  Sustainable Development Goals
UN  United Nations
UNESCO  United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
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Chapter One: Introduction

1. The purpose of schooling: adapting to society or changing society?
As a result of globalisation societies have changed dramatically, are continuously changing and change is happening at a much faster pace than before. Students are facing and will face in the future increasing complexity, diversity, uncertainty, instability, volatility. This poses major challenges to the education sector and to schools in particular. The key questions that drive the actions of policy-makers and educators as they engage with the relation between education and globalisation are: what is the role of education and schooling in society? Is it to adapt to the changes taking place in society or is it rather to shape change? The answer to this question determines very different educational trajectories.

Seeing schooling in terms of adaptation to society results in an education centred on providing students with the knowledge and skills that will facilitate their social mobility in today’s global society. Schooling is geared towards creating ‘digital global entrepreneurs’. Indeed some scholars underline that the recent ‘curricular turn towards the global’ and enhanced profile of Global Citizenship Education (GCE) in national policy discourses are essentially a reaction to the presumed fact and value of one dominant model of globalisation, and of a certain global world economy and society, assumed to be desirable and desired by us in the West and by others in the rest of the world (Mannion et al., 2011). In this perspective, the “official curricular global turn” (Mannion et al., 2011: 449) and GCE are instruments to further the onward economic development of Western countries, and prepare young people to face the threats and reap the benefits of globalisation by learning to work and live in the global world economy and society.

If schooling, on the other hand, is seen as an instrument to shape change in society and particularly transform the world, then the perspective on GCE is very different. Education is about accompanying the growth of aware and responsible citizens committed to a fairer and more sustainable world. Indeed this vision of education is conveyed by UNESCO, which underlines that GCE “represents a conceptual shift in that it recognizes the relevance of education in understanding and resolving global issues in their social, political, cultural, economic and environmental dimensions” (UNESCO, 2014: 9). In this perspective, GCE is then a “framing paradigm which encapsulates how education can develop the knowledge, skills, values and attitudes learners need for securing a world that is more just, peaceful, tolerant, inclusive, secure and sustainable” (Ibid.). The aim of GCE is “to be transformative” (UNESCO, 2015: 15).

Yet, to have a transformative education, it is not enough to focus on ‘global’ knowledge, skills and values, but what is crucial is to pay attention to how learning is taking place. Hence key questions are how is knowledge about global issues treated, which perspectives are prioritised, which are overlooked or deliberately ignored, how do educators and learners reflect on their position in relation to knowledge, and how do they understand their place, role and responsibilities in relation to political, economic and cultural structures of domination. A growing body of scholarly work suggests that a lack of attention in schools to these issues results in GCE approaches that de-historicise and depoliticise complex global issues and problems, reproduce stereotypes and
ethnocentric views and attitudes, and promote simplistic and paternalistic responses to global problems (Andreotti, 2006; Blackmore, 2014; Bryan & Bracken, 2011; Jeffress, 2008).

Intrigued by the different perspectives that characterise the debate on educating young people in the 21st century, I designed this research in order to study how GCE is conceptualised and practiced in a province in northern Italy at a time when there was a heightened provincial attention on GCE and a drive to integrate it in formal education. But where does my interest for GCE come from and how am I positioned in relation to it? As it is generally the case, my research began with a concern that was rooted in experience (Kirby, et al., 2010).

2. My journey: from troubled “boss-lady” to naïve educator to critical scholar?
During college I became concerned about global issues such as poverty, inequality, conflict, forced migrations, racism and xenophobia, environmental destruction. The concern for these issues motivated me to study international development cooperation and to work for over ten years in Europe, Africa and South East Asia for an Irish Non-Governmental Organisation (NGO) committed to addressing the root causes of poverty and injustice through a dual mandate: supporting the most vulnerable people in the developing world, while also raising awareness of injustice and global poverty in Ireland.

My engagement in international development cooperation and the opportunities I had to work with local Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) and communities in Liberia, Sudan, Cambodia, Burma and Timor Leste have been the most fulfilling experiences in my life, both personally and professionally. I was passionate about development and my work in particular, invested in it a great deal emotionally and professionally, and received a lot in terms of personal gratification and satisfaction. But I was also confronted with ethical dilemmas related to my privileged status as a white, middle-class, educated, young woman that had the knowledge, the financial resources and the power to decide which local organisations could become our partners and which not, which projects we were funding and which not, which communities were benefiting from our work and which not. I was also troubled by how my status was determining how I was perceived by local colleagues and partners. When I arrived in Liberia in the late 1990s as an intern to work on a food security project aimed at supporting farmers to rehabilitate their rice, cocoa and coffee farms after they had been destroyed during the war, I did not expect that ‘race’ would override other social markers of identity such as gender, age, experience. But I soon discovered that my local colleagues who were all male, older than me and certainly more knowledgeable and competent about food security than me, when they were referring to me they were using the word “the boss-lady”. I was startled. There I was with an attitude that I considered to be about learning from my more experienced colleagues, and certainly not about playing the boss, yet being white had given me automatically the status of “the boss-lady”. Over the months I developed a strong friendship with some of these colleagues, “boss-lady” and “boss-man” were used jokingly between us, the racial hierarchy somehow began to crumble. Yet, that experience of being perceived as “the boss-lady” just because of the colour of my skin never left me. It somehow slowly undermined my blind faith in international development cooperation.

As the doubts and dilemmas about being a ‘development worker’ began to override my certainties about the ‘good nature’ and necessity of my work and of international development in general, I turned to GCE as a way to tackle injustices and making the world a more just and sustainable
place. I approached GCE in a rather naïve and idealistic way, seeing it as a means to engage young people with issues related to globalisation, development, environment, difference, and make them reflect about their place and role in the world. My focus was initially on non-formal education, but as my son entered the schooling system, I also began to consider the type of education I wanted for him. My interest shifted from non-formal to formal education and I began to see the formal education system as the main mode of delivery for a globally oriented citizenship education. My perspective on GCE was very much aligned with the approach promoted by NGOs such as Oxfam UK. So, for me, GCE was about fostering global citizens who are aware of and understand the wider world - and their place in it, take an active role in their community, work with others to make our planet more equal, fair and sustainable, and ultimately believe that we can all make a difference.

But soon also my certainties about GCE began to be troubled as I started to engage more deeply with it. I can identify a turning point when at an international conference on GCE organized by Concord, the European network of NGOs, a scholar, Karen Pashby, challenged the action driven agenda of GCE. She underlined how a focus on providing opportunities for young people to be active and ‘make a difference’ results often in uncritical pre-packaged actions conceived by educators, such as signing petitions, organising fundraising events, etc., which betray an idea of education as an open-ended and critical learning process. The actions that characterise GCE are also often framed by problematic perspectives which reinforce paternalistic and ethnocentric worldviews and attitudes. At this conference I was exposed for the first time to the post-colonial critique of GCE. I began to doubt my work and felt the need to take a break from practice to study what I was doing. Therefore approached the PhD as an opportunity to engage critically with GCE, and to gain an insight on whether GCE could be a pedagogical framework to reimagine citizenship education.

Writing this thesis has brought to the fore for me the ambiguities, complexities, contestations and agendas that characterise GCE. It has been an opportunity to reflexively scrutinise my own position and perspective on GCE. It has helped me to acknowledge that GCE is a contested and ‘loaded’ concept that merges three equally contested and complex fields: the global/globalisation, citizenship and education (see chap. 2, section 3). I am certainly more critical of the concept than I was three years ago. However, I still believe that GCE is a useful pedagogical perspective to reimagine a diverse, global, critical and political citizenship education.

3. Research focus, questions and methodology

The focus of this study evolved in the course of the research process. I initiated the research delving into the academic literature on GCE in order to better understand how this concept was constructed and deconstructed by scholars. But coming from practice, I was also adamant to include an empirical component in the research. I wanted to theoretically explore GCE but also see whether and how it was translated into practice. But where could I look for GCE practice? I was interested in seeing how the ideas behind GCE might work in schools, however I was also concerned that my background was not in education. As outlined above I arrived at GCE from the fields of international development cooperation. I have never worked in schools and therefore experienced what it is like to be a teacher. I wondered whether this would limit my ability to understand school contexts, school norms, teaching practices.
Despite these doubts, my recent interests and also the particular situation in the context where I live were leading me towards focusing this study on formal education. The Province of Trento in northern Italy, where I live, had in fact just been awarded a three-year European project, called “Global Schools”, aimed at supporting the integration of GCE in the curriculum of the first cycle of education (corresponding to Level 1 and 2 of the International Standard Classification of Education).

Box n. 1: The “Global schools” project

Started in 2015, “Global Schools” is a European project implemented in 10 EU countries by 17 partners, led by the Autonomous Province of Trento. The aim of the project is to embed GCE in the primary school curricula of the 10 countries, and in the long run facilitate a cultural change in schools and in society at large, by raising a new generation of global citizens motivated by values of solidarity, equality, justice, inclusion, sustainability and cooperation.

“Global Schools” supports GCE through a revision of educational policies and through the promotion of innovative teaching practices. It works at three levels:
- at the policy level, it advocates for the integration of GCE in educational policies and school curricula;
- at the technical level, it supports teachers’ motivation to embed GCE in their teaching practice through the provision of training to teachers and to Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) working in schools;
- at the social level, it encourages parents and the wider community to help children grow into aware and responsible global citizens.

The main activities include: training of teachers, local authorities, and CSOs; Europe-wide exchanges of teachers; production, translation and dissemination of innovative teaching resources, comparative research on educational policies and teacher education practices, national and international seminars and policy recommendations.

(GLOBAL SCHOOLS, 2015)

The EC funded “Global schools” project was mobilising support for the integration of GCE in the local schools, by bringing GCE to the attention of local education policy-makers, and providing training to school managers, teachers and local CSOs. Focusing the research on formal education in this Province was therefore an opportunity to study a phenomenon as it was developing. I initiated therefore the PhD research in order to learn whether and how GCE was practiced in lower secondary schools in the Province of Trento, and what curricular devises and pedagogies were used in schools to address global citizenship.

As outlined in chapter 3, the research questions evolved in the course of the study. During the data gathering process, I realised that in order to understand how GCE was conceptualised and practiced by teachers I needed to focus on schools, but also study the context in which they were situated. Hence the research question initially diverged into two areas of study, one that focused on the position of GCE in the provincial policies, and one that focused on the meanings and practices that GCE assumed in schools. Convergence of the research question occurred during data analysis and in particular as my coding became more focused and I began to identify the key interpretative categories. At this point the two focal areas of the study began to converge and the research questions became more integrated. The questions that guided the final stages of the research journey and that this study attempts to address are the following:

- Which conceptualisations of GCE are dominant in the provincial policies and in school practice?
• What strategies are used by teachers in relation to GCE?
• Which institutional, curricular, organisational, and conceptual factors influence the way GCE is practiced in lower secondary schools?

The journey of the research question shows that the study became progressively concerned with the multiple perspectives and meaning-making that different provincial actors (decision-makers, key stakeholders, teachers) conveyed through GCE, and that shaped the way GCE was practiced in lower secondary schools. As this became the main focus of the research, Constructivist Grounded Theory (Charmaz, 2014) emerged as the methodological approach that was most suited for the study. Constructivist Grounded Theory (CGT) is in fact particularly suitable to investigate processes rather than static themes and structures. It is not about applying current theories to describe empirical reality, but rather construct a theory that explains a process. I believed that CGT was particularly suitable for the study, because my main research interest was not to ascertain the extent to which GCE in the Province of Trento lived up to particular GCE pedagogical frameworks or models of good practice, but rather understand which meanings were conveyed through GCE by different stakeholders and how these meanings were then translated into policies and practices. As GCE was emerging as a new educational discourse in the Province of Trento, I was therefore interested in studying the processes through which GCE was constructed by teachers and policymakers as a pedagogical framework for schooling in the 21st century.

This study addresses also two interests underrepresented in the scholarly literature. Firstly, it responds to calls from different scholars for empirical research in schools to explore perspectives, experiences and approaches on GCE (Marshall, 2011, Peterson, 2016). Second, as the bulk of the writings on GCE, both theoretical and empirical, is mainly from the Anglo-Saxon world, it adds the case of Italy, where GCE is being practised in both formal and non-formal education, but is still marginal within scholarly pedagogical discourses and literature.

4. Geographical focus: why the Autonomous Province of Trento

The geographical focus of this research is the Autonomous Province of Trento, a small border mountainous province in northern Italy with a population of approximately 540,000 people. This Province, due to historical reasons and the presence of linguistic minorities, enjoys a special autonomy within the Italian regional system. This means that the provincial government has legislative and administrative powers in many areas, one of which is education, that in Italy are normally under the competence and responsibility of the state. The decision to focus on this particular province relates to a number of factors, which make this province an interesting case study.

Firstly, the Province of Trento distinguishes itself nationally for its commitment to international development cooperation (see chap. 4, section 2.1). In the late 1980s it paved the way for the involvement of Local and Regional Authorities (LRAs) in international development and since the early 1990s began to allocate a significant and growing share of financial resources to it, including funding for development projects and humanitarian interventions in partner countries, as well as Development Education and Awareness Raising activities in Trentino (now referred to as GCE). A recent mapping of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation illustrates that the Province of Trento is the authority of the Italian regional system with the highest budget allocated to international development cooperation, € 10.2 million in 2014 (Provincia Autonoma
di Trento, 2015). It remains the only authority of the Italian regional system that has a law which binds it to allocating a determined % of its annual budget (at least 0.25%) to international development cooperation (Ibid.).

Secondly, since 2015, the Province of Trento significantly scaled up its support to GCE. As outlined above, it is the lead partner of the EC funded “Global Schools” project, which provided an impetus for increased engagement at the national level (see chap. 4, section 2.2). The Province of Trento managed to mobilise other Italian regions in support of GCE, and promoted the drafting and approval by the Italian regions of a policy document on GCE which calls for the development of a national strategy on GCE to facilitate the structural integration of GCE in formal education. As a result of the pressure from the LRAs and also from the NGOs national Platform, the Ministry for Foreign Affairs and Development Cooperation kick-started in 2017 a multi-stakeholder process coordinated by the Province of Trento, which resulted in the development of the first Italian national strategy on GCE.

Thirdly, the EC funded “Global schools” project facilitated the scaling up of PAT’s engagement on GCE at the local provincial level, in particular supporting the integration of GCE in the schools under its jurisdiction (see chap. 4, section 3). As the provincial government has primary competence and responsibility for education, the school system in the Province of Trento is regulated by provincial laws, policies and plans. Local schools do not follow the National curriculum, but rather the provincial curricular guidelines. The “Global Schools” project has been an opportunity to bring GCE to the attention of local policy-makers and initiate some timid policy changes, while also working at the practice level through the provision of training to school managers, teachers and local CSOs.

Although the Province of Trento may be just a small player on the international scene, focusing the research in this Province provided an opportunity to see how the dynamics that characterise the provincial education discourse, and that reflect global education trends, played out and were reconciled with attempts to initiate policy changes related to GCE. By focusing attention on both the policy environment and schools, this research contextualised how teachers interpret GCE and translate it into practice while at the same time reproducing, ignoring or challenging the provincial policy discourses.

5. Outline of the thesis
The thesis is articulated in nine chapters. This introduction has set the scene of how my interest in GCE developed over the years and informed how this research was conceived and structured.

Chapter 2 provides the theoretical framing of the thesis by focusing on how the concept of GCE is constructed and deconstructed in the scholarly literature. The chapter draws from a review of the key theoretical studies on GCE, but also recent empirical research on how GCE is practiced in schools. It starts by introducing GCE as a new concept that has recently been elevated to one of the educational priorities of the 21st century. It outlines how GCE has its roots in Development Education/Global Education, but is also entwined with a number of overlapping concepts including Peace Education, Human Rights Education, Multi-Intercultural Education, and particularly Environmental Education/Education for Sustainable Development. The chapter proceeds by presenting GCE as a complex and ambiguous concept that "emerges from a nexus of
interrelated discursive fields” (Pashby, 2016: 69). It then discusses the three constitutive discursive fields of GCE, namely global/globalisation, citizenship, and education. These are presented as narratives that, although apparently neutral, natural and unquestionable, are in reality contested discourses. The combination of these three fields, in particular global + citizenship (global citizenship), citizenship + education (citizenship education), and finally global + citizenship + education (GCE), are then discussed. Global citizenship is presented as a contested concept but also as a new buzzword that is used ambiguously and understood differently both within and across a variety of contexts. Drawing from the typology developed by Oxley and Morris (2013), eight cosmopolitan and relativist conceptualisations of global citizenship are presented outlining their ideological underpinnings and the key scholars. The chapter proceeds then to discuss citizenship education and the need to reconceptualise it in the context of multicultural societies and a globalised world. Cosmopolitan, transformative and political perspectives are presented as attempts to reimagine and transform the traditional nation-state centred citizenship education. These perspectives point towards a “transformative citizenship education” (Banks, 2008), that is not so much about teaching citizenship but rather facilitating processes that enable young people to learn democracy and become “democratic subjects” (Biesta, 2014). The chapter then continues with a discussion of the diverse conceptualisations and pedagogical frameworks that characterise GCE. Three discourses within GCE (GCE as qualification, GCE as socialisation, and GCE as subjectification) are presented and critically discussed outlining key examples that illustrate the three types: the new OECD PISA 2018 Global Competence Framework as an example of GCE as qualification, UNESCO 2015 GCE framework as an example of GCE as socialisation, and Andreotti’s (2010; 2015) GCE otherwise as an example of GCE as subjectification. The chapter ends outlining the tensions and barriers that mitigate against the effective implementation of GCE within schools.

Chapter 3 describes the methodological approach developed in this study. After tracing the journey of the research question, the chapter illustrates Constructivist and Informed Grounded Theory (Charmaz, 2014; Thornberg, 2012) as the epistemological framework and set of methods that were used for data collection and analysis. It then outlines the data collection process which, in line with Constructivist Grounded Theory, was characterized by flexibility and iterative strategies of simultaneously going back and forth between data collection and analysis. The chapter presents the criteria for the initial sampling of schools, teachers and key informants, and then describes the main method used for data collection, namely intensive interviews with teachers and key local informants. In the period February to November 2017, intensive interviews were conducted with 21 teachers from 9 local secondary schools and 6 key informants. The chapter proceeds to illustrate the process of data analysis with the construction of initial, focused and theoretical codes outlining also some of the challenges experienced. Theoretical sampling (Charmaz, 2014) was used in the period April to August 2018 to gather additional data to elaborate and refine the provisional interpretative categories. A number of methods were used for theoretical sampling, namely a “theoretical thematic analysis” (Braun and Clarke, 2006) of the curricular guidelines, participation in a “new social world” (a group of experts), interviews with new research participants (2 additional key informants), and re-interview of research participants through a group interview (9 teachers already interviewed). The chapter continues outlining the process of constructing the theory and writing the thesis, and ends with a discussion of the ethical considerations and decisions that guided the research process.
Chapters 4, 5, 6 and 7 outline the key findings of the research. Chapter 4 focuses on the provincial policy context, while the other three concentrate on the school level. Chapter 4 starts by describing the recognised reputation that the Province of Trento enjoys nationally in the field of international development cooperation, and the recent role it played in terms of promoting GCE at the national level. It then shows how, as a result of the EC funded “Global Schools” project, the Province scaled up its support to the integration of GCE in the local school system. The chapter focuses first on the timid policy changes that were introduced to facilitate the integration of GCE in school practice. It then presents the findings of the theoretical thematic analyses conducted on the provincial curricular guidelines. This analysis highlights the presence of some references to concepts, topics and perspectives related to GCE in the citizenship education curriculum, and particularly in the geography and history curricula. Overall, however, the guidelines do not adopt and use the concepts of global citizenship and GCE to provide a global perspective to citizenship education and to the other curricular subjects. The chapter proceeds by outlining how GCE is conceptualised within the Province of Trento. It demonstrates how the Province is not a monolithic entity that cohesively pursues the integration of GCE in school practice, but rather the administration is characterised by tensions between the different visions and policy priorities. On the one hand, GCE is considered a new framing paradigm of international development cooperation. But on the other hand, it is seen as an academic label irrelevant for a school system focused on qualification. Two diverging instrumentalist agendas seem to permeate the policies of the Province, “a global social justice instrumentalism” and a “technical-economic instrumentalism” (Marshall, 2011). Yet, these perspectives and agendas are not completely divergent but rather converge through a dominant discourse that focuses on excellence and competitiveness, and on internationalisation.

Chapter 5, 6 and 7 outline the profile of GCE in the schools included in the research and how GCE is conceptualised and translated into practice by teachers. Chapter 5 describes the marginality of GCE in the schools studied and shows how GCE is essentially an invisible presence. GCE is a choice, not an educational imperative and it is characterised by the personal and self-made effort of a few motivated and committed teachers. The chapter highlights the importance of leadership and of peer support. It ends outlining the profile of the teachers that engage in GCE. Chapter 6 maintains that despite the absence of the terms global citizenship and GCE from the vocabulary of the schools studied, the teachers interviewed clearly expressed a need to move beyond a concept of citizenship education that focuses on fostering national citizens. Even if the term cosmopolitanism was not explicitly used by teachers, their views on fostering ‘citizens of the world’ clearly reflected a cosmopolitan perspective in line with moral global citizenship. Teachers’ conceptualisation of (global) citizenship education draws from a multi-level perspective articulated by teachers on the basis of two key dimensions. The first moves along a geographical and social continuum that links the local to the global and the personal to the societal, and the second dimension is related to the concept of interdependence. Teachers’ accounts of their practice suggests a perceived lack of distinction between citizenship education and GCE. Citizenship education is conceptualised as a broad container, that includes four areas of work: a) Democracy, rights and legality; b) Moral and social development; c) Digital citizenship; d) Care for the environment. Giving a global dimension to citizenship education means for teachers ‘globalising’ these four areas but also adding three other dimensions that are distinctively ‘global': a) Life in a “super diverse society”; b) Decoding what is happening in the world; c) Preparing for a global society and economy. Chapter 7 outlines how teachers reconcile GCE with the curriculum. It starts
by linking teachers’ GCE visions and practices to the three domains of learning (cognitive, socio-emotional and behavioural) used in the UNESCO GCE framework. It then shows how a global citizenship outlook is not a transversal perspective across the curriculum but rather a sporadic and often unplanned occurrence. The chapter ends outlining the three modalities used by teachers to integrate a global citizenship perspective in their practice: a) Designing specific GCE projects; b) Responding to prompts; c) Making curricular choices.

Chapter 8 draws together the findings described in the previous four chapters and links them to the theoretical perspectives outlined in the literature review chapter. In line with Informed Constructivist Grounded Theory, this chapter attempts to provide an answer to the research questions by outlining an overall theory. It starts by presenting four GCE ideal-types that draw from the scholarly literature and the findings of the research: Neo-liberal human capitalism, Cosmopolitan humanism, Social justice activism, and Critical counter-practice. The chapter highlights that GCE in the Province of Trento is broadly consistent with the Cosmopolitan humanism ideal-type, and is characterized by a distinctive moral dimension. On the one hand, GCE is constructed as a ‘new moral pedagogy’, which reflects adherence and commitment to what is perceived to be as a universal moral structure based on humanistic cosmopolitan values. GCE has a distinctive socialisation function, articulated in terms of the promotion and acquisition by young people of certain values and identities to become ‘better’ citizens of the global world. But GCE presents also elements of Neo-liberal human capitalism. It is in fact infused with a qualification function aimed at equipping students with the skills they need for life in the global society and work in the global economy. On the other hand, the moral dimension of GCE finds expression in the fact that GCE is not an educational imperative but it is rather a personal ‘moral’ choice. It is not a provincial educational priority and is not structurally embedded in the curriculum. Hence GCE is just a ‘moral optional’ in the hands of ‘willing and able teachers’ who are committed to cosmopolitan values. These teachers are highly motivated, and see GCE as a ‘moral duty’ for the teachers of the 21st century. The chapter then outlines the three main strategies used by teachers in relation to GCE: a) Avoidance; b) Pioneering; c) Building communities of peers. It ends with a constellation of institutional, curricular, organisational and conceptual barriers that limit the structural embedment of GCE in the provincial schools.

Chapter 9 concludes the thesis by summarising the main findings of the research and the methodological and theoretical contribution of this thesis to research and practice. It ends with some reflections on the importance of teacher education and the development of an alliance between academia and practice to promote GCE and its embedment in school curricula and in teachers’ practice.
Chapter Two: The Multiple Meanings and Pedagogical Frameworks of Global Citizenship Education

1. Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to provide the theoretical framing of the thesis by focusing on how the concept of Global Citizenship Education (GCE) is constructed and deconstructed in the scholarly literature. A weakness of the scholarly work on GCE is its domination by Western, and particularly Anglo-Saxon perspectives. Voices from the ‘Global South’, in particular, are virtually absent from the research literature. This is a limitation that characterises this emergent research field and consequently this thesis.

The chapter starts by introducing GCE as a new educational priority of the 21st century (Tarozzi & Torres, 2016) and then proceeds by presenting GCE as a complex and ambiguous concept that “emerges from a nexus of interrelated discursive fields” (Pasby, 2016: 69), namely global/globalisation, citizenship, and education. Global citizenship is presented as a new buzzword, but also as a polysemic concept characterised by very diverse cosmopolitan and relativistic ideological underpinnings. The chapter proceeds then to discuss citizenship education and the need to reconceptualise it in the context of multicultural societies and a globalised world. Cosmopolitan, transformative and political perspectives are presented as attempts to reimagine and transform the traditional nation-state centred citizenship education. The chapter then continues with a discussion of the diverse conceptualisations and pedagogical frameworks that characterise GCE, and ends outlining the tensions and barriers that mitigate against the effective implementation of GCE within schools.

2. Global Citizenship Education as an educational priority of the 21st century

In the past two decades, global citizenship and particularly its “associated construct”, GCE, have “taken on the status of a ‘global’ or ‘travelling’ educational policy” (Oxley & Morris, 2013: 301-302). From its emergence in the 1990s, GCE rapidly became a highly debated pedagogical concept in the scholarly literature, and the term mostly used in international policy fora. It is now a prominent concept in Europe and in the Americas in government, civil society and educational discourses (Andreotti & de Souza, 2012). In the scholarly literature and, particularly in the practice, however, other terms such as Global Education, Global Learning and Development Education are often used as synonymous of GCE. Although, as Tarozzi and Torres (2016) underline, Global Education and Development Education may be more aptly considered as “GCE antecedents” (ibid.: 6). Clear linkages are established in the scholarly literature between GCE, and Development Education/Global Education, but also other adjectival educations, such as Environmental Education and Citizenship Education, considered “lineages” of GCE (Mannion et al., 2011: 445). Indeed, Mannion et al. (2011) note the convergences of Environmental Education, Development Education and Citizenship Education under the umbrella of GCE, and highlight how GCE and these three “lineages” overlap but also work in tension. GCE is also entwined with a
number of overlapping concepts including Peace Education, Human Rights Education, Multi-Intercultural Education, and Education for Sustainable Development.

It is beyond the scope of this study to provide a detailed discussion of the differences, similarities and interlinkages between GCE and its antecedents and overlapping concepts. Here, I would just retrace the history and conceptual traditions that came to influence and define GCE. These traditions have historically been constructed in the ‘Global North’, and particularly in the United States of America (USA), Canada, the United Kingdom (UK) and a few countries in Northern Europe. The dominant perspective in this historical reconstruction is therefore the Anglo-Saxon and Northern European one. As outlined, there aren’t many voices from the ‘Global South’ in the GCE scholarly literature. But also perspectives from Italy are limited. In Italy GCE is a recently adopted concept, and while Development Education has been for decades present at the practice level through the work of educators from NGOs, both Development Education and GCE are still marginal within pedagogical academic discourses and the scholarly literature. Indeed, even in the UK, McCollum noted in the mid 1990s that there was very little academic-based literature on Development Education:

development education had evolved largely through the efforts of individual practitioners who with minimal guidance and few resources have through trial and error gradually developed their own working practices . . . the development education debate thus remains at a superficial level precisely because there is little discussion of the theory implicit in the practice (McCollum, 1996: 22)

In the Anglo-Saxon world, however, the situation has changed and in the past ten years, GCE has become a key topic of academic-based research (Sant & al., 2018). This is not yet the case in Italy where GCE still remains in the realm of practice and has not yet entered in a significant way mainstream pedagogical discourses and academic research.

2.1 The global education movements of the 1960s and 1970s

Bourn (2015) identifies the Global Education movement that emerged in the 1960s in the USA1, and the World Studies Project that developed in the 1970s in the UK2 as key traditions that provided a bedrock of ideas and examples of practice upon which academics, practitioners and policy-makers have built upon to the present day. These two movements influenced each other and promoted the inclusion in education of a global outlook with an explicit non-colonialist perspective valuing different worldviews (Bourn, 2015). This global outlook was conceptualised by Hanvey (1982), who outlined five dimensions: 1. Perspective Consciousness (recognising the own and others’ views of the world); 2. State of Planet Awareness (awareness of prevailing world conditions and developments and dangers of exponential growth); 3. Cross-Cultural Awareness (recognising diversity of ideas and practices); 4. Knowledge of Global Dynamics (comprehending key traits and mechanisms of the global system interconnectivity); 5. Awareness of Human Choices (Awareness of the expanded range of choice). The work of Richardson and the other leading figures of the World Studies Project was very much practice-based and motivated by “a

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1 Key figures in what became known as the global education movement in the USA are James Becker, Robert Hanvey, Lee Anderson and later Kenneth Tye, Jan Tucker and Merry Merryfield (Bourn, 2015).
2 The World Studies Project was developed by Robin Richardson, considered the father figure of global education in the UK. Others key figures were James Henderson and later David Selby, Graham Pike and Dave Hicks (Bourn, 2015).
desire to promote and provide practical materials that supported a child-centred and world-minded approach and a belief in learning for change” (Bourn, 2015:11). From the 1970s onwards, also in other parts of Europe, notably in Scandinavia, the Netherlands and Germany, and also Japan, there is evidence of “approaches to education that promote a more international outlook, under themes such as ‘education for international understanding’ or ‘intercultural learning’ (Bourn, 2015:12).

In the 1980s, in both the UK and the USA, these global education movements came however under political attack (Bourn, 2015). In the USA, according to Standish (2012), alternative and radical agendas were pushed to the margins and in a number of states a market-rationale began to permeate the internationally oriented curriculum. In the UK “world or global studies continued to emphasise a post-national agenda of global issues, enquiry-based learning, alternative futures, participatory learning, active learning, peace and justice” (Standish, 2012: 34) but it came under attack by government ministers and influential academics and therefore the freedom enjoyed by teachers to debate the place and scope of teaching contemporary global issues in the curriculum was severely restricted (Pike, 2015). Global education, according to Pike (2015) “was patently unprepared for the neo-liberal onslaught” because its key principles were “a poor fit with neo-liberal thinking” and “the movement itself had paid insufficient attention to the fundamentals of gaining credibility within either academic or political establishments” (2015: 15). On the one hand, being essentially a grassroots movement, global educators did not align themselves with establishment thinking because they considered it as the root cause of many contemporary global challenges; on the other, they did not invest in providing research-based evidence supporting the teaching and learning strategies they were promoting (Pike, 2015).

2.2 From development education to global education

The 1960s saw the emergence also of the international development agenda and of development education. Mesa (2011) talks about the appearance of a “developmentalist mentality” in governments, multilateral organisations, NGOs and the public opinion (2011: 145). The dominant international development paradigm was modernisation theory with its emphasis on supporting developing countries in their process to become “modern societies”. The priority was the promotion of economic growth through capital investments and technical assistance. The aid agencies of the large donor states were set up at this time, and NGOs began to emerge in many countries of the Global North (Mesa, 2011). Bourn (2015) underlines that to ensure that the publicly funded bilateral development programmes in the Global South had public support, resources began to be invested in educational programmes and general awareness-raising activities. For governments “the need for legitimacy in spending increasingly large sums of taxpayers’ money on people and communities thousands of miles away required some degree of public endorsement” (Bourn, 2015:14). This drive for public support influenced also the educational work of NGOs, which focused on fundraising and informing the general public about the contexts in which the NGOs were working and the beneficiaries of aid (Mesa, 2011). The dominant approach was “to educate for support a largely ignorant or disinterested public through education based on delivering information within an uncritical view of development and economic growth” (Bourn, 2015: 14). Development education messages and content were framed by the “Eurocentric and Western paradigm of modernization” (Mesa, 2011). This perspective of providing information about the ‘third world’ and the problems that hampered its development became a feature of development education practice in many countries (Starkey, 1994).
While much development education practice had and still has a semi-colonial and paternalistic approach and was and still is strongly linked with fundraising appeals, during the 1970s more critical approaches emerged within development education practice (Bourn, 2015). The modernization paradigm permeating international development began to be challenged by dependency theory and world system theory scholars, who stressed that the structural causes of poverty in the Global South were colonisation and the way these countries were integrated and exploited within the world economy. In this context, development education practice began to be informed by more critical approaches and a growing awareness about the Global North's historical responsibilities (Mesa, 2011). This shift was influenced also by the radical educational approaches of Paulo Freire (1972). By the 1980s in several countries, notably the UK, Italy, France, Germany, the Netherlands, Japan, Canada and Australia, there were educationalists, mainly working within NGOs, promoting an approach based on critical perspectives on development, the pedagogy of Freire and active learning methods (Bourn, 2015; Mesa, 2011). This critical and social justice informed development education provided an analysis of the structural causes of poverty in the Global South stressing historical factors and in particular “the heavy burden of colonialism and neocolonialism” (Mesa, 2011: 149). It challenged mainstream aid policies and the imposition of Western development models and called for action to change the status quo (Ibid.).

The change towards a more critical and social justice based perspective was accompanied also by a shift in terminology. During the 1990s in a number of countries and amongst some academics, the term “development”, in the development education discourse, was replaced by “global” as the latter was seen as more appropriate for the reality of today’s globalised world (Bourn, 2015). On the one hand, the term development education was considered obscure as “people no longer understood, if they ever did, what development education actually meant” (Bourn, 2015: 19). On the other hand, the term global was used in response to the recognition of the increasing influence of globalisation. In Germany, Annette Scheunpflug challenged the value of the term development education as, in the context of the global society, development no longer has a subject. She argued that in today’s global world there are still power centres however their location is increasingly less clear, while the great complexity of today’s societies challenges our linear thinking (Bourn, 2015). In many countries the term global education replaced development education and established itself as an educational field that placed global justice at the heart of pedagogical practice (Scheunpflug & Asbrand, 2006). Global education took the perspective that development is a challenge not only for countries in the Global South, but also for the Global North. Its orientation was in global justice and in the need to recognise the voices of the oppressed (Scheunpflug & Asbrand, 2006):

Global education today has established itself as an educational field which provides a ‘pedagogical reaction to the developmental state of world society’ working with the normative premise of overcoming inequality by being oriented towards a model of global justice (Scheunpflug & Asbrand, 2006: 35)

2.3 Global education as an umbrella term
The early global education traditions in the USA and in the UK had links with other education movements that were emerging in the 1960s and 1970s and that grew during the 1980s (Bourn, 2015; Standish, 2012). These ‘adjectival’ educations included environmental, peace, multi- and inter-cultural, human rights, and later anti-racist education. Despite having their own origins and traditions, they held in common a belief in the importance of linking education with societal
concerns and of using education to facilitate personal and social transformation (Bourn, 2015). Recognising their commonalities, two key proponents of the global education tradition, Graham Pike and David Selby, “re-defined global education as the over-arching term to incorporate all of these adjectival educations” (Bourn, 2015:12).

In a number of countries such as the USA, Canada, Australia, Finland, Sweden, the Netherlands, Germany, Austria and Switzerland, “the term global education or global learning was, by the first decade of the twenty-first century, the dominant term within which discourses around learning and understanding about international development could be found” (Bourn, 2015:20). A key role was played by the Council of Europe and in particular its North South Centre, which promoted a concept of Global Education that had close links to development education but aimed also to bring together the other social justice-based adjectival educations (Bourn, 2015). In the Maastricht Global Education Declaration that resulted from the 2002 Global Education Congress organised by the North-South Centre of the Council of Europe and partners and which gathered policy makers and practitioners to reflect on a European strategy framework for improving and increasing a global citizenship dimension in education, Global Education was defined essentially as an umbrella term encompassing all the other adjectival educations:

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

2.4 Interlinkages between Education for Sustainable Development and Global Citizenship Education

In the course of the 1990s two new adjectival educations emerged within the educational discourse, namely Education for Sustainable Development and Global Citizenship Education (Bourn, 2015) and in the following years these two educations became increasingly intertwined (Gough, 2018). They replaced Global education as the dominant concepts in policies, academic discourses and practice.

Education for Sustainable Development is related to the concept of sustainable development, which from the late 1980s onwards came to worldwide attention and started to permeate development discourse as a result of the work of the Brundtland Commission first and then the recommendations of the 1992 UN World Conference on Environment and Development, also known as the Rio Summit (Gough, 2018). Since then a commitment to sustainable development has remained high on the international development agenda. In 2015 world leaders approved the

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3 The Brundtland report “Our Common Future” included what is now quoted as the standard definition of sustainable development: “Sustainable development is development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs” (World Commission on Environment and Development, 1987: 43). It also defined sustainable development as a multifaceted concept which should promote economic development, environmental conservation as well as poverty reduction and social development.

4 UN World Summit on Sustainable development in Johannesburg 2002, United Nations World Conference on Sustainable Development, also known as Rio + 20, in 2012
2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development with its 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), which replaced the 8 Millennium Development Goals (MDGs).

In successive United Nations reports on environment and development, education was seen as fundamental for achieving sustainable development (Gough, 2018). In Agenda 21, in particular, the Education chapter has as its first priority “reorienting education towards sustainable development”. There is also a recognition of the importance of bringing together both environmental and development education and integrating them in all disciplines of the formal education curriculum, as well as in non-formal education:

Education is critical for promoting sustainable development and improving the capacity of the people to address environment and development issues. . . . Both formal and non-formal education are indispensable to changing people's attitudes so that they have the capacity to assess and address their sustainable development concerns. It is also critical for achieving environmental and ethical awareness, values and attitudes, skills and behaviour consistent with sustainable development and for effective public participation in decision-making. To be effective, environment and development education should deal with the dynamics of both the physical/biological and socio-economic environment and human (which may include spiritual) development, should be integrated in all disciplines, and should employ formal and non-formal methods and effective means of communication (United Nations, 1993, para 36.3)

The concept of Education for Sustainable Development (ESD) is seen by Reid (2002) as the ‘offspring’ of development education and environmental education. It gained prominence since 2005 as a result of the launch of the UN Decade on Education for Sustainable Development. In the UK, academics such as Sterling and Huckle believed that ESD provided the opportunity for a new and more radical and transformative approach to education, which focused on ‘systemic learning’, combined critical social theories with critical pedagogy and linked sustainability with global democracy (Bourn, 2015). Other academics, on the other hand, are concerned that ESD serves to side-line the critical and political perspectives within environmental education in favour of technocratic approaches that focus on the ‘environmentally-responsible citizen’ (Gough & Scott, 2006). In Germany, according to Scheunpflug and Asbrand (2006), the ideas of global education and of education for sustainability stimulated each other conceptually: the debate on ESD raised the issue of competences and skills while the global education movement inspired the supporters of ESD to integrate global social justice issues. Scheunpflug and Asbrand (2006:39) emphasise that “education for sustainability needs the perspective of global education – otherwise it remains environmental education, regardless of the complexity of a globalised world”. Bourn (2015), however, notices that research and evaluation on ESD from 1992 onwards have, in the

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5 The SDGs include social development goals related to poverty eradication (goal 1), zero hunger (goal 2), good health and wellbeing (goal 3), education (goal 4), gender equality (goal 5), clean water and sanitation (goal 6), and peace, justice and strong institutions (goal 16), together with a greater emphasis on reducing inequalities (goal 10) and promoting economic development (Goal 8 on decent work and economic growth and goal 9 on industry, innovation and infrastructure). The environment and sustainability are also included with goals on affordable and clean energy (goal 7), sustainable cities and communities (goal 11), responsible consumption and production (goal 12), climate action (goal 13), life below water and on land (goal 14 and 15).

6 The SDGs are applicable to all countries, not just developing countries as was the case with the MDGs. Being centred on the concept of sustainable development and its three pillars (economic, environmental and social), the SDGs have a wider perspective than the MDGs which focused primarily on poverty eradication and social development.
main, highlighted that “initiatives in this area have been little more than an extension of environmental education” (ibid.: 21).

As ESD was gaining prominence, another concept, GCE emerged and similarly became an educational priority for the 21st century. According to Bourn (2015), it is from within the development education movement, notably the NGO Oxfam in the UK, that the term GCE emerged as “a way of interpreting personal and social responsibility and engagement in global and development issues, with a nod to educational agendas around identity and political citizenship” (Bourn, 2015: 22). Tarozzi and Torres (2016) underline that the concept of GCE intercepted two different discourses which underlie its political approach. On the one hand, the need to expand the concept of citizenship education towards multicultural citizenship and global citizenship, to recognise that in today’s diverse societies identities are “multiple, changing, overlapping, and contextual, rather than fixed and static” (Banks, 2008: 133). And on the other hand, the tradition of Development Education and ESD with their focus on North/South inequalities, global justice and sustainable development.

In the first decades of the twentieth century, GCE became the object of substantial academic discussions, and in recent years it became established in international education policy. Tarozzi and Torres (2016) underline that this important and new development happened in ways that GCE scholars had never imagined and expected. They identify the Global Education First Initiative (GEFI), launched in 2012 by the UN Secretary-General, has the “start of a new global sensitivity” (Tarozzi & Torres, 2016: 6) and the origin of the prominence of GCE in international policy scenarios. The GEFI includes fostering global citizenship as one of its three priorities; the other two are to expand access to education and to improve the quality of learning. The GEFI clearly links the concept of global citizenship to sustainable development and stresses the transformative role of education. In this view, education should be much more than a provider of competences to entry the job market and be efficient workers and consumers in the global economy; it has the power to shape a sustainable future and a better world:

It is not enough for education to produce individuals who can read, write and count. Education must be transformative and bring shared values to life. It must cultivate an active care for the world and for those with whom we share it. Education must also be relevant in answering the big questions of the day. Technological solutions, political regulation or financial instruments alone cannot achieve sustainable development. It requires transforming the way people think and act. Education must fully assume its central role in helping people to forge more just, peaceful, tolerant and inclusive societies. It must give people the understanding, skills and values they need to cooperate in resolving the interconnected challenges of the 21st century” (United Nations, 2012)

In terms of international policy priorities, GCE is now firmly established also within the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) for the period 2015-2030. SDG 4.7 makes explicit reference to ESD, GCE and the other adjectival educations such as human rights, peace and multi/inter-cultural education, highlighted above:

By 2030, ensure that all learners acquire the knowledge and skills needed to promote sustainable development, including, among others, through education for sustainable development and sustainable lifestyles, human rights, gender equality, promotion of a culture of peace and non-violence, global citizenship and appreciation of cultural diversity and of culture’s contribution to sustainable development (United Nations, 2015)
A clear link and overlap between GCE and ESD is established in SDGs indicator 4.7.1, which compels countries to integrate in a systematic and comprehensive manner GCE and ESD in formal education. Countries are committed to report on the “extent to which (i) global citizenship education and (ii) education for sustainable development, including gender equality and human rights, are mainstreamed at all levels in: (a) national education policies, (b) curricula, (c) teacher education and (d) student assessment” (SDG 4.7.1)

In conclusion, the close association between ESD and GCE developed rapidly in the past few years, particularly since the launch of the GE FI and the inclusion of both ESD and GCE in goal 4 of the SDGs (Gough, 2018). ESD, together with GCE, are seen as educational priorities for the 21st century, and have replaced Global Education as umbrella terms that capture the transformative role of education in relation to global justice and sustainable development. As Bourm (2015) underlines, their growing influence may be related to a resurgence of interest in the idea that education is a vehicle for securing behavioural change.

3. Global Citizenship Education as a nexus of discursive fields

In the past decade, GCE has established itself within mainstream educational discourses. According to Andreotti (2010), the recent rise in popularity of GCE can be interpreted as a response to a major social crisis in today's globalised world and “the perceived failures of education to address the complexities of globalisation, and to fulfill the project of human rights, freedom, democracy and global justice that could be a response to the crisis itself” (Ibid.: 238). However, if GCE is shaped by the very same forces and ways of thinking that have framed education so far, such failures, according to Andreotti (2010), will not be addressed and indeed more of the same will occur. GCE has the potential to provide educators with “other lenses and ways of knowing, being and relating” so that they may “fully engage with the complexities, diversities, uncertainties and inequalities of globalisation” (Ibid.: 238). However, it is also important to recognise that the concept of GCE is embedded in neo-liberal and humanistic discourses that reinforce rather than challenge the dominant metanarratives, or legends as Pike (2008b) calls them, about globalisation and today's global society. Indeed, according to Mannon et al. (2011), the “curricular global turn” that characterises the educational policies of many countries rests on an uncritical view of globalisation as a desired model for Western countries and the rest of the world. It foregrounds the onward economic development of Western countries and conceptualises GCE as a response to “the challenge of preparing students for life in a global society and work in a global economy” (Mannon et al., 2011: 449).

The starting point of a discussion of GCE is therefore to see it as a complex and ambiguous concept that “emerges from a nexus of interrelated discursive fields, each of them contested as well as marked by particular histories, challenges, and possibilities” (Pashby, 2016: 69). The words global, citizenship, and education represent narratives that, although apparently neutral, natural and unquestionable, are in reality contested discursive fields. My work uses the notion of a “discursive field” (Pashby, 2016) to acknowledge the “discursive turn” (Andreotti, 2010), i.e. the extent to which current scholarship is involved in examining how language does not just describe reality but rather constructs reality, thus governing our understanding of the self, the other and the life world. Identifying, analysing and deconstructing discourses is a central and common preoccupation across the humanities and social sciences. It is a challenge to describe the complex
field of discourse studies. In the social sciences, the “discursive turn” draws from the work of Michel Foucault (1972), whose analyses of social history and contemporary culture demonstrates that ‘discourse’ constructs social facts and positions social subjects. Foucault used the term discourse to denote a historically contingent social system that produces knowledge and meaning. So, discourse is essentially a way of organising knowledge and structuring social relations through the collective understanding of the logic of a discourse and its acceptance as social fact. The logic produced by a discourse is structurally related to the broader episteme (structure of knowledge) of the historical period in which it arises. So, “each discourse is a product of historical and social circumstances that provide the discursive practices—terminology, values, rhetorical styles, habits, and truths—that construct it” (Knight Abowitz & Harness, 2006: 655). But, according to Foucault, discourse is also related to power. Discourses in fact are produced by the effects of power within a social order, and this power prescribes particular rules and categories, considered a priori, which define the criteria for legitimating knowledge and truth within the discursive order. In Foucaultian terms, therefore, discourses construct, describe and normalise ‘truths’ about the natural world. These then become taken-for-granted categories, which in turn form the basis of how people are governed and govern themselves. A link is established between ideologies, discourses and language. Pashby (2013) underlines that while ideologies are belief systems through which people understand and act in the world, discourse is the primary way ideology is produced. Through the relationship between ideology and discourse, knowledge is produced within language. In this sense, no discourse is exempt from ideology and at any given time there are a number of contending ideological discourses. Hence, in any given social context, there is not one objective reality, or one version of truth observable through language, but rather many overlapping and/or conflicting ideological discourses at play. Even dominant discourses, i.e. those narratives that take on a neutral status by being taken as given, include contending and conflicting positions (Pashby, 2013).

Seeing GCE as a “nexus of interrelated discursive fields” (Pashby, 2016: 69), therefore, means recognising how language, and in this case the words global, citizenship, and education, do not just describe reality, but rather “construct (different) realities” (Andreotti, 2010: 240). The global/globalisation, citizenship and education are therefore interpreted differently in different contexts according to shared worldviews and cultural assumptions of what counts as real or ideal (Pashby, 2016). Therefore, when understood as discursively, GCE “becomes a complicated idea that is infused with various meanings” (Pashby, 2016: 71). It operates as a “nodal point in policy discourse – a floating signifier that different discourses attempt to cover with meaning” (Mannion et al., 2011: 443):

‘education for global citizenship’ (EGC) is functioning as a nodal point . . . As a ‘nodal point’ . . . it works as a privileged reference point (or signifier) that attempts to partially fix meaning and bring together different discourses. A nodal point is also malleable and unstable discourse, varying depending on the context and how power is gained in organising a socio-discursive field (Mannion et al., 2011: 444)

GCE is therefore a concept that is used ambiguously and is understood differently both within and across a variety of contexts, including various sites of education (Oxley & Morris, 2013; Pashby, 2016). In the next chapters I will unpack the concept of GCE by critically presenting its key constituting concepts as contested discursive fields. I will first focus on the concepts of
globalisation, citizenship and education. I will then look at the combinations of these concepts, in particular global citizenship, citizenship education, and finally global citizenship education.

3.1 Globalisation as a discursive field: complex, multifaced and plural

There is a vast literature on globalisation from a wide range of disciplines. Globalisation has meanings that are discipline-specific and therefore scholars talk about political globalisation, cultural globalisation and economic globalisation (Langran, 2016). Torres (2017) underlines that there are many definitions of globalisation as there are many faces of globalisation. A common feature of many of the different perspectives on globalisation is that it should be regarded as a complex process of transformation of economic, political, cultural and social relations (Bourn, 2015).

Held and McGrew (2003) underline that definitions of globalisation generally refer to the material, the spatial, the temporal and the cognitive aspects of globalisation. The material aspect is evident from the fact that globalisation involves an increased flows of trade, capital and people across the globe, facilitated by different kinds of physical, normative and symbolic infrastructure. Globalisation implies also a significant shift in the spatial reach of social relations and organisations towards the international level, manifested by “a growing magnitude or intensity of global flows such that states and societies become increasingly enmeshed in worldwide systems and networks of interaction” (Held and McGrew, 2003: 3). Beck (2000) underlines that we are living “in a world society, in the sense that the notion of closed spaces has become illusory. No country or group can shut itself off from others” (2000: 11). As a result of this spatial shift, global dynamics shape the lives of everyone, both ‘the tourists’ and ‘the vagabonds’, as well those who are willingly or forcibly not mobile (Bauman, 1998). The local and the global are intertwined and global processes affect all communities:

globalisation represents a significant shift in the spatial reach of social relations and organization . . . This does not mean that the global necessarily displaces or takes precedence over local, national or regional orders of life. Rather, . . . the local becomes embedded within more expansive sets of interregional relations and networks of power (Held and McGrew, 2003: 3).

As distance shrinks, the relative speed of social interaction increases too, and, as a result, social interaction and organisation are no longer constrained by the social time and geographical barriers that characterised modern social life. This implies that “from now on nothing which happens on our planet is only a limited local event, all inventions, victories and catastrophes affect the whole world” (Beck, 2000:11) and as a result people need to reorient and reorganize their lives and actions, as well as organizations and institutions, “along a ‘local-global’ axis” (Beck, 2000:11). A key feature of today’s world is therefore, as Giddens (1990) suggests, “the intensification of worldwide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa” (1990:64).

Globalisation engenders also a cognitive shift, in terms of “a growing public awareness of the ways in which distant events affect local fortunes (and vice versa) as well as in public perceptions of shrinking time and geographical space” (Held and McGrew, 2003: 4). So, the notion of global inter-connection, according to Rizvi (2009), not only describes an empirical reality, but recognises the role that “people themselves play in forging and sustaining conceptions of global
connectivity” (2009: 257). So, global inter-connectivity is not structured and shaped by some “central locus of power”, but is rather defined by “popular consciousness” and a new “global imagination” (2009: 257).

Held and McGrew (2003) stress that whether the concept of globalisation ultimately is useful or hinders “our understanding of the contemporary human condition, and strategies to improve it, is now a matter of intense intellectual and public controversy” (2003: 2). They talk about the “great globalization debate” referring to the heterogeneity of positions on globalisation which cut across the dominant ideological traditions of conservatism, liberalism and socialisms. They cluster the different arguments according to two ideal-type constructions: the “sceptics” who conceive globalisation as a primarily ideological or social construction with marginal explanatory value, and the “globalists” who believe that contemporary globalisation is a real and significant historical development.

For the sceptics, the very concept of globalisation is suspect. What is the global in globalisation? How is it possible to distinguish the international or the transnational from the global? According to the sceptics, the concept of globalisation lacks specificity:

if the global cannot be interpreted literally as a universal phenomenon, then the concept of globalisation lacks specificity... the concept becomes so broad as to become impossible to operationalise empirically and, therefore, misleading as a vehicle for understanding the contemporary world (Held and McGrew, 2003: 4).

Rather than globalisation, the sceptics believe that current trends are better explained by the terms internationalisation (growing links between essentially discrete national economies or societies), and regionalisation (geographical clustering of cross-border economic and social exchanges) (Held and McGrew, 2003: 4-5). The sceptics see a “disjuncture between the widespread discourse of globalisation and the realities of a world in which, for the most part, the routines of everyday lives are still dominated by national and local circumstances” (Held and McGrew, 2003: 5). So, the sceptics do not see the concept of globalisation as a useful heuristic concept to understand the forces shaping the contemporary world, but rather as an “ideological construction”, “a convenient myth” which justifies and legitimises the neoliberal global project, “a necessary myth, through which politicians and governments discipline their citizens to meet the requirements of the global market place” (Held and McGrew, 2003: 5).

The globalists reject the fact that the concept of globalisation can be simply dismissed either as a purely ideological or social construction or as a synonym of Western imperialism. While they acknowledge that the discourse of globalisation may serve the interests of powerful actors in the West, they emphasise that “it reflects real structural changes in the scale of modern social organization” (Held and McGrew, 2003: 6) in its different dimensions: the economic, technological, political and cultural. Globalists acknowledge that historical or spatial pattern of globalisation within each of these domains are not identical or even comparable. The concept of globalisation “recognises this differentiation, allowing for the possibility that it proceeds at different tempos, with distinctive geographies, in different domains” (Held and McGrew, 2003: 6).
Globalists and sceptics express very different interpretations and positions on globalisation. However, according to Held and McGrew (2003), there is some common ground as both sides would accept that: (a) Economic interconnectedness within and among regions has increased, albeit with multifaceted and uneven consequences across different communities; (b) Political, economic and cultural interregional and global competition challenges old hierarchies and generates new inequalities of wealth, power, privilege and knowledge; (c) Transnational and transborder problems have become increasingly salient, calling into question the traditional role, functions and institutions of accountability of national government; (d) Expansion of international governance at regional and global levels poses significant normative questions about the kind of world order being constructed and whose interests it serves; (e) These developments require new modes of thinking about politics, economics and cultural change.

Similarly to Held & McGrew, Torres (2017) understands globalisation as a complex and multifaceted concept. However, he provides a different perspective on globalisation and maintains that we should talk about “a plurality of globalizations” (Torres, 2017: 55) as its meaning takes on different forms. He identifies seven different forms or manifestations of globalisation (Torres, 2017: 55-58). The first form is “globalization from above”, which is framed by neoliberalism and calls for an opening of borders, the proliferation of economic and financial exchanges, and the presence of supra-national governing systems, particularly related to the liberalisation of international trade. The second form of globalisation is the antithesis of the first and can be described as “globalization from below” or “anti-globalization” and manifests itself in individuals, organisations and movements that actively oppose what they perceive as “corporate globalization”. The third takes the form of the “globalization of human rights”, manifested in the development of the international human rights system under which many traditional practices are being called into question, challenged, or forbidden. The fourth relates globalization to hybridity and the many forms that it can take, in particular in terms of hybrid cultures and identities. The fifth manifestation of globalisation intersects the processes defined by the information society and the knowledge society, highlighting the impacts of digital cultures in terms of global cultural and material production as well as how the factors of production are concerned. The last two forms of globalisation identified by Torres (2017) relate to terrorism and in particular, on the one hand, the “globalization of terrorism”, represented by the Al Qaida network, and on the other hand, the “globalization of the international war against terrorism” which manifest itself in militaristic antiterrorist responses, islamophobia, and an emphasis on security and control of borders.

In conclusion, globalisation can be seen as a somewhat indeterminate and plural set of processes, which are the product of multiple forces. It should not be seen as “prefiguring the emergence of a harmonious world society or as a universal process of global integration in which there is a growing convergence of cultures and civilizations” (Held and McGrew, 2003: 4). Indeed, the political, economic and cultural processes that characterise globalisation are by some scholars associated with increasing conflict and inequalities within and between countries. A significant part of the world’s population in both the Global North and Global South remains largely excluded from the benefits of globalisation. The awareness of growing interconnectedness is by some perceived as a welcoming transcending of boundaries that expands people’s horizon. But it creates also new animosities and conflicts, and fuels reactionary politics and deep-seated xenophobia (Held and McGrew, 2003). Rather than seeing globalisation as a finite or linear set of processes we should look at it as “a vast assemblage of competing and contradictory forces that organise and
Globalisation does not harbour a fixed pattern of historical development but rather embodies dynamic tensions:

Globalisation . . . is driven by a confluence of forces and embodies dynamic tensions. . . . since it pulls and pushes societies in different directions, it simultaneously engenders cooperation as well as conflict, integration as well as fragmentation, exclusion and inclusion, convergence and divergence, order and disorder (Held and McGrew, 2003: 7).

Globalisation is therefore “a deeply divisive and, consequently, vigorously contested process” (Held and McGrew, 2003: 4). In this context, it is important to strengthen the agency capacities of (young) people struggling to cope with this complexity and plurality. And this leads directly to notions of citizenship which need to be re-affirmed and re-shaped in the context of this new social reality.

3.2 Citizenship as a discursive field: moving beyond its exclusionary nature?

Citizenship, or “the project of citizenship” as Pashby (2016: 73) calls it, is another source of contestation in the GCE discourse. The term ‘citizenship’ is not only complex and ambiguous but also culturally and historically determined (Tarozzi, Rapanà, Ghirotto, 2013). Citizenship is a western and modern concept. Although its origins can be found in the political cultures of ancient Greece and Rome (Lorenz, 2014a), citizenship became significant as an aspect of modern politics after the revolutions of the seventeenth and eighteenth century, and became intrinsically linked to the formation of the state and then the nation (Isin & Turner, 2007). Citizenship was therefore formed anew through what Pashby (2016: 73) calls the “enlightenment dynamic”, and an association was established between citizenship and the nation-state. Koopmans et al. (2005), for example, define citizenship as “the set of rights, duties, and identities linking citizens to the nation-state” (2005: 7). The relationship between citizens and the nation-state assumed “the nature of a contract that entails both rights and obligations” (Lorenz, 2014a: 147).

Scholars underline that the concept of citizenship is composed of three main elements (Leydet, 2014). The first is citizenship as a legal status, defined by civil, political and social rights, which presupposes that the citizen is a legal person acting according to the law and having the right to claim protection by the state. The second is citizenship as a political principle of democracy, whereby the citizen is a political agent actively participating in a society’s political institutions. The third is citizenship as membership of a political community that fosters a common identity. Citizenship, therefore, is conceptualised essentially as membership of a political community and involves a set of relationships between rights, obligations, participation and identity, which are the defining tenets of membership (Pashby, 2008). Central to this concept of citizenship are questions of identity and of sense of belonging as “for a citizens to participate in, be dutiful to, and claim rights as a member of a political community, s/he must ‘belong’” (Pashby, 2008: 10).

Citizenship therefore “marks the boundary between those who have membership and those who have not . . . it is a status that includes and excludes at the same time” (Tarozzi, Rapanà, Ghirotto, 2013). Firstly, non-citizens do not have the same rights as citizens of a country (see in particular, migrants and asylum-seekers). Secondly, the close association of citizenship with the nation-state created citizens of the state that remained out of the nation, essentially second class citizens like Afro-Americans under segregation, aborigines in Australia, blacks in apartheid South Africa. Isin
and Turner (2007) criticise the fact that the process of nationalization of citizenship resulted in citizenship becoming synonymous with nationality, defined in racial, ethnic or even religious terms. Hannah Arendt (cited in Isin & Turner 2007: 11-12) talks about the “conquest of the state by the nation”. This conquest “was the real origin of the struggles for recognition of those groups that were ostensibly of the state but remained out of the nation” (Isin & Turner, 2007: 12). Third, citizenship masks social structures and policies that reinforce discrimination and social exclusion of certain groups. Dominelli (2014) underlines that “exclusionary practices produce varied citizenship experiences according to social divisions like gender, ethnicity, including the specific variant of indigeneity, ability, age, class and sexual orientation” (2014: 13). So, citizenship seems to be caught in “a paradox of belonging” as it is “complicit with perpetuating inequalities and reinforcing who does and does not belong” (Pashby, 2016: 74).

Contemporary theories of citizenship are therefore concerned with identities - the who of citizenship (Isin & Turner, 2007). Post-modern discourses and new social movements, with their complex understandings of identity, began to challenge the universalist model of citizenship and in particular citizenship’s modernist idea of subjectivity. They gave “voice to groups and subjectivities that do and have not fit the culturally and historically normalized ‘citizen’” (Pashby 2008: 12). As the modern assumptions about the equality of citizens, conceived as individual and autonomous social agents, are now challenged, to remain relevant citizenship must “negotiate the various and diverse identities within and between group members” (Pashby, 2008: 12) and acknowledge the political relevance of difference (cultural, gender, class, race, etc.). The citizen is not the modern autonomous and rational individual but rather an individual situated in a social world, characterised by differences of gender, class, language, race, ethnicity, culture (Isin & Wood, 1999). This demands a renewed notion of citizenship, able to take into account the multiple, overlapping, changing and contextual identities and belonging that characterise todays’ diverse societies, and that challenges “the exclusionary nature inherent to the modern ideal of citizenship” (Pashby, 2008: 12).

Some scholars consider the work of T. H. Marshall on the development of citizenship from the eighteenth century onwards in the context of social inequalities and in particular class inequality, as a foundation for expanding a concept of citizenship to take into consideration the complex and dynamic understandings of identity and belonging in todays’ diverse societies (Banks, 2008; Isin & Wood, 1999). Concerned with class segregation in England in the mid twentieth century, Marshall (1950) conceptualised citizenship as developmental and described how its civil, political, and social elements emerged overtime. Civil citizenship emerged in England in the 18th century and provided citizens with individual rights, such as freedom of speech, thought and faith, the right to own property, and equality before the law. Political citizenship developed in the 19th century and gave citizens the right to vote and the opportunity to exercise political power by participating in public decisions and political life. Social citizenship arose in the 20th century to ensure the right to a certain standard of living by providing the education, health and welfare needed to allow citizens to participate fully in their communities and in the nation. Marshall viewed these three elements of citizenship as interrelated and overlapping. He saw citizenship as an “evolutionary concept that increases equality when it expands” (Banks, 2008: 130), but also as “an ideal toward which nation-states strive but which they never completely attain” (Banks, 2008: 129). Marshall, in fact, raised the question of whether citizenship rights in reality do “dissolve inequalities of class” or rather only “mollify class inequalities and class conflict” (Giddens, 1982: 170).
Marshall's work has been criticised for its exclusive class focus which overlooked other forms of inequality such as gender and ethnicity (Turner, 1986), and particularly for the lack of attention to the fact that rights have expanded not as a result of a gradual process helped by the "beneficent hand of the state" (Giddens, 1982: 171) but rather as a result of social and political struggles "of the underprivileged to improve their lot" (ibid.). However, other scholars believe that Marshall's work remains relevant for discussions on the relationship between citizenship and inequalities. Isin and Wood (1999) underline that Marshall's idea of an inherent conflict between citizenship and class must now be expanded:

The sociological question postmodern societies face today is whether there is a conflict between citizenship and different forms of identity. How does citizenship contribute to or ameliorate sexual, gender, national, ethnic and regional identities? (Isin & Wood, 1999: 30).

Isin and Wood (1999) underline that post-modernity and globalisation force us to abandon the modern, homogeneous and unitary concept of citizenship in favour of a multidimensional and plural concept. Their typology includes overlapping and intersecting forms of radical democratic citizenship (political, civil, social, economic, diasporic, cultural, sexual and ecological) based on a recognition that the identity of the post-modern citizen cannot be merely associated with membership of the nation-state, but is rather an "ensemble of different forms of citizenship understood as competent membership in various value-spheres or fields" (Isin & Wood, 1999: 22).

In these perspectives, citizenship is no longer seen only as a bundle of rights and duties (civil, political, social), but also as a set of practices that define an individual's membership in a polity. Tully (2014) distinguishes "diverse citizenship" from "modern citizenship". Modern citizenship is associated with the historical processes of modernisation, colonisation, and successive discourses of democratisation and globalisation. The language of modern citizenship is criticised by Tully as it presents "idealizations of modern Euroamerican citizenship as the uniquely universal module for all human societies" (Tully, 2014: 8). Diverse citizenship is associated with a multiplicity and diversity of citizenship practices around the world. In this perspective, citizenship is "a situated or 'local' practice that takes countless forms in different locales" (Tully, 2014: 8). It relates to grassroots democratic or civic activities of people in their local communities. Tully summarises the difference between modern and diverse citizenship in this way:

whereas modern citizenship focuses on citizenship as a universalizable legal status underpinned by institutions and processes of rationalization that enable and circumscribe the possibility of civil activity (an institutional/universal orientation), diverse citizenship focuses on the singular civic activities and improvisations of the governed in any practice of government and the diverse ways these are more or less institutionalized or blocked in different contexts (a civic activity/contextual orientation) (Tully, 2014: 9)

In Tully's perspective, citizenship therefore "is not a status given by the institutions of the modern constitutional state", but rather "negotiated practices in which one becomes a citizen through participation" (Tully, 2014: 9). While Tully downplays the importance of the legal aspect of citizenship, Isin and Wood (1999) stress that citizenship should be seen as a status and as a practice: without the status, individuals cannot hold civil, political and social rights, but many rights often arise as practices first and then become embodied in law. In this perspective,
citizenship, therefore, is conceived not only as a set of obligations and entitlements which individuals possess by virtue of their membership in a state, but also as the practices through which individuals and groups formulate and claim new rights or struggle to expand or maintain existing rights. Citizenship therefore becomes “a social process through which individuals and social groups engage in claiming, expanding or losing rights” (Isin & Turner, 2002: 4), essentially an institution for reducing and eliminating inequalities (Isin & Wood, 1999).

Pashby (2008) urges a reconceptualization of citizenship from the specific perspective of a critical understanding of ‘loyalty’ and ‘belonging’, in the context of increasingly diverse societies immersed in a global world. She underlines that today multiple loyalties – cultural, social and political – overlap with multiple geographical positions – local, national, regional, inter-regional and international – and this creates a prevailing sense of insecurity as to where one’s loyalties lie. The concept of multiplex citizenship, according to Tarozzi, Rapanà, Ghirotto (2013) captures this idea of recognising people’s “right to combine and live different cultural, social, national characteristics, betraying the membership to a social, cultural or national group seen as monolithic” (p. 206). The globalisation discourse adds an additional complication to efforts to reconceptualise citizenship as, according to Pashby (2008: 15), “the very tensions that have defined theories of citizenship that respond to cultural diversity within nations continue to emerge along with new issues”.

In conclusion, a new and relevant reconceptualization of citizenship must engage with identity, diversity and various geographical scales. Multiple, contextual, overlapping and shifting identities challenge traditional and deep-seated assumptions about who is identified by others as members of a particular political community and who self identifies with that political community (Pashby, 2008). A reconceptualised citizenship must therefore “promote the agency of socially embedded individuals and the communities that give meaning to a citizen’s sense of self” and “must negotiate at the symbolic level of imagined communities in order to re-envision a diverse and complex citizen” (Pashby, 2008: 17). And, if citizenship is “to provide a framework for a sense of belonging and loyalty to a ‘global community’, it must be flexible enough to serve as an axis to the multiple and shifting identities and allegiances that characterise the current global moment” (Ibid).

3.3 Formal education as a discursive field: a motor for social transformation?

Globalisation and citizenship, as outlined, are contested discursive fields. Pashby (2016) underlines that the discursive turn in the social sciences helps us to understand that also formal education, similarly to globalisation and citizenship, is situated, partial, contingent and provisional. She underlines that schooling is not “a neutral social institution but is situated in a Western, modernist project”, and therefore it is “a partial rather than a natural or neutral occurrence” (Pashby, 2016: 75). It is contingent on the political and economic climate of a particular national context and is therefore “provisional as it changes over time according to the dominant ideology that is framing curricula, content, and pedagogy” (Pashby, 2016: 75). So, formal education faces theoretical critiques that highlight both its links to hegemonic ideologies which reproduce inequalities, but also its great potential in terms of providing spaces for alternative discourses.

A key question relates to whether schooling reproduces dominant ideologies and reinforces social inequalities or rather is a site for deconstructing dominant narratives and transforming society. Discussing Marshall’s work on citizenship, Isin and Wood (1999) underline that mandatory
education was established in Western democracies in the twentieth century to serve the needs of modern capitalist societies, that after having secured civil and political rights, required an educated society and a trained workforce. In this context, “education became tied to occupation” (Isin & Wood, 1999: 29) and contributed to reinforce social stratification and class inequality. So, public education, like citizenship, while expanding membership, it also “served to hide inequities and re-establish the status-quo” (Pashby, 2008: 18). Discussing education in New Zealand, Olssen (2002) underlines that schooling reproduces inequalities because it treats equally students that are in very different circumstances: distinct languages, particular motivational patterns, different orientations towards the future and varying access to cultural capital. Speaking of public schooling in the USA, Glass (2000), similarly, maintains that in a context where educational, social, economic, and political power is unfairly distributed among classes, races, genders and abilities, public education accentuates inequities among students and citizens. Accordingly, behind claims of neutrality and equal opportunity based on merit, “wittingly or not, schools rank, sort, and merge the masses into an ideological order that unfairly reproduces an unjust status quo” (Glass, 2000: 278). By implementing modernist notions of equality and universality of opportunity, schools become complicit in “enabling and propagating a status quo that benefits those who enjoy a degree of capital” (Pashby, 2008: 18). Yet, public schools, according to Glass (2000), are caught in a paradox. Public education ultimately reproduces social inequalities, but it is also the main institution that tries to address these issues, as “schools, with all their faults and despite questions about their own causal role in injustices, remain crucial to a hope for creating more fair and equitable communities” (Glass, 2000: 279).

Global migration has brought new challenges to schools in multicultural democratic nation-states. Scholars have highlighted the wide gap between the democratic ideals of Western nations and the daily experiences of ethnic minority students in schools. Banks (2008) underlines that ethnic minority students in many Western countries often experience discrimination because of their cultural, linguistic, religious, and value differences. Teachers and students perceive them as the “Other”. Scholars highlight that historically schools have focused on preparing students for citizenship in the nation-state. This meant ensuring that young people understood their present and future role within the state in which they lived, and learned to identify with its legal, political, religious, social and economic institutions (Osler & Starkey, 2003). Priority was therefore given to fostering in students allegiance and commitment to the nation-state while their need to maintain a sense of belonging and commitment to their local communities and cultures or to their original homelands was overlooked (Banks, 2008). This resulted in exclusion and alienation (Osler & Starkey, 2003). In this context, Banks (2008) stresses the need for schools to implement multicultural citizenship, which recognises the need and right of students to “maintain commitments to their cultural communities, to a transnational community, and to the nation-state in which they are legal citizens” (Banks, 2008: 134). He recognises, however, the challenge of balancing diversity and unity and underlines that schools around the world are finding difficult to develop and implement “policies and practices that respond to the diversity of students and also foster national cohesion” (Banks, 2008: 133).

Formal education has been criticised not only from a social justice and multicultural perspective but also by post-colonial scholars, who stressed that schooling is “implicated in the production and reproduction of colonialism” (Pashby, 2016: 76). Post-colonialism or post-colonial studies is the academic study of the cultural legacy of colonialism and imperialism, and focuses on the effects
of colonisation on cultures and societies. A key concern of post-colonial scholars is the politics of knowledge, and in particular how the identity of colonised people is socially constructed. This identity derives from: (i) the coloniser's generation of cultural knowledge about the colonised people; and (ii) the application of that Western cultural knowledge to subjugate non-Western people. Cultural critic Edward Said is a key figure of post-colonial theory and discourse. In Orientalism (Said, 1978), he describes the us-and-them "binary social relation" with which Western Europe intellectually divided the world - into the "Occident" and the "Orient". In this socially constructed us-and-them binary relation, which he terms Orientalism, "the West" created the cultural concept of "the East". This allowed the Europeans to prevent the peoples of the Middle East, of India, and of Asia from expressing and representing themselves as discrete peoples and cultures. Orientalism, according to Said, thus conflated and reduced the non-Western world into the homogeneous cultural entity known as "the East". In service to colonialism and imperialism, this us-and-them paradigm and construction of the Orient allowed European scholars to represent Middle East and Asian countries as inferior and backward, irrational and wild, as opposed to a Western Europe that was the opposite of the Oriental Other and therefore was portrayed as superior and progressive, rational and civil. Similarly, Gayatri Spivak (1990) talks about the "worlding of the West as world". She developed and applied Foucault's term epistemic violence to describe the destruction of non-Western ways of perceiving the world and the resultant dominance of the Western ways of perceiving, understanding, and knowing the world. She stresses that the legacy of colonialism affects both colonisers and colonised. The coloniser is unable to know their situation of real exploitation of other peoples, and continues to believe in its supremacy, while the colonised forgets about the "worlding of the West as world" and wants to be civilised and catch up with the West.

Drawing from post-colonialism, Andreotti (2015) talks about the role of education in the "violent dissemination of a dominant modern/colonial global imaginary based on a single story of progress, development and human evolution that ascribes different value to cultures/countries" (Andreotti, 2015: 222). Within this global imaginary, the world is divided between cultures/countries (the West) that are perceived to be 'ahead', and cultures/countries (the rest of the world) perceived to be 'behind'. Andreotti (2015) underlines that this single story equates development with knowledge, and progress with advances in science and technology. Within the modern/colonial global imaginary, the West continues to perceive itself as superior, and the rest of the world is seen as backward and in need to catch up with the West:

in this modern/colonial global imaginary, humanity is divided between those who perceive themselves as knowledge holders, hard workers, world-problem solvers, rights dispensers, global leaders; and those who are perceived to be (and often perceive their cultures as) lacking knowledge, laid back, problem creators, aid dependent and global followers in their journey towards the undisputed goal of development (Andreotti, 2015: 222).

This "mythology has been constructed, sustained, normalized, and naturalized through education" (Andreotti, 2015: 222) and shapes our patterns of international representation and engagement. Andreotti (2015) describes these patters with the acronym 'HEADS UP': Hegemonic – justifying superiority and reinforcing status quo; Ethnocentric – projecting one view/idea as universal; Ahistorical – forgetting historical legacies and complications; Depoliticised – disregarding power inequalities and ideologies; Self-serving – oriented towards self-affirmation and self-congratulatory heroism; Un-complicated – offering easy solutions and quick fixes; Paternalistic –
providing help to affirm superiority, waiting for a ‘thank you’. She underlines that “undoing the legacy of the single story will require an attitude of permanent vigilance and compassion” because our “auto-pilot position is to reproduce these same patterns precisely while declaring our innocence or transformation” (Andreotti, 2015: 224).

Andreotti (2010) is also concerned about how recent literature related to education in the 21st century conceptualises the changes that are required in education to respond to the challenges of globalisation and the information technology. An economic neoliberal perspective dominates some of the reconceptualisation of education and the perceived required “shift from ‘twentieth’ to ‘twenty-first century’ ways of seeing knowledge, learning and identities” (Andreotti, 2010: 244). This neo-liberal perspective is based on a teleological understanding of progress that sees the twentieth century as modernity and the twenty-first century as post-modernity. Education, in this perspective, is a key instrument to maintain and improve a country’s economic advantage in the global economic order, and should change to produce new subjectivities and pedagogies for a new universal post-industrial economic order (Andreotti, 2010).

In conclusion, seeing formal education as a discursive field helps us realise how dominant ideologies are relayed through schooling. Yet, schools are also important and fundamental institutional spaces for the potential deconstruction of colonial narratives (Pashby, 2016). Andreotti indeed talks about “the educational urgency to think educationally about forms of global citizenship education that can help us to imagine otherwise” (Andreotti, 2015: 221). She believes that post-colonialism can help educators interrogate taken for granted concepts and assumptions, and pluralise ways of thinking and practice (Andreotti, 2010). In this sense it give educators “the opportunity to shape change rather than adapt to it” (Andreotti, 2010: 245).

4. Global citizenship: contested, popular and ambiguous

Having outlined how globalisation, citizenship and formal education are discursive fields, I now turn to global citizenship to show how it is both ambiguous and contested. In the last two decades the term ‘global citizenship’ has become popular in the scholarly literature but has also fast become a buzzword. Global citizenship is a trending term in the field of educational research. Goren and Yemini (2017) conducted a systematic review of empirical studies on GCE and found that the term global citizenship was mentioned in the abstract or as a key word of several articles but there was no theoretical framework link to it or engagement with it throughout the main text of the articles. The term global citizenship “was woven into articles for the purpose of relating to a substantial, globally-recognized topic” (Goren & Yemini, 2017: 180). Global citizenship is popular in academia but also in a variety of sectors. Indeed, a quick search on Google of the term global citizenship clearly illustrates how it is used by a variety of actors, including private companies, educational institutions, governments and NGOs. It should be noted however that it “subject to a wide range of interpretations in the diverse contexts in which it is appropriated and promoted” (Oxley & Morris, 2013: 301-302), and “reflects different ideologies and ideas of what is and ought to be desired of citizens” (Pashby, 2016: 70). Jorgenson & Shultz (2012) speak of “the controversy of how to define something that has become both an empty signifier and an overflowing container of discourse, practice, and policy” (2012: 2).

The concept of global citizenship, therefore, is not only popular but also highly contested, ambiguous and conceptually vague. The difficulty in conceptualising global citizenship is linked
to the fact that the key components of this construct, global and citizenship, as we have seen, are “contestant concepts that spark vigorous debates” (Rapoport, 2015b: 28). Moreover, it is important to recognise that, as Andreotti (2010) underlines, a concept like global citizenship is situated in a specific culture, era and/or geopolitical context; is partial and liable to be seen differently by others; is contingent as its understanding and use depends on the context; and is provisional because its understanding and use can and does change.

4.1 Global citizenship or globally-oriented citizenship?

In the scholarly literature, the concept of global citizenship is contested, and characterised by a “polarity of opinion” (Oxley & Morris 2013: 303). For some global citizenship implies universality and a deep commitment to a broader moral purpose, while others underline that global citizenship is more than a global ethic, or a moral imperative, and offer a political conceptualisation. Global citizenship in this view “is a key element in the quest for a new language of politics which challenges the belief that the individual’s central political obligations are to the nation-state (Linklater, 2002: 317). Dower (2000) builds his argument in favour of global citizenship on four premises: 1) Some kind of a global ethic is to be accepted; 2) Being a global citizen is not to be understood as merely the assertion of such a global ethic; 3) World government is not desirable; 4) Global citizenship is not to be defined as the relationship of a world citizen to a world state. He maintains that scholars have worked with “a false dichotomy between a merely moral definition of global citizenship (commitment to a global ethic) and a fully-fledged institutional definition, where the appropriate institutions are already in place” (Dower, 2000: 567). He maintains that global citizenship may be defined in terms of intentions and aspirations and suggests that because of the nature of today’s global situation and challenges, there is a need for global citizens working for global goals. This means “using existing institutions appropriate to this and creating and strengthening institutions to the same end” (Dower, 2000: 567). So, in this view, global citizenship is necessary to institutionalise moral commitments to outsiders and it is desirable in order to democratise already existing and emerging global governance institutions.

Other scholars contest the concept of global citizenship, and emphasise that citizenship makes sense only in a given political community within defined territorial boundaries, essentially within a bounded territorial space, in which citizens see themselves as part of a common demos (Leydet, 2014). Miller (2011), one of the main critics of the concept of global citizenship, underlines that citizenship is a political idea whereas global citizenship is essentially apolitical, a “ghostly shadow” of real citizenship (2011: 2). Citizenship, according to Miller (2011), is a political relationship between co-citizens and as such it involves weak and strong forms of reciprocity. He underlines that these forms of reciprocity are not present in neither the growing networks of international organisations and groups that pursue political objectives at the global level, what is generally referred to as “global civil society”, nor in the “everyday global citizenship” expressed by people who try to live in a way that recognises the equal rights and claims of all the world’s population. He believes that global citizenship is not an alternative to local or national citizenship as we cannot have a citizen to citizen relationship to all our fellow human beings and concludes that “what we can do is identify with them, show ethical concern for them, arrange our institutions to avoid global harms . . . we can have citizenship that incorporates global concern” (Miller, 2011: 21). Miller concedes that we do need to reconceive citizenship, although not by changing the central arenas in which it is practiced: “not the global citizen, but the globally concerned citizen, is the ideal we should be aiming to promote” (Miller, 2011: 23).
Similarly, Bowden (2003) and Parekh (2003) believe that the notion of a global citizen or citizen of the world is not a viable one, and support the idea of “globally-minded” or “globally-oriented” citizens, who are first citizens of a particular state. Globally-minded or oriented citizens need to have first “a sense of belonging and an appreciation or understanding of their own history and culture . . . what is that goes into making up the nation in a broader sense” (Bowden 2003: 359). This self-awareness, according to Bowden (2003), will enable them to be more open-minded and aware that beyond their respective borders there are peoples who may be different but who place a similar value on their identity. Globally-minded citizens are also aware that actions taken in one part of the world can have an effect on people/nations beyond one’s borders and “would do well to follow that well-known catchphrase, ‘think globally, act locally’” (Bowden, 2003: 359).

So, as stated by Gaudelli (2016), global citizenship can be understood in a “totalizing manner” (2016: 13), meaning that an individual will have the rights and privileges of citizenship everywhere. Or, more pragmatically, global citizenship can be seen as the development of an individual’s identity, as “rooted in a particular community but with a sense of connection, responsibility and concern for people elsewhere” (2016: 13). From an educational perspective, scholars use the term global citizenship, but they generally mean globally-minded or globally-oriented citizenship.

Pike (2008a), for example, underlines that the concept of citizenship has been very adaptable over time, has changed to meet various geographical, political and cultural pressures and has moved from an exclusionary force towards ever greater inclusion. In a context characterised by ever increasing interdependence, “it is time for our understanding of citizenship . . . to shift once more, to expand as an ideal that more closely benefits the world we have created” (2008: 47). But, for Pike, expansion does not mean “dismantling the present construction of citizenship” (2008: 48), he does not call for an end to national citizenship, nor for the institution of a world government. Rather he takes a pedagogical approach and in particular a new perspective on citizenship education. He urges educators to help students explore the implications of global trends in terms of “their rights and responsibilities, their allegiances and loyalties, and their opportunities for meaningful participation” (2008: 48). For Pike, citizenship, in a constitutional sense, will remain national; it is the state that will continue to provide citizens with their primary sense of belonging but the challenge is to develop also an ethos of global citizenship, i.e. “to imbue the concept of citizenship with an ethos – a set of moral principles and codes of conduct – that is global in scope” (2008: 48). So, while the state will continue to grant the constitutional rights and duties of citizenship, education should play a critical role in cultivating in young citizens this ethos of global citizenship in order to foster “active national citizens with an informed global conscience” (2008: 48). Similarly, Peterson talks about the need for citizenship to be shaped by, and in turn shape “a global imagination” (Peterson, 2016: 259). He talks about focusing citizenship education on a “globally oriented citizenship”, that “is intimately intertwined with other forms of citizenship, (whether local, regional or national), which are mutually reinforcing” (Peterson, 2016: 261). He maintains that global-oriented citizenship is political, and occurs primarily through the political structures and processes of the nation-state (2016: 258). For Peterson:
structures, as well as the skills and capacities, either provided or restricted by our special duties as national citizens, which make it possible, challenging or impossible ... to meet our global obligations" (2016: 259).

In conclusion, a global orientation to citizenship is generally constructed as an expansion of national citizenship, so while the nation-state remains the main site of political organisation, the key tenets of citizenship – rights, duties, participation, and identity – are reimagined, from an educational perspective, “in new and multiple ways that are not limited to the spaces defined by the nation-state” (Pashby, 2008: 23). Pashby (2011) raises the question of whether this global orientation to citizenship does indeed constitute a new theory of citizenship:

Can citizenship be re-conceptualised or is it so entrenched in a nation-state framework that it can only be imagined in terms of extending towards the global rather than being constituted within a notion of the global? Or can some global citizens understand themselves as global first and then as extending to national and local? (Pashby, 2011: 439)

She further underlines that constructing global citizenship as an expansion of national citizenship may re-inscribe the exclusionary nature and the privilege of earlier applications of citizenship and retrench rather than transform power inequalities:

global citizenship is often conceptualised as an expansion of national citizenship and it is unclear whether or not a revised democratic citizenship education that ‘expands’ to take up a politics of difference in a global orientation or that adds a global orientation to a national model of citizenship actually alters the status quo (Pashby, 2011: 428).

4.2 Global citizenship between cosmopolitan and relativist conceptualisations

Oxley & Morris (2013) have developed a typology to clarify the different meanings of global citizenship. They begin underlining that global citizenship is a “distinctive category” deserving comprehensive analysis (Oxley & Morris, 2013: 303), essentially a discursive field drawing from concepts such as citizenship, cosmopolitanism, human rights, development, culture, social justice, environment. Their typology distinguishes eight different forms of global citizenship on the basis of their ideological underpinnings. The first four types of global citizenship are conceptualisations within the overarching category of cosmopolitanism and include: political, moral, economic and cultural global citizenship. The latter four are advocacy-based interpretations, based on more communitarian and relativist perspectives, and include social, critical, environmental and spiritual global citizenship. Before illustrating the eight types of global citizenship identified by Oxley and Morris, it is worth highlighting briefly cosmopolitanism, communitarianism and relativism as the broad perspectives that inform this typology.

Cosmopolitanism has seen a resurgence in popularity (Dower, 2003) and “as a global political theory has found renewed enthusiasm as well as reinvigorated practical relevance” (Brown & Held, 2010: 1). The central tenant of cosmopolitanism is that there are moral duties and obligations owed to all human beings based solely on our common humanity, without reference to race, gender, nationality, ethnicity, culture, religion, political affiliation, state citizenship or other communal particularities (Brown & Held, 2010). Three moral and normative commitments emerge from this ethical perspective (Brown & Held, 2010): 1) Individualism, i.e. the primary unit of moral concern are individual human beings, not states or other forms of communitarian association; 2) Egalitarianism, i.e. the moral concern for individuals should be equally applied.
This means a moral imperative to respect all human beings equally; 3) Universalism, i.e. moral concern and obligations apply to everyone everywhere in the world. Cosmopolitanism is certainly popular today, but it is also strongly criticised as it is regarded by some scholars as a neo-imperial form, whose universalist perspective is rooted in a set of institutions and practices that are West-centric (Oxley & Morris, 2013). This critique is eloquently expressed by Bowden (2003):

when ... cosmopolitans declare themselves to be a ‘citizen of the world’, what they mean is that they are citizens of the cosmopolitan, globalised, liberal-democratic Western world that constitutes ‘the center’. It is a world which outsiders are welcomed to join (or are drawn into), only so long as they measure up or are happy to conform to Western values” (Bowden, 2003: 355)

Communitarianism is essentially a reaction to the abstract doctrines of liberalism. It critiques the liberal conception of the “self-regarding or sovereign individual” (Isin & Wood, 1999: 8) and maintains that citizens are not abstract individuals acting on universal principles but are rather situated and embedded in concrete communities of shared practice (Dower, 2003). In terms of the reconciliation of communitarianism with a global ethic, as an essential element of global citizenship, Dower (2003) identifies two perspectives. Some scholars (Sandel, 1982, Taylor 1989) believe that moral values and norms arise from the shared life of a community and from actual social relations, practices and traditions and therefore obligations are primarily between members of the same community, i.e. a society defined by a bounded territorial space. Other scholars, including Dower (2003), maintain that communitarianism can be developed to embrace a global perspective and global responsibility, as often people do not belong to just one community, but rather to a number of different communities, including “communities of shared concern that cross national borders and are not defined in terms of territorial space” (Dower, 2003: 127).

Relativism maintains that moral values are relative to cultures or societies and thus they vary from culture to culture. According to this perspective, there are no universal values, or values that are accepted in all cultures, and therefore what is right or good is determined by the practices of the relevant society. Dower (2003) critiques this perspective and maintains that in all societies there is a core of central values and norms but there are different expressions of these core values, so it only appears that there is difference. Secondly, he maintains that a relativist presupposes a society to be a monolithic whole with one set of agreed values and norms incapable of being challenged by dissenting minorities. Third, relativism claim of respecting and not interfering with other societies means that it has no principled basis for interacting with other societies and in particular condemning violations of human rights and dignity. Dower (2003) acknowledges that relativism allows for the recognition that there is a great deal of variation in how people live their lives and in the “social codes” (Dower, 2003: 129) that guide their actions. He also recognises the risk that a dominant society may impose its own values and norms on other societies, and conceives that cosmopolitanism and a global ethic are tainted by cultural imperialism. He rejects however the claims of some relativist that human rights are an imposition of Western ideas emanating from the Enlightenment and maintains that they are not a cultural imposition but rather universally applicable (Dower, 2003). Similarly, Abdi and Shultz (2008) talk about the need for a universal approach to human rights, as, on the one hand, efforts to universalize human rights have been “the outcome of oppression and the struggle for liberation” (2008: 3), and, on the other hand, the power of the human rights vision and the enactment of civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights enables marginalised individuals and groups to challenge oppression.
In view of the plethora of popular versions of global citizenship and the diversity of academic debates on its merits, it is useful to apply the typology of global citizenship developed by Oxley and Morris (2013) as a more consistent analytical tool for the purpose of this research. My description of the different types of global citizenship follows the typology and the scholars identified by Oxley and Morris (2013) but it also includes other perspectives and authors that are in line with the eight ideal-types.

The four cosmopolitan types identified by Oxley and Morris (2013) are: political, moral, economic and cultural global citizenship.

**Political global citizenship** includes three different perspectives. The predominant interpretation is cosmopolitan democracy while the two more radical alternatives envisage a world state (see for example Wendt, 2003), or are based on what Gabay (2008) terms “anarcho-cosmopolitanism”. In terms of the two radical ideas, establishing a world state, according to Oxley and Morris (2003) is viewed by a minority of scholars as a real possibility, by some as a worthwhile but unlikely ideal, essentially unfeasible and unrealistic, and by others as undesirable. Anarcho-cosmopolitanism, according to Gabay (2008) is about overcoming the nation-state system to create an anarchic or libertarian socialist society based on a cosmopolitan ethic, but, according to Oxley and Morris (2013) a form of anarcho-cosmopolitanism may be seen also in the emergence of a global civil society. The mainstream interpretation of political global citizenship promotes “cosmopolitan democracy” (Held, 1995). This challenges the notion that “the nation-state is the only locus for democracy and that the state alone has the power to guarantee the rights of its citizens” (Osler & Starkey, 2003). Cosmopolitan democracy is essentially a form of global democratic governance based on the strengthening of international institutions such as the United Nations (Dower, 2000, 2003). Global democrats such as Pogge (1992) imagine a global multi-layered democratic order, based on the principle of subsidiarity, where power is exercised above and below existing sovereign states, which are stripped of their centrality, and where citizenship can be exercised in a multiplicity of sites:

> persons should be citizens of, and govern themselves through, a number of political units of various sizes, without any one political unit being dominant and thus occupying the traditional role of the state... political allegiance and loyalty should be widely dispersed over these units: neighbourhood, town, county, province, state, region, and world at large (Pogge, 1992: 58).

In this perspective, if democracy is conceptualised as cosmopolitan, then the actors within this cosmopolitan democratic order should be by extension cosmopolitan citizens incorporating the local, national, regional and global dimensions of citizenship (Osler & Starkey, 2003).

**Moral global citizenship** draws from the idea of a global ethic. Waks (2008) identifies two forms of moral cosmopolitans. The first, the ‘strong cosmopolitans’ such as Nussbaum (1996) argue that patriotism is morally unacceptable and we should pledge our allegiance to the community of human beings in the entire world. From this perspective, the primary loyalty of all citizens should be to their fellow human beings; local, regional and national group loyalties do not have any special priority over those afforded to cultures and individuals from outside these groups. Becoming a world citizen, for Nussbaum (1996), does not necessarily mean relinquishing local affinities,
identities or beliefs as these inevitably define certain elements of human character that influence our interaction with others. However, for her, an individual’s primary moral focus should remain on universal and interconnecting human values. The second conceptualisation of cosmopolitanism, identified by Waks (2008), the ‘new (or rooted) cosmopolitanism’ of scholars such as Appiah (1997), Beck (2006) and Kymlicka & Walker (2012), suggests a form of global moral ethics which draws from “a synthesis of liberal universalism and communitarianism” (Waks, 2008: 209). According to Appiah (1997), cosmopolitanism and patriotism are not incompatible because they are not mutually exclusive or antithetical concepts. He distinguishes between cosmopolitanism and humanism; while the latter promotes global homogeneity, the former celebrates “different local human ways of being” (Appiah, 1997: 621). Gaudelli (2016) believes that rooted cosmopolitanism overcomes the limitations of earlier Western-centric versions of cosmopolitanism, as it “recognizes the possibilities to be worldly and not of that particular world” (2016: 21). Moral cosmopolitanism finds its most visible expression in the international human rights declarations and conventions, which, according to Oxley and Morris (2013) can reconcile both universalism and communitarianism. Some scholars support a “universal, or ‘strong cosmopolitan’ understanding of human rights”, but since human rights “can be reinterpreted and embedded within local contexts, they are not incompatible with the more communitarian ideas of the ‘new cosmopolitans’ (Oxley & Morris, 2013: 308).

**Economic global citizenship** is particularly contested in the scholarly literature. On the one hand, economic global citizenship draws from individualism, capitalism and neo-liberal economic ideas and is tied to notions of competition and the free market aimed at increasing consumption and economic growth (Oxley & Morris, 2013). Some scholars underline that this perspective disregards moral and cosmopolitan principles. Essentially, it depicts a “global imaginary”, whereby individuals, despite superficial differences, have the same fundamental wants and needs, and when individuals follow their own self-interest, the interest of the planet will also be served (Richardson, 2008). Other scholars, on the other hand, argue that economic global citizenship is indeed morally engaged as the increasing spread of Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) practices demonstrates. However, the extent to which this form of economic global citizenship, or “global business citizenship” as Logsdon and Wood (2005) call it, can co-exist with conceptions of global ethics and social justice is contested. Logsdon & Wood (2005) believe that “global business citizenship” ensures responsible and ethical business practices and ultimately a “course of beneficial and fair globalization for all the world’s peoples” (2005: 56). Tully (2008), on the other hand, sees these corporate practices as a smokescreen to distract attention from the real profit-maximising motives.

**Cultural global citizenship**, which is the last cosmopolitan type identified by Oxley and Morris (2013), relates to being open to people from other places, having an interest in their cultural practices, learning about these practices through reading, travel and personal contact and shaping “a personal identity as a cosmopolitan through such experiences” (Waks, 2008: 204). Oxley & Morris (2013) present De Ruyter and Spiecker (2008)’s model of global citizenship, which is based on four elements: 1) Minimal cultural citizenship relates to the ability to speak the dominant language, have a moral, political and social knowledge and the disposition to abide by the law, 2)
Cultural competence builds on minimal citizenship and includes also the ability to contribute to the cultural flourishing of the society; 3) Have the ability to evaluate cultural practices from an ethical perspective; 4) Have experience of life in multicultural societies and have access to a variety of cultures. This model however is criticised as it seems to propose a Nietzschean “cultural übermensch”, a sort of “superman” or “beyond-man” (Oxley & Morris, 2013: 311). Cultural global citizenship is criticised also for its elitist implications. Drawing from Bauman’s (1998) ‘tourist’/’vagabond’ distinction, Roman (2004), in particular, talks about “intellectual tourism” in educational contexts as a discourse which facilitates “brief excursions into ‘other’ people’s lived cultures”, essentially a “cultural immersion for the sake of promoting diversity and understanding through cultural exposure” (Roman, 2004: 240). These experiences often reproduce Eurocentric frames, reify difference and notions of cultural otherness and “freeze in time and space particular stereotypes of what such differences mean” (Roman, 2004: 242).

The four advocacy forms of global citizenship identified by Oxley & Morris (2013) draw from more relativist or communitarian perspectives. They support an advocacy-based approach focused on promoting social change. They include: social, critical, environmental and spiritual global citizenship.

**Social global citizenship** is essentially about transnational activism through civil society organisations. This form of global citizenship presents some similarities with the “anarcho-cosmopolitanism” of political global citizenship, however it distinguishes itself from it as the global CSOs that characterise social global citizenship do not have a universalist focus, but rather a communitarian perspective drawing from a particular social context or sociological discourse such as gender, ethnicity, sexuality, disability, class. Social global citizenship has similarities also with moral global citizenship and in particular the new, rooted cosmopolitanism manifested, for example, by Banks (2008)’s idea of “multicultural citizenship”. Here citizens maintain identifications and commitments to multiple communities (cultural, national and transnational), and participate to enhance democracy, equality and social justice in their cultural communities, as well as their nations, regions and in the world (Banks, 2008). Despite these overlaps, Oxley & Morris (2013) believe that social global citizenship should be a distinct type because it tends to be more relativist and communitarian. And it may include civil society organisations that work towards moral cosmopolitan goals, but also “more secretive, partisan or violent objectives” (2013: 312).

**Critical global citizenship** is in direct opposition to the cosmopolitan forms. It rejects universalism and assumes a more localised and morally relativist stance. It has its roots in theories of post-development and post-colonialism.

Post-development theory arose in the late 1980s and 1990s, when a number of post-development theorists like Arturo Escobar (1995), James Ferguson (1994) and Wolfgang Sachs (1992) challenged the very meaning of development. It holds that the development process is socially constructed and that Western interests are guiding its direction and outcome. Therefore, development itself fundamentally reflects the pattern of Western hegemony. As an ideology and a social vision development is ingrained in the ideals of modernization, which holds western economic structure and society as a universal model for others to follow and emulate. The way
development is understood is rooted in a colonial discourse that depicts the North as "advanced" and "progressive", and the South as "backward", "primitive".

Post-colonialism, as outlined (see section 3.3 in this chapter) is concerned with the legacy of colonialism and imperialism, uses post-structuralist deconstruction to destabilise Western/European/White supremacy, and draws from critical theory to make explicit the connection between assumptions of cultural supremacy and the unequal distribution of wealth and labour in the world (Andreotti, 2010). Latin American post-colonial scholars such as Mignolo (2000) and Maldonado-Torres (2004) highlight that coloniality - the 'forgetting' of the colonialist expansionist appropriation of lands, epistemic racism thorough the elimination and subjugation of difference, and epistemic violence through the control of knowledge production is intrinsically linked to modernity: coloniality is “both the hidden face of modernity and the condition of its possibility” (Mignolo, 2000: 772).

Oxley & Morris (2013) see critical global citizenship as a more radical subset of social global citizenship. They stress that critical global citizenship promotes “a form of ‘counter-hegemony’, emphasising the deconstruction of oppressive global structures, and . . . ‘a politics of social transformation’” (Oxley & Morris, 2013: 313). They see what Tully (2014) labels “diverse citizenship” as an example of critical global citizenship. Tully’s diverse citizenship as we have seen relates to grassroots democratic or civic activities of people in their local communities. In its global form it refers to the “glocal activities of networking with other local civic practices” (Tully, 2014: 9). Tully’s conceptualisations and examples of local forms of civic citizenship practices and glocal networking are, in my opinion, more in line with social global citizenship. A more apt example of critical global citizenship is provided by Andreotti (2010), who sees global citizenship as “‘reciprocal and transformative encounters with strangers’ . . . beyond geographical, ideological, linguistic, or other representational boundaries” (2010: 239). These encounters are based on openness, recognition of difference, and negotiation of meaning, rather than normative ideas of democracy, freedom, rights, justice, development, progress which “conveniently forget” that other people may have very different and perfectly logical interpretations of these concepts” (Andreotti, 2010: 239). Oxley & Morris (2013) conclude that while generally framed within a relativist and post-colonial perspective, some scholars, in particular Abdi and Shultz (2008), reconcile post-colonial ideas with an explicit support for human rights, which is generally a cosmopolitan and universalistic standpoint. This demonstrates the potential reconciliation of certain conceptions of critical global citizenship with forms of political and moral global citizenship (Oxley & Morris, 2013).

In consideration of the global scale of environmental issues, conceptualisations of global citizenship tend to include a concern for the environment but the concept of ‘environmental global citizenship’ is not common (Oxley & Morris, 2013). Three main environmental perspectives emerge in the literature: the mainstream movement based on the concept of sustainable development, a radical discourse based on the concept of degrowth (Latouche, 2010) and an eco-centric position supporting “Earth Jurisprudence” (United Nations, 2016; 2017). The mainstream environmental movements draw from anthropocentric positions which focus on environmental protection to guarantee the rights of living human beings and future generations across the world (Oxley & Morris, 2013). The concept of sustainable development conveys this idea of the instrumentality of environmental conservation to meet our present and future needs. The degrowth
discourse criticises the concept of sustainable development as it does not challenge the premise of development being equated with economic growth. Gaudelli (2016) underlines that the foundation of sustainability is indeed to maintain the current economic system and extend growth to other places. As a reaction, a movement of scholars, intellectuals and citizens has emerged supporting the principle of degrowth to shift and reorient thinking about development and people’s relationship to the biosphere (Gaudelli, 2016). Lastly, a number of scholars question, from a post-colonial perspective, the universalism of western thought, which has placed humans at the centre relegating the planet to an object for human benefit and consumption (Burdon, 2012; Mylius, 2013). They support an eco-centric perspective whereby earth and nature have rights and need protection on an intrinsic level, and humans are part of, but not dominant, in a system of human and non-human relations. The concepts of “planetary citizenship” (Sant et al.: 71) and “Earth Jurisprudence”, understood as the rights of the planet and earth, convey the epistemic and legal changes required to think and live without humans being “the centre of all things” (Mylius, 2013: 104).

Oxley and Morris (2013) underline the links between environmental global citizenship and other forms of citizenship. When combined with the rights of indigenous people, it shows an association with cultural global citizenship. In its post-colonial eco-centric perspective, it overlaps with critical global citizenship, and when it is associated with concepts such as human rights and global justice it falls within the scope of moral global citizenship. From the perspective of the civil society actors involved in the environmental movement, environmental global citizenship overlaps with anarcho-cosmopolitanism or social global citizenship. However, despite these convergences, the focus on the environment as a strong feature of global citizenship justifies its separate categorisation (Oxley & Morris, 2013).

The last type identified by Oxley & Morris (2013) is spiritual global citizenship, which promotes a form of connection between faith or emotion and our relationship to the world. It is essentially a form of holism that draws from religious teachings, faith-based meditations and certain forms of humanism that emphasise affective elements. Spiritual global citizenship manifests itself through socio-emotional attitudes such as love and caring for humanity, empathy and unselfish altruism, humility and charity. There are significant overlaps with moral global citizenship, and intersections with social global citizenship as many global civil society actors are faith-based organisations (Oxley & Morris 2013). An example of spiritual global citizenship is the faith-based GCE advocated by Dill (2013). Dill (2013) starts its analysis by underlining two main features of GCE - global consciousness and global competences - as constitutive elements of how global citizenship is embodied in educational practices. He stresses that on the surface these two features may appear to contradict one another. The moral sensibilities at the centre of global consciousness - a focus on human rights, peace and universal benevolence - may be in conflict with the economic framework driving global competences, which focus on success in the competitive global marketplace (Dill, 2013). However, according to him, these two features are not as contradictory as they seem, because they are both rooted in the Western modern, liberal idea of the autonomous individual. In the global competences discourse, the “enterprising self” is essentially an autonomous chooser whose identity is “fixed to no person and no place” (Dill, 2013: 4). And in the global consciousness discourse, the self is a secular, liberal and cosmopolitan subject with no local attachments and group belonging, and thus elevated over and against group differences (Dill, 2013). A notion of global citizenship rooted in liberal individualism, according to Dill (2013) cannot “sustain a truly global society with longings for a more just and prosperous world” (2013: 5). Studying the experience of faith-based schools, Dill (2013) advocates a spiritual global
citizenship whereby moral commitments are not rooted in cosmopolitan liberalism, but rather in particular faith traditions.

In conclusion, the typology developed by Oxley & Morris (2013) is useful to shed light on the complexity of global citizenship. It is criticised by Damiani (2016) as the identification of different types of global citizenship seems to be determined more by the authors that support a certain idea, rather than specific content or thematic concerns. Unlike Damiani (2016) who considers problematic the many conceptual overlaps that Oxley & Morris (2013) identify between the eight different types of global citizenship, I believe that the typology and indeed the overlaps between the different types are powerful heuristic tools as they embody the “complex, shifting and overlapping range of meanings” and “the critical features of a construct that is understood in diverse ways and is changing over time” (Oxley & Morris, 2013: 305). There are overlaps between the different forms because the way the concept of global citizenship is used in practice often merges different perspectives. So, for example, while the idea of global citizenship adopted by multinational corporations such as Edelman and Hewlett Packard fits completely into the economic global citizenship type, the view of global citizenship adopted by UNESCO conflates different types. The dominant perspective is moral global citizenship but elements of cultural and social global citizenship are also included.

5. Citizenship education: cosmopolitan, transformative and political perspectives

The notion of fostering citizenship, particularly in young people, is common both in education theory literature and in popular discourse. Schools, since the founding of the modern nation-states and the implementation of compulsory schooling, are seen as key social institutions for the cultivation of citizens (Pashby, 2008). On the one hand, citizenship is a governing principle of public education, and on the other, citizenship as a topic has been given particular and explicit attention in schooling through specific courses in citizenship education (Sears & Hughes, 1996). But, as Pashby (2011) underlines, “the project of cultivating citizens is recognised for certain inherent paradoxes at the same time that it is receiving a particular urgency within the global imperative” (2011: 430). So, while scholars are debating different pedagogical perspectives on citizenship education, many are also stressing the need to reconceptualise it in the context of a globalised world. So, despite being criticised, citizenship education is presented by scholars concerned with multiculturalism and globalisation as an agenda with great potential.

5.1 From education for national citizenship to transformative citizenship education

Historically, citizenship education was essentially about an individual’s relation to the nation state, and its objectives were to “establish a shared identity and history among citizens-in-making and to foster patriotism and loyalty to the nation” (Pashby, 2008: 19). The aim was to “develop citizens who internalized their national values, venerated their national heroes, and accepted glorified versions of their national histories” (Banks, 2008: 132). With the calling into question of the premise of a monolithic nation state, citizenship education became a target of the same contestations that characterise contemporary debates about citizenship and stress the relationship between citizenship and complex notions of identity (Pashby, 2008).

In the context of increasingly culturally diverse societies and schools, Osler and Starkey (2003) criticise education for national citizenship as it is propagating the myth of the nation “as having a homogeneous cultural identity into which minorities are expected to integrate” (2003: 244).
Drawing from research in the UK, they note that education for national citizenship fails to engage with the lived experiences of students whose cultural identities, in a globalised world, are shifting and multiple and whose sense of belonging is not necessarily tied primarily to the nation state (Osler & Starkey, 2003). Similarly, Banks (2008) underlines that ethnographic research conducted in the USA confirms that education for national citizenship is not consistent with the ethnic and cultural diversity of the society because of the “complicated, contextual, and overlapping identities of immigrant students” (Banks, 2008: 134). So, if citizenship education continues to assume a stable and knowable notion of ‘national identity’, it will not “provide a context complex enough for students to integrate the various and overlapping geo-political perspectives that define their experiences and identities” (Pashby, 2008: 19). Osler & Starkey (2003) suggest that citizenship education should be about “learning to imagine the nation as a diverse and inclusive community” (2003: 245).

In a globalised world characterised by growing inequities and inequalities within and between countries, citizenship education needs to be re-examined and reconceptualised if it is to promote recognition, inclusion and equality (Banks, 2008; Tarozzi & Torres, 2016). Citizenship education needs to be “reimagined and transformed” (Banks, 2008: 135). Banks (2008) distinguishes between “mainstream citizenship education” and “transformative citizenship education” (2008: 135). Grounded in mainstream knowledge and assumptions, the former reinforces the status quo and reproduces society’s dominant power dynamics. It does not challenge nor disrupt the class, ethnic, or gender discriminations in schools and society, nor recognises students’ need to maintain identifications with and commitments to multiple communities (cultural, national, transnational). It is essentially a transmission of notions detached from students’ experiences and their life in communities inserted in global dynamics:

[mainstream citizenship education] does not help students to understand their multiple and complex identities, the ways their lives are influenced by globalization, or what their role should be in a global world. Instead, the emphasis is on memorizing facts about constitutions and other legal documents, learning about various branches of government, and developing patriotism to the nation-state (Banks, 2008: 135).

Banks’ transformative citizenship education draws from Freire’s critical pedagogy (Freire, 1972). For Freire, education is not a neutral process; education is political as what students are taught and how they are taught it cannot be divorced from a political agenda. So, education can either serve as an instrument to promote conformity and support for the existing socio-political order. Or it can help learners make sense and critically reflect on the world in which they live and the role they can play in transforming it. Banks’ transformative citizenship education provides spaces and opportunities for students to critically examine their own identifications and commitments. It is about challenging inequality at multiple levels (local communities, nation-states and the world). It enables students realise that their fates are intimately linked to those of people throughout the world, and helps them “understand why a ‘threat to justice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere’” (Banks, 2008: 135). Transformative citizenship education is about developing in students a deep understanding of the need to take action to achieve democracy, human rights, equality and social justice within the local community and at global level. Banks’ transformative citizenship education has many points in common with the cosmopolitan citizenship education proposed by Osler and Starkey (2003).
Banks (2008) believes that, when transformative citizenship education is implemented in classrooms and schools, students can acquire the knowledge, values, and skills to “become deep citizens” (2008: 136). This means citizens that internalise democratic beliefs and values, and do not limit themselves to a legal or minimal citizenship, but rather engage in active and transformative citizenship to promote social justice. Banks (2008)’s “transformative citizenship” presents points in common with Tully’s “diverse citizenship”, and also with Biesta (2014)’s idea of citizenship as “a process of dis-identification, as a moment of political agency that is always necessarily ‘out or order’” (2014: 5). However, while Bank (2008)’s conceptualisation of transformative citizenship education focuses on the acquisition by students of certain knowledge, skills and dispositions, this perspective is challenged by Biesta (2014; Biesta & Lawy, 2006). The following chapter discusses Biesta’s ideas of citizenship and civic learning (Biesta, 2014) and his perspective on the required shift from teaching citizenship to learning democracy (Biesta & Lawy, 2006).

5.2 From teaching citizenship to learning democracy

Biesta (2014) is concerned about citizenship education or “civic learning” as he calls it. He challenges the common and widespread approach that suggests that civic learning has to do with the acquisition of the knowledge, dispositions and skills needed for ‘good citizenship’.

Biesta (2014) distinguishes between two ideas of citizenship: 1) Citizenship as a social identity, where the emphasis is on one’s place and role in a society, and the focus is on embracing common values, acquiring a national identity, caring for one’s neighbour, and engaging in pro-social behaviour to ensure social cohesion and integration; 2) Citizenship as a political identity, which is about the relationships between individuals and the state, rights and duties and the focus is on protecting and cultivating plurality and difference and on participation in democratic processes. He further explores citizenship as a political identity in relation to how democracy is understood: either as a particular and clearly defined and definable socio-political order, or as something more fluid and erratic. Drawing from Mouffe (2005)’s concept of democracy as “conflictual consensus” and particularly from Rancière (2003)’s idea of politics as the interruption of an existing socio-political order to realise equality, Biesta (2014) sees democracy “as sporadic”, occurring “when a particular social order is interrupted ‘in the name of equality’” (2014: 4). Democracy occurs in a moment when the existing order is interrupted and is reconfigured into one in which “new ways of being and acting exist and new identities come into play” (Biesta, 2014: 5). In this perspective, citizenship is not about identification with a particular socio-political order and taking up of an existing and clearly identified and identifiable identity, but rather becomes a process of “dis-identification, as a moment of political agency that is always necessarily ‘out of order’” (2014: 5). However, while Bank (2008)’s conceptualisation of transformative citizenship education focuses on the acquisition by students of certain knowledge, skills and dispositions, this perspective is challenged by Biesta (2014; Biesta & Lawy, 2006). The following chapter discusses Biesta’s ideas of citizenship and civic learning (Biesta, 2014) and his perspective on the required shift from teaching citizenship to learning democracy (Biesta & Lawy, 2006).

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7 Banks (2008) identifies four levels of citizenship: 1. Legal citizenship refers to the rights and obligations of citizens understood as legal members of the nation-state. It does not require citizen’s meaningful participation in the political system; 2. Minimal citizenship refers to legal citizens exhausting their participation through voting in local and national elections for conventional and mainstream candidates and issues; 3. Active citizenship involves action beyond voting aimed at actualising existing laws and conventions and essentially do not challenge, but rather support and maintain existing social and political structures; 4. Transformative citizenship involves civic actions designed to actualise social justice and equality principles and ideals that are not yet expressed by existing laws and conventions. These actions may violate, challenge, or dismantle existing laws, conventions or structures.

8 Democracy as a “conflictual consensus” entails the need for “consensus about the ethico-political values of liberty and equality for all”, but allows for “dissent about their interpretation” (Mouffe, 2005: 120). The distinction is therefore between those who reject those values outright and, as they put democracy’s basic institutions into question, cannot be seen as legitimate adversaries. And those who, while accepting those values, fight for conflicting interpretations.
identification” and “subjectification” (Ibid.). It is about “becoming a democratic subject”, it is “a moment of political agency that is always necessarily ‘out of order’” (Ibid.).

Biesta (2014) emphasises that seeing citizenship as a social identity or as a positive identity within the existing socio-political order will lead to “a socialisation conception” of civic learning, with an emphasis on acquiring the knowledge, skills and dispositions “to become part of an existing socio-political order” (ibid.: 6). Seeing citizenship as a process of dis-identification demands “a subjectification conception” of civic learning, which focuses on learning to engage in ‘the ‘experiment’ of democracy” (ibid.: 6). Biesta (2014) stresses that this subjectification conception of civic learning is what is most needed. It occurs in public places, understood not as specific geographic locations, but rather as spaces and opportunities for the enactment of “the experiment of democracy”. They are essentially practices that transform private troubles into public issues, and that engender meaningful forms of democratic agency and citizenship. Here the similarities with Tully’s “diverse citizenship” and Banks’ “transformative citizenship” are evident.

Biesta (2014) is concerned about the decline of the public sphere and the wider crisis of democracy. Unlike many commentators that see them as a result of a lack of interest and commitment of citizens and therefore focus on citizenship education to “produce the good citizen”, he believes that the retreat from citizenship is not the cause of the crisis in democracy but rather its effect. So, he argues, what is needed is not “better citizens in order to get better democracy”, which is an argument from the socialisation conception of civic learning, but rather “we need more and better democracy in order to get better citizens” (Biesta, 2014: 9). So, the focus should be not be on telling or teaching citizens what they need to learn in order to become better citizens, but rather on keeping open “those places and spaces where the experiment of democracy can be conducted” (Biesta, 2014: 11).

But Biesta (2014) is also interested in the role of education, and in particular citizenship education in the formal curriculum. Biesta and Lawy (2006) recognise the significance of citizenship education, but believe that the current approach to the teaching of citizenship is problematic. What is needed is “a shift from teaching citizenship to learning democracy” (Ibid.). But what does this mean in terms of teaching practice? They underline that the definition of citizenship, what constitutes ‘good citizenship’, should not be taken for granted, should not be seen as something already defined by policy-makers and educators, or an aim that young people need to achieve. They should rather be part of citizenship education and their meanings should be the object of continuous interrogation. But this is not sufficient. Biesta and Lawy (2006) stress that learning citizenship and democracy is situated in the lives of young people: it depends upon the perspectives that young people have developed through previous learning and meaning-making and is also determined by the wider social, cultural, economic and political order that influences and impacts upon young people’s lives. Hence, citizenship education should also be about critically examining the context and the conditions that allow, facilitate, limit or restrict young people’s citizenship. This perspective is radically different from the depoliticized and decontextualized citizenship education dominant in mainstream approaches as Biesta and Lawy (2006) eloquently stress:

This contrasts with that which has been achieved through formal classroom based lessons in school and college where ‘good’ citizenship practice has been depoliticized and disconnected from everyday lives.
and interests of the young people and from any understanding of their ability to shape and change the conditions of their lives and of those around them (2006: 76-77)

6. Global Citizenship Education: diverse conceptualisations and pedagogical frameworks
As outlined in the previous sections, in the context of increasingly culturally diverse societies and a crisis of representative democracy, scholars are debating different pedagogical perspectives on citizenship education, and many are also stressing the need to reconceptualise it in the context of a globalised world. Pashby (2008) underlines that “a new form of education for citizenship is being called on that responds to a sense of a global imperative”. GCE is thus presented as a new “educational agenda for schooling for citizenship in a global era” (2008: 23). Essentially, GCE is an alternative to nation-centric approaches to citizenship education. As an ideal, GCE facilitates the acquisition of “a sense of global-mindedness that encourages students to develop a consciousness of global connectivity and responsibility” (Pashby, 2008: 17) and become “active national citizens with an informed global conscience” (Pike, 2008: 48). In the scholarly literature, GCE is presented as a pedagogical approach that supports learners to be globally conscious citizens. This means having a dialogical, complex, and dynamic understanding of the own identities, and the ability to understand and interact responsibly with others while being self-critical of the own perspectives and positions (Pashby, 2011). Globally conscious citizens have a critical understanding of globalisation, are aware of global inter-connectedness and the ways they and their nations are implicated in local and global problems, are conscious of the role of humans for the future health of the planet, and engage in constructive actions to promote social change at the local, regional, national and transnational levels (Pashby, 2011; Pike, 2008a).

But this is not the only perspective that informs how GCE is conceptualised. I have discussed how globalisation, citizenship and education represent each complex discursive fields, and drawing from Oxley and Morris (2013), I have illustrated the multiple and overlapping meanings of global citizenship. It is not surprise therefore that GCE has inherited these ambiguities and complexities.

6.1 Idea-scapes of GCE: neo-liberal, soft, critical, and other-wise
Drawing from the different understandings of globalisation and global citizenship, Andreotti (2016a) identifies four “idea-scapes” of GCE, which are based on distinctive ontological and epistemological assumptions: neo-liberal GCE, soft GCE, critical GCE and GCE Other-wise.

Neoliberal GCE identifies underdevelopment as the key problem in the world. Underdevelopment is caused by a lack of skills, technology, motivation and adaptability. The interdependence of people in the global world is conceptualised from an economic liberalist perspective that emphasises that we are all self-interested rational individuals in pursuit of capital accumulation. Emphasising common economic interests and a responsibility to promoting economic growth and technical advancement, this perspective stresses that people need to adapt to the global economy to achieve more comfort, pleasure and economic and technical advancement. GCE is a means to inspire individuals to expand opportunities for social mobility and leadership in the global society (Andreotti, 2016a).

Soft GCE identifies poverty as the key problem. This is caused by a lack of education, democratic institutions, progressive thinking. The interdependence of people is conceptualised from a world
culture perspective that stresses that we have all common understandings, goals, and aspirations. Emphasizing a common humanity and responsibility for the other, and drawing from a humanitarian and moral imperative, this perspective stresses that people need to participate in democratic and charitable processes to achieve more tolerance, cohesion and peace. The purpose of GCE is to support individuals to help those less fortunate to catch up with the modern world (Andreotti, 2016a).

Critical GCE identifies injustice as the key problem, which is caused by exploitation, enforced disempowerment and unfair systems. The understanding of interdependence stresses that we are all part of unfair, violent and unsustainable systems. Emphasizing complicity in harm and accountability towards the other, and drawing from a political and justice-based approach, this perspective stresses that people need to take back power from the elites to achieve more justice, equality, autonomy and a fairer distribution of resources. GCE is aimed at empowering individuals to fight for justice in solidarity with the oppressed (Andreotti, 2016a).

GCE Other-wise stresses a delusion of separation as the key problem, which is determined by irresponsibility and a denial of relations and accountability. The understanding of interdependence stresses that we are all part of a wider earth metabolism that we are currently harming. Emphasizing a radical interdependence where there is no “Other” because if we harm the earth/each other we harm ourselves, and drawing from a post-colonial existential stance of losing arrogance of separations and superiorities, this perspective stresses that people need a different way to exist in the planet to ensure more accountability beyond single life spans, i.e. to the past, the present and the future. GCE is about de-centering, disarming and disinvesting in harmful dispositions. (Andreotti, 2016a).

Andreotti's (2016a) “idea-scapes” typology is a useful heuristic tool that highlights how GCE is conceptualised and framed within wider discourses on the globalised world and its political, economic, social, cultural and environmental challenges. An alternative, but in part congruent, way to analyse how GCE is framed by different discourses, is to look at it from a pedagogical perspective, and in particular in relation to the purpose of education.

6.2 Global Citizenship Education as qualification, socialisation and subjectification

Drawing from Biesta’s (2009) work on the functions and purposes of education - qualification, socialisation, subjectification, Sant, et al. (2018) built a typology that identifies three discourses within GCE: GCE as qualification, GCE as socialisation, and GCE as subjectification. The following section critically presents this typology and provides examples of pedagogical frameworks broadly in line with each type. It should be noted, however, that the three dimensions (qualification, socialisation and subjectification) should not be seen as entirely separate. On the contrary, in both pedagogical frameworks and in practice they are deeply intertwined and overlapping. One should note however that while synergy is certainly possible, there is also potential for conflict between the three dimensions, particularly between the qualification and socialisation dimension on the one hand, and the subjectification on the other (Biesta, 2009).

**GCE as qualification: OECD PISA Global Competence framework**

In an approach centered on qualification, the purpose of education is to facilitate the acquisition of a certain set of knowledge, skills and dispositions to ‘do something’, to ‘function’ in society
In terms of GCE these knowledge and skills pertain to the acquisition of global and intercultural competences. GCE as qualification is clearly associated with a discourse that foregrounds the global competences that students need to acquire "for life in a global society and work in a global economy" (Marshall, 2011: 418). Equally important in this discourse is building a pool of human resources with the competences that a country needs to position itself in the global market and be a competitive and dynamic knowledge-based economy (Sant, et al., 2018). This perspective responds to the technical-economic instrumentalist agenda of GCE identified by Marshall (2011) and has the purpose of creating economically competitive citizens who are advantaged because of particular knowledge, skills, and attitudes. In an increasingly interconnected and competitive global market, a knowledge of the world, of foreign languages and skills such as adaptability and cross-cultural sensitivity are considered highly beneficial to students, as they "foster a kind of border-free mobility seen to enhance individual (economic) success in the world" (Jorgenson & Shultz, 2012:3). This understanding of GCE tends to permeate the educational discourse of many third level education institutes (Jorgenson & Shultz, 2012; Pike, 2015), although this global competences approach is a dominant discourse also in schools (Dill, 2013, Marshall, 2011; Standish, 2014). This perspective can be criticized as it is not so much about fostering a global citizen committed to social justice, but rather a global entrepreneur that reaps the benefits of the current global society.

An example of GCE as qualification is the new OECD PISA 2018 Global Competence Framework (OECD PISA, 2018), which stresses that global competences are required by students to learn to live in the interconnected, diverse and rapidly changing world of the 21st century.

*Figure n. 1: OECD PISA 2018 Global Competence Framework*

The OECD PISA framework provides a definition of global competence on the basis of a prescriptive set of knowledge, skills, attitudes and values (see figure 1.), and a set of tools and criteria to assess and certify adolescents’ global competences. Schools have a key role to play in helping “students cope and succeed in an increasingly interconnected environment” (OECD PISA, 2018: 5), and global competences are required by students so that they can: live harmoniously in
multicultural communities, thrive in a changing labour market, use media platforms effectively and responsibly, and support the Sustainable Development Goals (OECD PISA, 2018).

The OECD PISA global competence framework can be criticized from a pedagogical perspective. Bamber et. al. (2018) underline that “when reified, frameworks tend to become reductive and somewhat hegemonic ‘regimes of truth’” (2018: 205), which encourage unreflective and performative attitudes that are antithetical to a transformative education. Moreover, the “outcome-focused audit discourse” that characterizes frameworks such as the OECD PISA results in an excessive focus on measures, metrics and league tables. This results in giving visibility and normalizing certain educational processes and outcomes, while “offering a reductive account of both transformation and indeed ‘education’ itself as a political and philosophical project” (Bamber et. al., 2018: 205).

**GCE as socialisation: UNESCO Global Citizenship Education framework**

In a socialisation approach, the purpose of education is to impart certain norms and values to become members of particular cultural, social and political ‘orders’ (Biesta, 2009). In terms of GCE these norms and values relate to becoming ‘good citizens of the world’. The main emphasis here is on fostering citizens that are committed to a world culture based on human rights, pacifist values, cohesiveness and sustainability (Sant, et al., 2018). GCE as socialisation has points in common with the global consciousness interpretation of GCE identified by Dill (2013), which draws from humanistic values and assumptions, and aims to provide students with a global orientation, cultural sensitivity, a vision of oneself as part of a global community of humanity, and a moral conscience to act for the good of the world.

The OECD PISA Global Competence framework includes this perspective and therefore merges GCE as qualification with GCE as socialisation, but a more fitting example of GCE as socialisation is the UNESCO GCE pedagogical framework (UNESCO, 2015). While deeply situated in a socialisation perspective, the UNESCO GCE framework pursues also qualification through the promotion of particular global and intercultural competences. These are framed within a perspective that focuses on humanistic and cosmopolitan values (human rights, tolerance, peace), and a clearly identified positive identity of the ‘good global citizen’ as somebody that demonstrates understanding and commitment to those values. The ‘good global citizen’ is defined by UNESCO in relation to three domains of learning (cognitive, socio-emotional and behavioural). The global citizen is “informed and critically literate, socially connected and respectful of diversity, ethically responsible and engaged” (UNESCO, 2015: 23-24). These three domains of learning are structured as a pedagogical framework that identifies key learning outcomes, key learner attributes and key topics (see figure 2).

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9 Being informed and critically literate, means having cognitive competences such as “knowledge and understanding of local, national and global issues and the interconnectedness and interdependency of different countries and populations”, and “skills for critical thinking and analysis” (UNESCO, 2015: 22). Being socially connected, refers to socio-emotional competences such as experiencing “a sense of belonging to a common humanity, sharing values and responsibilities, based on human rights” and developing “attitudes of empathy, solidarity and respect for differences and diversity” (UNESCO, 2015: 22). Being ethically responsible and engaged relates to behavioural competences such as developing “motivation and willingness to take necessary actions” and acting “effectively and responsibly at local, national and global levels for a more peaceful and sustainable world” (UNESCO, 2015: 22). UNESCO (2015) further defines these competences in relation to particular attributes and topics.
Despite being constructed around the three domains of learning, the socio-emotional one is the most relevant as the “learning outcome” of this domain is substantially a repetition of UNESCO’s global citizen definition: “Learners experience a sense of belonging to a common humanity, sharing values and responsibilities, based on human rights” (UNESCO, 2015: 22, see also 2015: 14). This focus on universal human values, according to Bamber et. al. (2018) is problematic because it fails to “recognise the liquidity, historicity and evolution of difference” (2018: 207).

UNESCO’s GCE framework recognises the unfairness and unsustainability of the current global system, but the approach is essentially about a better distribution of resources within the system to alleviate poverty, rather than a fundamental questioning of the system, or political action to achieve social justice. While at first sight, the guidance combines the political analysis of global issues, governance systems and structures, with motivation, willingness and capability to act effectively and responsibly at local, national and global level, the emphasis is on humanistic values such as peace and sustainability, rather than social justice. So, “the intended ‘actions’ tend to be reduced to non-politicized ‘actions’ within civil society such as ‘community work’ and ‘civic engagement’” (Eis & Moulin-Doos, 2017: 56). The behavioural domain is “dominated by the social – individual and interpersonal – ‘behaviour’ and not the political ‘action’ and power struggles of communities” (Ibid.). The primary focus is therefore on individual ethical behaviour and action, rather than systemic change to disrupt the way global inequalities are reproduced by political decisions and everyday economic activities. Post-colonial scholars such as Andreotti
(2016b) emphasise that UNESCO’s GCE work reproduces colonial ontological and epistemological assumptions, and depoliticises citizenship practices.

UNESCO have adopted the rhetoric of GCE in ways that still reinforces ethnocentric, paternalistic, ahistorical and depoliticised practices based on a single onto-epistemic grammar that naturalises modern institutions, cognitive frames, structures of being and economic models (2016b: 105)

Pedagogically, GCE as socialisation is problematic as it reproduces the main shortcomings that characterize mainstream approaches to citizenship education. First of all, GCE as socialisation understands global citizenship as a ‘problem’ of individuals and their behaviours and therefore sees the ‘solution’ in terms of knowledge, skills, values and behaviours that young people need to acquire. But, GCE should rather focus on “young people-in-context” (Biesta & Lawy, 2006). It should address the knowledge, skills, values and dispositions of young people but also, and more importantly, the social, cultural and economic situation in which they live and act. And the context where young people live is not conducive to being globally conscious and responsible. Young people are immersed in a context characterized by a dominant legend. Pike (2008b) uses the term “legend”, what others call the “single story of progress, development and human evolution” (Andreotti, 2015: 222), to describe the dominant post-industrial and scientific revolution legend of ‘the world’. This legend is shaped by patriarchy and colonialism, is driven by the free market forces of capitalism, and is based on the “short-term exploitation of the earth’s resources, the confident reliance on technological solutions, and the relentless pursuit of economic growth” (2008b: 226).

The second problem with GCE as socialisation arises from the assumption that global citizenship is the outcome of an educational process. This perspective assumes that global citizenship is an aim that young people need to achieve. Seeing global citizenship as an outcome suggests that before “being educated” young people are not global citizens (Sant, et al., 2018). This perspective fails to recognize that young people are implicated in the wider social, cultural, economic and political world and already engage as citizens with these global dynamics. Young people do not learn about global citizenship only in school, but rather from their life experiences and practices. Global citizenship as an outcome is also problematic because it assumes that what constitutes ‘good global citizenship’, is something already defined once and for all by policy-makers, scholars and educators. This raises the questions: By whom and for whom is GCE being developed? Pashby (2011) underlines that in the literature GCE is generally conceptualized as a Western education for a western citizen-subject:

the assumed subject of GCE pedagogy is the autonomous and European citizen of the liberal nation-state who is seen as normative in a mainstream identification as citizen and who must work to encourage a liberal democratic notion of justice on a global scale by ‘expanding’ or ‘extending’ or ‘adding’ their sense of responsibility and obligation to others through the local to national to global community (Pashby, 2011: 430).

Pashby (2011) stresses the importance of drawing from a range of epistemologies and ontological traditions so that ‘multiple ‘global citizen selves’ are conceptualized not solely through the Western norm, but also through diverse perspectives that challenge Western humanism and that employ non-Western ontologies to define global citizenship” (2011:439). From a pedagogical perspective, as indicated by Biesta and Lawy (2006) for citizenship education, the definition of
global citizenship, and what constitutes ‘good global citizenship’, should not be assumed a priori and taken for granted by educators, but should rather become an integral part of GCE. The meaning of global citizenship should be the object of continuous interrogation by students in relation to their contexts and life experiences.

**GCE as subjectification: global citizenship education otherwise**

In an approach that pursues subjectification, the purpose of education is to facilitate independence from “existing orders” and support “those educated to become more autonomous and independent in their thinking and acting” (Biesta, 2009: 8). In terms of GCE, this means promoting “a global citizenship from below” and a space for “counter-practice”, i.e. “education on non-dominant knowledges and values” (Sant, et al., 2018). Andreotti (2010)’s post-colonial GCE, or “global citizenship education otherwise” (Andreotti, 2015: 221) is an apt example of GCE as “counter-practice”. The post-traditions, in particular post-structuralism and post-colonialism, according to her, have in fact the potential to provide educators with conceptual tools that will help them “pluralize epistemologies and possibilities for thinking and practice” (2010: 245). Andreotti (2010) advocates “decolonising the imagination” of teachers and students involved in GCE who have been:

- cognitively shaped by Enlightenment ideals and have an emotional investment in universalism (i.e. the projection of their ideas as what everyone else should believe), stability (i.e. the avoidance of conflict and complexity), consensus (i.e. the elimination of difference) and fixed identities organised in hierarchical ways (e.g. us, who know, versus them who don’t know) (Andreotti, 2010, 246-247)

Andreotti’s post-colonial GCE does not provide learners with normative ideals of democracy, freedom, rights and justice that are presented as universal, but rather is meant to facilitate “the emergence of ethical, responsible and responsive ways of seeing, knowing and relating to others ‘in context’” (Andreotti, 2010: 239). A post-colonial GCE (Andreotti, 2010) stimulates learners “to imagine otherwise” (Andreotti, 2015: 221), and is based on four types of learning: learning to unlearn, learning to listen, learning to learn and learning to reach out (Andreotti & De Souza, 2008). Learning to unlearn is about learning to perceive that what we consider ‘good and ideal’, ‘neutral and objective’ is only one perspective, a worldview that is related to where we come from socially, historically and culturally. It is a “cultural baggage” that affects who we are and what we see (Andreotti, 2010; Andreotti & De Souza, 2008). Learning to listen is about learning to recognize the effects and limitations of our perspective and to be receptive to new understandings and conceptual models (Andreotti, 2010; Andreotti & De Souza, 2008). Learning to learn is about learning to receive new perspectives and to rearrange and expand our own. It is about “going into the uncomfortable space of ‘what we do not know we do not know’” (Andreotti, 2010: 247), engaging with different ‘logics’, thinking outside the box, seeing through other eyes and rearranging our cultural baggage (Andreotti, 2010; Andreotti & De Souza, 2008). Learning to reach out is learning to apply/adapt/situate/re arrange this learning to our own contexts and in our relationships with others while continuing to reflect and explore new ways of being, thinking, knowing, doing and relating (Andreotti, 2010; Andreotti & De Souza, 2008).

These four types of learning proposed by Andreotti (2010), have points in common with the “transformative encounters with the other” proposed by Bamber et al. (2018: 220). In this perspective, transformative education moves learners beyond ‘encounters with the other’ that are
based on "representational knowing". Representational knowing appropriates 'other' ideas and perspectives "into a stable representation" that is in accord with one's own way of being and is located within one's "immanent frame", i.e. western epistemologies (Bamber et al., 2018: 220). This "appropriation and sanitization" drains away the transformative impact of potentially disruptive ideas and perspectives "since one's being is not challenged as long as one does not attempt to leap from the familiar into the unfamiliar" (Bamber et al., 2018: 221). So, what is required to understand and to learn is "to be interrupted", i.e. one needs to experience and acknowledge what one does not know, "disrupt the smooth circulation of representational thinking . . . and recognize the tensions and limitations of interpretation" (Ibid.). This requires moving also beyond an approach that "leaves the other fully as 'other' and refuses any kind of translation" as this perspective "seals the other off from the possibility of encounter" (Ibid.). Similarly to Andreotti & De Souza (2008), Bamber et al. (2018) call for a transformative GCE that moves beyond representational knowing, draws from diverse cultural and international backgrounds and incorporates indigenous ways of knowing. They propose a pedagogical framework for critical GCE based on an hermeneutic circle of understanding that mediates between the self and the other. The framework is centred on 'fundamental values' (openness to difference and diversity, ease with uncertainty, commitment to social change), and includes four phases: pre-understanding, structured experience, becoming, and new being (Bamber et al., 2018).

Andreotti's post-colonial GCE has points in common also with the "critical cosmopolitanism" proposed by Birk (2016), who understands critical cosmopolitanism as an ethic and a practice that challenges binary thinking; thinks the local and the global relationally; resists abstract universal truths about human or global community; insists on a strong and broad ethical concern for the other that does not disregard difference; complicates and decolonizes ways of thinking about social identity and power, and challenges the uncritical commodification of cultural difference (2016: 41-43). Birk (2016) suggests a cosmopolitan framework for teaching and learning based on three key paradigms (ways of making meaning) and three key sensibilities (dispositions, outlook). The three key paradigms include: a) A rethinking of the global and local as mutually constitutive and relational; b) An enlarged and reinvigorated conception of citizenship; c) A complex engagement with others. The three key sensibilities include: a) Self-reflexivity; b) A sense of cosmopolitan responsibility; c) A willingness to challenge cynicism and complacency.

GCE as subjectification in the forms prosed by Andreotti (2010) and Birk (2016) is essentially about recognising that an epistemological shift is required to acknowledge the tentative and provisional nature of knowing, that knowledge is always historically situated and relational, and that learning should begin by recognising and being reflexive about one's own epistemic assumptions (Marshall, 2011). The work of these theorists fills a theoretical void in GCE research, and provides researchers and practitioners with insights to facilitate a rigorous engagement with epistemological and ontological issues (Marshall, 2011). They are a fascinating alternative to the mainstream GCE as qualification and socialisation dominant in educational theory. However, they are subject to epistemological and pragmatic concerns.

From an epistemological perspective, a few questions can be raised: how do we know that the analysis of post-colonial critical educators is right? If global citizenship and GCE is defined by post-colonial critical scholars and educators in a certain manner, is it not another form of GCE as socialisation? (Sant, et al., 2018). Andreotti (2010) answers these objections by stressing that the
principles of post-colonial GCE cannot be transmitted as ‘values’, or ‘norms’ to follow, but rather can be used by educators “once they are experienced as lived and living theories” (2010: 248), i.e. they are lived as embodied experience, and understood as provisional and contested theories.

Pragmatically, Marshall (2011) raises three concerns: 1) The critical reading of current GCE practice is sometimes overcritical and therefore not helpful for those teachers striving to make their classrooms more sensitive to global issues and trends that affect their students by incorporating global citizenship activities and curricula; 2) Some of the post-colonial theorisations of GCE incorporate a seemingly relativist, anti-universalist position, which contradicts teachers pedagogical need to work with notions of right, wrong and truth. 3) This post-colonial theorisation and critique underestimates the embedment in schools of hegemonic and traditional pedagogy, curriculum and exam-oriented practice. In sum, according to Marshall (2011), post-colonial GCE “can become preoccupied by theory, abstraction and by an alternative educational ideal, without fully taking into account the economic contexts, and pedagogic and curricular realities and traditions within schools” (2011: 424).

Some of the concerns raised by Marshall (2011) are acknowledged by Andreotti in her more recent work (Andreotti, 2016b). When discussing the educational challenges of a post-colonial GCE she highlights intelligibility, which, in her view, has two dimensions, cognitive and emotional. The cognitive relates to “what is legible within an audience’s normalised worldview” that “sees itself as neutral, universal, benevolent and unlimited in its capacity to apprehend reality” (2016: 105). Pedagogically, introducing dissenting perspectives and proposing analysis that do not confirm the learners’ worldview, but rather suggest their complicity in harm is a difficult task that requires a “softening of edges” (2016: 105). The emotional dimension of intelligibility is related to the fact that this type of education provokes “discomfort” and “different types of resistance” and therefore is a odds with “neoliberal educational contexts where learners are framed as clients seeking self-validation” (2016: 105). So, the doubts raised by Marshall (2011) in terms of difficulties in translating post-colonial GCE into systematic pedagogical practice remain as these theorisations of GCE rarely articulate the processes and structures that are required to facilitate the transition (Marshall, 2011). These epistemological transitions may not move beyond experimentation by individual educators and teachers as, according to Marshall (2011), a more systematic translation in curricula may currently be unrealistic and unworkable given that schools are located in wider societies, that are “reproducing powerful corporate cosmopolitan ideals entrenched in a set of neoliberal and knowledge-economy norms” (2011: 424).

7. Global citizenship education in practice: tensions, barriers and opportunities
In many countries, the language and practice of GCE is undoubtedly entering formal education, and as a result, the focus of much discussion and scholarly work progressively changed. Pedagogical research on GCE shifted from debating whether global citizenship is a legitimate term worth talking or writing about (Dower, 2000, 2003), to developing pedagogical frameworks that facilitate an understanding of GCE (Andreotti, 2006, 2010, 2016; Birk, 2016; Pike, 2008a, 2008b; UNESCO, 2014, 2015). In response to calls for more empirical research into contemporary GCE practice, obstacles and incentives to uncover the ways schools are dealing with the global (Marshall, 2011), scholars have also begun to study how GCE is understood and practiced in schools (Blackmore, 2014; Bryan and Bracken, 2011; Rapoport, 2015a, 2015b).
Some scholars focused on the different agendas that co-exist in GCE, and how schools negotiate the tensions between them. Cozzolino DiCicco (2016), for example, conducted an ethnographic study in a public school in the USA and highlighted the coexistence of the technical-economic agenda which focuses on preparing students to be “knowledge workers in the global economy”, with the social justice agenda which is about equipping them with the knowledge, skills and attitudes to be “active participants in global civil society” (2016: 17). In the school policies and practices, the technical-economic and social justice rationales were conflated: global consciousness skills and attitudes (collaboration and empathy, appreciation for cultural diversity and alternative points of view) appeared side-by-side with 21st century skills prioritised by the corporate world (problem solving, critical thinking, effective communication). Blackmore (2014), similarly, conducted an ethnographic study in an English school, and highlighted that a critical approach to GCE which prioritises a critical engagement with knowledge, dialogue with multiple perspectives, self-reflection and responsible action was constrained by overlapping instrumental agendas. These included the economic (preparing young people for the global economy), moral (helping others), and cultural (fostering tolerance). Both Blackmore (2014) and Cozzolino DiCicco (2016) show the tensions between the different agendas driving GCE. But, while in the USA, the technical-economic agenda clearly dominated: when faced with the need to direct their attention to more urgent priorities (standards and accountability), the school leaders opted for a “piecemeal implementation” of GCE that “fell back on the technical-economic rationale for GCE at the expense of their larger vision” (Cozzolino DiCicco, 2016: 18). In the UK, the school merged the different agendas (economic, moral and cultural) and used them to justify GCE in line with its priorities of enhancing the school’s reputation, achieving good examination results, and producing well-rounded students. The school, therefore, did not trouble the assumed naturalness of the global economy, the moral imperative, or the emphasis on tolerance, but rather remained deeply situated within these agendas while simultaneously contributing to their maintenance (Blackmore, 2014).

Drawing from theoretical and empirical work on GCE, a constellation of conceptual, curricular and perceptual barriers can be identified which expose the ideological tensions that pervade the curriculum, and mitigate against the effective implementation of global citizenship within schools.

7.1 Conceptual barriers: using GCE to analyse the dominant paradigms?
The main theoretical and conceptual barriers to the embedment of GCE in school practice are related to the nation-state centred nature of citizenship education and the conceptual vagueness that characterises GCE (Rapoport, 2015b).

The concept of citizenship is strongly tied to nationhood, and public education, through the curriculum and the affirmation of cultural norms, is still a “purveyor of national values and ideals” (Pike, 2008a: 43). The traditional tenets of nationalism still dominate public education through the deliberate focus on national history, geography and culture and everyday classroom practices that do not recognise the connectedness of students to global systems (Pike, 2008a). Citizenship education, in particular, continues to be strongly influenced by “the socially constructed symbiosis of citizenship and national identity” (Rapoport, 2015b: 29), and therefore is “inherently state-centred” (Rapoport, 2015a: 124). School curricula in all countries continue to reflect, produce and reinforce national citizenship (Rapoport, 2015b). Although global contexts are present in varying degrees in public school curricula and global themes have been introduced, the conceptualisation of citizenship in its legalistic form as a construct strictly linked to the nation-state, and the general
The concepts of global citizenship and GCE, as outlined in this chapter, are ambiguous and conceptually vague. This lack of conceptual clarity is considered a main barrier for the effective embedment of GCE in schools and a key challenge for teachers (Buchanan, et al., 2018; Rapoport, 2015b). Studies conducted in the USA highlight that the conceptual vagueness and ambiguities that characterise GCE coupled with the fact that the traditionalistic, nation-centred citizenship approach still dominates citizenship education result in the fact that the majority of teachers either have never heard about the idea of citizenship that transcends national boundaries or ignore it as “white noise unrelated to real curricula or problems of school” (Rapoport, 2015b: 29). Even motivated teachers committed to GCE tend to find it difficult to use the concept of global citizenship in their teaching. A study conducted among social studies teachers in Indiana with international experience and interest in incorporating international perspectives in their practice shows that although teachers had heard about global citizenship, they hardly ever used the term in their classrooms (Rapoport, 2015a). The teachers attributed the limited references to global citizenship in their classrooms to: a) their lack of familiarity with the concept; b) the fact that the concept is not mentioned in textbooks; c) the lack of time to cover it (Rapoport, 2015a). Blackmore (2014) draws from her ethnographic research in an English school and highlights “significant confusion and hesitancy around the concept of GCE” (2014: 209). While acknowledging that the concept of GCE may be valuable to scholars, Blackmore (2014) suggests that its value in practice is limited because it creates confusion and uncertainty, and constructs teaching and learning about global issues as something that takes place in marginal spaces and outside of the formal curriculum. She also underlines that the concept of GCE has a marginal utility as a focus for curriculum development since everything, one can argue, has a global dimension.

While acknowledging the ambiguities and contested nature of the terms global citizenship and GCE, I disagree with Blackmore (2014) and believe that GCE is a valuable concept for education practice for three main reasons. Firstly, it provides educators with a theoretical and conceptual devise to overcome a nation-state centred citizenship education. Second, the ambiguities and tensions behind global citizenship and GCE can be used pedagogically. This means that GCE rather than being uncritically adopted by schools and teachers, can be critically analysed and deconstructed in pedagogical settings. So, similarly to what has been done in this chapter, its constitutive concepts – globalisation, citizenship and education – and their combinations – global citizenship, citizenship education, can be critically analysed and become opportunities to discuss the dominant paradigms and the alternative visions that construct what it means to be a citizen of the 21st century. Thirdly, the fact that as Blackmore (2014) notices everything has a global dimension reinforces an approach to GCE that moves beyond seeing it as something that takes place outside of the formal curriculum through ad hoc GCE school initiatives. The research conducted by Rapoport (2015a) notices that “the absence of the term in teachers’ vocabulary did not prevent them from teaching global citizenship-related themes” (Rapoport, 2015a: 126). Indeed, the teachers felt that all curricular topics, event those that apparently were not related to global issues and events, could be expanded to include a global perspective (Rapoport, 2015a). GCE can
become a lens that teachers use within their subject areas to critically bring a global citizenship dimension to all or most topics of the curriculum. As Blackmore (2014) notices the potential for a critical GCE “lies in the subject expertise and passion which teachers often bring to their own subject area” and the opportunities they create in class for reflection, dialoguing across difference and “troubling taken-for-granted assumptions” (Blackmore, 2014: 210). GCE, in my view, can provide the lenses to do that.

7.2 Curricular barriers: moving beyond lack of curricular pressure?
A major barrier to the effective embedment of GCE is that the school curriculum, seen as a set of ideas, texts, practices and pedagogies, usually focuses on the disciplines and as a result, GCE, as an inherently multi- and interdisciplinary areas, has an “unfixed status” in the curriculum (Rapoport, 2015b). GCE lacks “disciplinary heritage” (Gaudelli, 2009: 78). In Europe, the European Union’s policies focus on European citizenship, rather than global citizenship, but a loose consensus has developed that citizenship education should not be national, nor European, but should rather have a global dimension based on the “common values of European civilization” (Ross & Davies, 2018: 27). Yet, a pan-European survey of citizenship education provision indicates that only few countries made curricular provisions for global citizenship (Ross & Davies, 2018). In North America, GCE in Canada, the USA and Mexico “suffers from a lack of a clear curricular home” (Peck & Pashby, 2018: 60). Australia and New Zealand, where policy rhetoric gives a central role to GCE, do not have a GCE curriculum, nor a clearly defined and shaped approach to it: “global themes are included in a fragmented and piecemeal way” in the curriculum (Peterson, et al., 2018: 11). In Latin America, the curriculum tends to construct citizenship education mainly in relation to the nation-state. Globalisation and a neo-liberal understanding of global citizenship are explicitly addressed as a curriculum aim in the pro-globalisation countries (Chile, Colombia, Peru), while the socialist countries (Cuba, Ecuador, Nicaragua, Venezuela) prioritise regional, rather than, global forms of citizenship (Sant & González Valencia, 2018). In East and Southeast Asia, research studies indicate an increasing interest in GCE within school curricula, although this is combined with a strong nationalistic perspective that focuses on global competitiveness and national pride (Ho, 2018).

The scholarly literature identifies a number of factors that limit the effective integration of GCE in the curriculum and in teaching practice.

Firstly, citizenship education is the subject that is generally viewed as lending itself most directly to addressing global citizenship topics. But it generally occupies a marginal status in schools in numerous countries. Davies (2010) argues that “Citizenship, as something that all are expected to know about, is often being taught by anyone with space on their timetable and occupies a small and neglected part of the teaching week” (2010: 122-123). In Ireland, citizenship education lacks adequate time, resources and capacity building measures, and is therefore generally perceived as a “Cinderella subject” (Bryan & Bracken, 2011: 257).

Secondly, a truly cross-curricular approach whereby every subject, not just citizenship education, integrates a global citizenship perspective is limited by the curricular insecurity that characterises GCE. The integration of GCE in the curriculum tends to rely on the proactive role of a few motivated teachers. Rapoport (2015b) underlines that time is the most precious asset in schools and teachers are under time pressure to cover what is prescribed by the curriculum. As curricular
documents are generally very vague about global citizenship related issues and topics, the absence of curricular pressure discourages teachers from integrating a global citizenship perspective in their teaching (Rapoport, 2015b). Research conducted in New Zealand highlights a patchy approach to GCE “with some effective teaching done by passionate teachers, but many examples of lost opportunities” (Peterson, et al., 2018: 15). Bryan and Bracken (2011) studied teaching and learning about global citizenship and international development in post-primary schools in Ireland and underlined that the treatment of global citizenship issues within the curriculum is “ cursory, inadequate, underdeveloped or sanitized” (Bryan & Bracken, 2011: 257). The low status of GCE within the formal curriculum means that the responsibility for ensuring that young people are exposed to global justice issues “falls largely upon the shoulders of ‘willing and able’ teachers who have a personal and passionate commitment to social and global justice” (Bryan & Bracken, 2011: 14). However, given the wider education context that places increasing pressure on schools and teachers to respond to standardisation and accountability, it is unfair and unrealistic to expect that teachers prioritise issues that are not recognised as important within the curriculum (Bryan & Bracken, 2011).

Thirdly, the transversal integration of GCE is not only hampered by the curricular insecurity that characterises GCE, but also by a rigid formal curriculum that in many cases stifles the creativity and flexibility that is necessary to teach GCE (Rapoport, 2015b). A study conducted in England on teachers’ perceptions and roles in GCE demonstrates that teachers considered the national curriculum as an obstacle and a barrier to the meaningful implementation of GCE because of its Eurocentric perspective, the concentration of resources in core areas, the lack of time it allowed for substantive engagement in GCE, and the nature of and focus on testing and assessment in core areas (Davies, et al., 2005). Bryan and Bracken (2011) stress that the curriculum constrained teachers as even the committed and experienced ones were reluctant to deviate too much from the prescribed syllabus for fears of jeopardising their student’s ability to do well in exams.

Fourthly, the focus on testing and assessment is also considered a major obstacle to the meaningful integration of GCE, but the relationship between examination and GCE is complex. On the one hand, the priority given to testing and assessment in core areas (literacy, maths, science), generally means that what is not tested is not taught, and therefore “topics related to global citizenship are buried under more ‘necessary’ materials” (Rapoport, 2015b: 34). Canadian teachers identified the pressure of the educational system, and in particular standards and requirements like tests and exams, as factors that inhibited their ability to teach GCE (Evans, et al., 2009). On the other hand, when global citizenship issues are part of a subject that is examined, a “teaching to the text” seems to prevent a critical engagement with the complexity of global issues (Bryan & Bracken, 2011: 267). Teachers feel the pressure to “produce ‘safe’ and acceptable answers” that students can reproduce in exams to get top marks, rather than stimulate critical and self-reflective engagement with complex issues. The potential for integrating a critical GCE is therefore hindered by an education system that “privileges recalls and outputs over learning and provides little time or space for self-reflective interrogation” (Bryan & Bracken, 2011: 263). Therefore, even motivated teachers that wish to engage students in critical and reflexive approaches find it hard given the broader constraints under which they work.

Some scholars highlight that the meaningful integration of GCE in schools requires a curricular scaffold (Rapoport, 2015b; Peterson, et al., 2018). This means flexible curricular guidelines that
include a global citizenship perspective across subjects and support teachers’ academic freedom. Teachers that want to teach GCE need “a formal programmatic justification of their interest and intent” and “a curricular incentive” (Rapoport, 2015b: 33). But they also need the academic freedom to creatively interpret the curriculum. Ontario teachers who were determined to teach GCE and make it a priority found that the curricular guidelines were very helpful as they allowed them to creatively adjust curriculum requirements to justify their approach to GCE (Schwesfurth, 2006). Rapoport (2015b) believes that a “curricular pressure” is a valuable asset for the integration of GCE in school practice. However, “curricular pressure will never turn into a curricular incentive without bona fide administrative support” (Rapoport, 2015b: 34), as administrative support plays a crucial role in school innovation. While curricular changes and administrative support are crucial, the wider context in which schools operate may also need to change, as the very structure of schooling with its emphasis on outputs and measurable results works directly against GCE’s aims of promoting education for radical long-term change (Bryan & Bracken, 2011).

7.3 Perceptual barriers: providing opportunities for professional development?

Scholars underline that the effective delivery of GCE in schools is largely dependent on the motivation, understanding and ability of teachers. Teachers’ own motivation and enthusiasm for GCE, as well as their values and concern with global justice issues play an important role in terms of the integration of GCE in classroom practice (Bourn, et al., 2017). Research on teachers attitudes towards GCE suggests, however, that a high level of commitment to global justice issues is not sufficient as teachers often feel that they lack the theoretical knowledge, the expertise and the resources to translate their positive attitudes towards GCE into classroom practice (Bryan & Bracken, 2011).

Research shows that teachers are particularly concerned about teaching ‘complex’ and ‘controversial’ issues such as citizenship, war and conflict and often avoid them because they don’t feel adequately prepared or are afraid of being accused of politicizing students (Bryan & Bracken, 2011; Peterson & Warwick, 2015). Yet many scholars and education practitioners outline the academic and civic benefits of using controversial issues in the classroom (Hess, 2002), and advocate using controversial issues teaching frameworks and resources as a key methodology in teaching citizenship (Hahn, 2012) and GCE (Oxfam, 2006; Rapoport, 2015a; Kerr & Huddleston, 2015). Pashby (2008) underlines that taking up a critical and self-reflective view of global issues will necessarily require an engagement with controversial contemporary issues arising from the current geo-political dynamics such as terrorism, religious intolerance, inter-religious relations, migrations. But addressing such sensitive and complex issues with young learners requires specific pedagogical strategies and methodologies, that teachers may not necessarily master or regularly use in class (Rapoport, 2015a).

Bryan and Bracken (2011) notice also high levels of teachers’ concern and anxiety about teaching in culturally diverse classes. On the one hand, teachers often recognise that they are ill-equipped to address issues of ‘race’ and racism and in the context of ethnically diverse classroom they are concerned about reinforcing negative national and racial stereotypes (Bryan & Bracken, 2011). On the other hand, international research suggests that meeting the needs of diverse pupil cohorts is very challenging, as the curriculum and teaching practices reflect hegemonic values and cultural practices that potentially marginalise minority ethnic students (Santoro & Forghani-Arani, 2014).
Scholars underline the importance of teacher education (Bourn, et al., 2017), and in particular, the creation of formal and sustained ‘GCE spaces’ within initial and in-service teacher education as a means to motivate teachers and enhance their confidence and ability to embrace a global citizenship perspective and expose their students to GCE issues (Bryan & Bracken, 2011; Buchanan, et al. 2018; Peterson, et al., 2018). Teacher education is central to any effort to integrate GCE in the curriculum. Yet, while in recent years there has been progress in many countries of the world in integrating global citizenship and sustainable development within training courses for teachers, “these themes are still seen as optional and marginal to the main purposes of teacher education” (Bourn, et al., 2017: 28).

All bodies responsible for providing teacher education should integrate GCE in their curriculum. Teacher educators themselves should be provided with opportunities to improve their knowledge and understanding of GCE and acquire skills to apply it within their own teaching (Bourn, et al., 2017). In consideration of the importance of motivation, an important first step in teacher education is to explore the relationship between teachers’ own values and the skills needed to teach global citizenship themes (Bourn, et al., 2017). There is a need for teachers to be exposed to the various conceptions of GCE so that they can consider the many, often unstated, meanings of global citizenship and the different contested elements and perspectives that inform GCE (Buchanan, et al., 2018; Peterson, et al., 2018). Teachers need pedagogical spaces where they can engage with the complexities of global issues and critically reflect on their own assumptions and worldviews (Bryan & Bracken, 2011). As active learning methods are central to GCE practice, teacher education programmes should focus on these methodologies, including frameworks for teaching controversial issues. But it is important to recognise that in schools there may be many factors that mitigate against the adoption by teachers of active learning methodologies, including the “architecture of the curriculum” (McMorrow, 2006) and the “pedagogical conflict between the perceived need to maintain classroom control or manage students’ behaviour and the ‘productive noise’ which is often central to the active learning process” (Bryan & Bracken, 2011: 39). Hence, teacher education spaces should accompany teachers to explore the curricular and perceptual barriers present in their schools and in their own practice. Lastly, these pedagogical spaces should be opportunities where teachers can come together to address practical aspects relating to the place of GCE within the curriculum and its enactment within schools and classrooms (Peterson, et al., 2018). Teachers demand spaces where they can exchange knowledge and learn from one another about their experiences of ‘doing’ GCE in schools (Bryan & Bracken, 2011).

8. Conclusions
This chapter has explained how GCE, despite being framed as a new educational priority of the 21st century, is in fact a highly complex and ambiguous idea “infused with various meanings” (Pashby, 2016: 71). It can be seen as “a floating signifier that different discourses attempt to cover with meaning” (Mannoni et. al., 2011: 443). GCE intersects three discursive fields, global/globalisation, citizenship, and education, that, although apparently neutral, natural and unquestionable, are in reality contested discursive fields, as it was outlined in this chapter.

The concept of global citizenship is also contested and polysemic. Drawing from the typology developed by Oxley and Morris (2013), the chapter has outlined the diverse cosmopolitan and communitarian/relativistic perspectives that influence how global citizenship is constructed and used in very different sectors. Eight different conceptualisations of global citizenship have been
presented and critically discussed. The four cosmopolitan global citizenship types included political, moral, economic and cultural global citizenship, while the four communitarian/relativist types were social, critical, environmental and spiritual global citizenship.

This chapter has also discussed citizenship education and the need to reconceptualise it in the context of multicultural societies and a globalised world. Transformative, political and cosmopolitan perspectives have been presented as attempts to reimagine and transform the traditional nation-state centred citizenship education. These perspectives call for a “transformative citizenship education” (Biesta, 2014), that is no longer about teaching citizenship but rather facilitating processes that enable young people to learn democracy and become “democratic subjects” (Biesta, 2014). The cosmopolitan drive calls for a problematisation of national identifications and commitments, helping young people understand how cultural, national, regional, and global identifications are complex, constructed, interrelated, evolving, and interactive in dynamic ways (Banks, 2008). A cosmopolitan citizenship education fosters a commitment to democratic values and stimulates young people to take action to achieve democracy, human rights, equality and social justice within the local community and at global level (Banks, 2008; Osler and Starkey, 2003).

The chapter has also presented three different discourses within GCE (GCE as qualification, GCE as socialisation, and GCE as subjectification) and has critically discussed three pedagogical frameworks that illustrate these three GCE discourses. The OECD PISA 2018 Global Competence Framework was presented as an example of GCE as qualification, the UNESCO 2015 GCE framework was critically discussed as an example of GCE as socialisation, and Andreotti’s (2010; 2015) post-colonial GCE otherwise was outlined as an example of GCE as subjectification.

In conclusion, GCE is a contested and ‘loaded’ concept that merges three equally contested and complex fields: the global/globalization, citizenship and education. Despite being contested and ambiguous, GCE is a useful pedagogical perspective to reimagine a diverse, global, critical and political citizenship education. GCE can support learners to be globally conscious citizens, i.e. citizens with a critical understanding of globalisation, aware of global interconnectedness and the ways they and their nations are implicated in local and global problems and conscious of the role of humans for the future health of the planet, (Pashby, 2011; Pike, 2008). Through GCE, learners can acquire a dialogical, complex, and dynamic understanding of their identities, and learn to interact responsibly with others while being self-critical of the own perspectives and positions (Pashby, 2011). From a critical post-colonial perspective, GCE can bring to the fore non-dominant knowledges and values, facilitate critical analysis of taken for granted concepts and universal values such as human rights, peace, sustainable development, and help learners “identify and disrupt global processes that perpetuate colonial legacies of violence” (Sant, et al., 2018: 18). A critical and political perspective should provide spaces for learners to be citizens and engage in democratic politics at the level and in a way appropriate to their age. Formal education can be an important mode of delivery for GCE. Yet, as outlined in this chapter, a constellation of conceptual, curricular and perceptual barriers mitigate against the effective implementation of global citizenship within schools.
Chapter Three: Methodology and Methods - Constructivist and Informed Grounded Theory

1. Introduction
Chapter 2 has presented and critically discussed the theoretical underpinnings of the thesis. This chapter explains the methodological approach developed in this study. After tracing the journey of the research question, the chapter illustrates Constructivist and Informed Grounded Theory (Charmaz, 2014; Thorngren, 2012) as the epistemological framework and set of methods used for data collection and analysis. It then describes the data collection process, which was characterized by flexibility and iterative strategies of simultaneously going back and forth between data collection and analysis. In the period February to November 2017, intensive interviews were conducted with 21 teachers from 9 local secondary schools and 6 key informants. The chapter proceeds to illustrate the process of data analysis with the construction of initial, focused and theoretical codes outlining also some of the challenges experienced. Theoretical sampling (Charmaz, 2014) was used in the period April to August 2018 to gather additional data to elaborate and refine the provisional interpretative categories. A number of methods were used for theoretical sampling, namely a “theoretical thematic analysis” (Braun and Clarke, 2006) of provincial policy documents, participation in a “new social world” (a group of experts), interviews with new research participants (2 additional key informants), and re-interview of research participants through a group interview (9 teachers already interviewed). The chapter then outlines the process of constructing the theory and writing the thesis, and ends with a discussion of the ethical considerations and decisions that guided the research process. Throughout the chapter I have included reflective boxes based on memos and progress reports written in the course of the research. These boxes outline the reflective processes behind particular decisions and turning points which shaped the data collection, directed my analysis and helped me to weave together the different threads of my theory.

2. The journey of the research question: diverging and converging
The purpose and research questions of this study evolved in the course of the research process. I initiated the research recognising that the concept of GCE is not only ambiguous as highlighted in chapter 2, but also recent in terms of its introduction and use in the Province of Trento. My sense was that the term GCE was not part of the vocabulary of schools. However, I also felt that this did not mean that GCE was not practiced by teachers. I believed in fact that there were things happening in schools that could be conceptualised as GCE. I therefore initiated the research in order to investigate what was happening in schools in relation to GCE, whether and how global citizenship themes were addressed in schools.

The first decision I needed to take was where to look for how GCE was practiced, i.e. which level of schooling I wanted to study. I decided to focus on lower secondary schools (corresponding to level 2 of the International Standard Classification of Education) for the following main reason. They represent the last level of schooling in Italy common for all students. Formally part of the first cycle of education (grade 1 to 8), lower secondary schools are the key stage at which students
decide the type of education they will pursue in the subsequent years. At the end of lower secondary schools, students undertake the first state exam and subsequently they continue their education in different upper secondary schools. These include: a) Grammar schools with a strong academic focus to prepare students to enter university; b) Technical schools that equip students with the competences to enter university or the job market; c) Vocational schools that provide students with the skills needed for particular trades or crafts. Lower secondary schools represent therefore an important stage in students’ education and, in consideration of the age of the students, a delicate phase in their development as persons and citizens.

In the course of the research I realised that in order to understand what was happening in lower secondary schools in terms of GCE, I needed first to understand whether the term GCE made any sense to teachers. Is it a term that teachers felt could capture some of their perspectives and practices? The research question therefore shifted from studying what was happening in schools in terms of GCE, to understanding whether and how GCE was conceptualised and practiced in schools. The focus became the meanings assigned to GCE, and in particular how teachers understood and interpreted this concept and how they translated it into pedagogical practice. In the course of the study the research question became more articulated. The image of a diamond, I believe, illustrates how the research question first diverged into two distinct areas, and then converged into a set of more focused questions.

*Figure n. 3: The journey of my research question*
Divergence is linked to the fact that in the course of the research, and particularly the data gathering process, I realised that in order to understand how GCE was conceptualised and practiced in schools I needed to focus on schools and teachers, but also study the context in which they were situated. The Province of Trento in fact had recently started to use the term GCE and had identified it as one of the priorities of its international development work. It was promoting the integration of GCE in the curricula of the first cycle of education. Schools and teachers were therefore operating in a context of policy changes aimed at raising the profile of GCE and embedding it in school practice. Hence the research question diverged into two areas of study, one that focused on the position of GCE in provincial policies and perspectives, and one that focused on the meanings and practices that GCE assumed in schools. In terms of the former, recognising the ambiguities and the multiple meanings and pedagogical frameworks that characterise GCE, I wanted to understand how GCE was interpreted by provincial decision-makers, officers and key stakeholders, and which agendas informed the way they understood and promoted GCE. In terms of the schools, the focused became what did GCE mean for teachers and how was GCE articulated in their teaching.

Convergence of the research question occurred during data analysis and in particular as my coding became more focused and I began to identify the key interpretative categories, that were solidly based on empirical data, but were also in dialogue with the theoretical concepts that I identified through the literature review. At this point the two focal areas of the study began to converge and the research questions became more integrated. The questions that guided the final stages of my research journey and that this study attempts to address are the following:

- Which conceptualisations of GCE are dominant in the provincial policies and in school practice?
- What strategies are used by teachers in relation to GCE?
- Which institutional, curricular, organisational, conceptual and perceptual factors influence the way GCE is practiced in lower secondary schools?

3. The methodology: Constructivist and Informed Grounded Theory
The journey of the research question shows that the study became progressively concerned with understanding how GCE is conceptualised in the Province of Trento and hence the multiple perspectives and meaning-making that different provincial actors (decision-makers, officers, key stakeholders, teachers) convey through GCE, and that shape the way GCE is practiced. As this became the main focus of the research, Grounded Theory (GT) emerged as the methodological approach that was most suited for the study. In the initial stages, I considered using ethnography as this method is also particularly suitable for understanding research participants’ multiple perspectives and meanings. But my research question was leading me towards exploring meaning-making processes on GCE in a variety of contexts. An ethnographic approach with its focus on studying meaning-making within research participants’ everyday context and over an extended period of time did not seem feasible for this study. I did not want to limit my research to investigating in depth how GCE was conceptualised and practiced in a particular school, but rather gather multiple perspectives. Moreover, my main research interest was not to ascertain the extent to which GCE in the Province of Trento lived up to particular GCE pedagogical frameworks or models of good practice, but rather understand which meanings were conveyed through GCE by
different stakeholders and how these meanings were then translated into policies and practices. As GCE was beginning to enter the educational discourse of the Province of Trento, I was interested in studying the processes through which GCE was constructed by teachers and policy-makers as a pedagogical framework for schooling in the 21st century. GT with its focus on investigating processes rather than static themes and structures, and its emphasis on constructing a theory that explains a process, rather than applying current theories, was therefore particularly suitable for this study.

GT was originally proposed by Glaser and Strauss (1967), and then further developed by Strauss and Corbin (1990; 1998; 2008). In the 1990s, in the context of the post-modernist challenge to the positivistic paradigms still dominant in the social sciences, GT was criticised for “clinging to an outdated modernist epistemology” (Charmaz, 2014: 13). As a consequence, a number of scholars, including Clarke (2003; 2005) and particularly Charmaz (2000; 2006), moved GT away from the positivism which characterized earlier versions of the methodology, and developed a constructivist interpretation (Tarozzi, 2008).

GT, according to Tarozzi (2008), can be seen both as a “general method”, i.e. a theoretical outlook on techniques for data gathering and analysis, and as a “set of procedures” and concrete tools for gathering and analysing data. GT allows researchers to construct theories ‘grounded’ in their data. It provides a set of “systematic, yet flexible guidelines for collecting and analysing qualitative data to construct theories from the data themselves” (Charmaz, 2014: 1). Some of its key defining characteristics are (Tarozzi, 2008; Charmaz, 2014):

- Analysis of actions and processes rather than static themes and structures;
- Iterative strategies of simultaneously going back and forth between data collection and analysis;
- Comparative methods of data analysis;
- Inductive development of conceptual and analytic categories through systematic data analysis;
- Theoretical sampling to gather pertinent data to elaborate and refine the categories constituting the emerging theory;
- Theory construction rather than description or application of current theories.

In this study I have used the constructivist version of GT promoted by Charmaz (2014). This approach, as highlighted above, rejects the modernist positivistic epistemology of an objective external reality to be discovered by a neutral observer. It is suitable for this study for two main reasons. Firstly, the concept of GCE, as outlined in chapter 2, is ambiguous and subject to different interpretations. In my view, GCE is not an objective reality but rather a social construction, and a discursive field (see chap. 2, section 3). Constructivist GT is therefore an epistemological framework suitable to investigate the discursive nature of GCT. Second, the constructivist approach is in line with my rejection of the notion of the researcher as a neutral observer. Researchers “are not passive receptacles into which data are poured”, nor “scientific observers who can dismiss scrutiny of own values by claiming scientific neutrality and authority” (Charmaz, 2014: 27). Constructivist Grounded Theory (CGT) starts “with the assumption that social reality is multiple, processual, and constructed” and therefore “we must take the researcher’s position, privileges, perspective, and interactions into account as an inherent part of the research reality”,
which is itself “a construction” (Charmaz, 2014: 13). Considering the research as constructed rather than discovered demands a reflexive approach; researchers are required to reflexively examine how their own position, preconceptions, actions and decisions shape not only the analysis but also “the very facts that they can identify” (Charmaz, 2014: 13). I do not claim that this study replicates the views that the participants of this research have on GCE or their lived experiences of practicing GCE. I am conscious that what I brought to the study in terms of my background and my previous experience has influenced what data I was able to collect and what I was able to see and understand. During the data gathering and analysis I was particularly aware of the fact that my academic background is not in education and that I have never experienced what it means to be a teacher, what it is like to be in a classroom with teens-agers. During the course of the research I was therefore constantly reflecting on how the teachers involved in this study perceived me. As an academic completely detached from the reality of a classroom? As a scholar with her own views of what is good GCE practice? Or rather as a researcher curious to understand their views and perspectives? These reflections guided the way I structured the data-gathering process (see section 4 in this chapter).

Being self-reflexive also meant being aware that my subjectivity influenced what I was able to understand and how I interpreted the data I collected. I am a researcher that did not begin the data-gathering process without any knowledge of the theoretical literature on GCE or any experience on this topic. I am aware that a common GT dictum is that researchers should avoid reading the research and theoretical literature about their topic before entering the field in order to minimise the risk of seeing their data through the lens of earlier ideas, often known as “received theory”, and force their data into pre-existing categories (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). I am also aware, however, that more recently, this dictum has been challenged by grounded theorists, who increasingly recognise that “a lack of familiarity with relevant literature is unlikely and untenable” (Charmaz, 2014: 306). Charmaz (2014) underlines that researchers typically hold perspectives and possess knowledge in their fields before they decide on a research topic and suggests that researchers “consider treating extant concepts as problematic and then look for the extent to which their characteristics are lived and understood” (Charmaz, 2014: 306). Grounded theorists like Thornberg (2012) not only challenge the dictum to delay the literature review but also call for an Informed Grounded Theory (IGT) that rejects the notion of pure induction. IGT suggests that both the process and the product of research should be “thoroughly grounded in data by GT methods while being informed by existing research literature and theoretical frameworks” (2012: 7). Similarly to Thornberg (2012), I believe that researcher can avoid “theoretical forcing” if they use the literature as a possible “source of inspiration, ideas, ‘ah!‘ experiences, creative associations, critical reflections, and multiple lenses” (Thornberg, 2012: 7). Considering my extant experience in GCE and the familiarity I had with some of the literature prior to entering the field, I felt that the constructivist and informed approach to GT proposed by scholars like Charmaz and Thornberg was particularly suited to this research. Adopting this approach meant for me taking a critical and reflexive stance during the entire research process and, as Charmaz (2014) suggests, this meant remaining alert as to whether, when, and to what extent earlier ideas and findings entered my research, and when they did, I tried to subject them to rigorous scrutiny.

4. The data collection journey: flexibility and iterative strategies

The stated goal of GT strategies is to collect data in order to construct theory. Charmaz (2014) underlines that a “research adventure begins with finding and generating data” (2014: 23). She
talks about the importance of gathering “rich data” that “are detailed, focused, and full” and “reveal participants’ views, feelings, intentions, and actions as well as the contexts and structures of their lives” (Ibid.). Rich data are necessary to generate strong grounded theories.

The data collection methods researchers choose in order to obtain rich data flow from the research question. My initial research question lead me to identify intensive interviews with teachers as the main data gathering method. Intensive interviewing in fact “facilitates conducting an open-ended, in-depth exploration of an area in which the interviewee has substantial experience” (Charmaz, 2014: 85). It is also considered “the major tool for generating focused data for developing abstract conceptual categories” (Charmaz, 2014: 87). Intensive interviews are particularly suitable for CGT as they facilitate learning about the participants’ words and meanings while at the same time allowing researchers to explore areas of emerging theoretical interest when participants bring them up. Charmaz (2014: 84) underlines that in GT, “intensive interviewing serves as a way of opening inquiry and as a tool for advancing our theoretical analysis”.

As the initial research question was about understanding the meanings assigned to GCE in lower secondary schools and how this concept was translated into pedagogical practice, I felt that interviewing teachers with experience of GCE was the method that would best allow me to understand the concept of GCE as teachers saw it. I was also conscious of the fact that teachers may not have many opportunities to reflect and make sense of their GCE experience. An intensive interview could therefore be an opportunity for teachers to “find, piece together, or reconstruct a discourse” (Charmaz, 2014: 85) that made sense of their understanding and experience of GCE.

I asked myself whether intensive interviews would be sufficient to shed light on teachers’ meanings and practices of GCE. I was aware of the arguments that through interviews researchers cannot gather accurate accounts of reality as interviews do not “forge direct links to authentic experience and immediate disclosure of the research participant’s private self” (Charmaz, 2014: 78). Interviews are, as Charmaz reminds us, “retrospective narratives”, a “construction – or reconstruction – of a reality” and “performances that research participants give for particular purposes” (2014: 78-79). As such interviews do not reproduce prior realities as interview participants’ accounts explain their behaviour or report past events from the vantage point of the present (Mead, cited in Charmaz, 2014: 80). In sum, I was aware that what teachers would tell me might not be what they actually do, have done, and would do in the future.

As I was conscious that teachers might overemphasise what they do and have done in GCE or present it to me in a way consistent with perceived ‘good practice’, I kept open the possibility to complement intensive interviewing with teachers with a documentary analysis of lessons plans, didactic material, documentation of practices, that teachers felt were significant and explicative of their GCE approach and work. However, during the data gathering process I realised that the risk of teachers providing me with completely inaccurate accounts was quite minimal. GCE is a rather new concept for teachers and therefore they were not aware of ‘dominant definitions’, or ‘established good or bad practice’. I felt that they had not a clear sense of what might be best to say to a researcher, to somebody they perceived as an ‘expert’ on the topic. During the interviews I strived to deconstruct this idea of the researcher being the ‘expert that works with established theoretical and pedagogical frameworks’ (see section 4.2). This made uncertainty and openness possible. The teachers were very open about their uncertainties about the concept, and about
whether their work could be seen as GCE. They were forthcoming with doubts and difficulties. I felt that the interview became “a space, time – and human connection” (Charmaz, 2014: 80), for reflection and clarification. It was an opportunity for teachers to reflect on their experience anew and partly to clarify meanings and actions to me and primarily to themselves. At the end of the interview many teaches thanked me and said that they appreciated the exchange as it allowed them to reflect on their practice:

very often we work but we do not have the time and maybe even the habit of stopping to frame what we do, . . . and therefore these questions are interesting because they challenge me a little to stop and give myself some answers . . . So, this interview helped me to reflect and to realise what I do (Teacher 1, school I, Humanities)

I thank you because it was an opportunity to think a little about what I do and to become aware, because . . . often you really get caught up in other urgencies and therefore all opportunities for reflection are valuable and I use them to revise some aspects of my work (Teacher 3, school I, Humanities).

a good opportunity for me to stop for a moment and reflect on my way of teaching, in this perspective of global citizenship education . . . in the end it's a bit of a reflection on you, but you gave me also some ideas to work on, yes, really (Teacher 7, school A, Humanities)

too seldom you have the time to stop, to think, . . . a lot of things are done anyway, but it's nice to stop and . . . say: "Yes, what I do can have this name” (Teacher 12, school E, Humanities)

In line with GT, I maintained a flexible attitude during the data gathering process. As Charmaz (2014) reminds us “while in the midst of the research, questions may arise that impel researchers to construct new data-gathering methods and to revise earlier ones” (2014: 28). This was certainly the case in this research as the interviews with the teachers made me realise the importance of understanding better the context in which teachers were working and the discourses that were dominating the local government policies and actions. This led me to revise the research question. But it also meant designing new data collection methods. Similarly to Tarozzi and Inguaggiato (2018) I understood ‘policy’ to include a wide range of political processes that result “in the implementation of ideas into practices” (2018: 24). In order to study these processes, I decided to broaden the scope of my chosen method, intensive interviewing, as well as adopt other additional research methods.

Broadening the scope of intensive interviewing meant including new research participants, namely representatives of the local government and other key informants that were engaged locally in shaping GCE and more broadly education discourses. As I wanted to understand how they interpreted GCE, and which agendas informed the way they understood and promoted GCE, I believed that intensive interviews was the best method to enter into their meaning-making processes. But I was also interested in understanding how much the perspectives and practices of teachers reflected established or emerging policy discourses and priorities, and therefore I decided to conduct also a thematic analysis of relevant policy documents such as provincial laws, guidelines, plans related to international development cooperation and education.

4.1 Initial sampling: the sample of schools and teachers
In line with initial sampling in GT (Charmaz, 2014), I identified criteria in terms of settings and people that I wanted to include in the research. Initial sampling, according to Charmaz (2014) is
about establishing criteria for selecting research participants and planning how to access data.

As indicated, first of all I decided to focus on lower secondary schools. The criteria I used in the selection of the schools were the following:

- Schools located in both the main urban centres and in the rural valleys;
- Schools with both a low and a high percentage of students with migration background;
- Schools included and not included in an EU funded project of the Autonomous Province of Trento aimed at integrating GCE in the curriculum of the first cycle of education.

I believed that these three criteria would give me access to teachers who worked in very diverse contexts and had different levels of exposure to the GCE activities and initiatives promoted by the Province. However, the selection process did not flow from school to teachers, i.e. I did not select first of all the schools and then the teachers, but it was rather the other way around. So the selection process went from teachers to schools. The teachers invited to participate in the research were identified on the basis of one or both of these main criteria:

- Teachers had some exposure to GCE through pre-service or in-service education (courses, seminars, conferences, ...);
- Teachers’ interest and attempts in incorporating a global citizenship perspective in their practice was known within/beyond their school

In consideration of the transdisciplinary nature of GCE, an attempt was made to identify teachers of different subjects. Other criteria that were considered included teaching experience and gender. The purpose was to have an initial sample of teachers that included teachers of different subjects, both genders and with a few as well as many years of experience as teachers. These criteria however were secondary. They informed the selection process but were not applied in such a way so as to result in the exclusion from the sample of any teacher who met the two main criteria related to exposure to GCE highlighted above.

Teachers were identified through a bottom-up process, i.e. the first contact in each school was with a teacher, not with the school manager. The former proved in fact to be a more effective entry point to identify in the school a number of teachers interested in participating in the research and on that basis secure the support of the school manager. The teachers were identified through the following channels:

- Personal contact with teachers whom I knew had attended in-service education on GCE;
- Personal contact with teachers whom I knew had been engaged in activities related to development education and/or interculture;
- Indication of teachers by representatives of the provincial Education Office involved in the EU funded project on GCE of the Province of Trento;
- Snowballing, i.e. teachers contacted through the above channels indicated teachers in their school and in other schools that were sensitive to global citizenship issues

The process of identifying teachers available to participate in the research went relatively smoothly: 34 teachers from 14 schools were initially identified through these four channels. The
following step was to ascertain their interest and availability to participate in the study. Considering the fact that the concept of GCE is not yet commonly used in the schools in the Province of Trento, in line with Charmaz’s advice (2014), I decided to develop a provisional broad definition of GCE that could be shared with potential research participants:

In my research I use the concept of Global Citizenship Education to refer to those educational practices aimed at preparing young people to be citizens of this globalized world. I recognise that the concept of Global Citizenship Education is complex and ambiguous and is intertwined with a number of other partly overlapping concepts (development education, peace education, human rights education, intercultural education, environmental education/sustainable development education, citizenship education). Perhaps the term Global Citizenship Education is not used in your school but probably there are things that you do that may be comprised within this concept, which can therefore be seen as an ‘umbrella concept’ that encompasses many educational practices present in schools.

This definition was shared with the teachers that were invited to participate in the research as a way to ascertain whether GCE meant something to them and whether they felt that the concept captured their perspectives and their work. Invited teachers were also asked to indicate their availability to participate in an intensive audio-recorded interview.

In the end the sample included 21 teachers from 9 lower secondary schools. The schools are listed in table n. 1.

**Table n. 1: Sample of schools included in the research**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SCHOOL</th>
<th>LOCATION OF SCHOOL</th>
<th>% FOREIGN STUDENTS</th>
<th>FOREIGN</th>
<th>EU PROJECT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>IC A</td>
<td>Town in rural valley</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>Included</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>IC B</td>
<td>Town in rural valley</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>Included</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>IC C</td>
<td>Town in rural valley</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>Included</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>IC D</td>
<td>Town in rural valley</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>Not included</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>IC E</td>
<td>Second main urban centre</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>Included</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>IC F</td>
<td>Town in rural valley</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>Not included</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>IC G</td>
<td>Suburb of main urban centre</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>Not included</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>IC H</td>
<td>Main urban centre</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>Not included</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>IC I</td>
<td>Main urban centre</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>Not included</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Data of % of foreign students provided by Dipartimento della Conoscenza, Provincia autonoma di Trento

As anonymity was guaranteed to the teachers interviewed, in the table the name of the school was replaced by a letter of the alphabet. As we can see, the sample of schools reflects the criteria identified and therefore includes schools located in both the main urban centres and the smaller towns in the valleys, schools with a high and a low % of foreign students and schools that are included and not included in the provincial project aimed at integrating GCE in the curriculum.

The list of teachers interviewed is included in table 2. Most of the teachers (15) were interviewed between late February and early May 2017 and a further 6 teachers were interviewed in late May-June 2017.
From Table 2 we can draw some observations on the profile of the teachers included in the research:

**Isolation and peer support:** in a number of schools (IC D, IC I) the teachers initially contacted managed to involve other colleagues who they perceived had an interest in global citizenship issues and therefore a profile relevant for the topic of the research. In other schools, in particular IC A, IC C, IC H, the teachers were not in the position to suggest or involve other colleagues. In the other schools (IC F and IC G) the teachers interviewed indicated colleagues available to be interviewed but time constraints limited my ability to conduct the interviews. The ability to involve colleagues is related to the perceived sense of isolation or peer support experienced by the teachers, which is a key theme that emerged from the analysis (see chap. 5, section 4.1).

**Gender:** the majority of the teachers interviewed (85%) are female. This is in line with the fact that teachers of lower secondary schools in Trentino (and Italy in general) are predominantly female.

**Teaching subject:** despite the fact that an explicit criteria was the identification of teachers of different subjects, the majority of the teachers identified and interviewed (62%) teach Humanities (Italian, History and Geography). This suggested that it is predominantly humanities teachers who are engaged in GCE (see also chap. 5, 5.1).
Table n. 3: Teaching subject of teachers interviewed

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Humanities</th>
<th>Math and Science</th>
<th>German</th>
<th>Other</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Experience and confidence: the majority of the teachers interviewed has between 11 – 20 years of experience (47%), followed by those that have between 21 – 30 years (21%). This suggested that teachers engaged in GCE are in the middle of their careers (see chap. 5, 5.2). Yet it is probably also linked to the fact that the average age of Italian teachers is quite high and hence the majority of teachers in Italian schools are in the middle of their careers.

Table n. 4: Years of experience of teachers interviewed

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>&lt;10</th>
<th>11 - 20</th>
<th>21 - 30</th>
<th>&gt;31</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15%</td>
<td>47%</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.2 The interviews with teachers: a flexible guide that shaped open and in depth conversations

Charmaz (2014) recommends that “new researchers develop a detailed interview guide to think through the kinds of questions that can help them fulfil their research objectives” and treat their “completed interview guide as a flexible tool to revise” (2014: 62). To ensure that the interview remains fluid, informal and conversational, Charmaz (2014) suggests that researchers should achieve a balance between designing a useful interview guide that simultaneously focuses their topic and fosters pursuing new areas that had not occurred to them.

With this in mind, I proceeded to draft a guide for the interviews with the teachers. Constructing the guide was a slow process as I first identified the topics I wanted to cover in the course of the interviews and then struggled with creating and fine-tuning the interview questions. Charmaz (2014) warns that “not only can asking the wrong questions result in forcing the data, but also how interviewers pose, emphasize, and pace their questions can force the data” (2014: 63). She suggests that recording and transcribing the interviews can help researchers be “constantly reflexive about the nature of their questions and whether they work for the specific participants and the nascent grounded theory” (Charmaz, 2014: 63).

The process of creating the interview guide did indeed help me to gain a better grasp of which questions to ask and how and when to ask them in the conversation. Reading the transcriptions of the first recorded interviews, as suggested by Charmaz (2014), with a view to improve the interview guide and my ability to ask questions, helped me to realise that improvising questions did sometimes result in some ‘poorly phrased questions’ or slightly ‘leading questions’. I realised when my questions did not work, when I failed to explore pivotal issues or elicit a participant’s experiences in her own language and when my questions slightly imposed my concepts and discourse upon the research participant’s reality.
This reflexive process on the transcriptions of the first interviews allowed me to improve the interview guide through the creation of new questions, the elimination of others and the fine-tuning of the remaining ones. This process resulted also in a change in the sequencing of the questions and in the utilisation of questions based on sensitizing concepts (see box n. 2). The questions in the interview guide were mainly broad, open-ended questions aimed at exploring participants’ experience of integrating GCE in their practice. Like Charmaz’s sample questions (2014), they included initial open-ended questions, intermediate questions, and ending questions, and they reflected “a symbolic interactionist emphasis on learning about participant’s views, experienced events, and actions” (Charmaz, 2014: 65). Overall, as Charmaz (2014) underlines, preparing and revising the interview guide helped me to become aware of my interests, assumptions, and use of language and reflect upon the entire research process.

**Box n. 2: From experience to abstract definitions**

In this box I outline how engaging in a reflexive process on the transcriptions of my first interviews led to the modification of the interview guide. It is based on a memo I wrote in March 2017.

The first version of the interview guide, after the opening questions about the research participant’s years of experience as a teacher, the subject he/she teaches in school, delved immediately into very theoretical questions such as “In your opinion, what is the role of school in educating young people to be citizens of today’s global world?” and “What does GCE mean for you?”, and subsequently asked about personal experience of teaching GCE.

The transcriptions of the first interviews made clear that participants’ answers to these initial questions remained very broad and general and that the rich data for my research was emerging from the questions about personal experience. Hence, I changed the interview guide rephrasing the questions and switching the sequencing.

The new version of the interview guide explored participants’ understanding of GCE by making them reflect first on their experience through questions like “Can you tell me what do you do in school that, according to you, is related to GCE?”. Teachers were forthcoming with many different examples of what they do in class, which I was able to explore with follow-up questions, that mainly asked for clarification or more details. I then moved to questions exploring enabling and constraining factors: “What are the enabling factors for your GCE work?” with prompts related to the curriculum, the school environment, the provincial context; “What are the factors that hinder your GCE work?”, with similar prompts.

After asking participants for an in-depth description of their lived experience of doing GCE, I then moved to exploring meanings with more theoretical questions such as “Considering what you have told me, could you define GCE in your own words?”, “Do you associate GCE to particular competences?” “Do you associate GCE to particular values?” In this part of the interview I often used open-ended questions. But I also used sensitizing concepts such as identity, social justice. Questions like “If I say identity, what comes to your mind?”. Sensitizing concepts were used to spark thinking about the meanings of GCE. As Charmaz (2014) suggests, I used these concepts “to start inquiry, not to end it” (2014: 31), as points of departure, as tentative ideas rather than definite concepts, as tools to open up inquiry rather than shutting it down.

When I contacted the teachers to arrange the interviews, a few of them asked me to see the interview guide beforehand. This request seemed to suggest insecurity, fear of not being able to answer my questions. GCE is a new concept, ambiguous and complex, and not yet widely used in schools in the Province of Trento. It is therefore not surprising that teachers felt unsure about it. I decided that sharing the interview guide with the teachers beforehand could not only reassure them
but also give them the opportunity to have more time to reflect on the concept of GCE and on whether some of their practice could be conceptualised as GCE. For this reason, a couple days before the scheduled meetings, I sent the interview guide to the teachers (all teachers, not only those that explicitly asked for it) and informed them that it was just a guide and that my intention was to keep the interview informal and conversational. This was an opportunity to send also the informed consent form (see section 8 in this chapter).

Reflecting on the decision to share the interview guide with the participants, I believe that it was appropriate as it did not constraint the interview within a rigid structure but rather quenched some of the participants’ anxieties and facilitated a relaxed and conversational encounter. Most of the participants prepared for the interview. They brought with them the interview guide with brief notes but during the interview their jotted down answers remained mainly in the back of their minds. They glanced at their written notes only occasionally and mainly spoke freely about their practices, actions and thoughts.

Similarly, for a novice researcher like me, having prepared an interview guide with well-planned open-ended questions and ready probes was important as it increased my confidence, allowed me to remain focused on what was emerging in the conversation without being distracted by thoughts about what to ask next and how to ask it. I had the interview guide with me but I did not use it in a rigid way. I did not ask all the questions, did not follow religiously their sequence but rather concentrated on what the person was saying and often formulated new questions to explore the many points that were emerging from the conversation and that I had not anticipated. Indeed the transcripts of the interviews show how each interview was unique and very different from the others because, based on what participants told me about their actual GCE work, I followed different leads related to their actual experience. So, the new questions I asked generally invited participants to describe in more depth their work, to provide more detail or explanation. Following the advice of Charmaz (2014), I often used questions such as “That’s interesting, could you tell me more?” or “Could you tell me how you define it so I have it in your own words?”. I often stopped to explore a participant’s statement and asked for an explanation or examples. I often restated a participant’s point to check for accuracy and allow him/her to clarify meaning or add additional information. And often I went back to earlier points to try to elicit new information or insights.

CGT interviews pay particular attention to participants’ language. Charmaz (2014) underlines that “following threads in our participant’s everyday language and discourse helps us to form questions from their terms” (2014: 96). She reminds us that “we can easily allow our notions to overshadow those of our participants without realizing it” (Ibid.). During the interviews I was very aware of this danger. As I knew that the term GCE was not commonly used in schools, I paid particular attention to the terms teachers used to refer to practices related to GCE and used their terms in my questions. For example, often participants talked about citizenship education, or intercultural education when they were describing their work. I used those terms in my questions but also asked if GCE was a synonym or rather a concept that conveyed something different. I also followed up on taken-for-granted meanings of the terms used by the research participants, asking them for more detail. Following Charmaz’ suggestions, I often turned the interviewee’s words into open-ended questions to acknowledge his/her response and elicit more detailed information, or to summarise a research participant’s last statement and encourage him/her to say more.
The interviews were recorded as this allowed me to give full attention to the research participants with steady eye contact and the frequent use of nodding, receptive “mmh hus’?s” or words like “yes, that’s interesting”. I did not jot down key points during the interview. Although this would have helped me to keep in mind these points and return to them through follow-up questions, I felt that taking notes would have distracted both me and the participant.

During the interviews, I strived to respect the research participants’ conversational prerogatives in interviews indicated by Charmaz (2014). In particular, I gave space to the teachers to reflect on their work, to tell me their experiences of GCE, and to show me how to see them from their point of view. I allowed them to be and feel experts on GCE. Before and during the interview I often emphasised that I know the theory of GCE but, as I am not a teacher, I do not practice GCE in schools. I stressed that the purpose of the research was to learn from their lived experience and that there was not a right or a wrong way of interpreting and practicing GCE but rather different perspectives and modalities that I was interested in understanding. As Charmaz (2014) suggests, I strived to open spaces for the research participants to be the experts, and played “the role of the interested learner rather than . . . the distant investigator” (2014: 73) Making research participants be and feel experts did not mean that they had nothing to learn from the experience of being interviewed. Many of the teachers reported that the interview was a useful moment to stop and reflect on their practice, look at their work through different lenses, gain a new perspective and consider new insights that could inform their future practice.

A few teachers were stimulated by my questions, and at the end of the interview they asked me some of the questions I had asked them. This was not a sign of insecurity about the way they had answered those questions, but rather signalled a genuine interest in GCE and the willingness to engage in dialogue with me about the concept of GCE and the way it can be translated into teaching practice. A number of teachers were also eager that this research would provide other spaces for reflection and sharing on GCE, and showed an interest in participating in a meeting where the findings of the research would be shared.

I welcomed this idea, but rather than waiting for the end of the research, in June 2018 I invited all the teachers interviewed to a meeting that had a double purpose. On the one hand, in line with theoretical sampling, I conceived the meeting as an opportunity to gather additional data to fill out some of my analytical categories. And on the other hand, I shared with the teachers some of the ideas that were beginning to shape my theory (see section 6 in this chapter).

The interviews with the teachers were conducted in the period February – June 2017. The choice of where to conduct the interview was left to the teachers, and most of them suggested their own school. Only 2 teachers were met outside school, one in her house and the other in a quiet café. In general the interviews were quite long, from a minimum of 50 minutes to a maximum of 95 minutes. Overall the 21 interviews with teachers amounted to 1,468 minutes of recorded data. The average length of the interview was 70 minutes. Were my interviews too long? Did I hand over control of the interview to the research participants? In some cases maybe I did let participants talk about experiences that were not immediately related to GCE but overall I believe that I kept control of the interview and particularly I kept participants on the topic. The interviews were long because, as I wanted to understand teachers’ perspective and experience of GCE in their own
words without imposing mine, I often asked for more details on what they meant, tried to elicit “the participant’s definitions of terms, situations, and events” and tap their assumptions and implicit meanings (Charmaz, 2014: 95). This required time.

Also, as I engaged in the iterative process of data-gathering and analysis that characterises GT, the interview-guide began to include new more focused questions to explore the ideas and provisional categories that I was formulating. My choice was to avoid switching immediately to more focused interviews in order to find answers to my analytic questions and fill conceptual gaps but rather to maintain with the new participants the open-ended interview guide used at the beginning and build new additional focused questions into the interview conversation. This meant that the length of the interviews increased.

4.3 Broadening the research methods: documentary analysis and interviews with key informants

The iterative process of data-gathering and analyses resulted in the continuous revision of the interview guide. But it led also to the modification of the research question and to the identification of new research participants and methods.

In the process of data collection and initial analysis, the role of the provincial context and particularly of the policies and priorities expressed by the Provincial government emerged as a key factor influencing teachers’ GCE practices. On the one hand, the presence of the EU funded “Global schools” project aimed at integrating GCE in the curricula of the first cycle of education was perceived as a facilitating element by the teachers of the schools involved in this project. On the other hand, teachers stressed that the educational priorities of the Province, in particular the establishment of a trilingual (Italian, English and German) education system, were monopolising all the resources at the expense of other areas such as interculture and GCE. The role of the provincial priorities became therefore a key analytical category in the research and so I began to investigate it in the interviews with the teachers. Exploring it only with teachers, however, had the risk of providing a partial view.

The analysis of the interviews with the teachers was also showing a certain level of conceptual overlap between citizenship education, intercultural education and GCE, and particularly some convergence in terms of the way citizenship education was conceptualised and practiced by teachers. I began to wonder whether this convergence reflected a particular citizenship education discourse that was dominant in the provincial policies and in the curriculum.

I decided therefore to explore how GCE was interpreted by provincial representatives, and how it was linked to other provincial priorities. This broadening of the research focus led to changes in the research question (see section 2 in this chapter) and to the decision to broaden the methods. I decided to conduct a documentary analysis of key provincial policy documents related to education and international development cooperation, and in-depth interviews with key provincial informants.

In terms of the documentary analysis, similarly to Tarozzi and Inguaggiato (2018), a policy document was considered relevant if it had an effect on the implementation of GCE in schools or
the way GCE was conceptualized and practiced by teachers. The following provincial policy documents were identified and considered relevant for the research:

- Provincial Law on Support to International Development Cooperation, approved 17/03/1988;
- Provincial Law on International Solidarity Actions and Interventions, approved 15/03/2005;
- Guidelines for International Development Cooperation Activities, approved 12/02/2016;
- Criteria and Modalities for Granting Financial Support to Voluntary Development Organisations, approved 26/10/2012, new version of the Criteria approved 05/08/2016;
- Guidelines for the Elaboration of the Curricula of the First Cycle of Education, approved on 27/08/2012
- Direction and Priorities for the Education Institutes for the XV Legislation, approved 02/11/2015;
- Provincial Education Law, version amended on 22/06/2016;

In relation to the selection of the key informants for the interviews, in line with initial sampling, I identified three criteria:

- senior role at provincial level in international development cooperation and in education;
- responsibility at the provincial level for GCE;
- recognised expertise in GCE

On the basis of these three criteria, 6 key informants were identified and interviewed in the period April to November 2017. These included:

- 2 provincial decision-makers (political representative or manager): one responsible for the provincial international development cooperation sector, and the other for the provincial education system;
- 2 officers involved in the implementation of the EC funded “Global schools” project: one belonging to the provincial Office for International Development Cooperation and the other to the provincial Education Office;
- 2 members of the “Expert group” set up through the EC funded “Global schools project”: one representing the international development sector and the other the education sector.

Similarly to the process adopted for the in depth interviews with the teachers, the first step was to design interviews guides, which were tailored to the particular role and experience of each key informant. Before drafting the interview guides, I conducted a preliminary reading of the policy documents outlined above. This exercise did not constitute a thematic analysis of these policy documents, which was conducted later in the research (see section 6 in this chapter). The purpose of this cursory reading of the documents was to get a sense of whether and how GCE featured in them, and to identify themes and topics that could be explored in the interviews with the key informants. Like the interview guide developed for teachers, the guides used with the key informants led research participants to reflect first about their actual involvement in GCE and what they did in terms of policies and projects in this area. The questions then moved the participants
to higher levels of abstraction through questions related to the meaning of GCE and the conceptual linkages with other concepts.

The interview guide together with the consent form was sent to the interviewee a couple of days before the scheduled meeting. One of the decision-makers decided to provide a written response to the questions in the interview guide. This was a limit as I was not able to engage in a conversation with this key informant to tease out the nuances of the different replies. The other 5 people were met face to face and the intensive interviews provided me with very rich data. Similarly to the interviews with the teachers, I was able to use the guide very flexibly and the actual interview took different directions according to the leads provided by the research participants. Like the interviews with teachers, the interviews with these key informants were quite long, from a minimum of 49 minutes to a maximum of 96 minutes. Overall the 5 interviews amounted to 352 minutes of recorded data. The average length of the interview was 70 minutes.

5. The data-analysis process: constructing initial, focused and theoretical codes

Tarozzi (2008) believes that the first step of analysis is transcribing the interviews. It is the first interpretative act of a researcher and should be as accurate as possible. Accuracy is best achieved by transcribing interviews verbatim. Once interviews are transcribed verbatim, grounded theorists use coding, which is the key analytic instrument in GT.

Charmaz (2014) underlines that “grounded theory coding requires us to stop and ask analytic questions of the data we have gathered” in order to “further our understanding of studied life” and “direct subsequent data-gathering toward the analytic issues we are defining” (2014: 109). Coding “means categorizing segments of data with a short name that simultaneously summarizes and accounts for each piece of data” (Charmaz, 2014: 111). With coding researchers “move beyond concrete statements in the data to making analytic sense of stories, statements, and observations” (Ibid.). Coding is therefore “the pivotal link between collecting data and developing an emergent theory to explain these data” (Charmaz, 2014: 113). Using a metaphor, Charmaz (2014) underlines that “grounded theory coding generates the bones of your analysis” and “theoretical centrality and integration will assemble these bones into a working skeleton” (2014: 113). Two types of coding characterise GT:

- initial coding involving naming and labelling each word, line, or segment of data;
- focused coding where the most significant or frequent initial codes are used to sort, synthesize, integrate and organise large amounts of data

With initial coding the purpose is to “open up” the data, explore fragments of text to reveal all the possible meanings that the text can generate (Tarozzi, 2008). It is about mining “early data for analytic ideas to pursue in further data collection and analysis” (Charmaz, 2014: 114). Focused coding, on the other hand, serves to “pinpoint and develop the most salient codes and then put them to the test with large batches of data” (Ibid.).

Codes, in GT, arise from a researcher’s reading of the data. They do not emanate from preconceived categories or codes. Grounded theorists create codes by defining what they see in the data. They construct codes by scrutinising the data and defining meanings within it. Coding is not a neutral process. Indeed Charmaz (2014) talks about “constructing codes” (2014: 114) to
stress that codes do not reproduce the empirical reality but rather our view of the studied world. With coding, “we define what we see as significant in the data and describe what we think is happening” (Charmaz, 2014: 115). The language we use matters. Language confers meaning and form to an observed reality, and reflects views and values. So, codes are not neutral but “arise from the languages, meanings and perspectives through which we learn about the empirical world” (Charmaz, 2014: 114). Yet, as we define our codes we should aim to try to understand participant’s views and actions from their perspectives and “dig into our data to interpret participants’ tacit meanings” (Charmaz, 2014: 115).

Charmaz (2014) talks about GT coding as an interactive process, as entering “an interactive space that pulls you deeper into the data and keeps you involved with them far more than a casual reading fosters” (2014: 115). Being in this interactive space can challenge researchers’ earlier preconceptions and hunches, demands tolerance for ambiguity and openness to see fragments of data in new ways. It is about defining connections between data, and as researchers grapple with understanding their studied world, coding leads them to new analytic questions that “merge the subjective with what appears to be objective” (Charmaz, 2014:116).

In the following sections I give an overview of the process I used for data analysis. Similarly to the experience described by Blackmore (2014) to write this section and the subsequent one on theoretical sampling. I have imposed a certain amount of linearity on a process that in reality was “quite messy, intuitive and simultaneous” (Blackmore, 2014: 88). The headings below explain the methods used to move forward in the data analysis, but also the challenges encountered and the turning points that helped me pursue theoretical direction and centrality.

5.1 The challenge of simultaneously interviewing, transcribing and coding
GT prescribes that interviews are transcribed and coded soon after they are conducted as this facilitates the iterative strategies of data collection and analysis that are at the core of the methodology. At the beginning of the data collection process, I was able to proceed with transcribing the interviews verbatim immediately after they were conducted, and with coding them. Between February and early April 2017 I conducted 10 interviews with teachers and transcribed and coded 8 of them. In the subsequent weeks, however, I was not able to keep up the pace of interviewing, transcribing and coding all the interviews. I continued to interview teachers but I also organised and interviewed the key local informants. This required reading the provincial policies and documents, as well as devising new interview guides. In the period May – June 2017 I decided therefore to give precedence to conducting new interviews as I was aware that I needed to meet the teachers before schools closed in June. The period June – November 2017 was then dedicated to transcribing and coding all the interviews.

What are the implication of having transcribed and coded the interviews a few months later? The main consequence was that my data collection was not fully informed by data analysis. When during the summer I transcribed and coded the interviews, there were instances where I felt frustrated with myself for not having asked another question or a better question to better explore a telling code. This is probably a feeling commonly experienced by researchers. For me it was particularly frustrating as it meant that in a number of cases I constructed a very significant code from an interview, but did not have a chance to go and gather more data on it as the GT methodology prescribes.
Another consequence of the delayed transcription and coding of the interviews is that I was not in the position to move swiftly to more focused interviews, which, according to Charmaz (2014), are used to explore telling codes and provisional categories. The interviews I conducted in April – June (11 teachers and 5 key informants) remained open-ended intensive interviews. But, as already indicated, I did begin to ask more direct and focused questions to explore some ideas that I was developing from the coding of the initial transcribed interviews and from listening to the interviews, not yet transcribed. Coding the initial interviews and listening to the ones I was conducting allowed me to create a series of mind-maps to help organise my initial impressions and give direction to the data collection.

In sum, while I cannot claim to have rigorously followed the method and therefore reaped all the benefits of engaging in iterative strategies of data collection and analysis, I can confidently say that my data collection was informed by data analysis.

5.2 Initial coding: a difficult and slow process

Following the advice of Tarozzi (2008), I proceeded first with reading the transcriptions of the interviews several times in order to capture the overall meaning of the interview through a global reading and understanding of the transcribed text. This global reading allowed me to identify a few major themes. I then proceeded with initial coding, which in GT, “should stick closely to the data” (Charmaz, 2014: 116), and avoid applying pre-existing categories. This is best achieved by starting from and adhering as much as possible to the words of the participants. Coding should also use “a language of action rather than of topics and themes” (Charmaz, 2014: 116.). Coding for actions, in particular, is very useful as it “curbs our tendencies to make conceptual leaps and to adopt extant theories before we have done the necessary analytic work” (2014: 117). Coding for action and adherence to the words of the participants are best conveyed through coding with gerunds (Charmaz, 2014).

I was convinced about the arguments put forward in support of coding with gerunds, and therefore when I approached coding my interviews, I tried to follow this advice. However, I soon realised that coding with gerunds meant for me constructing codes in English as in the Italian language the gerund did not convey the same level of action and sequence. Tarozzi (2011) compares Italian with English and concludes that as “English is a more conceptualizing language than Italian, and has greater propositional power . . ., it seems more suitable for making propositional statements, binding concepts, expressing complex and tricky categories with synthetic nomenclature” (2011: 171). He, therefore, prefers Italian for initial coding as it allows for better adherence and correspondence to the original data and switches to “English for more advanced coding, where it is necessary to label concepts” (Ibid.). I reflected on this issue and decided to try English even for initial coding. Coding in English forced me to dig deeper into the meanings of words and statements used by participants. As Charmaz (2014) underlines, “second-language coders may lose spontaneity but gain a critical stance toward their codes” (2014: 332). I felt that, compared to using Italian, coding in English pushed me more to interrogate my data, to avoid reproducing narratives. Also, similarly to Åhlström (cited in Charmaz, 2014: 332), as I had decided to write the research dissertation in English, I felt that it was better to start to think in English straight away if I wanted to develop a theory in the English language. Constructing codes in English that adhered as much as possible to the words of the participants was a challenge. Sometimes I felt that coding in English
prevented me from capturing the subtleties of the Italian language. Often I was unsure of the best translation for a particular word or expression that I wanted to use as an in vivo code, or I did not have the language to construct a telling summarising statement. In those circumstances I often decided to construct a code in Italian. In a few cases I also used in vivo codes. Charmaz (2014) suggests that for initial coding, researchers move quickly through the data. Constructing codes in English meant that initial coding for me was not quick but rather a quite slow process.

For initial coding, I conducted line by line coding, which, following Tarozzi (2008), I did not interpret literally as coding each line of my written text as Charmaz (2014) seems to suggest, but rather as coding the minimum segments of text that made sense for my research and that could be entire paragraphs, sentences, idioms or fixed expressions (Tarozzi, 2008). Gaps, silences, expressions revealing uncertainties were also coded. Coding in this way meant that many of the selected paragraphs or sentences yielded several overlapping codes. Line by line coding sparked new ideas that had not occurred to me through the global reading of the entire narratives. It gave me hints to pursue in subsequent interviews but also led me to go back with the newly constructed codes to the interviews already coded. As my coding system was developing, I found myself going back to the interviews already coded to check whether a code that I had constructed for a segment of text that in a particular interview explicitly conveyed a particular idea, was also present in a more latent form in segments of texts of interviews previously coded. Often an interview made explicit what was implicit in earlier statements. Going back to already coded interviews slowed down the process of coding, but often an “Aha! Now I understand’ experience” (Charmaz, 2014: 141) resulted in the construction of an initial code that then, when put to the test with the data from other interviews, became a focused code. Line by line coding was therefore an entry door to begin to use comparative methods to analyse my data and find similarities and differences between research participants’ statements on key emerging ideas.

5.3 Developing organisational topics
Line by line coding led me to the construction of more than 300 initial codes. I felt a bit overwhelmed by the sheer number of my initial codes and by the task of moving the analysis towards more focused codes and provisional interpretative categories. In order to organise the initial codes, I decided to develop a series of organisational topics under which my codes could be subsumed. These topics are not the analytic conceptual categories that eventually formed the skeleton of my theory, but, similarly to how they are used by Maxwell (2013: 107), they operated “primarily as bins for sorting the data for further analysis” (see box n. 3). While these topics became explicit once I started coding the interviews, I am aware that they did not simply “emerge” from the data. Braun and Clarke (2006) emphasise that talking of themes emerging from the data “is a passive account of the process of analysis, and it denies the active role the researcher always plays” (2006: 7). These topics were implicit in the way I directed the data-collection, i.e. how I structured the interview guides and the questions I asked in the interviews. They reflected my own research interests and to a certain extent my own understanding of GCE. But they were also the result of the perspectives of the research participants. During the interviews, in fact, the research participants led me to investigate topics that I had not imagined or foreseen. These topics were therefore the product of a dialogical encounter.
Box n. 3: Development of organisational topics

In this box I outline how I developed organisational topics to sort and organise my initial codes. It is based on a memo I wrote in June 2017.

In order to organise my initial codes I decided to organise my coding system according to a series of organisational topics, that then oriented my data-collection and data analysis process. These organisational topics included: Teacher’s background and personal journey, Teacher’s perception of role, Teacher’s ways of working, Talking about GCE in own school, Teacher’s experience of doing GCE in own school, Visions of students, Considering the reality of multi-ethnic classrooms, Defining citizenship and global citizenship, Discussing own citizenship education work, Discussing own GCE work, Talking about GCE topics, Identifying GCE competences, Identifying GCE values, Understanding identity, Visions of the Global South, Reflecting on GCE and the curriculum, Modalities to reconcile GCE with the curriculum, GCE and multi-disciplinarity, Reflecting on GCE and state exam, Talking about methodologies, Talking about didactic resources, Talking about the provincial context. While some of these topics became key areas of further data-collection and analysis and eventually led to the development of my key analytical categories, other were abandoned and were not further investigated. In particular, I decided to abandon methodologies and didactic resources as a meaningful analysis of them required classroom observation and analysis of material, which I felt was beyond the scope of my study.

5.4 Focused coding: initial codes, “umbrella codes” and theoretical codes

Focused coding is about identifying and developing the most salient codes and then putting them to the test with large batches of data. It is about “using the most significant and/or frequent earlier codes to sift through and analyse large amounts of data” (Charmaz, 2014: 138). The purpose of focused coding is to advance the theoretical direction of the research. Hence focused codes are generally more conceptual than many initial codes (Charmaz, 2014). Through studying and comparing the initial codes I began to choose some telling ones while also devising new codes that subsumed numerous initial codes. This stage of the analysis involved:

- studying and assessing my initial codes and deciding which initial codes made most analytic sense by comparing them with data;
- comparing codes with codes and deciding which ones may be promising tentative categories;
- constructing new conceptual codes that subsumed numerous initial codes

In practice this meant that in a number of cases, initial codes became focused codes and then key categories of my analysis (see box n. 4)

Box n. 4: Using an initial code as a focused code

In this box I describe how one of my initial codes became a focused code. In italic I indicate the codes that I developed during the coding of the interviews. This box is based on a memo I wrote in July 2017.

While coding an interview, the words of a research participant that suggested that GCE was about “being able to decode a newspaper” struck me. I felt that the verb “to decode” was very powerful and therefore in constructing the initial code I broadened the concept of decoding and crafted the initial code Decoding what is happening in the world. I then studied my coding system and realized that a number of initial codes were related to this idea, such as Drawing from current affairs for lessons, Setting opportunities to discuss current affairs in class.
Encouraging students to watch news and read newspapers, knowing the world and its problems, bringing the world into the classroom, addressing global issues with high media profile. The initial code "Decoding what is happening in the world" became a focused code. Together with the two sub-codes I constructed "Being informed about current affairs" and "Understanding topical global issues", it became a key category of my analysis. It is one of the key dimensions of how GCE is conceptualized and practiced by teachers (see chap. 6, 6.2).

In other cases, studying and assessing my initial codes led me to construct a new code that subsumed numerous initial codes. I refer to these codes as “umbrella codes” that then became key categories of my analysis (see box n. 5).

**Box n. 5: Constructing “umbrella codes”**

In this box I describe how I constructed an “umbrella code” that subsumed numerous initial codes. In *italic* I indicate the codes that I developed during the coding of the interviews. This box is based on a memo I wrote in November 2017.

Studying and assessing my initial codes made me realize that for the teachers interviewed citizenship education had a very broad scope. I had the impression that teachers were stretching the boundaries of citizenship education so that it could capture many things that were not directly related to particular subjects. My initial codes indicated that, for teachers, citizenship education was about *Learning about the rights and duties of citizens, Learning about the rule of law and legality, Experiencing democratic processes, Learning the rules of civic behaviour, Respecting diversity, Promoting coexistence and inclusion, Being digitally literate, Behaving responsibly and ethically online, Caring for the school environment, Being environmentally aware and concerned.* In order to capture this stretching of the boundaries of citizenship education and teachers' multifaceted vision of this concept, I constructed the code “Citizenship education as a broad container”, and a number of sub-codes that grouped and subsumed my initial codes. This categorization of the initial codes became a key category explaining how citizenship education is conceptualized and practiced by teachers (see chap. 6, 5):

**Citizenship education as a broad container**

- Democracy, rights and legality
  - Rights and duties of citizens
  - Legality and rule of law
  - Experiencing democratic processes

- Moral and social development
  - Rules of civic behaviour
  - Diversity, coexistence and inclusion

- Digital citizenship
  - Digital media literacy
  - Online ethical behaviour and cyber-bulling

- Care for the Environment
  - Care for the school environment
  - Environmental awareness and sustainability

Lastly, in the process of focused coding, I also used theoretical coding. Glaser (2005) introduced theoretical codes as a way to conceptualise how significant codes may relate to each other as hypothesis to be integrated into a theory. He also endorsed the idea that theoretical coding is essentially about “applying a variety of analytic schemes to the data to enhance their abstraction” (Glaser, 2005: 5). Yet, according to Charmaz (2014) the extent to which theoretical coding is an application of a theory onto the data, or rather an emergent and inductive process is ambiguous.
The purpose of theoretical codes is to help researchers theorise their data and codes. They help researchers “tell an analytic story that has coherence” (Charmaz, 2014). When used wisely, theoretical codes underlie the categories constituting the theory; when applied superficially they impose a framework on the analysis and “may encase it in an esoteric jargon” (Charmaz, 2014: 150). I was aware of the ambiguities in the use of theoretical codes and therefore I used them in a reflexive way. Whenever I used them I feel confident that I did not force the data into preconceived theories but rather used theoretical concepts to provide more analytic strength to my initial codes and move my analytic story in a theoretical direction (see box. 6).

**Box n. 6: Using theoretical codes**

In this box I describe how I used theoretical coding to enhance the analytical strength of my codes. In *italic* I indicate the codes that I developed during the coding of the interviews. This box is based on a memo I wrote in April 2018.

Studying my data and my initial codes led me to realise that teachers were conceptualising their GCE work in terms of transmission of certain values. While the teachers were not explicitly using the word “values” to describe their practices, my initial codes showed that teachers were indeed transmitting values that were broadly in line with a cosmopolitan worldview. Significant initial codes that I singled out from my coding system included *Stressing the idea of a common humanity, Stressing across human rights, Transcending universal human rights, Having moral obligations toward distant others, Overcoming nationalism, Being citizens means citizens of the world, From the Italian citizen to the citizen of the world, Stressing solidarity beyond the national borders*. How could I capture the idea conveyed by these initial codes? I decided to use a theoretical code, namely I used cosmopolitanism as a theoretical concept that could help me give a more analytical connotation to these codes and at the same time advance the theoretical direction of my research. I therefore constructed the theoretical code “Fostering the cosmopolitan citizen”, which I believed could capture the essence of these initial codes (see chap. 6. 2.). This theoretical code became a category underlying the theory I was constructing and subsequently helped me to realise that, in teachers’ views, GCE had a marked moral dimension expressed in terms of adherence to a universal value structure. GCE, in teachers’ views and practices, was essentially conceptualised as a new moral pedagogy (see chap. 8).

6. **Theoretical sampling: multiple methods to pursue theoretical centrality and adequacy**

Iterative strategies of simultaneously going back and forth between data collection and analysis, and theoretical sampling are defining strategies of GT. They are linked to each other, but they are also distinct, and should not be confused. The iterative process of GT means continually focusing your data collection as you gain ideas from the analysis and you identify and define patterns. As outlined above, this iterative process led me to continuously change the interview guide with teachers and also to identify new research participants and methods.

Theoretical sampling, on the other hand, prompts researchers to retrace their steps as well as take new paths when they have some tentative interpretative categories and emerging, but incomplete ideas (Charmaz, 2014). Theoretical sampling presupposes having “tentative analytic categories to pursue” (Charmaz, 2014: 205) and requires going back into the empirical world to collect more data about the properties of these categories. Its purpose is to seek pertinent data to “elaborate and
refine the categories” constituting the theory (Charmaz, 2014: 193). It pertains to the conceptual and theoretical development of the analysis.

Theoretical sampling can be used in both the early and later stages of the research. However, it tends to be conducted at a later stage of the research, once a substantial amount of data has been coded, and the categories have become increasingly abstract and with stronger theoretical reach (Charmaz, 2014). It is used as a strategy to narrow the focus on emerging categories and as a technique to develop and refine them. Initially it helps to fill out the properties of a category and create an analytic definition and explication of it; later, it helps to demonstrate links among categories (Charmaz, 2014). I used theoretical sampling in the latter part of the research, once I had coded all the data gathered through the interviews with teachers and key informants, and I had developed some preliminary categories that I wanted to probe with more data.

While some authors treat theoretical sampling as a procedure that researchers conduct through interviews, I followed Charmaz (2014), who stressed that methods for conducting theoretical sampling vary and may include “studying documents, conducting observations, participating in new social worlds as well as interviewing or reinterviewing” (2014: 205-206). In my theoretical sampling I used analysis of extant documents, participation in a new social world, interviews with new research participants, and re-interview of teachers through a group interview.

In terms of studying extant documents, in April 2018 I decided to conduct a thematic analysis of the provincial curricular guidelines and in particular of the area called “History with citizenship education, geography”. The analysis of the interviews with the teachers and the key informants suggested in fact that GCE was not prescribed by the curriculum, but was rather a choice of willing and motivated teachers who found different and creative ways to reconcile GCE with the curriculum. I felt that analysing how the curriculum addressed the global dimension of citizenship education was a key method to collect more data and saturate my provisional category which I had named “No curricular pressure to do GCE”. The approach I used to analyse the guidelines was broadly in line with what Braun and Clarke (2006) refer to as “theoretical thematic analysis” (2006: 12). While the themes I identified remained strongly linked to the data, I did not approach the analysis of the curricular guidelines through the inductive approach I used for the coding of the interviews. Rather, I analysed the guidelines having clearly in mind the provisional categories that I had inductively constructed from the analysis of the interviews. I had therefore a pre-existing coding frame, and provisional categories that I wanted to put to the test with new data. So, in line with thematic analysis (Braun and Clarke, 2006), the analysis was driven by my theoretical and analytic interest in specific areas.

Soon after I started the analysis of the curricular guidelines, I was invited to join a group of experts that was asked to analyse the curricular guidelines and suggest ways to strengthen a global citizenship perspective transversal to all subjects. Involvement in this group allowed me to participate in a “new social world” (Charmaz, 2014: 206), and collect rich data that strengthened my own analysis of the guidelines. I was able in fact to participate in the initial meeting of the group on April 28th 2018. I also had access to the documents produced by the other members of the group. Of particular relevance for the research were the documents that reviewed the history and geography curricula. These were used to confirm and complement my own analysis of the curricular area called “History with citizenship education, geography” (see chap. 4, 4). As these
Theoretical sampling, through the thematic analysis of the guidelines and through my participation in the group of experts, allowed me to elaborate and refine two key categories constituting my theory, namely “Curricular insecurity of GCE” (see box n. 7) and “Socialisation dimension of citizenship education” (see box n. 8).

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Box n. 7: Theoretical sampling to define “Curricular Insecurity of GCE”</th>
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<td>In this box I describe how I used theoretical sampling to define one of my key conceptual categories, “Curricular insecurity of GCE”. In italic I indicate the codes that I developed during the coding of the interviews. This box is largely based on a memo written in July 2018. The analysis of my coding system showed that many of the codes about teachers’ GCE practices were related to two main strategies used by teachers, namely “Avoidance” (Following the traditional curriculum and not engaging with GCE) and “Pioneering” (Interpreting the curriculum to include GCE). In relation to the latter, the ways that pioneering teachers reconciled their GCE work with the curriculum, was primarily by Making choices about the curriculum. This focused code became a key category of my analysis. It comprised three codes: Opening up a curricular topic to the global dimension; Choosing to focus on curricular topics conducive to GCE while dropping others; Subverting the order of the curriculum. All this suggested that GCE was not prescribed by the curriculum, but was rather a “Choice of willing and motivated teachers” who found different and creative ways to reconcile GCE with the curriculum. The marginality of GCE in the curriculum was emerging also from the interviews with key provincial informants. Some of the key codes I developed from the analysis of these interviews were: GCE as sporadic, fragmented and ad hoc; GCE in the hands of a few illuminated teachers; Revision of the guidelines to ensure curricular scaffolding to GCE. The analysis of these codes led me to develop a provisional category which I named No curricular pressure to do GCE, which I felt could be one of the key pillars of my theory. There was convergence towards this category from my analysis of the interviews with teachers and key informants. I started to think about how I could use theoretical sampling to further refine this category and decided that a thematic analysis of the provincial curricular guidelines was the best method to further develop and saturate this category. When I was about to start my analysis of the guidelines I was invited to join a group of experts that was asked to analyse the curricular guidelines and suggest ways to strengthen a global citizenship perspective transversal to all subjects. My involvement in this group allowed me to participate in a “new social world” (Charmaz, 2014: 205), and collect rich data that strengthened my own analysis of the guidelines. In terms of theoretical sampling I used therefore two key methods: a) A thematic analysis of the curricular guidelines and in particular of the area called “History with citizenship education, geography”; b) A review of the documents produced by the other members of the group, in particular the documents that reviewed the history and geography curricula. As outlined in chapter 4.4, the analysis of the curricular guidelines revealed a citizenship education curriculum that is solidly anchored in a civic education perspective where the global dimension of citizenship is marginal. The geography and history curriculum present opportunities for bringing a global citizenship perspective, but the approach is often problematic and forecloses the potential for critical GCE. Overall, the analysis of the guidelines confirmed that there is No curricular pressure to do GCE and led me to identify “Curricular insecurity of GCE” as a key conceptual category of my theory.</td>
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Another method used for theoretical sampling was to conduct interviews with new research participants. On the 24th of August 2018 I interviewed two additional key informants, namely two
people working in the provincial Education Office. The two people were met together in their office and the interview lasted approximately 57 minutes. The interview had a clear focus on exploring how citizenship education is conceptualised and supported by the Province. As stated earlier, the analysis of the interviews with the teachers had revealed a convergence in terms of the way citizenship education was conceptualised and practiced in the schools studied. My coding was leading towards an idea of citizenship education focused on fostering well behaved and cooperative students that in the future would then become ‘good citizens’ of society. The interview with some of the key informants had provided me with data that confirmed some aspects of this emerging idea. But gaps remained. The analysis of the citizenship education curriculum allowed me to further elaborate and refine this emerging category. The interviews with the two key informants from the Province completed the picture (see box n. 8).

**Box n. 8: Theoretical sampling to define “Socialisation conception of citizenship education”**

In this box I describe how I used theoretical sampling to define one of my key conceptual categories, “Socialisation conception of citizenship education”. In italic I indicate the codes that I developed during the coding of the interviews. This box is largely based on a memo written in August 2018.

The analysis of my coding system, and in particular of the interviews with teachers and some key informants, was pointing towards an idea of citizenship education that emphasised promoting respect for the rule of law and pro-social behaviour. What was emerging was an idea of educating young people to be well behaved and cooperative students that respected school rules, so that in the future they will become citizens that respect the rules of society and fulfil the duties of a ‘good citizen’. The initial codes that I constructed from the analysis of the interviews centred on the key words “rules”, “legality” and “respect”. The initial codes included: Fostering awareness of the rule of law and legality, Fostering law abiding future citizens, Learning the rules of civic behaviour, Learning to be respectful in school, Respecting oneself, Respecting teachers, Respecting classmates, Respecting school facilities, Respecting the environment, Fostering correct relationships in schools, What is learned in the micro (school) can then be transferred to the macro (society). The analysis of the interviews showed also a clear focus on digital citizenship, interpreted not so much as digital media literacy but rather as responsible and ethical behaviour online. The dominant initial codes included: Fostering a conscious use of the new technologies, Working on cyber-bullying, Stressing the dangers of the new technologies, Talking about online rights (to be respected), Talking about online rights (not to be discriminated), Talking about online rights (not to receive offences).

Drawing from the literature review, and in particular from the distinction that Biesta (2014) makes between a socialisation conception and a subjectification conception of civic learning, I constructed the provisional category “Socialisation conception of citizenship education”. I felt that the analysis of the interviews was showing a strong convergence towards this idea, and I wanted to understand where it was coming from. I began to wonder whether this convergence reflected a particular citizenship education discourse that was dominant in the provincial policies. I decided therefore to use theoretical sampling to put to the test this provisional category. In particular, I decided to conduct a thematic analysis of the citizenship education curriculum and to interview new research participants, namely people that in the provincial Education Office have a responsibility for citizenship education.

The thematic analysis of the citizenship education curriculum confirmed the strong anchoring of citizenship education in a socialisation conception of civic learning. Dominant themes throughout the competences prescribed by the curriculum were the value of rules, the rule of law and legal education, and an emphasis on socialising young people to be well behaved and cooperative students in school so that in the future they may become ‘good citizens’ (see chap. 4, 4.1). The additional interviews conducted with two representatives of the Education Office,
and explicitly focused on exploring how citizenship education is conceptualised and supported by the Province, allowed me to strengthen the properties of my provisional category. The interviews revealed that the Province conceptualises citizenship education mainly in terms of legality education and, through a “local legality table”, provides explicit support to the schools interested in delivering citizenship education activities with an explicit focus on legality and the rule of law (see chap. 4, 5.2).

In sum, theoretical sampling and in particular the thematic analysis of the citizenship education curriculum and the two additional interviews confirmed my provisional category and led me to identify “Socialisation conception of citizenship education” as a key conceptual category of my theory.

Lastly, another method used for theoretical sampling was the organisation of a meeting with the teachers interviewed, which was constructed as a space where I shared some of the ideas that I had developed from the analysis of their interviews, and I also asked focused questions to the participants to gather additional data. Charmaz (2014) underlines that returning to key participants already interviewed to obtain additional data may be easier and more effective, than interviewing new people. The participants were in fact already familiar with me and the interview process and therefore I could proceed smoothly with “thought-provoking questions” (Charmaz, 2014: 108).

The meeting took place on the 26th June 2018 in one of the schools. All the 21 teachers interviewed were invited to attend. In the end 9 teachers from 4 schools participated in the meeting, which lasted approximately 60 minutes. The meeting was divided in two parts.

In the first part I presented some of the themes I had developed from the analysis of the interviews with teachers and I let them react to them (35 minutes). The key broad themes presented in the first part of the meeting included: a) Citizenship education as a broad container; b) Dimensions of global citizenship education; c) Learning domains of global citizenship education; c) Integration of global citizenship education in teaching practice. Under these four themes, I presented my provisional findings (see chapters 6 and 7) illustrated by extracts from the interviews. The teachers reacted very well to the presentation. They liked the way I brought together and framed the perspectives of different teachers, and said that the themes and findings provided them with insights they had not considered before. They appreciated the extracts from the own interviews but particularly from the interviews of other teachers as these often offered new perspectives and ideas.

In the second part of the meeting I asked a couple of focused questions (25 minutes). In particular, I explored with them an idea that I was developing from the analysis of the data. Although the teachers had not used in the interviews the word ‘values’, a provisional idea that I had developed from the analysis was that GCE had a very strong value-based and moral connotation. My focused questions probed teachers to explore whether the transmission of certain values was a key feature of how they understood and practiced GCE. Although the teachers said that they deliberately avoid using the world value in class, there was a substantial agreement that values, in particular cosmopolitan values such as respect for human rights, responsibility towards all human being and planet earth, were indeed at the core of the way they understood and practiced GCE. The data collected at this meeting confirmed the theoretical centrality of my ideas and brought forward the theoretical adequacy of the provisional categories. It helped me to identify the core categories of my theory. As outlined in chapter 8, I identify “The moral dimension of global citizenship
education”, as the conceptual frame that explains how GCE is conceptualised and practiced in the Province of Trento. This moral dimension is articulated in terms of personal commitment (GCE is a moral optional choice of willing and committed teachers) and in terms of adherence to a universal value structure (GCE as a new moral pedagogy).

7. Constructing the theory and writing the thesis

The final process of constructing my theory and writing the thesis is quite hard to describe. Indeed it was not a linear process whereby I first developed the full skeleton of the theory and then began writing, but rather writing became a key method in terms of data analysis and a key tool in theory construction.

My first attempts at writing in a structured way what I was developing from the analyses of the data were the interim reports to my supervisors. I used the mandatory coaching sessions as opportunities to present power point presentations where I illustrated the provisional categories that I was constructing from the coding of the data. I then fleshed out these power point presentations into interim reports. These reports provided a description of the provisional analytical categories and included excerpts from the interview transcripts that illustrated them. But these reports included also boxes with my reflections, doubts, questions, ideas for further exploration. These boxes were internal reflective spaces where I stopped to reflect on my codes, my provisional categories, and the directions I could take in terms of further data collection and analyses (see box n. 9)

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<tr>
<th>Box n. 9: Reflections on a provisional category included in my interim report</th>
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<td>This is an example of a reflective box included in one of my interim reports. In the box I reflected on my provisional category “The invisible presence of GCE”. This box was included in the interim report that I submitted to my supervisors in December 2017.</td>
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In all the schools studied, GCE is not yet perceived as a priority nor as an educational imperative to be addressed by all teachers. It is rather a choice and therefore teachers make up their own mind of whether to do it or not. It is an individual choice, but also a personal self-made endeavour, as teachers tend to engage with GCE themes and topics mainly alone, in their classrooms and within their subjects. In the schools studied, GCE is essentially an invisible presence. It is not clearly demanded by the curriculum, and generally, it is not formally and explicitly discussed at school. The teachers interviewed reported that there are no spaces and opportunities for them to debate what GCE means, what giving a global dimension to citizenship education implies, or how it can be translated into pedagogical practice.

A formal structure that in some of the schools studied provides a forum to discuss and promote GCE is the Interculture Commission. Although primarily focused on the reception and inclusion of foreign students in school, as well as monitoring their integration and education results, these Commissions are also tasked with the promotion of intercultural education addressed to all students. In some of the schools studied, the Commissions have promoted and organised projects and activities on GCE topics and have played a role in facilitating the training of teachers on GCE, but overall the energies of these Commissions are focused primarily on the integration of foreign students.

The other formal structures present in schools that could play a role in facilitating discussion and sharing on GCE are the Departments, i.e. commissions that include all teachers teaching the same subject across the school, and the Class Councils that include the teachers teaching different subjects in the same class. However, these structures are not perceived as viable and
effective spaces for pedagogical discussions and sharing on GCE. Departments and Class Council meetings end up being overwhelmed by bureaucratic chores. Overall, in the school studied, there are limited spaces and opportunities for teachers to have pedagogical discussions and joint planning on bringing a global dimension to citizenship education. However, the issue of lack of formal spaces for teachers to discuss pedagogical concepts and share practices does not concern only GCE, but is perceived by teachers as a problem that affects all areas of their work. The fact that the lack of spaces for pedagogical discussions is not linked only to GCE but to the wider school culture, does it weaken its identification as a key factor explaining the invisible presence of GCE? Are there other factors emerging from the interviews that may be related to the invisible presence of GCE in school?

The first interim report I wrote that provided an account of my emerging categories was submitted in October 2017 and focused on the provincial perspectives on GCE. This was largely based on the analysis of the interviews with key informants. It was an attempt to move beyond a mere description of my data. While this report was the skeleton of what then became chapter 4 of this thesis, it still lacked overall theoretical direction. It was an attempt to draw out provisional interpretative categories, but when I wrote it I was still not clear about how my provisional categories related to the literature review. Moreover, at that stage the overall theoretical direction of the study was not fully developed. Despite these limits, the process of writing this interim report played an important role in developing my understanding of the data. Writing became itself a process of data analysis. It helped me to identify the nuances, the tensions and the convergences behind the data. The initial codes and the provisional categories had showed these nuances, but it was only when I tried to write and illustrate my provisional categories with excerpts from the interviews, that the tensions and convergences between meanings and perspectives became clear to me.

Encouraged by the experience of using the interim reports as opportunities to simultaneously analyse and write I drafted an interim report on teachers' perspectives on GCE which was submitted in December 2017. This was based on the analysis of the interviews with teachers and similarly to the previous report it was an attempt to move beyond description and draw out provisional categories. This report was the skeleton of what then became chapters 5 and 6 of this thesis. Similarly to the previous report, it still lacked a link to the literature and to my own theory, but it helped me to move the analysis forward. I began to see the links and connections between how teachers were interpreting and practicing GCE, and began to wonder how they related to the discourses that permeated the policy context. Writing again was helping me to see relations and connections, identify convergences but also tensions, opportunities for integrating GCE in teaching practice as well as foreclosures.

Writing these two interim reports and then fleshing them out into draft chapters of this thesis allowed me to identify the gaps in my analysis. It directed my theoretical sampling, which then allowed me to go back to the draft chapters to “make my theoretical categories robust” (Charmaz, 2014: 90) and strengthen the theoretical adequacy of the analysis. In my experience, it was in the process of writing the draft chapters of the thesis, in particular chapters 4, 5, 6 and 7, that the final interpretations fell into place and the theoretical centrality of some of my provisional categories became evident to me. So, in the end, the identification of my core category, The moral dimension
of Global Citizenship Education, and the two key sub-categories, GCE as a new moral pedagogy, and GCE as a moral optional for willing and able teachers, which are outlined in chapter 8, was very much the product of writing as well as analysis of codes and provisional categories.

8. Ethical considerations and responsibilities

Coming from practice and not academia, I approached the PhD with the ambition that my research would contribute to knowledge production, but also to practice. As it is generally the case, my research began with a concern that was rooted in experience (Kirby, et al., 2010). I had worked in international development for many years and more recently on the promotion of GCE. I was passionate about GCE and strongly believed that it should be integrated in formal education. I approached this research with a very normative perspective, but during the research process I became very attentive to how this was influencing the research process and was shaping what I was hearing and how I was interpreting it. The research process helped to be self-reflexive about my own assumptions and preconceptions, but also attentive to my role as a researcher and to the ethical responsibilities involved in doing research.

In relation to the latter, I found particularly useful the model developed by Chaiklin (cited in Blackmore, 2014), who highlights that doing research brings the researcher into three sets of responsibilities: with the research community, with the research participants and with society, as illustrated in the diagram below. And each of these relationships should be viewed from an ethical perspective (see fig. 4).

*Figure n. 4: Research Relationships and Ethical Responsibilities based on Chaiklin model (Blackmore, 2014: 95)*

My university did not require the submission of an ethics protocol, or a formal approval of my research proposal by an ethics committee. The ethical responsibilities of a researcher were
highlighted and discussed within a number of mandatory courses of the first year, in particular Research design for the General Sociology and the Social Pedagogy, and Ethnographic research in the social and educational field. During the research I strived to ensure that ethical considerations informed my design and how I approached data collection and analysis. As the research progressed, I faced several ethical dilemmas. Sometimes the relations with the research community came into tension with the relationship with the participants. The six-monthly mandatory coaching sessions were spaces where I often shared my ethical doubts, while the meetings with the supervisors were opportunities to weigh up the different options and decide a course of action.

Relations with the research community: validity, plausibility and adequacy
Maxwell (2013) underlines that validity concerns the relationship between the findings and conclusions of the research and the realities being investigated, and Hammersley (1992) stresses that “an account is valid or true if it represents accurately those features of the phenomena that it is intended to describe, explain or theorise” (1992: 69). As already outlined, a constructivist epistemological framework guided the research. A claim of validity is therefore located in a perspective that “sees both data and analysis as created from shared experiences and relationships with participants and other sources of data” (Charmaz, 2014: 239). In the constructivist view, realities are multiple and result in a multiplicity of perspectives. Realities are constructed and the research process itself is a social construction, hence both data and analysis reflect the conditions of their production (Charmaz, 2014). The findings and conclusions of this research are therefore my interpretation of the studied phenomenon, they depend on my views and therefore do not and cannot stand outside of it (Charmaz, 2014). In this perspective, claiming validity entails a judgement. And a judgement can be made by assessing the way the research was carried out and the plausibility and the adequacy of my interpretation, and of the core theoretical categories that I constructed to explain the studied phenomenon.

In terms of the research process, I followed the methodological indications of constructivist GT indicated by Charmaz (2014). In particular, my data collection and analysis process pursued theoretical plausibility and adequacy.

In terms of theoretical plausibility, Charmaz (2014) underlines that in the process of interviewing “theoretical plausibility trumps the accuracy to which many qualitative researchers aspire” and while “a quest for accurate statements is merited . . . grounded theorists, however, attend more to whether interview statements are theoretically plausible than to whether their research participants have constructed them with unassailable accuracy” (2014: 89). While at times I was concerned about whether a research participant’s account was entirely accurate, following Charmaz (2014), I focused on conducting a substantial number of interviews to gather rich data about my research participants’ experience to offset the negative effects of potentially misleading accounts. But overall my main concern was theoretical plausibility and hence the main focus of data collection was gathering data with broad and deep coverage of my emerging categories to identify not only explicit (from statements) but also tacit (from silences) recurrent patterns.

In terms of theoretical adequacy, Charmaz (2014) underlines that in the iterative process of data-gathering and analysis, the theoretical direction of the study begins to take shape. Patterns emerge and should begin to direct the analysis and inform subsequent interviews. As indicated above, I
experienced some challenges in terms of simultaneously conducting data-gathering and analysis, however the fact that the interview guide evolved in the course of the study demonstrates the extent to which data collection was informed by data analysis. As the theoretical direction of the study developed, I pursued the theoretical centrality of certain ideas and areas of inquiry. As outlined, I broadened the scope of my data collection and included new participants and well as new methods. Data collection became increasingly focused on my main codes and tentative categories. Finally through theoretical sampling I tested the adequacy of my provisional categories and made them more robust.

In terms of the research process I strived to ensure that my data collection and analysis was transparent and could stand up to scrutiny. All the interviews were recorded, transcribed verbatim, and coded. The interim reports and memos constitute an audit trail of my methodology with detailed descriptions of what I did, why I did it and how I did it. This methodology chapter is also written in a way that enables the reader to understand how I structured the research process, which decisions I made, which challenges and difficulties I encountered and how I resolved them. By using reflective boxes, I also tried to give an account of how I developed my ideas and interpretative categories.

Lastly, I also sought feedback on the emerging categories. Carspecken (1996) underlines that feedback provides an element of consent which is part of ensuring credibility. Firstly, I actively asked for feedback from my supervisors at all stages of the research process. The latter interim reports, in particular, focused on the interpretative categories I was developing. These reports were important tools to share my emerging interpretative categories and discuss them with my supervisors. Their comments, observations and questions helped me to identify assumptions and strengthen my arguments. Secondly, I organised a meeting with the research participants where I shared my emerging categories and gave them the opportunity to question them. As outlined above, the teachers welcomed my interpretation and provided me with the confirmation that the provisional categories were plausible and adequate.

Relations with research participants
This research was only possible because I found widespread interest in the topic of my study and great availability of teachers, representatives of the local government and key informants to participate in the research. Throughout the study I endeavoured to acknowledge the time that the research participants were making available to me, the interest they were showing for the study and the openness with which they were sharing their perceptions and experiences. I strived to treat participants with sensitivity and respect at all times.

Informed consent and right to withdraw
In accordance with BERA (2011) guidelines, research participants were informed about the scope and objectives of the research and the process they were asked to be engaged, including why their participation was necessary and how it would be used (BERA, 2011: 5). It was made clear to them that their participation was voluntary and that they had the right to withdraw from the research at any time. I developed an informed consent form (see appendix 1), that stated also that the interviews would be recorded and transcribed verbatim and that recordings and transcriptions would be coded to ensure anonymity. As outlined above, the consent form together with the interview guide was sent to the research participants a couple of days prior to the interview date. I
felt however that the consent form might put too much formality and somehow prevent me from developing a relaxed relationship with the research participants. I therefore started the interview explaining my research in a more informal spoken language than the one used in the consent form and gave to the research participants the opportunity to ask me questions. I also informed them that I did not need their signature on the form, but rather an oral consent was sufficient. All the research participants interviewed gave their oral consent.

Privacy
In most research, privacy is ensured thorough the confidential and anonymous treatment of participants’ data (BERA, 2011). This generally means storing the data securely and protecting participants’ identities in any research outputs through the use of codes or pseudonyms. Similarly to Blackmore (2014), this seemed easy and straightforward when I promised privacy on my informed consent forms. However, it was not until I started the research that I realised the difficulties associated in promising anonymity. Anonymity is not guaranteed by just using a code or pseudonym. A researcher should think about any information about the individual or research site that will enable the individual to be identified as Walford (2005) explains:

We do not name the person or research site involved but, in research, it is usually extended to mean that we do not include information about any individual or research site that will enable that individual or research site to be identified by others (2005: 84)

This understanding of anonymity raised a number of ethical questions for me. On the one hand, I realised that the high number of schools and teachers involved in the study allowed me to protect their identity and ensure that the research participants were not going to be identified by others. Yet, when I invited the teachers to the meeting where I shared my provisional categories, the teachers met each other and often during the discussion they referred to the excerpts of their own interviews that I had included in the presentation, thus revealing their identity and what they had said. On the other hand, the fact that I was explicitly naming the Province of Trento as my field site and I involved a limited number of key provincial and local informants made protecting the identity of these research participants more challenging. I realised that in my study I wanted to present the different perspectives and positions present within the Province, but in this way I was making it possible for the research participants to be easily identified. I thought about using a pseudonym for the Province. However, I realised that a number of key features of the province that I could not omit from the study because they were important factors of the context would easily give away the identity of my field site. How could I anonymise a province and still provide the specific context that framed the findings of the study? I also wondered whether my concern about ensuring anonymity of the field site and these provincial representatives was really more about protecting me, the researcher, than it was about protecting them. After all, these research participants, when I interviewed them, confidently expressed their perspectives and often referred to stated provincial policies to back them up. They did not share with me ideas or opinions that had just occurred to them, but rather policy positions or at least well-developed arguments that were the result of wider processes of which they were part. So, in the end, I decided to name the Province of Trento as my field site and put particular attention to the way I drafted chapter 4 to minimise the risk of the research participants being easily identified. However, I cannot claim that the risk of identification was completely eliminated.
9. Conclusions
This chapter has explained the methodological approach and methods used in this thesis. The journey of the research question shows that the study became progressively concerned with understanding how GCE was conceptualised in the Province of Trento and hence the multiple perspectives and meaning-making that different provincial actors (decision-makers, key stakeholders, teachers) conveyed through GCE, and that shaped the way GCE was practiced. As

Risks and protection from harm
In line with ethical guidelines I was committed to researching respectfully and avoiding potential risks to the wellbeing, mental health, dignity and integrity of participants (BERA, 2011). While my research had a minimal risk of physical harm, I did acknowledge that participation in the research could cause discomfort or embarrassment to participants. I was concerned that research participants might perceive me as a GCE expert and feel under pressure to show me that they were engaging in GCE according to ‘good practice’. Some participants had asked me to view the interview guide before the scheduled interview and I interpreted this as a sign that participants had some anxiety about the interview. Sharing the interview guide with the participants was a way to appease them and give them some time to prepare for the interview. When I met the teachers I also emphasised that the purpose of the study was not to ascertain whether their perspectives and practices were in line with a particular GCE framework, nor to evaluate the results of their work. I made clear to participants that the interviews were conducted in order to learn from their lived experience of practising GCE in formal education settings. Overall, during the interviews I did not notice instances of discomfort.

Relations with society
The issue of the relevance of the findings of a research to people outside the research community is a crucial one for me. As I stated, I came to this PhD from practice and I would like this research to make a contribution to practice. As GCE only recently entered the educational discourses of the Province of Trento, when I started the PhD I felt that my research offered an opportunity to study a phenomenon as it was developing, while providing also an understanding and explanation of current practice in order to provide better support to schools and teachers in applying GCE to their work. As the research approached its final stage, a number of interesting opportunities emerged that provided spaces for the findings of this research to inform practice. Firstly, the fact that I was invited to join the group of experts that is analysing the provincial curricular guidelines to identify ways to integrate GCE is an important space where I can bring the perspectives that I have developed through this research. What I feel I can bring to this table are the different theoretical and pedagogical frameworks that characterise GCE, as well as insights into the barriers that currently limit the embedding of GCE in school practice, and what is required to better support teachers. Secondly, one of the outcomes of the meeting I organised with the teachers interviewed to share my provisional categories was a request by the teachers to continue to have an exchange of perspectives with me and among themselves on GCE. They asked me to take the lead in bringing them all together periodically to work on pedagogical frameworks that characterise GCE and to share practices. I read this as a sign that the research touched an interest and stimulated the teachers, a least some of them, to learn more about GCE in order to integrate it in their practice. Thirdly, as a follow up of this research I am also designing training courses for pre-service and in-service teachers on GCE for a local teacher training institute. All together these three developments offer me the opportunity to use my research to shape practice.

9. Conclusions
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this became the main focus of the research. Constructivist and Informed Grounded Theory (Charmaz, 2014; Thornberg, 2012) emerged as the methodological approach that was most suited for the study. My main research interest, in fact, was not to ascertain the extent to which GCE in the Province of Trento lived up to particular GCE pedagogical frameworks or models of good practice, but rather understand which meanings were conveyed through GCE by different stakeholders and how these meanings were then translated into policies and practices.

The chapter has described in as much detail as possible the whole process of data collection and analysis. Similarly to Blackmore (2014), as far as possible, I have written myself into the account as a way to make explicit how decisions were made and why. This was done in an effort to ensure that my data collection and analysis was transparent and could stand up to scrutiny. But I also openly included turning points, as well as doubts and challenges, and provided an ‘honest’ account of the difficulties I encountered in applying a research methodology like Constructivist Grounded Theory.

The criteria used for the initial sampling of schools and research participants gave me access to a broad spectrum of key informants and teachers, i.e. teachers that worked in very diverse contexts (urban and rural, with a high and low % of foreign students) and that had different levels of exposure to the GCE activities and initiatives promoted by the Province. I am aware that the qualitative nature of my research limits its potential for empirical generalisability. I believe however that this study offers a number of theoretical insights which are relevant for policy-makers and educators in the Province of Trento, but may also be interesting and pertinent for scholars and educators in other contexts. A qualitative study gains value as it meets other accounts of similar settings. Hence the significance of this study lies in the plausibility and adequacy of the description and explanation I have provided, but also in the extent to which it enters into dialogue with empirical research conducted in other contexts. Throughout this thesis, but particularly in chapter 8 where I draw together the threads of my theory, I have pointed to empirical research conducted in other contexts which supports the interpretations of this study. But I have also highlighted elements that clearly differentiated what emerged in this research from the conclusions of other studies. The dialogue between commonalities and differences in the way GCE is conceptualised and translated into practice can enrich the scholarly work on GCE, but also the practice through the cross-fertilisation of ideas and ways of operating.
Chapter Four: Provincial Policies and Perspectives on Global Citizenship Education

1. Introduction
Chapter 2 has outlined the theoretical debates around GCE and chapter 3 has described the methodology used in this study. This chapter together with chapter 5, 6 and 7 presents the findings of the research.

This chapter focuses on how GCE is interpreted by provincial decision-makers and key stakeholders, and which agendas inform their understanding of GCE. It starts by describing the recognised reputation that the Province of Trento has nationally in the field of international development cooperation, and the recent role it played in terms of promoting GCE at the national level. It then outlines how, as a result of the EC funded “Global Schools” project, the Province scaled up its support to the integration of GCE in the local school system. The chapter focuses first on the timid policy changes that were introduced to facilitate the integration of GCE in school practice. It then presents the findings of the “theoretical thematic analyses” (Braun & Clarke, 2006) conducted on the provincial curricular guidelines.

The chapter then proceeds by outlining how GCE is conceptualised within the two main provincial offices with responsibility for sectors related to GCE, namely the provincial International Development Cooperation Office and the provincial Education Office. It shows how the Province is not a monolithic entity that cohesively pursued the integration of GCE in the school curriculum. Diverging visions and instrumentalist agendas permeate the policies of the Province. Yet, the perspectives are not completely divergent.

2. Recognised role in international development and Global Citizenship Education
The Province of Trento distinguishes itself nationally for its commitment to international development cooperation and GCE. While its involvement in international development has a long tradition, a focus on GCE is more recent. The European project “Global Schools”, of which the Province of Trento is the lead partner, provided an impetus for scaling up support to GCE at both the national and local level. The project “Global Schools” was briefly outlined in box n. 1 included in the Introduction of this thesis.

2.1 A province committed to international development cooperation
The Province of Trento paved the way for the involvement of Local and Regional Authorities (LRAs) in international development cooperation by adopting in 1988 its own legislation on the matter (provincial law n. 10/1988). International development cooperation represented one of the areas in which the Province tested its autonomy (Capuano, et al., 2014).

Since the early nineties, the Province of Trento began to allocate a significant and growing share of financial resources to international development cooperation, including funding for development projects and humanitarian interventions in partner countries, as well as Development
Education and Awareness raising activities in Trentino (now referred to as Global Citizenship Education). In 2005, the Province adopted a new provincial law, which includes a commitment to allocate at least 0.25% of its budget to international development cooperation (provincial law n. 4/2005). Since then, it invested in this sector an increasing amount of funds, reaching a yearly contribution of about € 11 million over the period 2008-2011 (Capuano, et al., 2014). Since 2011, despite the financial and economic crisis and the resulting recession, the Province continued to honour the 0.25% commitment, while the international development budgets of other Italian regions were severely cut. A recent mapping of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation illustrates that the Province of Trento is the authority of the Italian regional system with the highest budget allocated to international development cooperation, € 10.2 million in 2014 (Provincia Autonoma di Trento, 2015a). It remains the only authority of the Italian regional system that has a law which binds it to allocating a determined percentage of its annual budget to international development cooperation (Ibid.).

The fact that the Province of Trento is recognised nationally for its commitment to international development is a source of pride, as we can evince from the way a provincial representative talks about the Province being seen nationally as a “model”, for its practices, but particularly for its political and financial commitment to the sector:

> the Autonomous Province of Trento has always been seen and is still seen at the national level as a “model” in international development cooperation... because of some of its practices, the fact that we have always managed to keep this sector as a political priority, and also the fact that the law requires that at least 0.25% of the province’s budget be dedicated to it... Politically this is very relevant... It means that by law I say that this sector is a priority... so Trentino has always had... a role also at the national level of someone who has tried to innovate (Provincial representative b)

In recognition of its role in international development cooperation, the Province of Trento was appointed in 2015 as one of the three representatives of the Italian Regional system on the National Council on Development Cooperation, established by the new national law on international development cooperation approved in 2014 (Law n. 125/2014)10. The participation in the National Council is an opportunity for the Province of Trento to be at the forefront of national debates on international development cooperation policies and practices.

### 2.2 A driver in the development of the national Global Citizenship Education strategy

Unlike several countries in Europe that for a number of years have had in place policies and strategies on GCE, and/or significant governmental funding mechanisms to support its integration in formal education, in Italy GCE and in particular the integration of GCE in primary education until recently lacked both a clear policy anchoring, and also predictable and long-term financial resources (Inguaggiato, Antonucci, 2015). Within this context, the Province of Trento for the past three years played a key role in supporting GCE at the national level. It considered the fact that Italy had not yet developed a national strategy as a key factor inhibiting a more systematic

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10 The Council is composed of the main public and private stakeholders, profit and non-profit, of international development cooperation, including representatives of the Ministries, LRAs, the Italian Agency for Development Cooperation, the main networks of NGOs, and universities. The National Council is a permanent instrument to facilitate participation, consultation and proposal on issues related to international development cooperation and in particular on the coherence of policy choices, and on strategies, guidelines, programming, forms of intervention, as well as their effectiveness and evaluation.
integration of GCE in formal education. A research conducted in 10 European countries within the project “Global Schools” highlighted that a national strategy provides formal recognition of GCE and facilitates its embedment in school practice and in teacher education, as this provincial representative underlines:

the lack of a national strategy for GCE . . . is felt . . . The research that we funded within the Global schools project, which saw the analysis of the policies of 10 countries that are part of the project, has shown precisely that where there is a national strategy document on GCE, the actual implementation in schools, in teacher training, etc. is much more effective, present, easier. So, . . . in Italy . . . the lack of a document that at national level recognizes the GCE practices that are present in schools . . . is felt . . . . There is a lack of recognition (Provincial representative b)

The Province of Trento decided therefore to promote the drafting of a policy document on GCE by Regional Authorities. As the same representative underlines, the project “Global schools” provided the framework for mobilising a group of Italian regions motivated to place GCE on the national agenda:

We set up a small coordination group of regions on this issue [GCE] and together . . . we thought of drafting a document that would begin to say what GCE is for us, that would define it in some way, . . . and stress why in this international context it is urgent to address it. And to reiterate that global citizenship education is also a policy. This means encouraging certain educational policies, international development cooperation policies, . . . it means to act within a long-term logic and not only through extemporaneous projects. . . . And stress that GCE is a multi-actor and multi-level policy (Provincial representative b)

The document drafted by this group of regions was approved on the 4th February 2016 by the Conferenza delle Regioni e delle Province Autonome with the abstention of three regions (Lombardia, Liguria and Veneto). It recognises that the concept of global citizenship is interpreted differently in the different countries of the world as it reflects political, historical and cultural diversities. The Italian Regional Authorities define global citizenship as a sense of belonging to a broader community, to the whole humanity and to planet earth. Central to the definition of global citizenship are also the concept of interdependency between the local and the universal, and a commitment to a sustainable, empathic and solidarity-based behaviour (Conferenza delle Regioni e delle Province Autonome, 2016). This definition is largely in line with UNESCO’s understanding of global citizenship (UNESCO, 2015). GCE, then, according to the Italian Regions, includes all information, awareness-raising and education activities that deal with topics such as peace and democracy, protection of human rights, the environment, diversity, economic and social justice, and that are aimed at strengthening in children, young people and adults, the global dimension of their citizenship (Conferenza delle Regioni e delle Province Autonome, 2016).

The document by the Italian Regions calls for the development of a national strategy on GCE to facilitate the revision of school curricula with the integration of global citizenship competences, understood as cross-cutting all the disciplinary subjects, and requiring the enhanced contribution of civil society. In line with recent research (Bourn, et al., 2017), the document stresses also the importance of including GCE in pre-service and in-service education of teachers and provide training to school managers (Conferenza delle Regioni e delle Province Autonome, 2016).
Calls for the development of a national strategy on GCE came also from the NGO sector and in particular from the working group on GCE of the NGO platform Concord Italia. In a meeting held on March 8th 2017 between representatives of the NGO working group and the Italian Deputy Minister with responsibility for international development cooperation, the Minister welcomed the idea of the NGOs to set in motion a process to develop a national strategy on GCE and invited the NGOs to present a document that motivates the need for the strategy and identifies key objectives and a tentative table of content of the strategy (P. Berbeglia, personal communication, March 10th, 2017).

The Province of Trento was adamant that NGOs and Regional Authorities worked together to place the need for a national strategy on the agenda of the government, and that a concerted and coordinated effort be developed, as this representative underlines:

Concord Italia is promoting the need for a national strategy on GCE, this is a movement that comes from the NGOs and... we ourselves have asked to be part of this process, ... we would like that the two movements, that of the regions, and that of the NGOs are integrated as much as possible, without following separate paths (Provincial representative b)

The development of the national strategy on GCE was included in the agenda of the June 6th 2017 meeting of the National Council on Development Cooperation (P. Berbeglia, personal communication, April 19th, 2017). At that meeting, representatives of Concord Italia and of the Province of Trento signalled their interest and availability to participate in a participatory process to develop the national strategy on GCE (P. Berbeglia, personal communication, June 30th, 2017). On the following July 12th, the Ministry for Foreign Affairs and Development Cooperation kicked-started the process by creating a multi-stakeholder working group composed of representatives of governmental and state bodies, LRAs, NGO Coordination platforms, and universities. At that meeting, the Province of Trento was charged with the task of coordinating the working group, supported by Region Toscana, and Concord Italia was nominated Vice-coordinator (P. Berbeglia, personal communication, August 11th, 2017). The process of drafting the national strategy was coordinated by the Province of Trento in the period July 2017 – January 2018. It was a ‘marathon process’ which consulted and involved many stakeholders, and culminated in the development of the first Italian National Strategy for Global Citizenship Education, which was approved by the National Council on Development Cooperation on the 28th February 2018.

The National strategy draws its definition of global citizenship and GCE from UNESCO (2015). It emphasises the sense of belonging to a broader community and a common humanity, the interdependence between the political, economic, environmental, social and cultural dimensions, and the interconnection between the local, national and global levels. It stresses the transformative role of GCE as a learning process that induces people to become active and to contribute to changing the social, cultural, political and economic structures that influence their lives (Surian, et al., 2018). It explicitly refers to the three GCE learning dimensions identified by UNESCO (2015): the cognitive, the socio-emotional and the behavioural described in chapter 2 of this thesis. The strategy summarises its understanding of GCE as follows:

GCE promotes a vision of a broad and interdependent society that goes beyond national borders, motivating citizens to understand global dynamics and interconnections and to act for greater inclusion and equity both in their local communities and globally (Surian, et al., 2018).
In terms of formal education, the strategy calls for the introduction of global citizenship competences in education legislation, and for a revision of the school curricula. Central is also the question of the provision of training to both teachers and school managers. In terms of practice, it advocates the development and delivery of educational activities based on an interdisciplinary competency-based approach, enriched by initiatives in partnership with the local community and by educational strategies centred on experiential learning (Surian, et al., 2018).

The strategy is an important document that can steer the embedment of GCE in formal and non-formal education. A number of issues can be raised, however, that mitigate against the effective role it may play in shaping educational policy and practice. Although kick-started by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Development Cooperation, the process to develop the national strategy was not coordinated by this Ministry, nor the Ministry of Education, but by the Province of Trento and the NGO Platform. This raises the question of the extent to which this strategy is really owned by the two ministries and will therefore be used to inform their policies. Another key question is whether the strategy is not only a lived policy but also a still living document. In the context of the recent change of national government and the adoption of an explicit nationalist rhetoric and agenda that fosters anti-immigrant feelings, attacks established international institutions, notably the European Union and partnerships, opposes diversity and moves towards insularity and exclusionism, a question can be raised of whether the Italian government will uphold the cosmopolitan and humanistic values at the core of the GCE vision enshrined in the National strategy.

3. Global Citizenship Education at the local level: a few timid policy changes

The ‘Global schools’ project facilitated engagement at the national level. At the provincial level, it provided an impetus for scaling up support to the integration of GCE in the curricula of the first cycle of education. The project raised awareness in schools about GCE and directly contributed to the inclusion of GCE in the plans of some of the schools involved in the project. It provided also an opportunity for interested teachers to be exposed to GCE principles, approaches and active learning methodologies, and contributed to the creation of a pool of trained teachers (F. Vanoni, personal communication, 22nd June 2018). It is beyond the scope of this thesis to assess the results and impacts of the “Global Schools” project, however it is undoubted that it played a significant role in raising awareness about GCE in the provincial government, in the local schools, and more widely in the local area. It contributed to creating a local constituency of people that became aware of and interested in GCE, as this member of the Expert Group accompanying the project “Global schools” underlines:

the most interesting outcome of the project is that it seems to me that it has triggered wider movements, in the sense, that we are not only doing the training courses that will end with the project. It has really generated a wider movement . . . of people, who are interested, who are questioning themselves: it has set in motion movements (Member of expert group 2)

The fact that the Province of Trento enjoys special autonomy within the Italian regional system is considered a key factor that facilitates the integration of GCE in school practice, as it allows the Province to more easily initiate changes in the education legislation and in the curricular guidelines, as this provincial representative underlines:
the competence that the autonomous province of Trento has on education compared to other Italian regions allows us to have a greater . . . freedom of action. . . . Respecting the national directives, we can act on the legislation. . . . and on the curricular guidelines in a much more autonomous way. . . . This is certainly a strength that allows us to more simply influence the legislation (Provincial representative b)

However, as the analysis will show, the Province of Trento is not a monolithic entity that embraced GCE and cohesively pursued its integration in school practice. Rather, different offices within the Province played different roles and equally displayed different priorities and agendas.

The provincial Office for International Development Cooperation (IDCO) led and managed the EU project “Global schools”, but some of the activities, in particular those related to training teachers and CSOs, producing educational resources for teachers, and conducting the research on GCE policies and practices, were implemented with the support of its affiliated Centre for International Cooperation (CCI), a centre dedicated to awareness-raising and training on international development and global citizenship. As the primary aim of the “Global schools” project was to embed GCE in the primary school system, the provincial Office for Education (EO) and the Provincial Institute for Educational Research and Experimentation (IPRASE) were also involved in the implementation of the project. However, they played a more marginal role.

As it will become clearer in the analysis below, the leading role in the “Global schools” project, and more generally, in the promotion of GCE and its integration in schooling, was taken by the IDCO. This Office explicitly identified GCE as a priority area, could count on the political leadership of the representative of the provincial government with responsibility for international development cooperation, and had an administrative structure in place working on GCE, which was strengthened through the EU project. The EO, on the other hand, played a backseat role in the “Global schools” project and more generally in the promotion of GCE. The policy-makers and the administrative structure were and continue to be focused on other educational priorities (see section 5.2 in this chapter).

A Multi-stakeholder Expert Group, coordinated by the IDCO and including representatives of the EO, CCI, IPRASE, local schools as well as academia and national NGOs active on GCE, completed the overall implementation structure of the “Global schools” project. This multi-stakeholder Expert Group is perceived by some of the people involved as a space that played an important role in terms of conceptual discussion and clarification. Although a shared definition of GCE was not reached, the group was nonetheless a valuable experience and an opportunity to increase awareness about GCE, as one of Expert Group members stressed:

within the Expert group, I . . . but also the other participants, have really reflected and discussed a lot . . . we were not all, always and immediately, of the same positions . . . According to me, we have not yet reached . . . but maybe it is OK like this, it is part of critical thinking, right? We have not reached total accord, but we have reflected and discussed a lot about what it means . . . adding this adjective [global to citizenship education] . . . it has been a great opportunity, also very dialectical . . . As Expert group we grew in this awareness [of the global as interconnection, planetary interdependence] and I believe that it was very positive. And it was positive the fact that it was a . . . multi-sector, multi-actor group (Member of expert group 1)
It was also a space where a local constituency that supports the integration of GCE in the primary curriculum started to emerge, and began to work to influence local policy, through the provision of concrete indications on how to embed GCE in the curriculum and school practice, as a provincial representative emphasised:

we are working on a document, a political document, a document that we will present to policy-makers.

. . . It was developed by the Expert group . . . and our work was to emphasise a vision of school . . . therefore, in relation to schools, what is of interest to policy-makers? . . . Principles but also what policy-makers can concretely do in our territory . . . with a realistic vision, . . . an intervention on curricula, with what forces, in what way (Provincial representative d)

As a result of the work of the Expert Group and more generally the IDCO, a few timid changes can be noticed in terms of integrating GCE in the local education policies. The concept of global citizenship or GCE did not appear in any of the provincial education policies until 2016 when, in the context of a wider modification of a number of articles of the 2006 Provincial Education Law to align it with the ‘Buona Scuola Reform’ 11, one of the articles of the provincial law was changed and a reference to global citizenship was introduced. The impetus for changing this article did not come from the provincial education sector, but rather from the international development cooperation one. The proposal to change the provincial law was approved by the local government and as a result the global dimension of citizenship has become one of the objectives of the provincial schooling system:

educate on the principles of life, rule of law/legality, responsible citizenship, peace, solidarity and cooperation, also international, strengthening in young people the global dimension of their citizenship

(Provincia autonoma di Trento, 2016b)

Having a reference to the global dimension of citizenship in the education law is considered a key step that could lead to a subsequent modification of the provincial curricular guidelines, and therefore facilitate the integration of GCE in school practice, as a provincial representative underlines:

in the law this term [Global Citizenship Education] was not yet there, did not exist, so . . . we decided to try to take this opportunity [revision of the law to align it with the Buona Scuola Reform] to insert it, so that . . . we would have a reference to it in the law and the fact of having a reference to it in the law, can then lead to changes in the practice, because if the law already knows GCE, then we can say that we need to modify the curricula (Provincial representative b)

The provincial curricular guidelines of the first cycle of education, in fact, do not include a GCE curriculum nor an explicit reference to the concept of global citizenship. The analysis of the curricular guidelines conducted within the Expert Group emphasises the marginality of a global citizenship perspective. There is a citizenship curriculum, but the focus is on the traditional civics competences (rule of law and legality, rights and duties of the good citizens), and not GCE competences, as these members of the Expert Group underline:

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11 The bill 'La Buona Scuola' provides for an additional funding of 3 billion per year for the education chapter of the national budget and for an extraordinary teacher recruitment plan. The measure focuses on school autonomy, enhances subjects like music and art, and especially the competences needed for the future (languages, digital skills, law and economics) and facilitates the adoption of school-work education schemes. The bill provides for specific resources for the continuous professional development of teachers, and also investments in infrastructures (MIUR, 2016)
in our provincial curricula the global citizenship breath is absent. There are citizenship competences . . . there is something [related to global citizenship] in the introduction, like there is in the introduction of the national curricula. Actually, the introduction of the national curricula is better than the introduction of the provincial curricula. According to me, in the provincial curricula there is absolutely nothing [about Global Citizenship Education] (Member of expert group 1)

the curricula include citizenship education competences but they . . . do not have . . . in the Expert group we said that they lack an international nuance . . . They are much more based . . . on issues of legality, . . . of the rights and duties of the good citizen. Global Citizenship Education is something else (Provincial representative b)

While in the Expert Group a consensus emerged that the curricular guidelines need to make the global dimension of citizenship more explicit, different positions were expressed in relation to the extent to which the guidelines need to be revised. For some members, it is just a matter of adding a global dimension to the citizenship curriculum as the architecture of the guidelines with its focus on the competency-based approach is already conducive to GCE. For others, a more substantial revision of the guidelines is required. The debates within the Expert Group are eloquently expressed by this member:

in the expert group . . . there is always a very interesting debate . . . whether the curricular provisions already contain in the definition of citizenship all that is necessary and it is sufficient to add this dimension of the global, . . . or whether they are really to be substantially reformed. And they are two very distant positions, which you just cannot make collimate, or rather, you find compromises, but then you always come back invariably to that point of contention (Member of expert group 2)

The Expert group recommended an in-depth analysis of the guidelines to identify how GCE could be integrated as a cross-curricular perspective. Having an explicit reference to global citizenship and GCE is considered fundamental by some members of the Expert Group. It would provide a ‘curricular scaffold’ to the work of teachers that are already integrating a global citizenship perspective in their work, but would also ensure that GCE is no longer something optional. A ‘curricular anchoring’ would facilitate a move towards a more systematic and comprehensive embedment of GCE in teaching practice. The analysis of the Expert Group stresses in fact that at the moment, teachers are mainly following the traditional citizenship curriculum. There are teachers that are experimenting with GCE, but these practices are sporadic, fragmented and generally delivered by individual teachers, that are often very isolated in their schools contexts, as these members of the Expert Group underline:

the big limit is the extemporaneousness of GCE, . . . the willingness to adhere to a global citizenship education approach, and then bring into the classroom a practice that is inspired by this, is still too much left to the goodwill of the individual. And the individual is still too often isolated within the school context. I see this as the biggest limit (Member of expert group 2)

the impression is that something is being done, . . . that there are moments where . . . the planetary perspective is provided. But for the most part, teachers remain on the citizenship education competencies. . . . And above all, even when there is a more global, more planetary perspective, it is a bit fragmented. . . . What is really important to do . . . is an analysis and reinterpretation of the provincial curricular guidelines through the GCE lenses. . . . This would be a support to the teachers who then . . . can begin to understand, begin to systematise, instead of doing small things. . . . illuminations here and
there, . . . they can provide a global dimension in a more systematic manner (Member of expert group 1)

In the spring of 2018 IPRASE set up a working group comprising academics and educators, which was asked to analyse the curricular guidelines and suggest ways to strengthen a global citizenship perspective transversal to all subjects. As indicated in chapter 3, I was invited to join this group of experts. The analysis of the guidelines by the group is currently underway.

Integrating GCE in the curricular guidelines is considered crucial, but, equally important is that GCE becomes the framing paradigm of what a school does and for this to happen GCE needs to be clearly embedded in the overall vision and plan of a school. This will ensure that GCE becomes a topic of discussion and debate at teachers meetings, and a reality in everyday teaching, as this provincial representative underlines:

GCE can be the frame of everything that a school does, it is not a subject, . . . it is not an ad hoc intervention, a little project, . . . but a perspective that if it is acquired by the school, . . . in the school plan, then it has an importance . . . teachers begin to talk about it, to discuss it in teachers meetings, reflect on what it means . . . then if it is in the school plan . . . you have the possibility and the ability to include this theme in your normal everyday teaching activity (Provincial representative d)

The inclusion of GCE in initial teacher education programmes and the provision of professional development opportunities to in-service teachers and school managers are also of fundamental importance, as these members of the Expert Group underline:

The first step will be to work on the GCE competences and how these can be articulated within the curricula, and on the basis of this work . . . activate training courses for teachers (Provincial representative b)

the ideal would be that those who enter the teaching profession have this type of training, unfortunately [GCE] is not there . . . the training of incoming teachers is essential, there is so much work to be done there (Provincial representative d)

I would really like to continue to promote initiatives on global citizenship education in a synergetic manner, . . . the training of teachers, but also of school managers (Member of expert group 1)

One member of the Expert Group, in particular, stressed the importance of raising the awareness of teachers about the global dimension of citizenship and in particular the idea of interconnection and planetary interdependence at the core of GCE. Teacher education is fundamental to ensure that teachers themselves become citizens that are aware of this planetary interconnection and interdependence, and are committed to transforming the world. These ‘global teachers’ will then have the motivation and the skills to foster a global citizenship perspective in their students, and forge ‘global citizens’, as this member of the Expert Group underlines:

It is necessary to train teachers to be aware citizens committed to transforming this world, teachers who in turn are able to educate equally aware and transformative citizens . . . so help teachers to become aware of the interconnectedness and planetary value of any choice and therefore also of the importance, given the world in which we live, of being able to be intellectual transformers . . . In this way, teachers will be able to bring these issues to young people . . . Well, if we had teachers like that, I think it would be easier to have future citizens like that (Member of expert group 1)
4. The marginality of Global Citizenship Education in the provincial curricular guidelines

My analysis of the provincial curricular guidelines, and in particular of the area called “History with Citizenship Education, Geography”, integrated by the perspectives that are emerging from the working group currently reviewing the guidelines, confirms the marginality of GCE suggested by the Expert Group. The guidelines talk about citizenship and prescribe a mandatory citizenship education curriculum. There are some references to concepts, topics and perspectives related to GCE in the citizenship education curriculum, and particularly in the geography and history curricula, but overall the concepts of global citizenship and GCE are not explicitly adopted and used to provide a global perspective to citizenship education and to the other curricular subjects.

4.1 A traditional and socialisation-focused citizenship education curriculum

In the curricular guidelines citizenship education, in line with the combination of approaches adopted by most European countries (European Commission/EACEA/Eurydice, 2017), is framed as a cross-curricular theme, and is also integrated into another subject (history) and more broadly within the learning area called “History and Geography” (Provincia autonoma di Trento, 2012b). The guidelines, therefore, recognise the disciplinary specificity of citizenship education, but also its transversal nature.

In the guidelines, citizenship education is given a prominent role: a dedicated section is included in the initial part of the document called “Orientations for the development of the curricula of the educational institutions” and also in the part of the document that illustrates the curricula of the different subjects. The Orientations chapter describes the broad approaches that frame the choices made in the curricular guidelines. Citizenship education, together with the competency-based approach, is included here and is therefore considered one of the key perspectives that frame schooling in the Province of Trento. As a specific subject, citizenship education is included also in the section of the guidelines that prescribes the competences that students should acquire in the different subject areas. Here, citizenship education is not considered as an autonomous subject, with its own timetable and marks. Citizenship education has its own curriculum, but is considered an integral part of history (Provincia autonoma di Trento, 2012b).

In the section called Orientations, the curricular guidelines indicate four broad principles and common objectives that underpin citizenship education and that schools should follow to ensure that citizenship education is practiced in an “adequate and effective way” (Provincia autonoma di Trento, 2012: 26). The four key principles identified in the guidelines are: a) respect for the other, b) balance between identity and alterity, c) respect for diversity, d) respect for the rules of common living. Respect for the other and identity/alterity stress the role that citizenship education plays in fostering “a sense of solidarity and tolerance”, the “abandonment of aggressive and violent conduct” and “the conquest of identity” (Provincia autonoma di Trento, 2012b: 26-27), understood as distinction (recognition of the distinctive and peculiar traits of one's own personality) and integration (recognition of the traits that unite one to the other). Respect for diversity, in the guidelines, is explicitly linked to intercultural education in the context of multicultural schools. It stresses a pedagogy that promotes mutual knowledge and the overcoming of stereotypes and prejudices, and calls for the identification of common values on which to “build a society of active tolerance and peaceful coexistence” (Provincia autonoma di Trento, 2012b: 27). Lastly, the guidelines stress the importance of fostering respect for the rules of common living, which means
the rules of the school community, and more broadly the rule of law in society through legal education. Respect for the rule of law is intrinsically linked to being a citizen that brings its contribution to society:

The students . . . must internalize the meaning of the rules and respect them and, aware of the consequences and social repercussions of individual behaviour, feel responsible, starting from the commitments of school life to the broader social tasks. In this way, they develop a vision of themselves as people who make their own contribution to the community and the society in which they live (Provincia autonoma di Trento, 2012b: 28).

The guidelines put forward a vision of school as a microcosm and training ground for society. Hence, the progressive acquisition by students of these four principles, as the basis for the adoption of behaviours that are coherent with them, must happen first of all in school. In this vision, “citizenship education is carried out essentially in the micro and then transferred to the macro-social” (Provincia autonoma di Trento, 2012b: 27). But this vision of citizenship as an outcome of an educational trajectory and of young people as “citizens-in-the-making” is quite problematic (see chap. 2, section 5.2)

Citizenship education is a key orientation that guides the curricular guidelines, but it is also a disciplinary subject with a defined competency-based curriculum. The guidelines therefore identify the specific citizenship education competences, articulated in knowledge, skills and attitudes, that students should acquire. The guidelines underline the close correlation between citizenship education themes and those related to history and geography, mentioning in particular political and institutional arrangements, territorial identity, human development, and intercultural education as key common themes. But they stress also the cross-curricular dimension of citizenship education and the educational co-responsibility of all teachers in pursuing the transversal aims of citizenship education. Integrating citizenship education with history, while at the same time stressing its transversal nature, is, according to the guidelines, the approach that better ensures that citizenship education is not overlooked by teachers through reciprocal delegation (Provincia autonoma di Trento, 2012b). The effectiveness of this approach is however questionable. On the one hand, the integration of citizenship education within history undermines its transversal perspective and the need for all teachers to embed it in their teaching: citizenship education is perceived as something that pertains primarily to the humanities teachers (see chap. 7, 3.1). On the other hand, as underlined by one of the experts currently analysing the curricular guidelines, there is a risk that citizenship education is delivered only through specific ad hoc citizenship education projects, often facilitated by external experts, thus creating “a situation of space–time suspension from teaching and subjects” (S. Bin, personal communication, 17th August, 2018).

The curricular guidelines identify four broad aims of citizenship education: a) Developing political literacy based on shared principles and values; b) Fostering active participation in community life; c) Educating for civil coexistence; d) Developing critical and proactive thinking. Looking more closely at the competences, we can observe that the citizenship education curriculum foregrounds the micro (school), the local (community) and national dimensions of citizenship. In a number of cases there is some references to topics, skills or attitudes related to global citizenship but these are not coherently articulated and linked to one another.
Competency one is related to the development of political literacy. It is about “being able to recognise the mechanisms, systems and organisations which govern relations between citizens and state and civil institutions, at local and national level, and the principles which constitute the ethical foundation of societies (equity, freedom and social cohesion), enshrined in national and international law” (Provincia autonoma di Trento, 2012b: 99). Here the main focus is clearly on local and national citizenship and, as a result, the knowledge and skills relate to traditional civics topics. The guidelines, under this competence, prescribe a few attitudes with a global citizenship breath, like “acquiring awareness of being a local, national, European and world citizen”, “developing ideas and convictions on decisive issues for the local, national and international communities”, and “being aware of the fundamental role of information in the development of a personal vision of the world”. Yet, these global citizenship attitudes are completely disjoined from the topics that are to be covered and that foreground political literacy from a local and national citizenship perspective.

Competency two is related to fostering active participation in community life. It is about “responsibly assuming attitudes and roles and developing behaviours of active community participation” (Provincia autonoma di Trento, 2012b: 101). The main focus in terms of knowledge and skills is on promoting respectful and active pro-social behaviour in school (attention, commitment, punctuality, willingness to help classmates, respect for furnishings and aids present in the school, respect for school rules, assumption of roles and responsibilities in school, attendance at various school activities, pro-active participation in group work). The attitudes are about fostering a deep-rooted sense of belonging to the school and the community, trusting the value of active participation in school and external groups, and demonstrating active behaviour based on responsibility and solidarity. The knowledge and skills, however, are centred predominantly on the school environment and the only references to the local community and the external environment are related to being able to understand a job advertisement, and being aware of the conditioning power of advertising and fashion. It is not clear therefore how a sense of belonging to the local community and active participation will be fostered. Moreover, a global perspective that adopts multiple scales and links the local to the global, the micro to the macro is completely absent from this competence.

Competency three is related to educating for civil coexistence. It is about “developing conscious ways of exercising civil coexistence, respecting diversity, engaging in responsible dialogue, understanding the meaning of the rules for social coexistence and respecting them” (Provincia autonoma di Trento, 2012b: 103). The main focus in terms of knowledge and skills is understanding and respecting ethnic, cultural and religious diversities, as well as social and gender differences, engaging with others through dialogue and tolerance, avoiding stereotypes and prejudices. The attitudes further reinforce key values such as respect, dialogue, cooperation, commitment to solidarity and peace. This competence has many points in common with the socio-emotional dimension of GCE defined by UNESCO (2015). However, here there is a stronger focus on the value of rules, on the importance of interiorising and respecting rules, on the rule of law and legal education. In line with critical perspectives on GCE, there is an acknowledgement of the

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11 The topics include: rights and duties, state and local institutions, the Italian Constitution, legality and rule of law, civic principles, local forms of government, separation of power, electoral systems, budget and tax system, mass media. The only topic with a clear global dimension is knowing the main governmental and non-governmental cooperation organisations at local, national and international levels.
importance of critical reflexivity towards oneself and the own community, but this is mentioned only as an attitude to be fostered without spelling out the knowledge and skills linked to it.

The last competence is related to developing critical and pro-active thinking. It is about "expressing and displaying convictions about the values of democracy and citizenship, becoming aware of oneself as a person able to act, . . . by bringing one's own original and positive contribution" (Provincia autonoma di Trento, 2012b: 105). In terms of knowledge, the focus is on understanding historical forms of democracy, processes of acquiring and exercising fundamental rights (universal suffrage, minorities, immigrants, equal opportunities, education, health, etc.), and the concept of active citizenship. The skills stress recognising the places and spaces where democratic principles and values can be exercised, experimenting democracy in the daily experience of the school, identifying factors that facilitate or limit citizen's participation in public life, building one's own opinion on a topical issue. This competence begins to move in the direction of the subjectification conception of civic learning identified by Biesta (2014), where the central focus is on learning to engage in the experiment of democracy and becoming a democratic actor. However, the main focus in terms of attitudes is rooted in socialisation as the actions envisaged are about making suggestions on how to improve certain aspects of school activity, or participating in activities promoted by cultural, social or humanitarian associations.

In sum, the provincial curricular guidelines reveal a strong anchoring of citizenship education in a socialisation conception of civic learning (Biesta, 2014). Dominant themes throughout the competences are the value of rules, the rule of law and legal education, and an emphasis on socialising young people to be well behaved and cooperative students in school so that in the future they may become 'good citizens' in society. There are some references to global citizenship, particularly in terms of cultural global citizenship and the socio-emotional dimension of GCE identified by UNESCO (2015). However, several gaps were also noted between the few global citizenship attitudes mentioned in the guidelines, and the concrete knowledge and skills to be fostered, which maintain a more explicit focus on the traditional topics of a civics curriculum and on the micro (school), the local (community) and the national dimension of citizenship.

4.2 Opportunities and foreclosures within the geography and history curricula
The geography and history curricula included in the provincial guidelines offer a curricular scaffold to GCE.

**Geography**

Geography is the curriculum in the provincial guidelines that most explicitly addresses global citizenship topics and perspectives. In the introduction, the curriculum stresses the importance of moving beyond the traditional and ineffective way of teaching geography, which focused on memorising an infinite series of geographical data disconnected from a systemic, dynamic and complex vision of territories. The guidelines acknowledge the reality of a globalised world characterised by global problems and challenges, and identifies geography as a science able to provide perspectives and tools to interpret and explain anthropo-physical phenomena and systems, and analyse issues and problems related to sustainable development. In the vision of the guidelines, geography is the science that can explain and understand phenomena, local and global, in their geographical distribution, their interconnections, interdependences, correlations and causalities, as well as their dynamism (Provincia autonoma di Trento, 2012).
The vision of geography as a science able to explain reality and provide solutions can be criticised from a post-modern and post-structuralist perspective. A member of the working group currently analysing the curricular guidelines stressed that geography should not be reduced to a science that explains phenomena and problems. It should be seen as a science that engages with complexity, raises questions rather than providing answers and solutions (S. Bin, personal communication, August 16th, 2018). Geography is a science that can deconstruct dominant discourses, concepts and visions. It is projected towards the construction of alternative visions of the future:

geography is entrusted with the task of imagining possible worlds, activating its ability to discover the new as possible, understood as what can be and as what can be done. . . . We would like to push more on the ability of geography to offer alternative worldviews to those commonly accepted (S. Bin, personal communication, August 16th, 2018)

The curricular guidelines identify globalisation and citizenship education as key principles framing the geography curriculum. The guidelines see globalisation as “a fact and as a value”, and stress that globalisation means that “the awareness that even individual local actions have wider repercussions must lead to thinking and acting from a global perspective, respecting the other, the community and . . . the world system” (Provincia autonoma di Trento, 2012b: 107). Identifying globalisation as a key concept that frames the geography curriculum offers an important curricular anchoring to GCE. However the fact that globalisation is presented uncritically as a fact and as a value, and the current world system is seen as something to be respected, are problematic. They imply that globalisation is a universal, natural and benevolent process. This perspective is not conducive to exploring globalisation as a contested concept and process, i.e. as a set of competing and contradictory forces that embody dynamic tensions and pull and push societies in different directions (see chap. 2, section 3.1).

Citizenship education, as another principle framing the geography curriculum, is understood as “awareness of one’s responsibility towards the territory in which one lives, as education on environment and sustainable development” (Provincia autonoma di Trento, 2012b: 107). Relating citizenship to environmental protection and sustainable development is a welcome broadening of citizenship as it was framed within the citizenship education curriculum. It resonates with the concept of environmental global citizenship discussed in this thesis (see chap. 2, section 4.3). However, there is also the risk that this perspective will reduce citizenship education to an uncritical environmental education, thus losing the broader socio-political and critical perspectives that should characterise citizenship education and GCE.

The guidelines frame the geography curriculum in terms of discontinuity from the traditional way of teaching, which reinforced the idea of a “descriptive and at times folkloristic geography”, reduced to a “tourist catalogue where the tour of the Italian regions is followed by a tour of the European states and finally of the continents” (S. Bin, personal communication, August 16th, 2018). Yet, the guidelines reproduce this approach: when they discuss how territories and regions should be addressed, they talk about “the logic and gradual development from the nearby to the far away”, i.e. from the local environment, to the Italian regions, to European states and to extra European continents and main states (Provincia autonoma di Trento, 2012b: 109). Identifying which are the main states worth studying is highly problematic: main states for whom? On what
basis a state is a main state and one is not? Moreover, this perspective of moving from the nearby to the far away forecloses the opportunity to adopt an issue-based approach, which looks at geographic and global issues from multiple scales (from the local to the global), encourages multiple points of view, and maintains a connection to the lived experiences of students (S. Bin, personal communication, August 16th, 2018).

In terms of particular anthropo-physical phenomena and global issues, the guidelines mention a number of topics that are related to global citizenship and that are typically included in a GCE curriculum. Competence three, in particular, is about “acquiring knowledge about near and far away territories and different environments, knowing how to compare them, while grasping the various points of view with which one can observe the geographical reality (physical, anthropic, economic, political, etc.)” (Provincia autonoma di Trento, 2012b: 116). This competence mentions topics and skills that are typical of a GCE curriculum. However, the perspective that frames them is problematic. The focus on comparing that permeates this competence implicitly suggests a hierarchy of value between the near and the far away, an us and a them, i.e. ‘a near and a us’ that is rich, developed, respects human rights and enjoys the ‘right’ socio-cultural factors, and ‘a far way and a them’ that is poor, underdeveloped, denies human rights and has the ‘wrong’ socio-cultural factors. There is a danger, therefore of reinforcing the hegemonic, ethnocentric, ahistorical, depoliticised, self-serving, un-complicated and paternalistic patterns of international representation and engagement identified by Andreotti (2015) and discussed in this thesis (see chap. 2, 3.3).

Competence four is framed around the concept of sustainable development. It is about “being aware of the positive and negative consequences of human action on territories, respecting the environment and acting responsibly in terms of sustainable development” (Provincia autonoma di Trento, 2012b: 118). The knowledge refers to key concepts like human development, sustainable development, globalisation processes, and topics like ecological problems and the activities of environmental organisations. The skills have a marked focus on comparing near and far way contexts, formulating solutions to ecological problems, and identifying individual and collective behavioural models coherent with the conservation of the environment, like community engagement and consciously taking positions (Provincia autonoma di Trento, 2012b). The strong focus on finding solutions is problematic if it becomes the dominant and only perspective through which global issues are addressed. Global issues are by their very nature complex, and it is unlikely that in a school setting, solutions to global problems can be found. Placing too much emphasis on finding solutions may foreclose deeper reflective processes that problematise the issues and question dominant worldviews and discourses.

In sum, the geography curriculum offers a curricular anchoring to GCE. However, it also tends to foreclose a critical engagement with global citizenship concepts and topics. Globalisation,
development, citizenship are presented as universal, natural and eternal concepts, failing to understand that, on the contrary, they are socially constructed and therefore situated, partial, contingent and provisional (see chap. 2). Nature itself is used as a universal and eternal concept, failing to recognise that its meanings differ according to geographical, historical and cultural contexts and change over time (Bin, S. personal communication, August 16th, 2018). Integrating a global citizenship perspective to geography should not be reduced to ‘looking at the world and global issues through our usual glasses’, but should rather provide us with new and multiple lenses through which to observe and read contexts. It should help us to problematise and deconstruct our conceptual and interpretative frames, including the concept of nature:

from the point of view of global citizenship, geography has the important task of deconstructing centuries of Western knowledge along which nature has gradually become established in opposition to the concept of society and anthropized space: indeed, nature is always understood by our imaginary as what has not yet been transformed by human societies (Bin, S. personal communication, August 16th, 2018)

History
The history curriculum included in the provincial guidelines offers some opportunities to integrate a global citizenship perspective. The curriculum stresses the role that history plays in building the own identity, and orienting oneself in the contemporary world (Provincia autonoma di Trento, 2012b). However, the curriculum fails to explore the concept of identity in its multiple facets and tensions. There is a risk therefore that identify is conceptualised by teachers as something clearly defined, definable, and static, rather than discursive, fluid and dynamic (see chap. 2, sections 3.2 and 5.1).

Particular attention is placed on the link present – past – present and therefore the need for history to relate to the contemporary world and its multiple challenges. Competency 6, in particular, is about “using knowledge and skills to orient oneself in the present, understand the fundamental problems of the contemporary world, and develop critical and conscious attitudes” (Provincia autonoma di Trento, 2012b: 93). Thorough this competency, the guidelines establish a clear link between history and citizenship education, and provide a global perspective to the latter. While the centrality of an historical perspective offers many opportunities for engaging in critical global citizenship perspectives, in the guidelines the emphasis seems to be predominantly on cultural and environmental global citizenship14 (see chap. 2, section 4.3). The skills under this competence emphasise also the role of history in terms of media literacy: “understand the main news items of a newspaper or a news programme using the fundamental historical links necessary to frame them” and “distinguish in a newspaper or a news programme news from judgments” (Provincia autonoma di Trento, 2012b: 93). While the distinction made in the guidelines between news (assumed to be objective) and judgement (by its very nature subjective) is problematic, the centrality given to media literacy offers ample opportunities to teachers to address contemporary global justice issues, and indeed teachers strongly associate GCE with media literacy and the ability to decode what is happening in the world (see chap. 6, section 6.2).

14 In terms of knowledge, the guidelines stress the main social, economic and political phenomena that characterise the contemporary world with a specific reference to different cultures. The skills emphasise the key role that history plays in facilitating understanding of contemporary phenomena: recognise the historical roots of today’s problems; use historical knowledge to understand different cultures and ecological and intercultural problems.
Another key opportunity that the history curriculum offers to teachers interested in bringing a global perspective to their practice is the emphasis given to the “other histories” (Provincia autonoma di Trento, 2012b: 80) and “the plurality of different histories, by subjects, by spatial areas (local, national, European, global), by points of view” (Provincia autonoma di Trento, 2012b: 84). This reference opens the possibility for critical global citizenship perspectives that engage with the epistemic violence discussed by postcolonial scholars. It can give space and voice to alternative histories and worldviews (see chap. 2, section 6.2). A member of the working group analysing the guidelines sees the reference to “other histories” as an important space to bring alternative perspectives, for example, critically reflecting on the cyclical concept of time of African historiography in relation to the linear and sequential conception dominant in European historiography (D. Nambar, personal communication, 18th August, 2018). Stressing the plurality of histories can also facilitate an analysis of the history of conflict areas through the different narratives of the events, which may be discordant and often in conflict. It can therefore facilitate an understanding of the fact that narratives are the product of the political, social and institutional factors that shape historical contexts (D. Nambar, personal communication, 18th August, 2018).

In sum, similarly to the geography curriculum, the history curriculum provides a curricular scaffold for GCE. However, while it opens possibilities, it also forecloses moves towards critical perspectives. The guidelines, in particular, stress the centrality of “a comparative model that intersects social structures with the different time periods at the planetary level” (Provincia autonoma di Trento, 2012b: 80). The key role of the comparative method emerges also from the outline of some of the competences, where the skills to be acquired stress the ability to “compare different civilisations on the basis of different indicators (material life, economy, society, etc.), recognising elements of similarity and diversity” (Provincia autonoma di Trento, 2012b: 89). The risk of this approach is that it reinforces an image of human societies that, according to established organisational elements, are situated on a continuum, which is based on a single model of development, and is conceptualised as a hierarchical order (D. Nambar, personal communication, 18th August, 2018). It may therefore reinforce a vision of socio-economic evolution and development, deeply rooted in modernisation theory and Rostow’s stages of growth. Moreover, when connected to the emphasis given in the guidelines to the link between present-past-present, the comparative method may lead to superficial and problematic comparisons and generalisations. A comparison often made in school settings is between the Italian post-war emigrations and current immigrations, which tend to be explained in terms of some similarities in the socio-economic context of departure (D. Nambar, personal communication, 18th August, 2018). As we will see, this comparison was often used by the teachers interviewed in this study (see chap. 6, 6.2.2). These comparisons, if they lack analytical depth, are deeply problematic as they fail to address the role of transnational neo-colonial dynamics:

ey emphasise the idea that the contexts of origin of today’s migrants correspond to the way the Italian society was organised decades ago, and from which it evolved, obscuring at the same time other factors, which act on different scales, including the transnational dynamics of neo-colonialism (D. Nambar, personal communication, 18th August, 2018).
4.3 The disjointed perspective on the global, citizenship and education

I have outlined that there are some references to concepts and topics related to GCE in the citizenship education curriculum, and particularly in the geography and history curriculum. A global citizenship perspective is virtually absent from the other subjects: the focus is on traditional subject-specific knowledge and skills. Overall, in the curricular guidelines the concepts of global citizenship and GCE are not explicitly adopted and used to provide a global perspective to citizenship education and to the other curricular subjects.

In her analysis of GCE, Davies (2006: 13-14), proposes a typology to understand how GCE and its permutations are framed in the curriculum. This is a useful framework to reflect on the current formulation of the global, of citizenship and of education in the curricular guidelines of the Province of Trento:

a) Global citizenship + education (definition of the ‘global citizen’, and the implied educational framework to provide or promote this)
b) Global + citizenship education (making citizen 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)

The curricular guidelines of the Province of Trento tend to conform to the last typology identified by Davies (2006). The main focus of the curriculum is on education in terms of the traditional subjects, which are focused on subject-specific competences and do not have a global citizenship perspective. Linking education and citizenship, we can see that the guidelines propose citizenship education as a framing paradigm of the curriculum. Yet, this is undermined by its integration within history. In the guidelines the link between citizenship and the global is very weak. In the citizenship education curriculum there is a reference to fostering global citizens, but overall the global dimension of citizenship is marginal as the curriculum is broadly based on the traditional civics competences. Globalisation and global issues are addressed explicitly only in the geography curriculum and are therefore not seen through an interdisciplinary perspective. While both the geography and history curriculum offer opportunities to engage in GCE, they also foreclose critical perspectives. Overall, in the curricular guidelines, the global, citizenship and education are disconnected and, similarly to how they are addressed in the Australasian curriculum, they “lack a unifying definition and cohesion” (Peterson, et al., 2018: 10).

5. Conceptualisations of Global Citizenship Education: a new framing paradigm or just a fashionable label?

The analysis of the roles played by the different provincial offices within the “Global school” project highlighted that the Province of Trento is not a monolithic entity that cohesively pursued the integration of GCE in school practice. The interviews that I conducted with provincial decision-makers, officers and key informants confirm the multifaceted perspectives on GCE and the different priorities and agendas that drive the provincial policies and actions. The project “Global schools” was an opportunity to mobilise a local constituency that supported GCE and managed to put it on the agenda of the local administration. But it also revealed the tensions within the administration between the different visions and policy priorities as well as the difficulties in
developing coordinated and coherent perspectives and actions on GCE. These tensions are eloquently expressed by a member of the Expert Group:

The difficulty I believe is primarily lived within the administration, in the sense that it discovers itself. ... internally multiple and therefore not as a monolithic block that decided a direction and is following it, but rather ... as being made up of one hundred heads that pull in different directions. So, the fact that the province is actually on board means that one Office is on board, a portion of this mammoth being is on board, and it makes an extreme and enormous effort to dialogue with other offices. ... So, there is this, ... probably, ... it is the biggest challenge to manage, to deal with (Member of expert group 2)

The different positions and priorities emerged clearly in relation to how the concept of GCE was viewed and used by the different offices of the Province of Trento. I will now present the positions on GCE of the two main provincial offices involved in the project “Global schools”, namely the International Development Cooperation Office (IDCO) and the Education Office (EO).

5.1 Global Citizenship Education as the new framing paradigm of international development cooperation

The analysis of the provincial policy documents on international development cooperation15 highlights a significant shift in terminology. The concept of Development Education and Awareness Raising, which framed all the activities that the Province and the local NGOs implemented to raise awareness and educate citizens on development and global justice issues, was used until 2016, when it was replaced by the concept of GCE. Policy makers and officers of the IDCO underlined that this was a deliberate move from the “problematic” concept of Development Education, or more precisely it signified a rejection of a particular view of development, as this provincial representative underlines:

overcome the term Development Education, the dimension of development, understood as something that indeed is linear, infinite, that doesn’t consider how it proceeds, the imbalances that ... it can cause (Provincial representative b)

The rejection of the term Development Education is therefore linked to a critique of the neo-liberal model of development centred on economic growth, and its inherent economic, social and environmental injustices, as the same provincial representative stresses:

the western development model, ... of the so-called Global North, that aims at a purely ... economic development, that does not take into account the exploitation of environmental resources, ... that often tramples rights, of communities, of people, of workers, of indigenous peoples ... and therefore it is a type of development that does not take into account the rights of everybody, in all dimensions, ... from human rights to environmental, social rights. ... It is a development that creates social inequalities, and enrichment in very small minorities of the population and therefore social inequalities, economic inequalities. ... So this model of development ... perhaps I would not even call it development, because it is not development, ... it is the model that we want to fight (Provincial representative b)

Adopting the concept of GCE signifies a clear preference for a different vision that merges economic growth with a rights-based understanding of development, and that is broadly in line with the 2030 Agenda and the Sustainable Development Goals, as the same provincial representative eloquently underlines:

we are in favour of models . . . of growth, economic growth . . . that are based on the participation of people, on the respect of rights, within, if it at all possible . . . political and institutional systems that are more democratic (Provincial representative b)

The concept of Development Education was also considered particularly ambiguous in the Italian language, essentially a concept that was quite obscure and unintelligible for people that are not working in international development cooperation:

very often we asked ourselves, what does development education exactly mean? This is a term, right, that also in Italian, doesn't sound great, we have always used it, for years. . . . it is used also at the national level, but I mean, if one reflects, literally what does development education mean, right? (Provincial representative b)

The term GCE, on the other hand, according to the IDCO, more clearly expresses a vision rooted in the need to change the dominant development models. In the context of the interconnectedness and interdependency that characterises the contemporary global world, GCE is about fostering a global dimension to citizenship. It is a way to build the competences that citizens, particularly children and young people, need to understand this interdependence and move in the world in a responsible and sustainable manner, as the same provincial representative underlines:

this dimension of global citizenship education . . . seems to us more responding to what we would like to achieve as an objective . . . strengthen a global dimension of citizenship, right? create a consciousness in the citizenry, especially in children and youth, of the fact that our way of acting, right? is tightly connected with the rest of the world, has repercussions, and must be responsible and conscious of this. If we want to change these models of development that we believe are causing poverty, injustice, etc., we must be able to move in this world with new competences. So, since this is our goal, perhaps the term global citizenship education is really closer and more comfortable (Provincial representative b).

This conceptualisation of GCE emerges also from the provincial 2016 guidelines, which identify GCE as one of the four pillars of the international development cooperation policies of the Province. Here, again, the concept of GCE is explicitly linked to a critique of the dominant development model and the global economy. GCE is about increasing knowledge and awareness of global dynamics and promoting “responsible and sustainable behaviours at the personal and political level” (Provincia autonoma di Trento, 2016a). An explicit priority outlined in the guidelines is the integration of GCE in the school system:

the global challenges (poverty, inequality, forced migrations, climate change, conflicts), that international development cooperation aims to contribute to tackle and resolve, have their root causes in the mechanisms of the global economy and in the dominant development model . . . Trentino wants to responsibly play a role. . . . Particularly it wants to engage in global citizenship education, especially in schools, in order to equip young people with the tools to know, interpret and consciously act in an increasingly interdependent world, where the choices of everyone have repercussions at the planetary level (Provincia autonoma di Trento, 2016a)
GCE, according to the IDCO, promotes cognitive competences such as knowledge and understanding of global justice issues and interdependency, cognitive skills such as self-reflexivity, decentralisation and critical thinking, and non-cognitive attitudes such as capacity to relate to others, as was outlined by this provincial representative:

A global citizen knows how to relate, to decentralise and is able to decolonise his thinking, is able to move from the local to the universal and develop a holistic dimension. The global citizen can understand interdependence, thinks critically, can imagine and plan (Provincial representative a)

According to the IDCO, GCE has also a strong value dimension focusing on respect for diversity, for the environment, for human rights. The language used by the IDCO to define global citizenship and GCE clearly merges a cosmopolitan and a critical perspective of global citizenship: a focus on critical cognitive knowledge and skills, such as decentralisation and decolonisation of our thinking, is coupled with a commitment to concepts such as human rights and sustainable development.

A critical GCE perspective in terms of questioning taken for granted frames for conceptualising and interpreting reality emerged from the interview with a member of the Expert Group. She critically reflected on thinking patterns and habits that condition her own understandings and worldviews, and the power of language and education in shaping them. An apt example of the power of conventions and education in framing our thinking is the use of political maps to represent the world. This, according to her, conveys an unquestionable and immutable reality of a world divided in nation-states. Using pedagogical instruments to challenge these taken for granted automatic thinking patterns is according to her fundamental in GCE:

I myself am so immersed in mechanisms of thought, in thinking habits, that . . . I can’t even see and recognise them for what they are . . . . What is hidden behind the language we use in terms of the worldview we are communicating? . . . . For example, one idea that I found extraordinary and that still makes me reflect is to think about how purely conventional it is to look at a political map. It’s pure convention! . . . . And how much we use it as an education tool, that is, one of the very first things that children, young people see is a political map! It means that you’re fixing that stuff firmly in your head and you are not going to give it up. That is, that stuff is considered irremovable. . . . There are so many things that are taken up and absorbed and you don’t even question them anymore. . . . What I find powerful in this type of work [GCE work] is something that disrupts a little the most automatic mechanisms of thought (Member of expert group 2)

A critical GCE perspective emerged also from the realisation that the way the IDCO has developed its understanding of GCE was framed mainly by European discussions and perspectives. The lack of visions, worldviews and approaches from elsewhere, and particularly from the Global South, is considered a key limitation that needs to be overcome, as this provincial representative underlines:

We are having a lot of dialogue in Europe on these issues and on global citizenship education. I think it would be very interesting to hear about other approaches in other parts of the world . . . . It is already a lot that we managed to open up to the European level, but I think it is also a limit, . . . . to be overcome because it would be nice to incorporate other visions, other pedagogies, other thoughts (Provincial representative b)

The conceptualisation of GCE provided by the IDCO includes also a behavioural dimension, related to the willingness and ability to act responsibly, act for the common good and promote social change:
The global citizen... acts responsibly for the common good (Provincial representative a)

global citizenship education is also... action, action for social change (Provincial representative b)

The dimension of action, however, is conceptualised mainly in terms of individual behaviour, i.e. ethical and sustainable choices and practices by citizens, understood primarily as consumers in the global economy, as opposed to political actors that can facilitate social change:

if you think in this way [with a global citizenship perspective], you are a different consumer, you are concerned about the products you buy, you are a citizen who... uses public transport, ... who is aware of what is in one's mobile phone, who is aware of the use of natural resources and who... knows that one's choices have an influence. And therefore... it is about having competences that allow me to know and understand these issues, and that then they make me also act in a certain way. Therefore there is also a dimension of action... in my daily life (Provincial representative b)

A vision of action in terms of alternative thinking was conveyed on the other hand, by the same member of the Expert group that stressed the importance of a critical GCE perspective and used the example of political maps. Action here is conceived as a refusal of what is considered natural, as unveiling the conventional nature of realities, in this case borders and nation-states, that are considered natural. It is about voicing an alternative view, and this re-establishes a political dimension to action, as the member of the Expert group stresses:

the turning point is not denying it [the political map], but placing it in a position that stresses that this is not reality, that is not an irremovable fact, because if this is the reading key, then yes, you count and you can make a difference because it is not an irremovable fact. It is something that is not natural, it is conventional... And then a space of action is triggered, a space for becoming active. Now I don't say in changing the borders of the state, but rather in the perception of what is natural and what is not... Borders are a choice, a convention that some have chosen, and that some may say: 'No, I'm not okay with it!'... The border can open the horizon and can re-establish the political dimension of citizenship (Member of expert group 2)

In the view of the IDC0, GCE is not only an educational priority, but assumes the function also of a mainstreaming concept that should inform international development policies and all actions supported and implemented by the IDC0. There is an acknowledgement that international development projects are often problematic in terms of the way they disregard local contexts and actors, and propose short-term quick-fix solutions as opposed to kick-starting long-term processes of structural change. Hence GCE becomes a paradigm to reframe international development actions, and it is for this reason that it was identified as one of the pillars of the new international development cooperation guidelines, as this provincial representative underlines:

probably this dimension of global citizenship education is more coherent also with our way of seeing international cooperation policies. In the context of international development cooperation projects that are not always absolutely respectful of the places where they insert themselves, don't always think about jump-starting real long-term processes of change, sometimes they intervene in a way, in turn creating imbalances. Therefore, also the very way of conceiving international development cooperation projects and our actions in other countries, should take global citizenship education more into account. [Global Citizenship Education] is a process of education in all senses... For us it is almost the paradigm, right? of our way of seeing development cooperation today. Therefore, for us it was essential
to include it among the pillars of the international development cooperation policy of the Province (Provincial representative b)

This idea of considering GCE as the new framing paradigm of international development cooperation was shared also by one of the members of the Expert Group. She stressed that interpreting international cooperation through the GCE lenses implies seeing international relations in terms of rights and relationships between citizens, rather than aid relations based on need:

GCE... can really be a new, more contemporary way of interpreting international cooperation... Interpreting international relations, and therefore also international development cooperation, within a global citizenship relationship with another, means recognizing that we are both citizens, it means placing oneself at the level of a relationship between citizens... therefore a relationship in terms of rights rather than an aid relationship... or a response to a need... It seems to me that this represents a real change of paradigm... which could perhaps also give new impetus to the more traditional development cooperation (Member of expert group 2)

Lastly, the IDCO has the ambition that GCE should move beyond the realm of education and international development cooperation, and become a perspective that informs all provincial policies and actions in the different sectors within the remit of the provincial autonomy. There is an acknowledgement of the complexity of this attempt that requires bringing on broad decision-makers, but also civil servants. Here the acknowledgement of the multi-faceted nature of the administration and the different agendas and priorities that guide its policies is evident:

and then coherence within, between policies because... when we talk about this [Global Citizenship Education] we talk indeed about putting together also policies, so that they do not operate each one on its own... I think that, if one adopts this way of seeing, right? one shares this way of being in the world, the way you plan a city, the way you indeed manage your environmental resources, the way you manage your energy policies, the services you start to facilitate the integration of migrants, the fact of working on gender policies with a particular approach... all these ways should... This is policy coherence, only it is not so banal to get [Global Citizenship Education] inside these policies, in all these channels... It is a big challenge, right? that goes from the policy-makers but also the civil servants... This is what we would like, it is what we are promoting, so, let's see whether we manage (Provincial representative b)

5.2 Global Citizenship Education as an academic label irrelevant for a school system focused on qualification

After exploring how the provincial International Development Cooperation Office (IDCO) conceptualises GCE and integrates it into its policies, I will now move to how GCE is understood by the provincial Education Office (EO). Global citizenship and GCE are not owned, nor supported by the EO. Indeed, global citizenship is seen as an academic label that may have a value in terms of explaining the complexity of today’s globalised world, but is probably provisional and fickle, as fashion is, as eloquently explained by a provincial representative:

lastly, this concept of global citizenship was born, right?... So, ... well, I am a bit against labels and think that these are then really the paradigms that... academic culture uses rightly to frame particular historical phases, that then generally they are overcome, changed... One looks for some labels... Global citizenship is a multi-dimensional concept that tries to capture the complexity of today’s living, of contemporaneity... But, these labels... everything can be summed up by them, and it is difficult
to say, but what is the definition, because then you end up with a hundred thousand definitions. . . .

Well, I am not very attached to these labels (Provincial representative c)

The EO is more supportive of the traditional concept of civics and citizenship, with its strong emphasis on awareness of the rule of law, legality, the rights and duties of the ‘good citizen’ living in a particular community, as well as knowledge of the political structures at local, national and European level that govern our life, as the same provincial representative underlines:

The concept of active citizenship, therefore, of knowledge and awareness of living in a world made of rules, but also rights, made of rights and duties, I understand it in this way . . . all the projects that the schools are doing . . . related to the area of civic education and therefore reflecting on rules, rights and duties . . . that govern the community in which you live, and this is precious, . . . what’s in Brussels, what’s in Rome, what is the parliament, what is the mayor and what he/she does . . . why there must be a mayor, why you pay taxes (Provincial representative c)

The EO is providing explicit support to the schools interested in delivering citizenship education activities with an explicit focus on legality and the rule of law. A local “Legality Table”, i.e. a group of representatives of different law enforcement agencies, coordinated by the EO was established a couple of years ago. It developed a number of awareness-raising interventions on legality/rule of law topics that members of the Table deliver in interested schools. The topics prioritised by the “Legality Table” include: children’s rights, addictions (alcohol, drugs), cyberbullying, gender-based violence, road safety, financial education (tax evasion, counterfeiting, saving). There is an acknowledgement that the members of the Table tend to approach the topics from the perspective of a law enforcing agency, not an educational agency, and therefore the pedagogical approach of the Legality Table needs to be strengthened, as this provincial representative outlines:

This Legality Table was born, which includes all the law and order agencies, so from the Police to the Carabinieri to the Financial Police . . . and then . . . other sectors because we have the Ombudsman, the Guarantor of Minors, we have the Prosecutor’s Office for Minors, we have the Central Bank of Italy, we have the Revenue Agency, we have the Regional Administrative Court, we have the Postal Police, the Railway Police, the Traffic Police. So, in short, it’s a nice table, really very rich. . . . So every year, precisely for the past 3 years, schools . . . have this additional possibility of benefiting from the interventions of these members of the Legality Table . . . We would like as a department to be able to support more this Legality Table with pedagogical contents, setting up a table, a working group of another nature, not only of law enforcement agencies . . . It is clear that when we talk about legality it should go from prevention . . . to the sanctioning aspect. Clearly, a configuration of the table as it is now . . . is slightly shifted, obviously, to the sanctioning aspect . . . The pedagogical aspect needs to be strengthened (Provincial representative c)

The concept of citizenship adopted by the EO is rooted in a socialisation conception of civic learning. Strong emphasis is placed on the concepts of self-awareness and responsibility, hence on the awareness that one’s actions and choices have repercussions and therefore being a citizen means having a sense of responsibility, including social responsibility. This socialisation conception is also expressed by the link that, in the view of the EO, citizenship has with the concept of social cohesion and coexistence in the context of diverse and multicultural communities, as this provincial representative underlines:

And also . . . in the concept of social cohesion, of coexistence, there are many aspects that must be absolutely recognized and adopted (Provincial representative c)
The EO’s understanding of citizenship includes cognitive skills such as the capacity to read interrelated phenomena and policies and have a broad and transversal understanding of them, as well as critical thinking and problem-solving skills. The EO links citizenship also to non-cognitive skills, in particular the capacity to relate to people, to empathise with the other, based on values like solidarity and respecting diversity in its broadest sense (ability/disability, gender, social and economic status, geographical origin, culture, religion, etc.). These socio-emotional skills give a “positive construct” to the cognitive skills:

have this very transversal and very broad ability to read [phenomena], ... a transversal understanding of the world, ... ability to summarise, solve problems ... develop the critical capacity of our student. And to the critical capacity associate those values ... welcoming, solidarity and listening ... that give a positive construct to the critical capacity ... so, develop also skills that are not ... necessarily cognitive, not skills ... related to the subjects, but those skills ... of knowing how to relate, empathise with a person ... respect diversity (Provincial representative e)

The concept of citizenship, for the EO, is also linked to a strong sense of local and cultural identity, rooted in a particular history that has moulded the characters, traditions and cultures of the people of the Province, as the same provincial representative underlines:

this concept of citizenship has developed mainly in the sense ... of having an awareness of where you are, the community you belong to, ... the history you belong to. ... We are Trentini. Trentino has these characteristics because it has a history, because in this history a number of things happened, that have moulded characters, traditions and cultures. Therefore, creation of a stronger bond, ... in the sense of greater awareness of one’s own historical roots and this is citizenship (Provincial representative e)

Fostering a strong sense of local and cultural identity, in EO’s view, will not result in closeness. Knowing one’s roots gives to citizens the confidence to go anywhere, live anywhere in the world and face cultural differences, as the same representative underlines:

if I have a very strong identity, I can go anywhere, ... when on the other hand am I afraid to go around? When I don't know who I am, I don't know where I come from ... the stronger your cultural identity, ... the stronger you are when then you need to face the rest of the world. ... Therefore, this concept of citizenship has developed mainly in the sense ... of having an awareness of where one is and of the community one belongs to (Provincial representative e)

A member of the Expert group, however, warns that a focus on strengthening the local identity is not compatible with GCE if it does not acknowledge that identities are the result of encounters and exchanges. Local identity needs to be inserted within a wider discourse on intersecting and multiple identities. She fears that often the emphasis on the local identity is not framed in this open manner:

if it is intended as a mere strengthening of the identity of Trentino, ... without remembering that the identity of Trentino comes ... from many exchanges and different origins, it is not very compatible with GCE. If you insert it in a discourse of multiple identities, that each of us has and of which one should be increasingly aware, ... of awareness ... of the movements of peoples, past, present, future, then ... In the way identity is often understood and conceived here, there is a risk that is very restrictive and I do not share it. If you link it to a perspective ... of multiple identities, not only declared, but also experienced in the daily life of the classes, then ... We are all part of very multiple and varied identities (Member of expert group 1)
The EO complements a vision of citizenship in terms of strong local identity with a discourse that emphasises the importance of global competences. In order to travel and live anywhere in the world, but also deal with cultural differences in the own multicultural communities, citizens need global and intercultural competences, as the same provincial representative underlines:

Citizenship . . . must be rich of critical skills and competences that capture the fact that, yes, we are in Trentino that is a very small place in the end, but we live in the world . . . to our students, citizens, . . . we need to give also the awareness of living in a world that is very variegated, that contains cultures absolutely different from one another, sometimes very unintelligible, and therefore, citizens must have the tools . . . for decoding other cultures, other languages, for understanding conflicts (P Provincial representative c)

The EO is not endorsing the concept of global citizenship and, unlike the IDCO, is not supporting a revision of the curricular guidelines or the development of policies, plans and training opportunities that explicitly promote and facilitate the embedment of GCE in the curriculum. There is an acknowledgement of the importance of encouraging a global perspective that stimulates students to develop an interest in what is happening in the world and in global issues and challenges. However, the perception is that this global dimension of citizenship education, somehow, is already embedded in school practice, even if global citizenship and GCE are not named, nor explicitly identified, defined and prioritised in education policies, guidelines, plans and in terms of professional development opportunities for teachers, as the same provincial representative highlights:

to be really honest I don't endorse this concept [Global Citizenship Education] because it seems to me that . . . if you have to do it, it means that you have already somehow failed, that it, this should be already in the DNA of an educational community, of an educating community . . . I would not like to introduce it as a subject, global citizenship, indeed it would seem to me . . . a defeat . . . but neither a particular area of attention . . . Global citizenship is done every day when you ask yourself if in your class you are increasing or diminishing inequalities, if in your class they realise that in Syria they are killing children with chemical gas, and you are in a completely different reality . . . this is global citizenship . . . or yesterday I heard that 8 people in the world have ¾ of the wealth of the whole world, this is doing citizenship education . . . It is declaring an interest in the context in which you live (Provincial representative c)

GCE is therefore not a priority for the EO. The priorities are clearly others, in particular building a pool of human resources that will support the Province to maintain its level of economic development and to position itself in the global economy. The 2015 provincial policy guidelines for education stress that human capital is a strategic area for the development of the Province. In this perspective, schooling responds mainly to the qualification function of education, and global competences, related predominantly to the knowledge of foreign languages, as well as entrepreneurial and digital skills, are valued because they respond to the provincial objectives of enhancing the internationalisation and economic development of the Province:

Educate and train a population with adequate skills and knowledge, able to face the processes of innovation and internationalization, able to support the exercise of the rights/duties of active and responsible citizenship, as well as to reach and maintain an adequate level of economic development of the provincial territory (Provincia autonoma di Trento, 2015b).
In terms of the priorities of the education system, the 2015 education policy guidelines clearly indicate the strengthening of young people’s competences through a school system that facilitates knowledge of/links to the job market and the involvement of the private sector in building students’ knowledge and skills. The second priority is the improvement of student’s linguistic competences, in particular English, through the promotion of a trilingual school (Italian, English and German). These two priorities were outlined in the 2015 policy guidelines for education and subsequent plans for the implementation of these two priorities were developed and began to be implemented in schools. The focus of the education system on facilitating the school-job market link and a trilingual school is evident in the provincial education policy documents and plans, but was clearly spelled out also by one of the provincial representative interviewed for this study:

in this legislation we have launched the trilingual plan, precisely because we believed . . . that a strategic objective is to give at least a universal communication key, the English language, and an interpretation key of the own identity, that is the German language . . . Therefore the possibility to say to these young people, that are already European citizens and citizens of the world, at least you can express yourself . . . And the second, on the comprehension of economic phenomena, and therefore, also this closeness, . . . this knowledge of the world that they will face as adults, that is the job market, but it is not simply training for the job market, . . . it is the capacity to read the opportunities, the characteristics of the economic system (Provincial representative c)

These two priorities are considered in line with global citizenship, or rather an idea of global citizenship as global competences, as the same provincial representative outlines:

also the trilingual plan is a contribution to global citizenship, also our policies on work experience schemes are a contribution because we want to put you in the conditions that if tomorrow you have to go to Finland, you have everything, a bit of a toolkit, well, the instruments to be in that situation (Provincial representative c)

More recently, the EO identified a new priority for its schooling system, namely digitalisation and digital citizenship. In 2017, the provincial plan “Digital Schools” was approved which prioritises interventions to support digitalisation in school in terms of four key areas: a) Instruments and environments; b) Competences and contents; c) Training; d) Accompaniment (Provincia autonoma di Trento, 2017). It is beyond the scope of this thesis to analyse the Digital Schools plan, but it is sufficient to say that it signals that the promotion of digital competences and in particular “digital citizenship” have become key new priorities of the provincial schooling system.

The marginality of GCE within the provincial education policies and priorities results in a widespread lack of awareness of GCE within the EO. The project “Global Schools” involves only a couple of people of the provincial education sector and therefore GCE is not generally perceived as an area of work of the EO and the local schools. This results in the fact that opportunities for drawing national funds to support GCE activities in schools are either missed or overlooked, as outlined by a provincial representative:

here in the Province of Trento we have priorities, we have the trilingual plan, we have the work experience schemes, you know, the Province has already made these choices . . . Within the PON funding, the ministerial funding schemes for projects that schools can activate, there was a series of themes, including global citizenship and, given that we, as an autonomous province, do not automatically fall within these PON . . . there was a protocol, a convention between the Province and the Ministry, where it was stated to which areas the Province could apply and, unfortunately, global
citizenship, either because we missed it, or rather... in the end, it was not included. Therefore, in the themes there is European citizenship, digital citizenship, but there is not global citizenship... You have to be there all the time, you have to be a watchdog... to check, often these things fall through the cracks not because of ill will, but rather because the duty officer has never heard of it... Lack of knowledge, I think, not ill will (Provincial representative d)

The marginality of GCE within the provincial education policies and priorities is clearly perceived also by teachers as it is illustrated by the following quote which exemplifies a general feeling among the teachers involved in the research:

it works in strands... it depends on who is at the top... years ago we talked a lot about, there was a period on handicap, maybe we have resolved it, right? we have raised awareness. Then there was the period of interculture and really that was a time when... Now we are on this trilingualism and therefore everything needs to be brought to these languages... They are choices that are made at the political level, and we follow a bit these strands (Teacher 21, school H, Humanities)

The EC funded “Global Schools” project is perceived by some provincial officers as an opportunity that could facilitate a process of change from below, i.e. the creation of a network of “Global Schools” that are experimenting with GCE and can eventually place GCE on the agenda of policy-makers, as this provincial representative outlines:

we organised a training session for the managers of the schools involved in the project... and they had the idea of... getting together, of creating a network on “Global schools”, so... it looks like there is an interest for this topic [GCE], and therefore if from the bottom up we have networks that have an interest in this topic and that can come out themselves with projects, with requests, then, on the other hand, the political level will take this thinking... This is our idea, that it will not all end in spring [spring 2018 is the end of the EC funded “Global Schools” project], but that we will continue to work on it (Provincial representative d)

The perception within the provincial education system, is that GCE will become a reality in schools, only if the concept is endorsed and promoted through explicit education policies and plans, and the provincial curricula are modified to more explicitly include GCE. As indicated, a working group was set up by IPRASE and is currently analysing the curricular guidelines to identify entry points for integrating a global citizenship perspective across all subjects. This is an important step, but it is unclear whether the work of this group will indeed lead to a revision of the guidelines.

5.3 Diverging or converging perspectives and agendas?
Through the EU-funded “Global schools” the Province of Trento supported the integration of GCE in school curricula. However, as it was outlined the project was not embraced and implemented cohesively by the whole Province. Different roles and divergent perspectives between the provincial offices emerged during the implementation of the project. The IDCO is endorsing and promoting a vision of GCE which is strongly aligned with UNESCO’s GCE framework (UNESCO, 2015). The IDCO interpretation of GCE and its agenda broadly reflect what Marshall (2011) calls a global social-justice instrumentalism, where the aim of integrating GCE in the school curriculum is to facilitate an understanding of the economic, political, legal, cultural and environmental dimensions of globalisation, the injustices created by the dominant economic development models, as well as promote ethical and sustainable attitudes and behaviours and more broadly an emotional and active commitment to social justice. The EO, on the other hand, is not
endorsing the concepts of global citizenship and GCE. It remains committed to a concept of civics/citizenship education with a strong emphasis on rule of law/legality, social cohesion as well as local and cultural identity. Its agenda in terms of educational priorities is rooted in the qualification function of education and reflects what Marshall (2011) calls a technical-economic instrumentalism, where the school curriculum is related to the economic changes characterising the world economy and what is required for the future employability of students. But are the perspectives and agendas completely diverging? Are there some elements of convergence? Two discourses are very dominant in the provincial policies and narratives, and I would argue may influence how GCE will be understood and promoted by the Province in the future. These two discourses relate to: a) Excellence and competitiveness; b) Internationalisation.

The excellence and competitiveness discourse conflates the IDCO’s emphasis on fostering global citizens that can move in the world in a responsible manner, with the EO’s priority of equipping young people with the skills required to be competitive in the global economy. In this perspective being competitive does not mean being ruthless and crushing others, but rather pursuing excellence, and having certain global and intercultural skills and attitudes. Under this discourse, the perspectives of the IDCO and the EO converge:

I think that global citizenship education really challenges a particular model of competition, right? ... global citizenship education ... tells you, yes, you are competitive because you can understand the dynamics in the rest of the world, because you can move in the world as if it were your home, because you ... can understand, ... can relate, and ... and can move ... in the international sphere, ... therefore I believe it is a different competitiveness ... the Province, for example, promotes this trilingualism, language skills as an instrument for being competitive. ... We believe that promoting global citizenship education can be absolutely integrated with this trilingual project (Provincial representative b, IDCO)

we are very competitive. I want to have a school ... in our schools we are never ashamed of using the term competitiveness. ... Competitiveness should not be about crushing others, competitiveness is to reach higher goals ... it is not the competitiveness of profit, but the competitiveness of excellence (Provincial representative c, EO)

Internationalisation is a very dominant discourse in the Province of Trento. It is identified in the education policy guidelines as a key objective of the provincial education system. Also the provincial guidelines for international development cooperation talk about internationalisation, in particular “responsible internationalisation”. The IDCO talks about an internationalisation that is informed by the principles of international development cooperation and GCE, and therefore has a human face, as this provincial representative underlines:

it is an internationalisation, ... that is guided by this paradigm of global citizenship education. It is an internationalisation that respects ... rights, diversities, the environment, cultures. And therefore we need ... coherence of the policies, of the international economic development policies, so the promotion of our territory from the economic point of view ... needs to be in harmony with the thinking of international development cooperation ... the approach must not be that of colonialism, but an approach of relations, of exchange, also from the economic point of view, but respectful of a particular frame (Provincial representative b)

The question that can be raised however, is whether the economic/business internationalisation pursued by the Province will be coherent with the objectives of international development cooperation and GCE. Or rather, it is going to be the other way around, and international
development cooperation and GCE will become instruments to further the economic internationalisation of the Province. While the narrative of the IDCO suggests that GCE may become a frame that provides a new meaning to the internationalisation of Trentino, if we look at the newly established organisational structure of the Province, we may fear that the direction is another. The IDCO, in fact, has been incorporated within the International Activities Department of the Province, whose primary aim is the promotion of the internationalisation (economic/business, tourism, research and innovation) of the Province. Moreover, the priorities of the education system are clearly framed in terms of enhancing the internationalisation and economic development of the Province. In this context, how will GCE inform the internationalisation of Trentino? Could it be that if the concept of GCE is indeed widely adopted by the Province, it will be more likely interpreted as building the competences of young people to be the economic ambassadors of Trentino in the world?

6. Conclusions
This chapter has illustrated the extent to which GCE permeates the perspectives and policies of the Province of Trento. The presence of the EC funded “Global schools” project has facilitated engagement at the national level and has played a significant role in raising awareness about GCE in the provincial government, in the local schools, and more widely in the local area. It has contributed to the creation of a local constituency of people that became aware of GCE and active in its promotion.

During the course of this research, a few timid policy changes were introduced by the Province of Trento to facilitate the integration of GCE in school practice. An explicit reference to the global dimension of citizenship is now contained in the provincial education law, and global citizenship has therefore become one of the objectives of the provincial schooling system. A group of experts has been established to analyse the provincial curricular guidelines of the first cycle of education and suggest ways to strengthen a global citizenship perspective transversal to all subjects. The current provincial curricular guidelines, in fact, do not provide a curricular scaffold to GCE. The guidelines talk about citizenship and prescribe a mandatory citizenship education curriculum, but this is framed as a ‘traditional’ civics curriculum. Dominant themes are the value of rules, the rule of law and legal education, and an emphasis on socialising young people to be well behaved and cooperative students in school so that in the future they may become ‘good citizens’ in society. In the provincial curricular guidelines there are some references to concepts, topics and perspectives related to GCE in the geography and history curricula. But these two curricula while they open possibilities to provide a global citizenship perspective, they also foreclose moves towards critical approaches. Overall the concepts of global citizenship and GCE are not explicitly adopted and used to provide a global perspective to citizenship education and to the other curricular subjects. In the curricular guidelines, the global, citizenship and education are disconnected.

The timid policy changes introduced in the legislation are important steps towards the embedment of GCE in school practice. Yet, this chapter has highlighted how the Province of Trento is not a monolithic entity that embraced GCE and cohesively pursued the integration of GCE in the curriculum. Rather, different offices within the Province played different roles and equally displayed different priorities and agendas. The way GCE is conceptualised and translated into policy by the Province of Trento reveals the tensions between the different visions and perspectives. On the one hand, GCE is considered a new framing paradigm of international
development cooperation that can facilitate an understanding of international relations in terms of rights and relationships between citizens, rather than aid relations based on need. Within this perspective, GCE is seen as an educational priority, necessary to build the competences that citizens, particularly children and young people, need to understand global dynamics and move in this interconnected and interdependent world in a responsible and sustainable manner. On the other hand, GCE is seen as an academic label irrelevant for a school system that is focused on a traditional citizenship education, and an idea of citizenship strongly linked to a concept of local identity. An attention to global competences in this perspective is associated with a discourse that foregrounds the future employability of students and the economic gains for the Province itself.

Two diverging visions of GCE and two different instrumentalist agendas seem to permeate the policies of the Province, “a global social justice instrumentalism” on the one hand and a “technical-economic instrumentalism” (Marshall, 2011) on the other hand. Yet, these perspectives and agendas are not completely divergent within the provincial policies but rather converge through a dominant discourse that focuses on excellence and competitiveness, and on internationalisation. The key question is then how these visions and priorities are picked up by schools and therefore influence the way GCE is conceptualised and practiced by teachers.
Chapter Five: Profile of Global Citizenship Education in the Local Schools

1. Introduction
The previous chapter has outlined how GCE is interpreted by provincial decision-makers and key stakeholders, and the position it has in the curricular guidelines and more broadly in the provincial policies. This chapter focuses on the profile that GCE has in the schools included in the research. It starts by looking at the extent to which the term GCE is used in the schools. It describes the marginality that characterises GCE in the schools studied outlining how GCE is essentially an invisible presence. The chapter underlines how GCE is not an educational imperative, but rather a choice. It is characterised by the personal and self-made effort of a few motivated and committed teachers. The chapter highlights the importance of leadership and peer support, and ends with an outline of the profile of the teachers that engage in GCE.

2. Use of the term Global Citizenship Education
The term GCE is not generally adopted in the schools studied. During the interviews it became clear that many of the teachers were not familiar with the concept of GCE, and this term was hardly used in their schools and in their classrooms:

I was intrigued by this topic [GCE], because here we do not use the word global citizenship, only citizenship education, so I wanted to understand what this global thing is (Teacher 18, school D, math and science)

many things are done, but they are not always recognised . . . with this term [GCE] (Teacher 16, school F, humanities)

Only recently, the schools that participated in the EC funded “Global Schools” project, adopted the term GCE and included a reference to it in their three-year plans (M. Camatta, personal communication, 22nd June 2018). A clear distinction, therefore, emerges between the schools that participated in the “Global Schools” project and thorough it they were exposed to and became familiar with the concept of GCE, and those that were not involved in the project. Indeed the participation in the “Global Schools” project is perceived as a key element that facilitated the inclusion of the term GCE in the school plans, as these two teachers explain:

recently we approved the three-year school plan . . . from this school, three teachers plus the vicariate of the manager participated in this course on GCE, . . . so then we included in an article of the school plan something that has to do with it; GCE is thus mentioned for the first time in our school plan (Teacher 5, school C, humanities)

no, the term GCE was not used before [participating in the Global Schools project]. We wrote the new school plan . . . now it's inserted . . . Until now the term GCE was not used; . . . [in the plan] it is related above all, but not exclusively, to the intercultural sphere and therefore to the activities that can be done in the field of interculture (Teacher 20, school B, humanities)
The terms generally used in the schools studied are citizenship education and intercultural education. Teachers acknowledge that in today’s context, citizenship education needs to assume a global perspective and while one teacher stressed that GCE may be a new fashionable label, the teachers interviewed in general felt comfortable with this term and believed that it captures the importance of adjusting citizenship education to the reality of a global world.

I have the impression that in society there is a hunger for new acronyms, or new labels. To me it's ok, actually it is a label that I believe can work ... we started to use this label this year, we started to work on it this year (Teacher 20, school B, humanities).

citizenship, yes, yes, [I use it] also because I am fond of citizenship education. Global citizenship, probably, actually, I have not used it consciously, but I definitely do it, that is, I try to expand the concept as much as possible ... because I am particularly interested in ... the problems of the Global South, ... and therefore I am widening, broadening, pushing back the boundaries [of citizenship] (Teacher 3, school I, humanities)

During the interviews the teachers used the terms citizenship education, intercultural education and GCE interchangeably, without perceiving or making explicit the differences in meaning that these terms convey. The overlap between these concepts emerged not only from a terminologically point of view, but also in terms of concrete teaching practice (see chap. 6). Only one teacher, an activist in a local NGO with a lot of experience in GCE, provided an historical perspective whereby GCE is perceived as a new broad concept that encompasses also intercultural education, global education, peace education and citizenship education.

in these three decades ... before we talked about intercultura [intercultural education], coming into contact with other cultures, respect for others, then mondialità [global education], therefore opening up to the world, problems that are not specific, or that arise here and have repercussions at the global level, or what is far away has repercussions at the local level. So, ... intercultura, mondialità, at the same time peace education, then, from a certain moment onwards, we began to talk about citizenship education, or global citizenship, which ... includes all this in my opinion. So, ... there was an evolution, in my opinion ... and therefore also schooling, that addresses all this, ... has gone through a process that led to talking today about global citizenship education (Teacher 1, school I, humanities)

Despite the absence of the term GCE from their vocabulary, when prompted to discuss what of their teaching practice could be captured by the concept of GCE, all the teachers were forthcoming with different experiences and examples that gave particular connotations to their understanding of GCE and in turn to their practice in this area (see chap. 6 and 7).

3. The marginality of Global Citizenship Education

GCE is a marginal presence in the school studied. It is essentially an individual choice, is generally invisible and is characterised by the personal and self-made effort of a few motivated and committed teachers.

3.1 Global Citizenship Education as a choice, not an educational imperative

GCE is now included in the three-year plans of some schools, but the inclusion of a reference to GCE in the school plans does not translate into a clear imperative to integrate it into teaching practice as a gap remains between the broad intentions of the school plans and what is then spelled out in the curricula and in the timetable. The curricula developed by the schools, in fact, follow
the provincial guidelines and therefore do not have a dedicated GCE curriculum, nor they include
an explicit global citizenship dimension transversal to the curriculum of the other subjects:

No, currently GCE is not in our curricula. It is a very big subject and probably also an aspect of education
that should be addressed . . . and that still is not done and, in some way, we should raise the issue of
allocating to it a few hours in the curriculum, in the curricula that currently are followed in the school
and try to slip this thing [GCE] in. I think this is important (Teacher 5, school C, humanities)

I think . . . that here many people are sensitive to it [GCE]. . . . Maybe global citizenship education has
not yet been systematized in the work plans of the school nor is made explicit in the curriculum, but we
will get there (Teacher 15, school D, humanities)

As a result, GCE remains at the margin and is not done systematically. Some of the teachers
interviewed are optimistic, but their perspectives suggest also that the embedment of GCE in the
curriculum is a very slow process:

it [GCE] is done at school, however . . . it is not done yet systematically, I don’t think that this opening
to global citizenship has really been adopted yet as the foundation of all subjects, right? . . . But we are
heading there, . . . even though we set off a while ago . . . we are still not there yet (Teacher 9, school I,
foreign language)

GCE has not yet entered in a significant way into our daily work. It is always seen, a little at the side-
lines, at the margin . . . there is still be a lot to be done in the school, perhaps we need to really break up
the current curriculum. . . . It [GCE] is somehow there, but not yet how it should be, . . . maybe we will
slowly get there (Teacher 16, school F, humanities)

Overall, in the schools studied, GCE is not yet perceived as a priority nor as an educational
imperative to be addressed by all teachers. It is rather a choice and therefore teachers make up
their own mind of whether to do it or not:

here I think global citizenship education is very much left to the personal initiative of teachers, because
it is true that the curriculum "allows it", but . . . I use the space in the curriculum to put many of these
things [GCE topics and activities] in, but, really . . . you can also not do it at all (Teacher 2, school I,
humanities)

you have to be . . . in a certain way, you teacher, you have to feel attracted to certain topics [GCE issues],
and have the will to share them with the students, not all of them [teachers] do it. I know it . . . everything
is very much left to the teacher, to how you, teacher, understand your work (Teacher 5, school C,
humanities)

It is very varied, so there are sensitive teachers, teachers who believe in this global citizenship education
approach, believe in these ideals, believe in wanting to educate pupils in a certain way. Then there are
teachers who say yes, I agree, . . . and then they don’t do it. And there are teachers who don’t even
believe in it and therefore it is difficult to bring consistency . . . we sometimes share with colleagues but
it is a bit left to the person . . . the teacher . . . maybe someone does it [GCE] more, someone does it less
(Teacher 16, school F, humanities)

3.2 The invisible presence of Global Citizenship Education
In the schools studied, GCE is essentially a choice and is also an invisible presence. Generally, it
is not formally and explicitly discussed at school, as the teachers interviewed reported that there
are no spaces and opportunities for them to debate what GCE means, what giving a global
dimension to citizenship education implies, or how it can be translated into pedagogical practice.

A formal structure that in some of the schools studied provides a forum to discuss and promote
GCE is the Interculture Commission\textsuperscript{16}. Although primarily focused on the reception and inclusion
of foreign students in school, as well as monitoring their integration and education results, these
Commissions are also tasked with the promotion of intercultural education addressed to all
students. In some of the schools studied, the Commissions have promoted and organised projects
and activities on GCE topics and in two schools they have played a role in facilitating the training
of teachers on GCE, but overall the energies of these Commissions are focused primarily on the
integration of foreign students:

well, there is an Interculture Commission here at school, . . . which deals mainly with the reception of
the kids, the inclusion of kids who have just arrived from foreign, faraway places. And so there is the
whole aspect of the language to be learned, the inclusion, etc. So, a good part of the commission’s energy
is focused there. But every now and then, there is also an attempt . . . to do intercultural education with
the whole school (Teacher 1, school I, humanities)

And then in this school . . . I am the instrumental figure for interculture . . . I officially take care of . . .
the inclusion . . . the whole process that follows the arrival of a foreign pupil, but then alongside this
work, I propose intercultural awareness and education, activities related to these topics [GCE issues]
through the Intercultural Commission (Teacher 16, school F, humanities)

When the Commissions or the Interculture Representatives that coordinate them, actively propose
continuous professional development courses for teachers on GCE or global
citizenship/intercultural education activities for students, these are not generally assumed by the
whole school, nor taken on board by all teachers. These activities remain confined to the teachers
that are interested, practically those ‘already converted’ to intercultural education and GCE. The
other teachers of the school can ignore the activities proposed by the Commissions and carry on
with ‘business as usual’:

next year, in terms of interculture, we plan to work with XXX [name of an experienced trainer on GCE]
. . . we have already done some courses with her . . . she a bomb, she is fantastic, and so, with XXX
(name of a teacher) who is part of the Commission, XXX (name of another teacher) who is the
Interculture Representative and others from the Commission, we thought that we could propose a
continuous professional development course for all teachers, obviously for those who want, on bringing
it [GCE] into all subjects (Teacher 9, school 1, foreign language)

Within the school we have this Interculture Commission . . . and I try to bring there the rationale for
GCE, as well as topics, courses. So, to disseminate, I bring there what I have learned. And there we did
talk about global education and we also tried to start some activities, some lessons plans. Then the idea
is that . . . the teachers of the Commission will disseminate them and then maybe other teachers . . .
(Teacher 16, school F, humanities)

\textsuperscript{16} The role of this Commission, composed of teachers and coordinated by one or two people with the function of
Interculture Representatives, is primarily to facilitate the inclusion in school of foreign students. The Commission has
the task of defining shared practices for welcoming and facilitating the inclusion of foreign students as well as
monitoring their integration and education results. It focuses primarily on the promotion of the linguistic skills of
foreign students and the facilitation of their educational success. Among its tasks there is also the promotion of
intercultural education addressed to all students.
When I was in XXX [name of a school the teacher was working before] I was the Interculture Representative, therefore I really had the possibility to play a role on interculture. . . . I experienced disappointment because I was proposing educational activities with XXX (name of a local NGO) or with other associations, they were done in class, but the teacher on duty did not participate, . . . the teacher went to the teachers’ room to correct homework . . . the pebble was thrown, then fell and sank. So, maybe even that role [Interculture Representative], in the beginning I really believed in it, after a while, over the years, in short . . . I got a little disappointed (Teacher 7, school A, humanities)

Indeed the confinement of GCE to the ‘already converted’ is perceived as a risk whenever GCE is strongly associated with the interculture work of the school. In this case, there is in fact the danger that GCE is seen as something that is pertinent to the work only of those teachers responsible for teaching the Italian language and providing other types of support to foreign students, as this teacher underlines:

within the interculture project we have as a school, there is also to educate for global citizenship, but with the awareness that . . . it must not be carried out only by those who do L2 [teaching the Italian language to foreign students], or those who deal more directly with these things, but must be transversal and interdisciplinary (Teacher 20, school B, humanities)

The other formal structures present in schools that could play a role in facilitating discussion and sharing on GCE are the Departments, i.e. commissions that include all teachers teaching the same subject across the school, and the Class Councils that include the teachers teaching different subjects in the same class. However, these structures are not perceived as viable and effective spaces for pedagogical discussions and sharing on GCE.

In terms of the Departments, only in one school, the Department of the humanities teachers plays a key role in GCE. In the other schools, generally, teachers perceive that these structures do not provide opportunities for pedagogical discussions and the development of shared educational projects. GCE is not high on the agenda of the Department meetings, which are generally clogged up with administrative issues:

we have a place, a temporal one [the Department], dedicated to teachers of Italian, history and geography, but the proposal to create a working group of Italian, one of history and one of geography to work on this [GCE], at the beginning of the year fell through. . . . On GCE I'm working with another humanities teacher and a math teacher . . . the Department meetings, basically they are used to prepare assessments . . . We have not moved on GCE, at least this year, as a Department (Teacher 20, school B, humanities)

We have Departments, but they are always clogged with tasks related to the identification of common assessments, or the drafting of work plans, and less to the identification of educational projects (Teacher 15, school D, humanities)

And when in the Department meetings there is a discussion on GCE related topics, the exchange between teachers is reduced to information-sharing on projects happening in school or events and activities organised in the local area and that could be interesting for the students to attend:

I think that within the Departments, . . . obviously the teachers are always busy with other things, but, . . . when I go to the Departments, . . . something does emerge, yes, then everyone obviously works with the own style, . . . we look at what is happening in the area, conferences, movies, . . . so the discussion
could be let's bring the kids to the cinema to see this or that. The discussion is about these initiatives, then everyone links to them a lesson, or a project (Teacher 21, school H, humanities)

Similarly, the Class Councils are not spaces where teachers have pedagogical discussions, plan together or develop interdisciplinary projects for the class. Indeed, the majority of the teachers interviewed identified the lack of spaces for joint planning and programming as a key limit in lower secondary schools. The lack of a formal space for joint programming is preventing teachers from linking their work to what other colleagues are doing in the same class, or from jointly addressing particular topics, including GCE ones, from multiple disciplinary perspectives. Class Council meetings deal mainly with bureaucratic tasks, students’ performance and particularly students’ behavioural issues:

a big shortcoming in the school is that there aren’t any moments for joint planning, . . . we meet as Class Council a few times a year, and when we meet it is more to carry out some bureaucratic aspects, like assigning grades or discussing how the class is doing, where there are problems. Instead it would be really useful to meet to find a red thread running through our work, because the pupils engage with a topic a lot more if it is addressed by more teachers, with different voices, with different sensibilities (Teacher 7, school A, humanities)

There is the Class Council . . . however, eight times out of ten, nine times out of ten we talk about urgencies . . . because really, often our attention is more focused on behavioural problems, . . . of the pupils, etc. and not on pedagogical aspects that in most cases are left to the single teacher. This is unfortunately the case (Teacher 3, school I, humanities)

Overall, in the school studied, there are limited spaces and opportunities for teachers to have pedagogical discussions and joint planning. While this limit has an impact on all subjects, it is particularly relevant for citizenship education and GCE, that have a cross-curricular dimension to all subjects, and therefore would benefit from coordinated approaches involving teachers of different subjects.

3.3 Global Citizenship Education as a personal self-made endeavour
GCE is not demanded by the curriculum, and is not formally discussed and debated in formal spaces. In the school involved in the research, GCE is essentially characterised by a personal, rather than a whole-school approach.

None of the schools studied have permanent GCE school projects or initiatives:

there are GCE projects but they are not institutional projects, they are projects, born from the imagination . . . of some teachers that carry them forward, sometimes even independently (Teacher 12, school E, Humanities)

Only in a few schools, the teachers interviewed, often in collaboration with a few like-minded colleagues, promoted over the years ad hoc projects on GCE topics that involved more than one class. As we will see in chap. 7, section 4.1, designing and delivering specific GCE projects is a key modality used by teachers to integrate GCE in their practice. It is perceived by teachers as a very effective way to address GCE topics from multiple disciplinary perspectives, and it also increases the visibility of GCE activities in the school. However, these projects are not whole school activities that all teachers are required to join, but rather ad hoc initiatives of a few
Motivated and committed teachers that share global citizenship values, have similar views on GCE topics and work well together:

"The impetus for interdisciplinary projects on global citizenship comes from different parts, from me, from other teachers, . . . what is important is to have as an objective the recognition of certain values [GCE values]. . . . if you don't find colleagues who want to promote the same values, it is difficult to succeed. Then there are also other reasons, as interdisciplinary projects involve much planning, before, during, and even later, so obviously there is not always the availability of colleagues . . . so first of all the availability, then the uniformity of views and being in tune with one another also count a lot." (Teacher 10, school D, Catholic religion)

In the schools studied, GCE is essentially, not only an individual choice, but also a personal self-made endeavour by a few people. These teachers are essentially left alone and are not supported by their schools in terms of developing a strategy on GCE or providing specific pedagogical support. GCE is essentially characterised by a “do-it-yourself” approach.

"So . . . what I am doing is a little bit of a ‘do-it-yourself’, right? . . . I really have to make do . . . and this is a shame because we want to really rely on this global citizenship education, but then we fall on the concrete . . . so many topics, beautiful, urgent but then how do I approach them in class? I think that everybody is sort of managing by himself, right? Everybody is making do with the best he/she can . . . I feel a bit ‘in deficit’ in terms of tools . . . If there was some strategy . . . I would be happier, even to know if what I am doing is right." (Teacher 12, school E, humanities)

Overall, the research highlights that the school studied do not pursue yet a whole school approach to GCE but rather leave it to the personal initiative of a few interested and motivated teachers. These teachers receive very limited support.

4. Global Citizenship Education and the Importance of Leadership and Peer Support

The support and leadership of the school manager is generally considered an important factor for the integration of GCE into teaching practice. Two provincial representatives in particular stressed the key role that the school managers play in providing leadership on GCE and supporting motivated and committed teachers. School managers can facilitate opportunities for teachers to experiment, as well as create spaces for teachers to work together and share:

"I believe that a key role is played by the school manager. If there were more school managers . . . well, convinced about GCE at the level of principles perhaps there are, but there are few who really support the implementation, . . . that give teachers recognised moments to meet, . . . the possibility to be more flexible with the timetable, the space, the mobilisation of the classes (Member of expert group 1).

The role of the manager for me is fundamental in supporting these teachers and also in helping them to spread this mentality, because if a teacher feels alone, it is very difficult . . . if instead there is help from a manager who begins to bring these issues into the school, . . . who supports certain activities, I think it is possible to work more." (Provincial representative d)

One teacher voiced her need for the school manager to take a leading role on providing clarity on GCE and developing a strategy to support the implementation of GCE through the provision of professional development courses for all teachers, the development of whole school projects in collaboration with local civil society organisations, and the adoption of particular textbooks:
precisely because we are still in a phase - I would not say of confusion - but in a phase where everything is too vast and we need to give it some order, and we need... to spread the message... and there must be synergy among all the teachers, first of all, the school manager must have a clear idea of what global citizenship education means, and then possibly propose professional development courses, or the implementation of projects coming from institutions, associations, ... or even adopt textbooks that have a section or that deal with these topics (Teacher 12, school E, Humanities)

The role of the school manager is certainly very important. However, in the schools studied, there is not a clear-cut correlation between endorsement of GCE by the school manager and presence in the school of a community of teachers supportive of and engaged in GCE.

On the one hand, in a number of the schools studied, the manager endorses GCE and provides an impetus to experiment with it, but not all teachers feel compelled to do it and therefore the teachers engaged in GCE feel quite isolated in their work:

[the status of GCE in school is] germinal, that is, there is a gem, we need to see if it evolves or if it remains something of the few, just put there. Institutionally there is a great openness and willingness on the part of the school manager, and maybe sometimes also a curiosity. I have to say though that with some of my colleagues... it is a bit more difficult... there is a certain reluctance, or a certain wait-and-see attitude (Teacher 20, school B, Humanities)

And from the point of view of the school, the school manager is open [to GCE].... I have discussed it with her several times... and, well, she has given me the opportunity to carry on the projects or... the ideas I had. And this is important... to have this support, or the fact that, yes, you are understood and... importance is given to these issues. But then there are colleagues who belittle... there is still so much to do in the school (Teacher 16, school F, Humanities)

On the other hand, a community of teachers engaged in GCE was noted in a school where the teachers perceived no endorsement or support for the concept by the school manager. These teachers felt part of a group of peers that works well together and benefits from the informal leadership of a teacher with the motivation, and competence to support colleagues interested in opening up their teaching to the global dimension of citizenship education. This community essentially coincides with the Department of the humanities teachers and has been a driver of much of the GCE work carried out by the school:

certainly, at the level of the school... of the management, of the distribution of funds, ... GCE is not so much a priority, not so much, actually not at all. Yes, there is a kind of involvement in this case. What remains is really the personal initiative, which is never personal, it is often a group's initiative, of a group of peers, that is a group of teachers. Lately, it was above all the commission of the colleagues teaching humanities that has... proposed every year a global citizenship education project... on themes such as... child labour, globalization, North South imbalance, peace education (Teacher 1, school I, Humanities)

there is a strong team, that knows each other for years, works together for years and... we have XXX [name of a teacher] that... brings an added value to the school, in the sense that... in global citizenship education, she has many skills, a lot of knowledge and she shares everything. XXX [name of a teacher] gave an input to talk about these things, but then it is very personal... it is very much left to the personal initiative of the teachers (Teacher 2, school I, Humanities)
4.1 Isolation versus peer support

In the majority of the schools, the teachers that were initially identified and invited to participate in the research were not in the position to suggest or involve other colleagues. Only in two schools, the teachers initially contacted managed to engage a significant number of colleagues, whom they believed had an interest in GCE and experience with it. This difference is related to the perceived level of support that teachers have for their GCE work from the school and in particular from their colleagues. It is therefore indicative of the level of isolation or rather peer support that the teachers experience in their schools.

The majority of the teachers interviewed experience a certain level of isolation. This was noted where the concept is not high on the agenda of the school, but also where teachers perceive an endorsement of GCE by the school manager. Isolation results in the fact that teachers tend to engage with GCE themes and topics mainly in the "isolated" spaces of their classrooms and subjects. They do it alone or with the occasional sharing of ideas and resources with a few like-minded colleagues:

I think that 99% of my projects . . . I implement them autonomously . . . that is me alone (Teacher 12, school E, Humanities)

It's difficult because you often clash with colleagues who belittle it [GCE], so it is not always easy for me to organize . . . activities with my colleagues. Then, fortunately, there are also a few teachers with whom I can collaborate, work and we have done different activities. We have a common vision (Teacher 16, school F, Humanities).

Isolation means also that the teachers interviewed often do not have the opportunity to develop GCE projects that involve multiple subjects and therefore collaboration with colleagues. Some of the teachers expressed a lot of frustration about the lack of interest and availability of colleagues to work together on multidisciplinary GCE projects:

Sometimes . . . I launch . . . an idea . . . but my colleagues, I see that they snort. And then, for a moment, well, I think, I do it anyway, I do it alone . . . I had met some guys from XXX [country from the Global South] who are asylum seekers here, and I would have liked to bring them to our school, because they were young people . . . and it really seemed to me that for grade three students, with whom we had addressed certain issues, it could have been really of help. But . . . maybe because I had just arrived in the school, the colleagues, a bit even the school manager . . . well, they stopped me on this, and then . . . in short, I could not do it (Teacher 7, school A, Humanities)

I would love if it [GCE] was more shared . . . by the school, even by colleagues . . . not everyone is always very supportive. . . . I really care about these issues and I will continue to deal with them in my subjects. When I find someone willing to collaborate . . . well, there is a bit of indifference from some colleagues, and others say: "Well yes, all right, global citizenship is an important issue but there are also others", and then they go on their own way (Teacher 17, school D, Humanities)

However, the barriers that limit collaboration and teamwork are not only related to the personal characteristics of the teachers but are rather institutional, because as already outlined, there are very limited formal and structured spaces for teachers to plan, work together, share practices and materials:

there should be more the habit of team work . . . because it works much better when on issues like these [GCE issues], you can also work with colleagues, addressing them from different disciplinary
perspectives... Not always this is present, either because there are no spaces, the physical time to say we sit down, we plan together, we research, or because it is still very often dependent on individual interest and availability (Teacher 13, school D, Humanities)

Overall, in the schools studied, the teachers identified the support of peers as a key factors in facilitating and enriching their GCE work:

My school context, yes, facilitates my work on global citizenship education... Well, we have a school where there are many teachers, I talk about the humanities teachers, who have been working here for quite a while, we all have many different skills, because XXX (name of colleague)... works with XXX (name of a local NGO) and brings some role-playing games, there is a colleague who does animated reading... and therefore, the fact that there is a group that has worked for years, allows us to share experiences, skills. So, yes, it is very important for me to stay in a school where we know each other and we can count on each other for this work [GCE work] (Teacher 2, school I, Humanities)

The teachers that feel part of a group of peers support each other with ideas and pedagogical skills and materials. Being part of a group of like-minded teachers stimulates motivation, curiosity and passion:

a person like XXX (name of a former colleague), well, we were on the same wave, so we exchanged, I felt comfortable and supported... we were a group... well, in terms of interculture... we always exchanged... we had curiosity, then you would ask: “what do you do? What do you think?”... when one discovered an issue, she would discuss it with the others (Teacher 21, school H, Humanities)

in the lower secondary school of XXX [name of location], I met XXX [name of a teacher],... XXX [name of another teacher], colleagues who then became friends, and we planned together, also outside the institutional hours, because there was just a passion for these topics [GCE topics], a desire to address them (Teacher 7, school A, Humanities)

The importance of peer support was stressed also by a provincial officer who emphasized the key role that motivated and committed teachers can do to raise the awareness of other teachers about GCE and bring them on board:

It's really the work... within schools, of those teachers who have the sensitivity and capacity to do it and who are slowly moving in the right way and are able to bring colleagues with them (Provincial representative d)

Overall, the leadership of the school manager is perceived as fundamental to give visibility, provide clarity and guidance and create the conditions for motivated and committed teachers to experiment and ‘contaminate’ colleagues. However, the presence of a group of interested and motivated teachers able to support each other is equally important to turn GCE into reality and facilitate its integration into teaching practice.

5. Profile of the teachers engaged in Global Citizenship Education

A distinctive profile of the teachers that engage with GCE emerges from the research and relates to five key dimensions: a) Teaching subject; b) Experience and confidence; c) Background; d) Motivation; e) Interpretation of the role.
5.1 Teaching subject

Despite the fact that an explicit criteria of this research was the involvement of teachers of different subjects, as outlined in chapter 3, the majority of the teachers identified and interviewed (62%) teach humanities (Italian, History and Geography). In the schools studied, it is predominantly the humanities teachers that are striving to bring a global citizenship dimension to their teaching practice. This finding is in line with the analysis conducted by the Expert group:

generally the teachers that try most to include the global dimension are those of Italian, history and geography, . . . of the humanities. Mathematics and science less, perhaps someone is particularly attentive . . . to environmental issues. . . . But in general they are the teachers of the humanities subjects. Not all of them, though! (Member of expert group 1)

It can be explained by the fact that the curriculum of the humanities explicitly addresses GCE topics (geography in particular) or presents a broad scope (Italian) or easy hook-ups (history) for integrating GCE in the teaching practice (see chap. 7, section 4.3). This is recognised by the humanities teachers interviewed, who consider their subjects particularly conducive to addressing global citizenship issues:

it's easy to find hook-ups, there isn't a curriculum, but global citizenship education topics are touched day by day, and several times a day, because . . . clearly the curricula of my subjects are not an obstacle, far from . . . certainly, compared to me, it is more difficult for the mathematics colleague, it is obvious, but the curriculum of Italian, history and geography certainly favours tackling these issues (Teacher 5, school C, Humanities)

regarding what I can propose in my subjects [Italian, history and geography], . . . absolutely, my subjects offer a huge scope (Teacher 2, school I, Humanities)

Then my subjects [Italian, history and geography] lend themselves well [to GCE], they are ideal . . . they are subjects that lend themselves very well (Teacher 16, school F, Humanities)

my subjects, I think, they are privileged, . . . the work you can do is to choose those contents that are more generative of thought in this sense [global citizenship] . . . my subjects . . . are privileged (Teacher 13, school D, Humanities)

I really care about addressing these issues [GCE issues], and I will continue to address them, in my subjects, . . . then it is clear that there are those subjects that lend themselves more and those that lend themselves less (Teacher 17, school D, Humanities)

However, some of the humanities teachers interviewed also stressed that although their subjects lend themselves particularly well to addressing global citizenship topics, the very nature of these topics and indeed of GCE, calls for a multidisciplinary perspective and, if teachers are open to it, hook-ups to the curriculum of other subjects can be easily found:

then I realise that I may be in contradiction with myself, because if GCE is an interdisciplinary thing, then everyone should take it on, but, it must also be said, that it is more related in some way to history and geography (Teacher 20, school B, Humanities)

In terms of my subjects [humanities], yes, I think you can do it [GCE] easily, maybe it's a bit more difficult to do it in the other subjects, but, well . . . art . . . is in the whole world, music is a universal language, . . . math, well it is difficult, but . . . in science you can really address many of today's problems . . . I don't know, I think it is really possible, if one wants (Teacher 21, school H, Humanities)
Indeed, one of the mathematics teachers interviewed is very committed to global citizenship issues and manages to integrate them in her teaching:

many of these global citizenship themes are perhaps more within the remit of humanities, therefore I have to find a little a hook-up to my own subject (Teacher 11, school G, Maths and Science)

Another factor facilitating humanities teachers is that, especially when they teach all three humanities subjects (Italian, history and geography) in the same class, they have a substantial number of hours in that particular class (11-12 hours per week) and therefore have more scope to “juggle” with the timetable of the three subjects to address global citizenship topics and facilitate discussions. This “juggling” is a key modality used by teachers to integrate GCE in their teaching practice. Hence, the possibility to teach all three humanities subjects in the same class is perceived by teachers as a significant enabling element:

for example today . . . they had to do some reflections and they prepared some power points . . . on racism . . . not just whites and blacks but . . . any form of prejudice against any diversity . . . today officially, according to the timetable, I had to explain geography, but I wanted to discuss their power points . . . on these topics . . . So, officially I didn't do geography . . . but it's not true, because we talked about racism, where it comes from, how it developed, South Africa, America . . . Well, I did geography (Teacher 8, school I, Humanities)

5.2 Experience and confidence
As outlined in chapter 3, the majority of the teachers interviewed has between 11 – 20 years of teaching experience (47%), followed by those that have between 21 – 30 years (21%). The research shows that in the schools studied, the teachers that engage in GCE are in the middle of their careers. While this can be explained by the fact that in Italy the majority of teachers are in the middle of their careers, a distinctive feature emerges from the empirical data of this research. The teachers that engage with GCE are not only experienced, but also have the confidence to integrate GCE in their teaching, despite the absence of a GCE curriculum, or an explicit global citizenship dimension in the curriculum of the other subjects. These experienced teachers have the confidence to “manoeuvre” the curriculum of their subjects to address global citizenship and “defend” their choices. Indeed, as we will see in chapter 7, section 4.3, “manoeuvring” the curriculum and making explicit choices in terms of topics to address in class are a key modality used by teachers to reconcile GCE with their competency-based curriculum:

I did not do it in the first years, now I feel the need to do it [address GCE controversial issues] . . . I have been teaching for 19 years, in the same school on a permanent basis for 10, I think I can defend my choices in front of the parents, and I do it. I understand that for some colleagues, who may have to change school every year, they are perhaps more intimidated by the actions of the families . . . and they struggle to think that they can defend a choice like this, which may not please parents . . . Over the years, I have built my armour to defend myself and to defend my choices, not everybody does it (Teacher 2, school I, Humanities)

The research suggests that engaging with GCE is the result of a process, a journey that brings teachers to more consciously and explicitly integrate a global citizenship perspective in their practice:
I realize that now I give more space to these topics [GCE topics], but surely it is a process for us teachers too, that is, I am on a research journey, . . . because maybe in the first years . . . I somehow did it unsciously, because of my educational background, my personal interest, but not because I consciously wanted to do it . . . Now my doing global citizenship education has become more and more a conscious choice (Teacher 3, school I, Humanities)

in recent years, it [GCE] is more embedded in my teaching . . . in my teaching there is more sensitivity and more attention to a connection to the world . . . various issues linked to being a citizen, a responsible citizen, the environment, interculture, respect (Teacher 16, school F, Humanities)

5.3 Background: interculture, international development, community work

A defining characteristic of the majority of the teachers interviewed is that they have a background in interculture, international development or community work. They have matured experiences, in school and often also outside it, in these areas and have a particular sensitivity or attention for issues related to diversity, multiculturalism, the Global South, social justice and citizenship.

Interculture is the experience mostly shared by the teachers interviewed. Approximately half of them explicitly mentioned the fact that they are currently or have been in the past Interculture Representatives, members of the Interculture Commission, or linguistic facilitators for foreign students. These teachers clearly identified their interest in diversity and multiculturalism, and their experience of working on the inclusion of foreign students in school as key factors connected to their efforts to integrate GCE in their teaching practice.

I followed a yearlong course organised by the province on these issues [the inclusion of foreign students] . . . focused on teaching Italian as a foreign language, . . . on mediation, facilitation, . . . inclusion . . . And then the people that followed this course became the Representatives for interculture in the various schools. . . . So since then, I officially take care of interculture within this school, . . . of the whole process that follows the arrival of a foreign pupil, but then alongside this work. I also propose intercultural awareness and education (Teacher 16, school F, Humanities)

I am a linguistic facilitator for foreign students, especially first immigration. . . . I did a facilitator course organized by the province. . . . Globalization, foreigners, citizenship are all topics that interest me and on which I work every day (Teacher 21, school H, Humanities)

Secondly, more than one third of the teachers interviewed talked about their activism in NGOs and/or engagement in voluntary work. Experiencing different contexts or engaging with people that are working in international development and global justice are considered by these teachers as significant experiences that shaped their interest in GCE issues and their motivation to address them with their students. Many of these teachers combine these experiences with their active engagement in school on interculture:

I changed because I had the opportunity to live experiences, sometimes thanks to the school . . . but much more out of my personal choices outside the school, which allowed me to come into contact with the reality of the Global South, to come into contact with local associations, . . . working in the Global South, . . . and therefore I could . . . establish relationships with people who had walked much more than me and therefore I understood that doing intercultural education with my students was fundamental. . . . I remember many steps, with XXX [name of a local peace organization], with XXX that is the local NGO I belong to, also experimenting some training courses with XXX [name of a national NGO active on GCE] (Teacher 1, school I, Humanities)
I had experiences in many associations, because I am involved with XXX [name of a national NGO]. I also collaborate with environmental associations, so these are issues that I feel in my personal life and so I want to bring them to school (Teacher 2, school I, Humanities)

Some of the teachers talked about experiences of voluntary work in post-conflict situations or countries of the Global South. The framing they used to make sense of them was quite critical. The teachers in fact did not conceptualise these experiences through the usual voluntary work frames of 'helping' or 'imparting' knowledge and know-how. But rather they considered them as opportunities for 'relating', 'understanding' and 'learning':

it also depends on your background . . . I feel lucky because . . . I was able to do some voluntary work, meet many special people . . . in Albania . . . we worked with the Kosovars in a refugee camp. And then the year after I went to Kosovo . . . so I got to know the people there too, so I have no prejudices either on the Albanians or on the Serbs, because I lived the history of the war in Kosovo, from both sides . . . And then, the following year, . . . in Brazil and . . . there . . . I met the Sem Terra, the whole movement. . . . I was lucky, really . . . So, for me, it is impossible not to speak about these issues with my students . . . it is so much inside me (Teacher 7, school A, Humanities)

I've done some voluntary work in Africa . . . I went there . . . to engage in a process of sharing more than doing voluntary work, as I wanted to see, to understand, to relate to another reality . . . And then a little later I heard that there was the opportunity to do a Master degree on these topics . . . it was quite demanding. because it lasted two years . . . and we did an internship and I went to Brazil . . . And so I also had a chance to relate to a reality completely different from that of Africa, but more linked to schooling. And even there, in short, I became aware of various dynamics, various issues and then, when I returned, I asked myself, what . . . and how . . . could be transmitted to young people (Teacher 16, school F, Humanities)

Third, the other teachers did not explicitly talk about their experiences in either interculture, the Global South or NGOs. Some of them talked about being active in community-based organizations, or associations working on environmental issues.

Overall, the background of the teachers interviewed suggests that they have a keen interest in issues related to diversity, multiculturalism, the Global South, social justice and the environment. Many of them have also translated this interest into activism or at least engagement with local groups, campaigns, and associations and organisations working on these issues.

5.4 Motivation: sensitivity, interest for the topics, passion
Irrespective of their background and experiences, all the teachers interviewed are motivated by a particular sensitivity for global justice issues. The teachers emphasised not only a cognitive interest in these issues but often also a socio-emotional bond and a concern for them that characterises their personal life. These interest and sensitivity for global justice translate into an urge to address these issues in their work, therefore searching for suitable ways to incorporate them in their teaching:

In the last ten years I began to feel a strong need in me, to talk about these issues with my students . . . they are issues that I feel in my personal life and so I want to bring them to school (I Teacher 2, school I, Humanities)

I realize that I'm giving space to these topics . . . because I'm particularly interested in the issues faced by the Global South (Teacher 3, school I, Humanities)
in this phase of my life they are issues [migration, illegal employment and exploitation of migrants, new forms of slavery] that I feel particularly strong about. . . . They are issues I deeply care about and therefore I work a lot on them with my students (Teacher 11, school G, Maths and Science)

I have always been quite attracted, interested in these issues, these topics. During my first years of teaching I did a Master's degree related to them, . . . I did some voluntary work in Africa, in short, I have always been sensitive to these issues and my idea was always . . . to become a teacher and therefore I always thought about how to bring this passion, this interest into the school, into my teaching (Teacher 16, school F, Humanities).

Passion for global justice issues is perceived by teachers as a driver of their work, but also as a key factor that stimulates students’ interest. Showing their genuine concern and passion for these issues, according to the teachers, ensures students’ attention and participation in class:

And then I realized something very important, that is, they [the students] understand if the person . . . who can be me, or a trainer, or an external expert, in short, whoever is there in that moment, lives deeply the things proposed. They have a great sensitivity for this, they easily perceive it (Teacher 1, school I, Humanities)

if you manage to transfer your passion for what you are explaining . . . you make it clear that what you are saying is important to you, that you believe in it. If you do not believe in it, they don’t believe in it either. . . . And then they will play . . . battleship and tic-tac-toe and they will never . . . understand the importance of what you are telling them and they will not have assimilated anything of what you told them (Teacher 6, school E, Technology)

They are also very sensitive to how you transmit, if you put enthusiasm . . . if you have a passion for what you do, . . . for the topic you are addressing (Teacher 16, school F, Humanities)

5.5 Interpretation of role: moral duty to mould future citizens
Many of the teachers interviewed have a particular way to interpret their job which places a strong emphasis on a teacher’s moral duty to help students understand today’s global world:

Personally I believe that globality . . . this global approach is a necessity for today’s students . . . even the youngest children need to deal right away with topics that concern the global world . . . I really consider it a moral duty of the teacher (Teacher 15, school D, Humanities)

Several teachers emphasised that the students will be tomorrow’s citizens and therefore need to be exposed to global justice issues in order that in the future they may become aware and responsible citizens. Students tend to be seen as “a fertile ground” where the right seeds can be planted. They are seen as “very receptive and easy to influence”. In this perspective the teacher’s role is to foster “future citizens with certain characteristics”. Essentially, students are not considered citizens yet but are rather seen as “citizens in the making” with the teacher playing a key role in this making:

I understood that doing intercultural education with my students was essential for their personal growth, because they will become adults, indeed they will become future citizens (Teacher 1, school I, Humanities)

it is a phase, lower secondary school, which many teachers find scary, but I really like it because there is a lot of fertile ground and so, I really think we can put many seeds in these kids, and this is something I feel very strongly about (Teacher 2, school I, Humanities)
I asked myself, what... and how... could be transmitted to young people, who are... very receptive, who are at an age when we can also influence them, ... foster... future citizens with certain characteristics, right? (Teacher 16, school F, Humanities)

Another strong theme that emerged in teacher’s interpretation of their role is a sense of seeing oneself as a model for students, which means demonstrating coherence between what one says and what one does. Teachers related this coherence to their efforts to foster in students a global citizenship outlook free from prejudices:

and get involved, even personally, because you cannot propose in a class a topic, like for example responsible choices if then, there is not also the example. It is not that you can only get involved at the theoretical level... there are indeed kids who want to test you from the personal point of view, on the consistency between what you say and what you do, ... on topical issues that can create conflict in society, not only among kids, or anyway that can create discussion (Teacher 10, school D, Catholic Religion)

today's students, in my opinion, ... need guides ... guides that are not contradictory, ... if I say something, then I do it, that is, if I say to behave in a certain way, ... this applies to everything, right? ... Coherence is valid for everything, not just for global citizenship education (Teacher 16, school F, Humanities)

The importance of leading by example was also strongly associated with imparting discipline and fostering appropriate and respectful behaviour in both school and more generally in society. This, as outlined in chapter 6, section 5.2, is a key dimension of teachers’ understanding of citizenship education:

I think that your attitude, indeed your way of relating to the students, I think it’s important, right? ... the very fact of how you relate, you can have an attitude that discriminates or not, you can have an attitude that respects or not, you can have an attitude of openess or not, you can have an empathic attitude or not, therefore in the end, ... the way you behave as a teacher, you already set implicitly a way of behaving, and rules (Teacher 9, school I, Foreign Language)

I think that with young people, what works a lot is the example that is given. So, set yourself as a positive example on certain aspects. For example, ... I am the first that if I see litter on the floor, I pick it up, without asking myself who has littered, who has not littered, today it's not up to me, I do it, ... so certainly lead by example (Teacher 5, school C, Humanities)

6. Conclusions

The chapter has outlined how global citizenship and GCE are terms that are not generally used in the schools included in the research. During the interviews the teachers talked about citizenship education, intercultural education and GCE interchangeably, without perceiving or making explicit the differences in meaning that these terms convey.

In the schools studied, GCE is a marginal presence. It is not an educational imperative but rather an individual choice. The schools do not pursue a whole school approach. GCE is essentially invisible. There are limited spaces and opportunities for teachers to have pedagogical discussions and joint planning. While this limit has an impact on all subjects, it is particularly relevant for citizenship education and GCE, that have a cross-curricular dimension to all subjects, and therefore would benefit from coordinated approaches involving teachers of different subjects. If teachers are
not provided with formal spaces for joint planning and sharing, how can they coherently integrate citizenship education and GCE as a cross-curricular perspectives? How can they systematically bring a global dimension to citizenship education? How can they bring GCE beyond their own classrooms and make it a priority for the whole school?

In the schools studied, GCE is characterised by the personal and self-made effort of a few motivated and committed teachers. These teachers are not supported by a school strategy on GCE, nor provided with opportunities to debate what giving a global dimension to citizenship education implies. They are not given specific pedagogical tools and materials to facilitate the integration of GCE in their practice. They are essentially left alone to craft their GCE practice through a “do-it-yourself” approach.

The leadership of the school manager is perceived as fundamental to give visibility, provide clarity and guidance and create the conditions for motivated and committed teachers to experiment and ‘contaminate’ colleagues. However, the presence of a group of interested and motivated teachers able to support each other is equally important to turn GCE into reality and facilitate its integration into teaching practice.

Lastly, a distinctive profile of the teachers that engage with GCE emerges from the research. These teachers teach predominantly humanities. They are in the middle of their career and therefore have the experience and confidence to experiment with their teaching. Many of them have a background in interculture, international development or community work and all of them are motivated and driven by a sensitivity for global justice issues and a keen interest in bringing these issues into their teaching. They feel a moral duty to foster the future citizens of this global world and feel compelled to lead by example.


Chapter Six: The Global Dimension of Citizenship Education

1. Introduction
Chapter 5 has outlined the marginality of GCE in the schools studied. This chapter shows that despite this marginality and the absence of the term global citizenship from the vocabulary of these schools, the teachers interviewed clearly expressed a need to move beyond a concept of citizenship education that focuses national citizenship. Even if the term cosmopolitanism was not explicitly used by teachers, their views on fostering 'citizens of the world' clearly reflects a cosmopolitan perspective in line with moral global citizenship (see chap. 2, section 4.2). The chapter outlines how teachers' conceptualisation of (global) citizenship education draws from a multi-level perspective articulated in terms of a geographical and social continuum, and expressed through the concept of interdependence. The chapter shows also how teachers' accounts of their practice suggests a perceived lack of distinction between citizenship education and GCE. Citizenship education is conceptualised as a broad container, that includes four areas of work: a) Democracy, rights and legality; b) Moral and social development; c) Digital citizenship; d) Care for the environment. Giving a global dimension to citizenship education means for the teachers 'globalising' these four areas but also adding three other dimensions that are distinctively 'global': a) Life in a “super diverse society”; b) Decoding what is happening in the world; c) Preparing for a global society and economy.

2. Citizenship education: from the national to the cosmopolitan citizen
As outlined in chapter 5, many of the teachers interviewed were not familiar with the concept of global citizenship or GCE, and these terms were hardly used in their schools and in their classrooms. Despite the absence of these terms from their vocabulary, teachers clearly expressed a need to move beyond a concept of citizenship education that focuses only on fostering national citizenship. They emphasised that the role of education today is to broaden the horizon of citizenship to make it relevant for life in a global world. Citizenship education is no longer about forging national citizens but rather fostering world citizens:

Citizenship education . . . that is, to educate young people to be citizens, and, in a global world, it goes without saying that citizens means citizens of the world . . . we are not educating them to something that is not there. . . . we need to overcome nationalisms. . . . We are connected, interconnected . . . we educate them to be in this globalised world (Teacher 7, school A, Humanities)

we must no longer foster the Italian citizen, but we need to foster the world citizen (Teacher 16, school F, Humanities)

Citizenship, in their view, becomes detached from a particular national identity, so that young people can learn that they can be citizens everywhere in the world and that anyone, irrespective of their national identity, can have the consciousness and feeling of being a citizen. So the focus of citizenship education changes from learning only the rights and duties enshrined in the Italian
Constitution, to understanding the broader concept of universal human rights and the global issues that affect today’s world:

It is no longer the Italian constitution states that . . . it [citizenship education] is something different, that is, it helps young people to actually become citizens. Citizens does not mean Italian citizens only, also because they end up with the Pakistani classmate, . . . that was born in Italy, but has to wait 18 years to get citizenship, and you have to explain to both, the Pakistani and the other, why they are citizens, even if one does not yet have the Italian citizenship, and so . . . the language, the methodology changes, everything changes, . . . you need to help them to have this vision . . . feel like a citizen everywhere and give the feeling of citizenship to anyone (Teacher 8, school I, Humanities)

We give great importance to citizenship education . . . but what citizenship education do we want to give? That of learning the rules of the constitution . . . or that of opening our view to the issues, the urgencies . . . of the world? Because sometimes it is said: “I have covered citizenship, I have read the constitution, how the Parliament is elected, how many years the Head of State is in charge”. But I think citizenship education is . . . actually, I know, it is something else (Teacher 12, school E, Humanities)

Even if the term cosmopolitanism was not explicitly used by the teachers, their views on fostering in young people a feeling of being a global citizen, a citizen of the world, clearly reflected a cosmopolitan perspective in line with moral global citizenship (see chap. 2, section 4.2). Strong emphasis was in fact given to the transmission of values in line with a cosmopolitan worldview (see box n. 6 for a description of how “Fostering the cosmopolitan citizen” was constructed as a key conceptual category). Teachers stressed a common humanity and the commonalities between humans that transcend differences:

we are tied to the other . . . to the other that lives elsewhere. What do we have in common? . . . so connections . . . just to understand that we are different, far away from one another, distant, but basically with the same needs, with the same dreams, with the same fears, we are the same / (Teacher 16, school F, Humanities)

all over the world . . . there are some similarities, because . . . in certain aspects humans are the same . . . pity that . . . the mass media, or in any case society, focus instead on differences, not on similarities, and therefore you create, not a contact, but a clash. A nice thing is to understand instead . . . where we look alike (Teacher 7, school A, Humanities)

You need to know who you are, what are your characteristics and then discover that your characteristics actually have similarities to those of others . . . when we read fables and fairy tales in first year, it is very beautiful, because you discover . . . that there is our Cinderella, there is an African Cinderella, there is an American Cinderella, with variations, and it is nice that they understand that . . . the root is one (Teacher 17, school D, Humanities).

Other key cosmopolitan themes that emerged in the interviews with the teachers were the importance given to universal human rights, peaceful coexistence, the sense of having a moral obligation towards distant others, and to concepts like solidarity beyond the national borders:

Nowadays, according to me . . . we face a problem that goes beyond borders, . . . what are the universal human rights? Those that must apply to people outside the national borders? . . . So . . . global citizenship . . . means taking care of something that affects everyone and that can perhaps encourage the peaceful coexistence of people, which is not an idea of 2017, Kant already thought about it . . . even before, in the history of humanity, they thought about it, but now . . . it becomes a necessity and a moral obligation . . . I believe that global citizenship is a prerequisite for peace (Teacher 15, school D, Humanities)
Let them reflect about what could be a concept of solidarity, not only national, but international, global
(Teacher 12, school E, Humanities)

There is a sense that a cosmopolitan moral imperative towards distant others and towards the environment needs to be infused into students. A teacher stressed that this cosmopolitan outlook is hard to grasp for young people as their perspective is guided by self-interest, by a drive to maintain good international relations and protect the environment because this is in our interest. The cosmopolitan moral imperative is therefore something that students need to learn:

this opening towards the global, this world perspective, . . . you can lead them to reflect on responsibilities, but for the kids, it is something less emotional, less empathetic. It is a “we better be responsible for some things, our choices, how we consume, what we buy, how much we pollute, because otherwise we will end up crushed by this mechanism”. It is not the positive inspiration . . . of global citizenship, it is a “we better do not destroy the planet too much and take good care of international relations, because if you intensively exploit certain resources you will end up crushed by the mechanism” (Teacher 20, school B, Humanities)

In conclusion, citizenship education, in teachers’ views, is no longer about fostering the national citizen, but rather a cosmopolitan citizen, that feels part of a common humanity and whose actions are guided by universal human rights, solidarity and moral duties towards distant others and planet earth.

3. Citizenship and global citizenship education: abstract or concrete?
An issue that emerged from the interviews is the extent to which citizenship and global citizenship are intelligible concepts for young students. One teacher felt that the concepts of citizenship and global citizenship are quite abstract and hard to grasp for young people age 11-13 years. In this case the teacher found it difficult to translate these concepts into a dimension that was close to the experiences of young people and relevant for their life:

we talked a lot about being a citizen, about citizenship, rights and duties. . . . I have to say that for the kids it’s really a very difficult concept. They still see it as an abstract thing. Thinking then about being a European citizen, . . . a citizen of the world even more . . . I think it is precisely because they are still young, and therefore they still need to . . . internalize this concept of being a citizen. Or often I would say: “But who is the good citizen? What does it mean to behave like a good citizen?” And then, there too, it’s difficult because they still have a bit of a vision, that is not well rounded, they still have a rather angular vision, right? . . . limited, just tied . . . to their own experience, because they are still young, so, in my opinion, the concept of being a citizen . . . will become evident in upper secondary school. I see them still a little immature, partly because, after all, it is an abstract concept, right? Citizenship, being a citizen (Teacher 12, school E, Humanities)

The other teachers stressed that both citizenship and global citizenship are abstract concepts but do have a concrete dimension, that the teacher needs to make explicit:

I always try to make them concrete by bringing them close, so what does this principle mean today? With your school mate, what does it mean? Today, at home with your parents, what does it mean? (Teacher 13, school D, Humanities)

The teachers make (global) citizenship concrete by linking the topics addressed in class to the life experience of young people. This link needs to be made evident if GCE concepts and topics are
indeed to be meaningful to young people. So citizenship becomes a lens to address many contemporary issues and to show students how these issues play out in their lives:

you address particular global citizenship issues, starting from their own personal experiences (Teacher 10, school D, Catholic Religion)

An important modality is to contextualize what you are doing, not let it float there, at the theoretical level only, but always contextualize it, . . . in the kids’ way of life, in their world, in their life, in their daily context (Teacher 6, school E, Technology)

I always start from situations that touch them . . . if you touch . . . their life experience . . . then the issues have an effect on them (Teacher 9, school I, Foreign Language)

One teacher in particular drew a distinction between the traditional “boring” civic education that was detached from students’ life and the way she focuses now on fostering civic awareness by linking citizenship education with issues relevant for the life experience of her students and young people in general:

I try to always have an eye, in any issue, to the childhood and adolescence world, because it is theirs . . . when, for example, we talk about environmental protection, what happens to young people? . . . that is, what can I do? how can I intervene? what happens to me? So, any topic . . . there must be the objectivity, but also a reference to them, to their world . . . the fundamental rights, at an objective level, in the world and so on, but then a focus on childhood, adolescence, in order to . . . really foster understanding, awareness, . . . because otherwise we do not develop a civic awareness, it remains a general talk . . . the boring civic education lesson, that tells me that I have to be good . . . and I don’t develop my civic awareness (Teacher 8, school I, Humanities)

Talking about globalisation, another teacher stressed how she addresses this topic from a historical and geographical perspective and then links it to the life experiences of her students:

Knowledge of globalisation from an historical point, from a geographical point of view, but then reflect about it together . . . with a whole range of information . . . work also on what they read, on what they hear, what they listen to, what they experience, what they wear and what they eat (Teacher 17, school D, Humanities)

The importance of linking GCE concepts and topics to the life experiences of young people was also stressed by two members of the Expert group of the project ‘Global schools’. The connection to everyday life facilitates an understanding of global issues, because the local and the everyday carries the complexities and the interconnectedness that characterises the global. Greater adherence to life experiences provides also a concrete dimension to global citizenship in terms of actions that students can do in their everyday life:

it is necessary to get the kids into the topics, to let them experience projects, to let them make choices, . . . that really bring what is addressed in school into their daily lives, . . . so that there is really a connection between what I realise, what I understand, what I analyse in depth in school, and what I live, what I practice in everyday life (Member of expert group 1)

leave more space for the problems of everyday life, . . . I mean the issues of everyday life. Because, . . . if it is true that we are so interconnected, interdependent, my daily life has all the complexity, only that I am not able to see it, to read it, to abstract it in order to understand it . . . So, . . . a greater adherence to the complexity of my everyday life, to the reading of my daily context and more concrete and explicit
work on it, can help a connection with reality and thus make less artificial the idea of becoming active (Member of expert group 2).

In conclusion, although citizenship is seen by some of the teachers interviewed as a quite abstract concept, often difficult for young people to understand and grasp, it is also considered an important practice that students can learn in school. Citizenship, in their view, needs to be linked to the life experience of young people and it is used as a lens to look at many contemporary issues, showing how these issues play out in our lives, and what we can do about them.

4. The multi-level perspective of (global) citizenship education
The multi-level perspective of (global) citizenship education is articulated by the teachers interviewed on the basis of two key dimensions. The first moves along a geographical and social continuum that links the local to the global and the personal to the societal. The second dimension is related to the concept of interdependence and the influence that the far away has on us, as well as the impact that we have on distant peoples and places.

4.1 GECE between the local and the global and the personal and the societal
The way teachers make the concepts of citizenship and global citizenship relevant to the lived experience and life of young people is to adopt a multi-level perspective that addresses being a citizen in multiple loci, the own family, the school, the neighbourhood, the town/city, and the wider world. This link to the micro reality of the school and the community is considered by teachers very important to ensure that citizenship does not remain at the level of a theoretical discussion but rather translates into concrete attitudes behaviours.

Citizenship education in teacher’s views, is strongly associated with fostering a sense of responsibility. The main focus of teachers’ understanding of being a citizen is on being a “well-rounded person”, a responsible person, first of all towards people that are close and then “in concentric circle” towards distant others:

being . . . becoming a citizen of the world is first of all to be a citizen with oneself . . . a well-rounded person, starting from one’s own little sphere . . . starting from relationships with others, that is, being a citizen of the world is to be first a citizen of your family, your neighbourhood, your city . . . also because the small is the reflection of the big . . . If all that is required to be a citizen of the world, you try it out in your little sphere, you are already a citizen of the world (Teacher 21, school II, Humanities)

helping them to feel involved, responsible . . . my behaviour has a whole series of implications, and I have to take responsibilities, . . . towards myself, . . . and then towards everyone . . . in concentric circles, those who are closer to me and then gradually towards the others . . . because . . . my behaviour . . . affects my family when I answer badly to my parents, at school when I do not behave in a certain way, at the playground and so on . . . up to behaviours towards immigrants, or . . . on waste management, etc. (Teacher 3, school I, Humanities)

responsibility towards others, towards oneself . . . I think about responsibility and respect, I associate them together a lot . . . responsibility towards oneself, towards others, towards the world around me, that is, all-round, certainly responsibility is another key word (Teacher 13, school D, Humanities)

Citizenship as civic responsibility translates into awareness about the impact that one’s behaviour has on others, close and faraway, and on the environment. So, being aware that “none of us passes on earth without leaving a trace”: 
In terms of GCE, this multi-level perspective is articulated through a focus on human rights and global justice issues. Teachers strive to look at them in the microcosm of students’ classroom and school, but also at the meso level of their community and town, and the macro level of faraway people and places. So global justice issues are unpacked in order to relate them to student’s daily reality as well as to the life world of distant others. In the following quote, the teacher explains how she uses an historical topic like the Shoah, and the grey zone\(^{17}\), to talk about contemporary global justice issues, making links also to concrete situations that may happen in the microcosm of the school:

In thinking, for example, about the persecution of the Jews in the second world war and the grey zone . . . of those who were part of it. And then you can talk about today, because even today there is someone in the grey zone . . . for example, I can think of the Niger delta that nobody addresses. Also make practical examples relevant to them: “I see someone teasing somebody. I am not the one making fun of him, I didn’t do it, but I saw and I didn’t say anything, right?” So you always connect to their reality . . . but also to the most hidden situations of today (Teacher 16, school F, Humanities).

Another teacher talked about the concept of borders, which she addressed in terms of one’s own personal emotional borders, but also borders in terms of interpersonal relations in school, and geographical borders looking at the issue of migrations and the construction of walls:

we addressed the issue of borders . . . the emotional, personal boundaries . . . and . . . the geographic ones because one of the emergencies this year is the walls, made of barbed wire, made of stone, which are being built, or there is the intention to build in the world . . . and by addressing the topic of the reception of foreigners, of borders, we also talked about the boundaries with the classmate, “this side is mine and that side is yours”, and “don’t touch me, don’t push me, he can push me because we are playing, but he cannot” (Teacher 10, school D, Catholic Religion)

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\(^{17}\) The ‘grey zone’ is a term coined by the Italian Holocaust survivor Primo Levi in his essay collection The Drowned and the Saved. In ‘The Grey Zone’, Levi acknowledges the human need to think in terms of ‘us’ and ‘them’, two clearly distinct and identifiable groups, but points out that such binary thinking is inadequate in the face of the complexity of life in the camps. ‘[T]he network of human relationships inside the Lagers was not simple’, he writes: ‘it could not be reduced to the two blocs of victims and persecutors’ (23). A key facet of Nazi practice, after all, was to turn victims into accomplices. The grey zone is inhabited mostly by victims who compromise and collaborate with their oppressors in various ways and with varying degrees of freedom of choice in exchange for preferential treatment. Levi insists that one should refrain from passing easy judgment on these morally ambiguous privileged prisoners, who found themselves flung into an infernal environment and who, moreover, did not constitute a monolithic group but came in many different shades of grey, with different levels of culpability.
A key dimension of (global) citizenship education that emerges from teachers’ perspectives is that it can be seen on a continuum that goes from the personal to the societal. In this perspective coherence becomes very central as teachers stress that citizenship is not only about cognitively understanding certain justice issues, or human principles and values, but also about assuming attitudes and behaviours that are coherent with these moral imperatives. Again the loci where these “new” attitudes and behaviours can be played out are often the microcosm of the classroom, the school and the community where the students live. But teachers note a difficulties in students in interiorising such principles and values:

I talk about colonization, that is, the links between colonization and exploitation and migration flows, and they do grasp this basic injustice, but then maybe, between classmates, they have some behaviours and forms of injustices . . . we’re talking about these big issues and then on very simple relationships between themselves, sometimes there is such meanness, that you say: “Well, but then, what are we here to say” (Teacher 11, school G, Maths and Science)

they agree with what is far away [global justice issues], they understand, but then they actually struggle to get along with a classmate, with the classmate who comes from another place, who has a different culture or dresses in a different way. So, in theory, they do . . . understand, but then, when they are playing unsupervised, or are in an unguided context, then, they struggle, and they fail to put into practice what they have been told (Teacher 16, school F, Humanities)

4.2 Interdependence as a key dimension of GCE
A key concept that the teachers interviewed associate with GCE and being a global citizen is being aware of the interdependence that characterizes the world and that creates links and connections between the “here” and the “far away”. In teachers’ view, a multi-level perspective that looks at the linkages between peoples and places is a key feature of GCE:

global citizenship in today’s complex world, is to try to . . . understand and know different situations as they relate to your place . . . You can no longer study only your context. There is such a great interconnection that global education is precisely this, it is this interconnection, this . . . interdependence between the different places of the world . . . an attention . . . both to the local and the global, because . . . everything is interconnected, right? . . . we are tied to the other . . . who lives somewhere else. So, always trying to [consider] “here it is like this, but how is it elsewhere?” (Teacher 16, school F, Humanities)

The two key dimensions of the concept of interdependence identified by teachers relate to: a) Being influenced by what happens “far away” and b) Influencing the “far away” with our choices and actions.

Being influenced by what happens “faraway”
Some of the teachers interviewed talked about their efforts to raise awareness in students about the fact that distances in today’s globalised world are relative and our life is influenced by events that happen far away:

the need to be citizens, responsible of what happens far away from us which actually happens on us too . . . kids should have the awareness that just about anything that happens far away has repercussions on them (Teacher 1, school I, Humanities)
The emphasis on the impact of the far away on us was generally connected to a number of global issues, in particular migration and terrorism:

these events [terrorist attacks] that occur perhaps in places far from us - apparently distant because the distances are now very relative - also affect our choices and our attitudes towards our neighbours. . . . so it's not that we can consider ourselves outside topics or facts that occur a thousand or more kilometres from us (Teacher 15, school D, Humanities)

Advertising, you can do some beautiful work . . . you start from the message that they give you, apparently positive. . . . think of all the coffee advertisements . . . All right. And what is over there? Who collects the coffee? Because they [pupils] don't think about it. . . . they often say: "All right, it's over there!" Instead I want them to understand that the over there is here! When they now see the masses of migrants invading their homes . . . Why do they arrive? Why do they need to come here? There, what's over there? How do we solve it? (Teacher 17, school D, Humanities)

Influencing the "far away" with our choices and actions
The teachers interviewed found it easier to talk about the concept of interdependence in terms of awareness of how our choices and actions have an influence on far-away places. This was generally related to a wider discussion on global justice issues and our direct implication and responsibility in relation to them. This awareness is seen as the first step to become responsible and active global citizens that make conscious choices:

for me it [global citizenship] is concrete, it must be concrete with young people. . . . So global citizenship, being a citizen of the world . . . awareness that what happens far away from us . . . either as direct or indirect responsibility, we are all involved. So, you need to ask yourself, where I, as a 12-year-old pupil, or I, as a 50 years old teacher, where am I on it and what can I do in my small sphere. Sometimes, I also say to the kids, the only thing I can do is to know, which is no little thing because it is the starting point for them, . . . doing something that can be concrete (Teacher 1, school I, Humanities)

being a global citizen, . . . know many issues and the connection that links us with the whole world, from being a consumer . . . enjoying certain goods, knowing causes and consequences of certain world dynamics . . . can help to put things in perspective. . . . As long as I believe that what happens . . . conflicts, exploitation, do not depend from me . . . but I am within this machine and the moment I begin to feel responsible for this mechanism, . . . and I do something different, and I bring somebody else along, I can initiate a small change (Teacher 11, school G, Maths and Science)

Responsibility is a key word that emerges from teachers' understanding of citizenship in the context of an interdependent world. So, students are encouraged to recognize their responsibilities towards distant others and also towards the environment, and make concrete lifestyle choices that are morally appropriate and environmentally sustainable:

everything is interconnected, right? . . . we are tied to the other . . . that lives elsewhere . . . and . . . how our daily actions can affect it, and then once I know that what I do can affect it in one way or another, what do I decide to do? . . . I am the one who is responsible and then I respond to my own conscience (Teacher 16, school F, Humanities)

the link between . . . various areas of the world . . . I always try to link it to the excessive use of resources . . . we are not an independent reality, we live in a small village . . . but then we are inside a province, a region, a state, and then there is the world. Each of us is responsible for what he does, so the famous saying that if I throw a twig here in the sea, it will turn into a tsunami on the other side of the world, somehow it is real, that is, with my behaviour here in the village of XXX [name of village], I influence
globally the whole world, so everyone must have the responsibility of their own behaviour and this is citizenship education (Teacher 6, school E, Technology)

According to the teachers interviewed, understanding interdependence is a key dimension of GCE. However, interdependence was mentioned more in terms of a conceptualization of GCE, while the actual accounts of teachers’ practice only in a few cases dealt with the concept of interdependence with a certain depth. Interdependence was addressed with a certain ease only in relation to the link between consumer choices and new forms of slavery, or the impact of our behaviour on the environment and climate change. Indeed, interdependence seemed to remain an abstract idea that teachers try to infuse into students but that young people find difficult to grasp and internalize.

we are tied to the other . . . that lives elsewhere . . . and . . . how our daily actions can affect it . . . and they are very surprised by some news, some events, some facts . . . but then I wonder: Does it end there? Does the wonder last a week? Or do they absorb it? (Teacher 16, school F, Humanities)

And that the actions made in the fifteenth century have repercussions today, that my action today has repercussions on the whole world . . . make them understand that . . . my life is intertwined with the world, I am not an island. But this idea is difficult for them (Teacher 3, school I, Humanities)

5. Citizenship Education as a broad container
Teachers’s accounts suggests a perceived lack of distinction between GCE and citizenship education. In the interviews, teachers used the two terms interchangeably. They tend to use citizenship education as a broad container, including in it everything that could not be neatly assigned to a particular subject (see box n. 5 for a description of how “Citizenship education as a broad container” was constructed as a key conceptual category).

*Figure n. 5: The four dimensions of Citizenship Education intersected by the two multi-level perspectives (micro-macro and interdependence)*

[Diagram of the four dimensions of Citizenship Education intersected by the two multi-level perspectives (micro-macro and interdependence)]
As illustrated in Figure 5, the accounts given by teachers of their practice can be categorised on
the basis of four main areas that teachers related to (global) citizenship education: a) Democracy,
rights and legality; b) Moral and social development; c) Digital citizenship; d) Care for the
environment. Each of these four areas, in turn, has multiple facets. The two multi-level
perspectives highlighted above intersect these four main (global) citizenship education areas.

5.1 Democracy, rights and legality
This area is related to the traditional topics covered within a civics curriculum, in particular,
learning about, first of all, the Rights and duties of citizens, focusing in particular on the Italian
Constitution and more broadly on the international human rights conventions. Secondly, a key area
of work is Legality and rule of law, with a particular focus on organised crime, in particular mafias
and mafia-behaviours. Lastly, a focus on providing opportunities for students to Experience
democratic processes was also noted.

Rights and duties of citizens – the Italian Constitution and international human rights
The teachers interviewed strongly associated citizenship education with learning about the rights
and duties enshrined in the Italian Constitution. The focus of teachers’ work has shifted from
studying the part of the Constitution that concerns the organisation of the State to paying more
attention to the initial part of the document that concerns rights and duties. Bringing a global
dimension meant for the teachers interviewed broadening the concept of rights to talk about human
rights, focusing not only on the Italian Constitution but also on the Universal Declaration of
Human Rights and the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union:

we have studied human rights, in short, we have studied the constitution (Teacher 12, school E,
Humanities)

I am doing citizenship education, . . . when I do the Italian constitution . . . it is clear that reading the
constitutional charter of our country is a way to do global citizenship, in my opinion. Young people
understand that they are part of a system that provides legal protection, which are precisely the rights
they can enjoy, which provides, however, also, an assumption of responsibility and therefore attitudes
that are duties, even to protect what has been achieved . . . There is the concept of right, of duty and
then it has taken so much effort, so much history, so much going forward and going backward in history
to arrive at having today . . . the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union, that should be
respected by all (Teacher 1, school I, Humanities)

The perception of the teachers interviewed is that through the concept of human rights that
transcend national borders, citizenship education becomes global citizenship education:

I started to . . . pay more attention . . . to the articles of the Constitution . . . concerning rights . . . human
rights . . . in citizenship education we do human rights, denied rights, therefore it is rather broad because
citizenship education must necessarily be global citizenship education today (Teacher 17, school D,
Humanities).

current at the beginning was on the laws of the Italian constitution . . . today there is a much wider
openness and therefore the Italian constitution enters into the European constitution, into human rights,
that is, we started from a nationalism in terms of rights that were enshrined within the historical path of
a nation, to understand that . . . today there are no barriers, there are no borders to rights, even with all
the dynamics that clearly there are today because we talk about new barriers, because we talk about
walls again (Teacher 8, school I, Humanities)
Many of the teachers interviewed adopt an historical perspective which helps students understand how rights, from the Enlightenment onwards, were progressively secured in the western world, and how guaranteeing rights is considered a fundamental characteristic of a civilisation:

they discover what rights they have, . . . so the right to go to school or the right to have a decent job, . . . the right to move from one country to another if in that country my rights are not guaranteed, . . . women that work and are entitled to maternity leave, . . . the right to vote, so as a citizen I can express a preference. And, through addressing these topics . . . explain today through the past, how we arrived at today . . . and therefore the awareness of what I have, . . . and how what I have was obtained (Teacher 2, school I, Humanities)

human rights . . . so also the idea . . . that the world in which I want to be cannot disregard certain guarantees, for the human being, and that perhaps a civilization is considered as such when these things are guaranteed (Teacher 13, school D, Humanities)

A few teachers stressed that progress on human rights is not linear but is rather characterized by steps forward as well as setbacks. A teacher stressed that until recently human rights in the Western democracies had a secure footing. Today, human rights are under attack even here and “we are going backwards”:

how much we go forward, but also how much we go backwards, and so . . . where are we today? The Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union was signed, but today we observe the world around us and it seems that we are going backwards and therefore the need to be citizens (Teacher 1, school I, Humanities)

Several teachers underlined that the global dimension of citizenship education means looking at where and how rights are denied today. This perspective generally assumes that “here”, in Europe, rights are guaranteed and respected, while “there”, the Global South, they are not:

they discover what rights they have, that in other parts of the world they are not there . . . I associate global citizenship with the topic of rights because I become aware of which are my rights and where and how, on the other hand, certain rights are denied . . . therefore the awareness of what I have . . . and that others don’t have them (Teacher 2, school I, Humanities)

the constitution, the laws, . . . but now these topics have become global topics, that is, if you talk about school and the right to study, you also talk about Malala, you also talk about other situations, . . . what the right to study means (Teacher 8, school I, Humanities)

Bringing a global dimension to the issue of human rights means, for some teachers, combining a historical with a geographical perspective to look at the situation in the Global South whose journey towards the expansion and codification of rights was hampered by colonisation:

I want them to understand that, if Europe went on a journey of growth, of citizenship, of constitution, of legality, of rights, of codes and, over the centuries, these peoples have not been able to do it, it’s because Europe has considered them inferior and has exploited them. Now they are on this journey. We had civil wars too, only we did them in other times that now seem remote (Teacher 8, school I, Humanities)
Legality and rule of law with a specific reference to organised crime and mafia-behaviours

Legality and the rule of law are typical topics of a citizenship curriculum. As outlined in chapter 4 section 4.1, the citizenship education curriculum included in the provincial curricular guidelines has a strong focus on legality and the rule of law. This topic is also a clear priority of the provincial education office that, as outlined, provides support to schools through the provincial “Legality Table” (see chap. 4, section 5.2). The teachers interviewed talked a lot about their work on human rights, but stressed also citizens’ duties:

I am a complete citizen because I have rights and duties, because we also talk about duties (Teacher 2, school I, Humanities)

Addressing rights and duties, means for the teachers talking about honesty and legality:

we were talking about work, so I decided to address employment in more depth, we were reading some of the articles in the Constitution, and therefore workers’ rights (absences from work, sick leave, accidents at work, etc.) and we ended up discussing honesty . . . because sick leave needs to be real sickness . . . because if I lie and they spend money for me . . . there will be none for people that really need them . . . This is citizenship education, right? And maybe also global citizenship education (Teacher 13, school D, Humanities)

this legality project, that is present in all classes, therefore, citizenship . . . also linked to finance, not paying taxes, paying taxes, all these things, obviously with the Constitution, with the articles of the constitution, . . . we invite magistrates, they go to court to see the trials (Teacher 21, school H, Humanities)

In teachers’ accounts of their work, legality and the rule of law acquired also a specific focus on learning about organised crime in Italy and in particular the mafias. This is linked to the control that mafia organisations have in southern Italy and the pervasiveness of mafia-related activities and behaviours in the whole country. In this context, a key focus of citizenship education becomes raising awareness about the mafias and those who are fighting it: judges, but also ordinary people that stand up to the mafias and promote legality. But it means also looking and addressing mafia-like behaviours, such as bullying, that may happen in the microcosm of the school. Several teachers connected legality/mafia and bullying and mentioned a narrative book on this topic, “Per questo mi chiamo Giovanni18, that they use with their students:

education on legality . . . falls under it [GCE] . . . here we have this legality project . . . omertà, not hiding, saying things, starting from the small daily events that happen . . . then . . . reflections on Falcone and Borsellino19 . . . we started to read “Per questo mi chiamo Giovanni . . . And now it is a compulsory project . . . in all our schools. You have to do citizenship education and this means education on legality (Teacher 21, school H, Humanities)

this year we worked on it [legality] and the second-year students will view a play on . . . the problem of the mafia, so there were various testimonies . . . there is also this strand in citizenship education: what

18 The book is about a boy from Palermo called Giovanni after Giovanni Falcone, an Italian anti-mafia magistrate killed by the mafia. The book talks about the control of the mafia on society, retraces the life of Falcone, but talks also about the mafia-behaviors that Giovanni experiences in his school. The book is widely used by schools across Italy as a narrative textbook.

19 Giovanni Falcone was an Italian judge that spent most of his professional life trying to fight the Sicilian mafia, and that was killed by the mafia in 1992. Paolo Borsellino was an Italian judge, that was killed by a mafia car bomb in Palermo, 57 days after his friend and fellow Antimafia magistrate Giovanni Falcone was assassinated in Capaci.
Experiencing democratic processes
While the former two areas of work emerged in many interviews and therefore reflect a widespread approach to citizenship education across the schools studied, a specific focus on providing opportunities for students to experience democratic processes was mentioned only in one school. This is related to the establishment in this school of a School Parliament that includes representatives of the students, the teachers, the administration and support staff. Only one of the teachers interviewed mentioned the establishment of a School Parliament as a significant experience in terms of citizenship education. It gives students the opportunity to experience democratic processes. In this school, the parliament has also been a forum which provided impetus to a number of school projects, including initiatives on global citizenship:

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a big piece of work relates to the School Parliament and all the methodology behind this Parliament . . . we have a toolkit for defining the roles, so there are those that take the minutes, . . . there are voting cards, green yes, red no, yellow abstained, there are people that . . . count abstainers, count pros, count cons . . . there are those that manage time, there are hourglasses, . . . and there are, as roles, the optimist, called white cloud, and the black cloud, so when there is a discussion, the people who seek the pros and those who seek the cons . . . So these are the tools, then, as teachers, . . . we try to use different methodologies so that there is also space for . . . a targeted game, . . . there is an agenda, there are discussions . . . the sense is, beyond what then effectively it manages to achieve, even though it is true that many ideas turned also into . . . projects, the idea is really to work . . . on the democratic process, so listen to each other, respect a timeframe, vote only after having considered pros and cons, after a debate . . . we start from their proposals . . . then . . . we are also trying to get the Parliament to take ownership of some school projects, so for example, much space was given to the project linked to Coltan (Teacher 11, school G, Maths and Science)

5.2 Moral and social development
The teachers interviewed relate citizenship education to the moral and social development of students. The accounts provided by teachers of their citizenship education work placed a lot of emphasis on fostering respect for the Rules of civil behaviour, starting from the rules that should be respected in the classroom and more broadly the school. Secondly, moral and social development encompasses also work focused on Diversity, coexistence and inclusion.

Rules of civil behaviour
The teachers interviewed associated citizenship education with what may be more appropriately referred to as discipline and good behaviour. A key word used by teachers is respect, for oneself, for others, for the school environment. Citizenship education here is interpreted as learning to be respectful, as civil behaviour in school and more broadly in society.

A student worked on the book of Luigi Garlando "Per questo mi chiamo Giovanni" on the story of Giovanni Falcone, he studied in more depth the topic of mafia . . . mafia, legality, is a nice topic. The book is very beautiful . . . because it speaks about the Mafia and also speaks about bullying, so there is a connection with a topic but also with a personal experience (Teacher 2, school I, Humanities)

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is the mafia, what is a mafia behaviour, even in the micro level, the prejudice on the mafia, that the mafia is only in the south, . . . what can I do (Teacher 10, school D, Catholic Religion)

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Rules of civil behaviour
The teachers interviewed associated citizenship education with what may be more appropriately referred to as discipline and good behaviour. A key word used by teachers is respect, for oneself, for others, for the school environment. Citizenship education here is interpreted as learning to be respectful, as civil behaviour in school and more broadly in society:

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5.2 Moral and social development
The teachers interviewed relate citizenship education to the moral and social development of students. The accounts provided by teachers of their citizenship education work placed a lot of emphasis on fostering respect for the Rules of civil behaviour, starting from the rules that should be respected in the classroom and more broadly the school. Secondly, moral and social development encompasses also work focused on Diversity, coexistence and inclusion.

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The assumption is that if young people learn to be “well-behaved students” in the school environment, in terms of their relations to the teachers, to the classmates and to the facilities and equipment of the school, they will then be “good citizens” in society. As outlined in chapter 4, section 4.1, this perspective permeates also the citizenship education curriculum.

and then the main thing, citizenship is experienced daily, in the classroom, all the dynamics that take place in the classroom, more or less consciously, are part of a citizenship education journey. Relationship dynamics, mutual respect. Here it’s a training ground for your whole life, for the workplace, for any context (Teacher 3, school I, Humanities)

A key focus then in citizenship education is to develop with the students the rules to ensure respectful and appropriate behaviour in class:

citizenship education . . . is about behaviour, your sense of being civis, . . . therefore civility, with rules. . . . So, here, with the first years, we start from the class, from the rules in the class. I speak when someone else is not talking. I listen to you and then I answer (Teacher 17, school D, Humanities)

Citizenship . . . therefore . . . correct relationships, . . . the construction of a class regulation for coexistence in the class, that is done at the beginning of the school year, especially in the first years, but then also in the subsequent years (Teacher 10, school D, Catholic Religion)

Diversity, coexistence and inclusion
Citizenship as the moral and social development of students is associated also with respecting diversity and addressing discrimination. The teachers interviewed see diversity in its widest sense, that is, in terms of personality, social characteristics, functional diversity and disability, as well as ethnic, cultural or religious diversity. Here, I will address primarily diversity in terms of the first meanings, while section 6.1 of this chapter addresses diversity related to life in a multicultural society.

The concept of diversity was mentioned by several teachers and emerged as a key area of concern of their citizenship education work:

this year in terms of citizenship education . . . we developed the concept of diversity, so first of all diversity within the class, diversity in terms of somebody that is diverse because of a particular problem [disability] . . . and diversity addressing the concepts of prejudice and racism . . . to build a secure personal identity, open to diversity, from all points of view, open to welcoming and listening to the other, . . . able to go beyond walls, beyond borders (Teacher 10, school D, Catholic Religion)

A big topic in citizenship is . . . diversity, attention to diversity, understood as disability, as a difficulty, which is not only biological, but also . . . not being able to . . . there are projects with XXX [name of a local association working on disability], with the disability awareness group, so there are some specific, ad hoc projects on diversity (Teacher 13, school D, Humanities)

I want them to understand that diversity is wealth, . . . because diversity means everything. It's not just ethnic, or religious, but it involves our whole being (Teacher 3, school I, Humanities)

A teacher talked about addressing diversity in the microcosm of her class. She talked about how she changed and adapted her teaching to include a student with a learning disability, while promoting at the same time supporting and helping attitudes in the other students:
this year in first grade I have a boy with great difficulties, the fastest and easiest thing would have been to leave the job to the assistant educator, . . . because really, he has a quite serious learning delay. However, I immediately said to the kids: "He is in our class, . . . we are all here and we are a group, it is an opportunity to learn", . . . For myself, too, to be a little more relaxed in some moments because I want to involve this boy who does not like chaos. Then, I saw that what works very well, is to . . . leave him the teacher chair, he likes to put himself in the place of the teacher, and so I started to play with him this role, . . . he is in the teacher chair and he is the one who questions . . . the classmates, he asks a question, the classmates raise their hands and he calls one to answer, the kid answers correctly, and then he is able to read the answer, and says, right. And everything is very nice, and I noticed that in this way, he learns, not everything, however, he learns some things by asking others . . . And, then I must say that the class, really . . . has the task to cuddle him, to defend him, to include him because at recess, there was the risk that he would always be alone. Instead, creating this team spirit, this solidarity is really giving results (Teacher 7, school A, Humanities)

Learning about diversity is connected to the promotion of inclusion and peaceful coexistence. The teachers focused primarily on relations between students in the class and in the school. There is a strong focus on learning to manage conflicts. The assumption underlying this work on inclusion and peaceful coexistence is that what is learned in the micro can then be transferred by students to the macro:

the students have to be together, that is, the assumption is that they are in a class of 20-25 and the class is heterogeneous, even if there was, not even one foreigner, but they were all from here, . . . they are really all carriers of a different family culture, even different values, so . . . in my opinion, the school really has a great role to educate young people to be together, to peaceful coexistence, at least a coexistence that, sometimes can be conflictual, but is managed in a productive manner, that is, conflict . . . managed, with the teacher's supervision . . . can then be the starting point for the encounter (Teacher 7, school A, Humanities)

they are really activities of coexistence of students in the class, therefore, on creating the conditions for the class to function well, be well integrated, so that it is possible to work in an inclusive way . . . Students are increasingly conflictual in their relations . . . are not used to manage conflicts, therefore the first task is the management of conflicts and learn how to communicate well when there are . . . conflicts . . . I believe that these aspects of relational dynamics are a global attitude. And this not only in the foreign / non-foreign duality as that seems very simplistic to me . . . So, . . . this is the first thought that comes to me, this micro-globality (Teacher 15, school D, Humanities)

so all that work you do apparently in a microcosm, becomes a macrocosm (Teacher 8, school I, Humanities)

One teacher explicitly criticized the excessive attention placed on subject knowledge and competences. He stressed the centrality of citizenship education and a focus on promoting inclusion and peaceful coexistence:

if in schools there is, not integration and inclusion but disintegration, what do you do with students that academically are extraordinarily good . . ., but who then, live their experience in the classrooms very badly, feel bad and are very conflictual? (Teacher 20, school B, Humanities)
5.3 Digital citizenship
Stressing the global dimension of citizenship education triggered in teachers a connection to the Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs), and in particular the internet and social media.

Teachers talked about digital citizenship, and the importance of educating young people to use the new technologies. Digital citizenship is about learning to “inhabit a world that has been transformed by digital technologies, effortlessly enabling connectedness through social media and access to vast quantities of information” (Council of Europe, 2018). It “refers to the ability to engage positively, critically and competently in the digital environment, drawing on the skills of effective communication and creation, to practice forms of social participation that are respectful of human rights and dignity through the responsible use of technology (ibidem).

Several teachers talked about digital citizenship as a new area of work that falls within (global) citizenship education:

Digital citizenship comes to my mind now, it’s not outside the scope. And what is digital citizenship? First of all, digital citizenship is learning how to manage my digital life as a citizen. Being able to work with digital tools, know how to use tools that allow me to learn to learn, tools that allow me to be creative if I can use them well, and having an ethic, towards myself and towards the people I meet on the net (Teacher 15, school D, Humanities)

we must own more this concept of global citizenship education, that is design projects . . . see which are the macro-topics that can be dealt with . . . could be even digital citizenship . . . here in this school we do it . . . it is a concept that is done very well (Teacher 12, school E, Humanities)

Unlike GCE that, as outlined in chapter 5, remains at the margin in the schools studied, and is essentially a matter of personal interest and initiative, digital citizenship is perceived by several teachers as a priority in their schools. It is often characterised by a whole school approach that involves teachers, students and also parents:

the use of all these tools . . . could also be seen as citizenship education . . . Social networks, . . . the news they find on the internet, . . . these are . . . particular projects of the whole institute . . . all the classes are involved, the teachers and also the parents, sometimes (Teacher 21, school H, Humanities)

now the school in terms of . . . citizenship education, . . . we can call it even global citizenship . . . is working a lot on the dangers they face on the internet . . . courses on cyber-bullying . . . courses for us, courses for parents, interventions in the classes, . . . this year we had many, on digital skills, on the dangers of the network . . . Now as an institute we are really focusing on . . . the network, the new technologies, and all the dangers they may face (Teacher 18, school D, Maths and Science)

The teachers interviewed understand digital citizenship in terms of two dimensions: a) Digital media literacy (minor area of work), and b) Online ethical behaviour and cyber-bullying (priority area of attention).

Digital media literacy
Digital citizenship implies the ability to make sense of the “hyper rich information” (Council of Europe, 2018) available online. It is essentially about digital media literacy, so educating young
people to access information through digital media and to understand and critically evaluate different aspects of these media and also the content of the information. Several teachers stressed digital media literacy as an area of work within citizenship education. They talked about teaching students how to access and use online information, develop a critical eye towards it and be aware of the influencing power of the digital media:

internet is a big resource, . . . so have an idea of how to do a search, this is also . . . a citizenship competence. One day a student, when I asked them to bring me a news, . . . and tell me also where they got it from, . . . she brought me this news taken from google, and I said: “No, you cannot say taken from google, it’s like going to the library and say . . . I took this book . . . it’s of the library, no the book is of its author. So, . . . I opened google, can you see? if I click, the information comes out, but it’s not Google’s, it’s of the various websites (Teacher 13, school D, Humanities)

the ability to critically read reality, because we are so bombarded that we no longer have, that is, once it was much simpler . . . It was clear to us what were the sources of information, . . . compact and clear. Now it’s quite complex, isn’t it? . . . and also the fact that you are monitored in what you are searching on the Internet . . . and they know . . . where they want you to get to. And on this, they [students] are not at all aware (Teacher 16, school F, Humanities)

Online ethical behaviour and cyber-bulling
Digital citizenship is also about engaging responsibly in the digital environment. This poses a whole set of new challenges for teachers as they seek to educate young people to behave responsibly and ethically when they are online. Several teachers talked about the dangers of the new technologies and the different projects that their schools have in place. Indeed the main focus of the work of the schools in the area of digital citizenship is on online ethical behaviour & cyber-bullying, rather than digital media literacy.

we are working also on the new technologies, . . . the rights on the internet, . . . even there you can say how far goes your freedom, where is the freedom of the other, . . . we are working for a conscious use of the new technologies . . . so the rights online, which happen to be the same rights that you should respect when you are in real life, . . . for example, . . . the right to be respected, . . . not to be discriminated, not to receive offenses, not to be lied. . . . all the rights, there are many, but in short, they are the human rights, . . . online, but always rights. . . . The conscious use of the new technologies, that is, I use them, . . . but I have to understand that my attitude on the internet can have tragic repercussions, for someone, right? So with the kids, we tried to work on cyberbullying, . . . on not to discriminate, to offend, to say words of hate (Teacher 9, school I, Foreign Language)

on the occasion of the internet security day, the first years were invited to attend a conference . . . this is also citizenship . . . because also their behaviour on social media, on the internet, . . . is indeed citizenship education . . . in the sense that, . . . first of all, the discussion on relationships, . . . the relationships that they have on the internet, with chats, . . . misunderstandings often arise, but also often true persecutions of people, even in an involuntary manner, so this is really part of citizenship education (Teacher 3, school I, Humanities)

5.4 Care for the environment
Another key area of work that the teachers associated with citizenship education relates to promoting respect for the environment, both at the micro level of the school and the own community, but also from a global perspective, focusing on some contemporary environmental challenges. This includes two key areas of work: a) Care for the school environment and b) Environmental awareness and sustainability.
Care for the school environment
First and foremost, the teachers interviewed associated citizenship education with taking good care of the school environment. They placed a lot of emphasis on avoiding to litter, and caring for the school's facilities and the equipment, and the school in general. Teachers talked about fostering a sense of ownership and responsibility. The assumption again is that school is a training ground for society and hence learning to take care of what is in the school will translate into taking care of the environment outside of school:

they have little respect for all the things that surround them . . . I see it already in the classroom, . . . they litter . . . cat something and throw the wrapping paper on the ground, they make the tip of the pencil next to the desk, . . . and this is not citizenship education . . . So it is very important that they are educated about these things because if we don't educate them and for them, taking care of their environment, their local area, . . . know how to behave, know what are the limits to adopt in a certain place . . . do not become normal, . . . for them the normality becomes another and therefore when they are scolded because . . . they behaved differently from what we expected, they do not understand because for them the normality is different . . . it is very important that they are educated about these things . . . this is citizenship education (Teacher 6, school E, Technology)

not being passive . . . playing an active role . . . from the smallest things to the biggest . . . simply, I see litter in my classroom, I pick it up and throw it in the bin, because it's not that someone has to tell me, . . . it is something that dirties the environment in which I live, because I do not want to live in a dirty environment, even if I have not littered, I pick it up and throw it in the bin . . . From very simple things, having an attitude, indeed, of participation, of dynamism in relation to the context, the place, the world in which I live, . . . starting from the small, of course, to get to the big one (Teacher 5, school C, Humanities).

This area of teachers' work is very strongly linked to their efforts to promote the moral and social development of students and in particular foster respect for the rules of civil behaviour (see 5.2 in this chapter).

Environmental awareness and sustainability
A focus on the environment does not stop at the level of taking care of the school and its facilities. The teachers interviewed mentioned the environment as a key topic in citizenship education. Their perspective conflated citizenship education with environmental education:

There are several topics that . . . are actually technological notions but can also be linked to active citizenship. Partly they are environmental education topics . . . the use of resources, waste of resources, the concept of sustainability, biodiversity, many things . . . on which we insist in order to turn the students . . . into citizens that learn to . . . take care of their own resources, take care of their environment, . . . not to exploit it but rather use it and leave it . . . to their children . . . intact, if not improved. I occasionally quote . . . the famous Indian chief . . . that said our environment, the world, was lent to us . . . by our children, it was not given to us by our fathers, . . . so what has been lent to us is a world and an environment, and, as responsible and active citizens, we should learn . . . to respect it, not to spoil it, not to destroy it, and to pass it on to future generations so that they too can benefit from it as we have benefitted (Teacher 6, school E, Technology)

citizenship education . . . teach respect for the environment, for the ecology . . . I do it, I don't say every day, but almost (Teacher 12, school E, Humanities)
The teachers talked about several school projects and activities on environmental awareness and sustainability, addressing primarily issues such as energy saving, waste management, consumerism, sustainable mobility:

I'm dealing with the topic of waste, . . . differentiated collection and recycling, how it works, why . . . we do differentiated collections. . . . We are doing a survey on food waste. . . . For the past two years we have participated in "M'illusino di meno"20. . . . we take part in the competition of the Municipality "At school without cars" (Teacher 11, school G, Maths and Science)

the environment . . . It is important that they [pupils] know that the planet is suffering. . . . a reflection on this exaggerated consumerism . . . these aspects must be addressed, because they are also very urgent, at least, they are very urgent for me (Teacher 7, school A, Humanities)

global education, citizenship education, . . . respect for the environment is also fundamental . . . This year our school . . . participated in this project: we organized this sustainable mobility day. During the year all the teachers of the various subjects carried out projects on this topic, and then we organized this day . . . These projects are very important (Teacher 16, school F, Humanities)

The environment is an area of work that the teachers interviewed more easily address not only at the cognitive level but also at the socio-emotional and behavioural levels, attempting to promote in students particular environmentally sustainable attitudes and behaviours (see also chap. 7, section 2.3):

last year . . . we participated in "M'illusino di meno". . . . the kids felt that they could play an active part on this problem . . . Before, they simply left the classroom and nobody turned off the light. This initiative at least led us to understand that even that simple gesture can contribute to something . . . because saving energy, I save it in my home, in my town, in my province but it is a saving that then affects the whole world (Teacher 5, school C, Humanities)

what and how I consume, this also makes me a citizen, how my eating behaviour . . . has repercussions on the rest of the world, and my doing or not doing differentiated waste collection and recycling makes me a responsible citizen . . . favouring certain means of transport rather than others . . . that too is a way of being responsible citizens (Teacher 3, school I, Humanities)

Going beyond individual ‘environmentally sustainable practices’ and engaging with collective actions was mentioned by a few teachers. They emphasised fostering a collective responsibility and being active in the own community on environmental issues:

being a citizen also in terms of environmental education . . . it does not mean I take care of my garden, mow my lawn and I'm fine. Or I do well the differentiated waste collection at my house and then I'm fine. No! It means I look beyond . . . environmental protection belongs to everyone, requires collective responsibility . . . so I showed a video about an environmental activist as citizenship education (Teacher 8, school I, Humanities)

we worked on the environment . . . trying . . . to foster in students a collective responsibility. . . . We collaborated with XXX [name of a national environmental organisation]. . . . we also collected the

20 M'illusino di meno is a symbolic initiative aimed at raising awareness about energy savings, that was launched in 2005 by the radio transmission Caterpillar of Rai Radio 2. It is organized around February 16, the day in which the Kyoto Protocol entered into force. The campaign, launched at national level by the microphones of Rai Radio 2, invites people to reduce energy consumption to a minimum by turning off the largest number of non-essential electrical devices.
signatures to save the local old mill, and years ago we did it for XXX [name of a local biodiversity area to be protected] (Teacher 14, school D, Art)

the projects that are related to the environment I think that, yes, no doubt . . . can be part of global citizenship education. . . . the project Citizens grow up . . . on ecology, on plants, on the neighbourhood, . . . because . . . active and responsible citizenship is to denounce what happens also outside the school, and take care of the neighbourhood, the environment (Teacher 21, school H, Humanities)

In conclusion, as outlined in this section, the teachers interviewed use the concept of citizenship education as a broad container. They include in citizenship education two areas – Democracy, rights and legality, and Moral and social development, that are typical of a citizenship/civics curriculum, and that are explicitly addressed in the provincial curricular guidelines. But the teachers interviewed stretch the concept of citizenship education and include also Digital citizenship, a new area that is not prescribed by the provincial curricular guidelines and that only recently came to the attention of educators in the Province of Trento. Lastly, in teachers’ views, citizenship education encompasses also work on the environment, resulting in the conflation of citizenship education with environmental education.

6. Citizenship education in a global world – global dimensions

The teachers interviewed used the terms GCE and citizenship education interchangeably. However, they also talked about three dimensions that characterise GCE and distinguish it from citizenship education. The three dimensions include: a) Life in a “super diverse” society; b) Decoding what is happening in the world; c) Preparing for a global society and economy. The two multi-level perspectives highlighted above (the micro-macro and interdependence) intersect these three main GCE dimensions.

Figure n. 6: The three dimensions of Global Citizenship Education linked to the two multi-level perspectives (micro-macro and interdependence)
6.1 Life in a “super diverse” society

The teachers interviewed associated GCE with their efforts to prepare students for life in a “super diverse” society. This area is closely linked to the previous theme Moral and Social Development and in particular to the sub-theme Diversity, coexistence and inclusion. Here, however, there is a more explicit focus on engaging with the “superdiversity” (Vertovec, 2007), brought about by the recent migrations, and that characterizes today’s schools and society at large. Although teachers associated this area of work with citizenship education and GCE, they more easily conceptualized it as “interculture”, so a clear link emerges here between GCE and intercultural education.

Awareness raising projects, interculture projects . . . addressed to all students . . ., which, in a broader sense, is also part of citizenship education, global education, . . . so the importance of raising awareness, the importance of making all students live well together, . . . because in recent years there have been problems linked to forms of racism, . . . against the foreign, but also against people with different ideas, physically different people, . . . a difficulty in relating to the other, to the different from you (Teacher 16, school F, Humanities)

The multi-level perspective that characterizes teachers’ (global) citizenship education work emerged clearly in relation to preparing students for life in a “super diverse” society. Teachers in fact talked extensively about starting from the micro level of the class/school and from the personal dimension, focusing in particular on the interpersonal relationships between local students and students with a migration background. But they also moved to the macro level, and to the societal dimension, looking at the issue of migration and cultural diversity more broadly. Migration, therefore, becomes a specific topic that is addressed from an historical and a geographical point of view. But it also the entry point to discuss the opportunities and challenges of life in a multicultural society. The cultural diversity that characterizes the school and society at large provides the impetus to address the prejudices and stereotypes that characterize the personal relationships among students, but that also colour student’s interpretation of the phenomenon of migration and their perceptions and attitudes towards migrants and refugees. One of the teachers eloquently stressed that learning to get the positive aspects of multicultural societies is essential to be able to “live well” and contribute to building a “nice society”:

I believe that these people [migrants] raise in us many questions regarding our way of thinking about the other, about borders, about movements, and it is not only about considering movements in history to look at why they happened, how they happened, but also a way to live multiculturality today, also in the smallest places, a sort of micro-globality that we live in our classes and that asks and dictates to us to know the others and accept them, to analyse their reasons in order to understand them better so that we can walk together. . . . They [students] will confront a mixed society and . . . to live well they will need to be able to get the positive aspects of this society, because if we continue to perceive only the negative aspect and have a defensive attitude, we will not build a nice society. We will build a society of fears, so what I try to convey, but not naively, in fact, it does not mean that we are all good and that we must all love each other and that everything is fine like this. But we must be people who build the right bridges and who set achievable and just social goals (Teacher 15, school D, Humanities).

Teachers’ account of their work is related to two sub-areas: a) School as a training ground for life in today’s multicultural society; and b) Addressing prejudices, stereotypes and racism.

School as a training ground for life in today’s multicultural society

The teachers interviewed consider school as an important training ground to learn to relate to culturally diverse people. The presence of students with a migration background is the opportunity
for local students to meet the ‘other’ in a safe and guided context, where similarities and differences can be discussed, and a human face can be given to the ‘migrant’:

Todays’ big citizenship issues . . . interculture . . . understood as the encounter of cultures, mutual knowledge, and the possibility of giving spaces of expression to everybody . . . a great resource . . . is the class, that is, in the classroom there is a large multicultural presence, and therefore, we always reflect together that there is not the Islamic, there is XXX [name of a foreign girl], our classmate, with whom we are side by side every day, who is afraid of the oral test like us, who, like us, wants to go out in the evening . . . Our classes, because of their composition, help. This, in my opinion, is the winning card, to make people understand that there are eyes, there is a name and surname . . . starting from their everyday life, because the migrants, they have them as classmates, that is, she is the migrant, the migrant is not an evil entity that arrives to/ (Teacher 13, school D, Humanities)

In teachers’ accounts, the ethnically or culturally different was generally the foreign classmate. Only in one school, the ethnically or culturally different had the face of a teacher. In this school, the hiring of a black teacher was not well accepted by students and parents, and was the catalyst to develop a number of activities to address prejudices, stereotypes and racism. However, more than ad hoc activities, what seems to be more important, in teachers’ opinion, is the actual experience of daily interaction with the ethnically different, that could be a classmate, but in this case is also the teacher. And this daily interaction is seen as the training ground for life in todays’ multicultural society:

we have a black teacher this year . . . and, it has a bit . . . upset and brought up certain situations that, as long as they were discussed in theory, they were far away and did not affect us. But, the moment they affected us, they became more meaningful and important to address . . . the prejudices emerged, there were some problems, it [the presence of the black teacher] was not readily accepted . . . but, in my opinion, it is an important experience because it prepares students for what is the future of society (Teacher 10, school D, Catholic Religion)

Citizenship is not only a topic of the subject citizenship education, . . . but it is a daily occurrence, because we have multicultural schools, we have students who come from all over the world, . . . so in my opinion beyond the topic, beyond the subject, you do it daily. For example, I found myself a year with a class where I had 13 students who came from distant countries, Brazil, Bangladesh, Pakistan, India, . . . so often you start from their experience, from their difficulty, eliminate certain stereotypes . . . or prejudices . . . ensure respect for the foreign classmate, . . . for their culture (Teacher 8, school I, Humanities)

At the same time, being together in school does not necessarily lead automatically to overcoming prejudices and difficulties in relating to the culturally diverse. This in fact takes time and should be the result of a process:

I understand that maybe someone, at the beginning, in first grade, cannot sit beside a foreign student, . . . I’m not going to force it, I am not in favour of insincerity, rather, I wait, and maybe one will only get in third grade to sit beside the foreign classmate, but when one will get there, one is really ready (Teacher 7, school A, Humanities)

The presence of foreign students, in teachers’ views, is the occasion for all students to be exposed to different cultures, and learn to respect diversity:

In our classes we have a large proportion of pupils, often about a third of the pupils, . . . that come from, one from Moldova, one from the former Yugoslavia, one from Morocco, two from Pakistan, one from
South America. Sometimes, almost always now, they were born here, but they ... bring with them their
country of origin, ... even if they have not lived there, because ... the parents have lived there and
therefore ... the language, then the religion is very important. ... So it is fundamental that young people
get used to recognizing themselves a little in diversity. And respect each other (Teacher 1, school I,
Humanities)

However, in a number of cases the teachers’ accounts carried the risk of essentialising ethnicity
and culture, and seeing the foreign student, or his/her parents, as the “bearer” of a monolithic
foreign culture. The encounter with the ‘other’ tended to be framed in terms of an ‘us’ and ‘them’:

the fathers of pupils who experienced migration came to school, so, understand if there is or not conflict
between us and them, a religion or another. ... It is nice that someone can bring their own testimony,
through the father that comes to school, or even the own personal story (Teacher 2, school I, Humanities)

There is also a risk that encountering the other culture stops at the level of getting to know and
experiencing the folkloristic aspects of the other cultures, like multicultural food, music, clothing.

once I invited the mothers who cooked the food of their native lands ... and, another time, for the party
at the end of the year. I asked them, instead of bringing crisps, ... bring food from your country and I
told the students from Trentino not to feel exempt from this. We will try kebabs, ... couscous and ...
something typical of Trentino. And they ate and had fun, but they did also citizenship education
(Teacher 8, school I, Humanities)

Some of the teachers, however, were aware of the complexity of working in multicultural classes,
and displayed a higher level of reflexivity in relation to their own perceptions of students with a
migration background, or the attitudes of these students towards being identified as culturally
diverse or foreign. This teacher eloquently expresses her reflection on her own prejudices and on
the difficulties she experiences in dealing with the complex identity of students with a migration
background:

it was an enlightening moment, at school this year there is a first grade pupil called XXX [Muslim
name] ... and I asked him: “where are you from?” And he answered: “From XXX [name of the local
town]”. And I thought, dam, ... I too saw him as a foreigner, that is, I wanted to know if he was
Moroccan or Tunisian, but instead he feels from XXX [name of the local town]. ... on this I don’t feel
prepared, in the sense that I have always worked with groups of foreign students, but who had just
arrived in Italy, but with the second generation / So, either I treat them too as foreigners but they are
not, or I treat them as Italians but even that is not completely true. In short, we should find a way to
reflect on their identity (Teacher 7, school A, Humanities).

Addressing prejudices, stereotypes and racism
The teachers interviewed often mentioned the importance of addressing prejudices and
stereotypes. They focused on the micro level of the classroom/school and the interpersonal
relationships between students, but moved also to the meso/macro level and dealt with the
prejudices and stereotypes that students have towards people from other cultures, religion, and in
general towards migrants and asylum-seekers:

certain stereotypes, certain prejudices, that, even though the students are so small, have already become
entranced, ... prejudices towards refugees are very strong, especially here in this area, ... and
therefore sometimes you struggle, and so there is really a huge need to give different injections (Teacher 13, school D, Humanities)

we did some activities in class, role-playing games on prejudice . . . there are some students that, because of family culture or . . . other motivations, have deep rooted prejudices, but we . . . made them emerge in these activities . What are the prejudices? The usual ones emerged: foreigners are many, they invade us, foreigners are all men, foreigners steal our jobs, bring diseases (Teacher 10, school D, Catholic Religion)

One teacher mentioned how with a simple question about religion she challenged the stereotype that associates Islam with religious fanaticism:

break down certain prejudices, teach the students to know, to have this curiosity to know the other . . . and not start from stereotypes . . . In my class I have a girl who is a Muslim Senegalese and I dismantled a little the prejudice because I asked the girl a trivial question, I asked her whether she was a Shia or Sunni and she could not answer me. And so I asked the Italian students, if they were Orthodox Christians or Catholic Christians, and they answered loud and clear we are Catholic. And so I said: Think a little, we often judge Muslims as fanatics, then you know more of your religion than XXX [name of the girl] of hers (Teacher 7, school A, Humanities)

Dealing with the prejudices and stereotypes is a way to work at the cognitive level to address the issue of migration, but also concepts such as diversity, race, taking an historical, a geographical, a scientific perspective, that attempts to distinguish between facts and commonplaces:

Interculture is the guiding principle of everything, . . . racism, diversity, I link interculture to addressing prejudice. We have a lot of preconceived ideas . . . We work on history, on why there are certain situations, and we work on what is true, what is proven, what we have just heard (Teacher 2, school I, Humanities)

let them reflect a little bit about . . . what is a prejudice, a cliché, and what happened in history, because there are still common places also about Southern Italy, not only about foreigners, so you have to start from the small, the classroom, and then move to wider scenarios (Teacher 3, school I, Humanities)

diversity looking at the concept of prejudice and racism that was articulated with activities in the classroom, role-playing games, and then the visit to the African museum in Verona, and there an activity on DNA . . . from a scientific point of view, so, looking at DNA, the scientific deconstruction of the concept of race . . . the human race is one, they have come to say (Teacher 10, school D, Catholic Religion)

But addressing prejudices and stereotypes means also dealing with attitudes and feelings and therefore teachers talked about activities and opportunities that engage students at the socio-emotional level. Teachers stressed the importance of a personal testimony, of an encounter that shakes students' preconceived ideas:

to try to demolish some prejudices, we also ate with some of them [asylum seekers], and some students said, "But they are nice!", "They are also clean! They are also well dressed! I thought that!". So . . . you can talk about it in class but . . . if, on the other hand, you meet . . . a small impression can be changed (Teacher 11, school G, Maths and Science)

In conclusion, the teachers interviewed strongly associated GCE with intercultural education. The account of their work highlighted their perception that school can be a training ground for life in today’s multicultural society, as it provides a space for relating to the ethnically and culturally
diverse, and for addressing prejudices, stereotypes and racism. However, this seems to be more an aspiration as teachers feel that what is done in school cannot really change deep rooted stereotypes and prejudices towards the culturally diverse:

there are stereotypes and it is not the case that through in-depth analysis you can manage to eliminate them. Many hold commonsplaces that they hear at home and so the school is not so able, so strong to eliminate the thinking that comes from the family . . . we always try to do some activities, also some games, on stereotypes, at least some activities to show how that one is not necessarily the only point of view, there can be others (Teacher 11, school G, Maths and Science)

they [students] come to school with an already formed thought about them [migrants], that is their family’s thought. And if families are close-minded families, they are racist families, . . . it is difficult to break the stereotypes, the prejudices that they have. It is not impossible, but it is difficult, because they are always confronted with that reality. But it is right that they see that there is another thought, there is another possibility (Teacher 16, school F, Humanities)

in the classroom, it is very difficult to deconstruct prejudices, it is not that we can tackle them head on, we must come at them sideways, and also with irony, because otherwise we cannot have an influence . . . In short, yes, there is so much work to do on this topic (Teacher 10, school D, Catholic Religion)

6.2 Decoding what is happening in the world
The teachers interviewed associated GCE with learning to live in a culturally diverse society. They also related GCE with ensuring students are informed about current affairs, and have the competences to decode what is happening in the world, and develop their own thoughts and opinions:

when I turn on the television, understand what they are telling me, and develop my own thoughts
(Teacher 3, school I, Humanities)

The importance of bringing current affairs and global issues into the classroom was emphasized by many teachers, but one, in particular, stressed that helping students understand what is happening in the world is a moral duty of a teacher. However, she also talked about the insecurity that this engenders as dealing with current affairs and complex global issues is not easy:

I believe that . . . this global approach is a necessity for today’s students . . . even the youngest children need to deal right away with themes that concern the global world . . . I can no longer ignore to help them to decode a newspaper, for example. And many times I also feel inadequate because it is very difficult to be updated on everything, to understand certain political issues . . . But I really consider it a moral duty of the teacher (Teacher 15, school D, Humanities)

The teachers interviewed talked about bringing the world into the classroom and saw it as a stimulating way to foster in students the knowledge and skills prescribed by the curriculum. Several teachers stressed that many news can be linked to global issues that can be very easily reconciled with the content of the curriculum. Bringing the world into the classroom by linking current affairs to the curriculum has also very positive results in terms of meetings students’ interests:

So, I always start from the curriculum and then, as I said, if I ask my students, to look beyond, to have a window always on the world, therefore the news, internet, newspapers, . . . and so on, I have to do it myself first . . . so a news item . . . becomes something to work on that is linked [to the curriculum], it
is never disconnected... these topics, you can bring them inside [the curriculum]. I don’t know, when Trump was elected... we talked about it and then we talked about what rights Trump is eliminating... or why today a Europe that talks about rights finds itself talking about barriers, for example today... we were talking about prejudices... racism... there is a form of non-perception of rights when Austria says:... “I will no longer accept refugees" and... Slovakia, Hungary and Poland that suffered the Nazi concentration camps say. “No, I don’t want refugees” (Teacher 8, school I, Humanities)

... these topics, you can bring in inside [the curriculum], I don’t know, when Trump was elected... we talked about it and then we talked about what rights Trump is eliminating... or why today a Europe that talks about rights finds itself talking about barriers, for example today... we were talking about prejudices... racism... there is a form of non-perception of rights when Austria says:... “I will no longer accept refugees" and... Slovakia, Hungary and Poland that suffered the Nazi concentration camps say. “No, I don’t want refugees” (Teacher 8, school I, Humanities)

to let what happens outside into the school, that is, to take all the pretexts to get what happens outside into the school, and then from there you address it from an historical perspective... I remember... there were years when I was saying: “You cannot leave school after third year, if you don’t know about the Israeli-Palestinian situation”, that is, for me it was fundamental... There, you can really do a hell of a lot, because you can do history, you can do geography,... Italian because there are some very beautiful authors, so you can work on something very current,... and put everything you want into it. In my opinion, if we work in this way, students follow us more (Teacher 21, school H, Humanities)

Drawing from current affairs is also used by teachers to focus on specific angles of a curricular topic. While in the planning a teacher may include a specific topic, what is happening in the world shapes what to emphasise and address in more depth. The way a topic is addressed therefore changes every year as it considers what is happening in the world:

Every year it [what I do] changes, ... I don’t know, a year you focus more on globalization and the use of the technologies, the pros and cons, one year you focus more, perhaps, on the economic aspect, one year more on the cultural one. In the end, it also depends a lot on what is happening in the world (Teacher 17, school D, Humanities)

I give myself a general order, a rough idea, right? but then, where to focus attention... emerges depending on what is happening in the world, ... maybe in my idea I plan to / and then... I realize that it is better... because of what is happening, to dwell on another aspect (Teacher 16, school F, Humanities)

The accounts that the teachers interviewed provided of their work in this area is related to two sub-areas: a) Being informed about current affairs; b) Understanding global justice issues.

Being informed about current affairs
Many of the teachers interviewed assume that their students do not read newspapers or listen to the news. They are therefore encouraging students to watch the news, read the newspapers, and they consider the class as a place where current affairs can then be discussed and explored with a certain depth of analysis. Discussing current affairs and generally what is happening in the world is considered by teachers an important way to stimulate critical thinking and the ability to make connections:

I start when they are in first year, and I say: “Listen to the news and then we talk about it; you tell me what you heard, if there is something that hit you”, well I don’t say all, I have a third-year class of 19, but there are at least 4 that... discuss and argue very well, that know what is happening in the world and can make connections. I know it seems little 4 out of 19 but they are 13 years old kids. Then maybe the majority remembers something and when is listening to the news, pays a bit more attention, because I have seen, over the years, ... that by constantly stimulating them, it works, it makes them think. You must lead them there, ... not to stop at the surface but encourage them to think about what’s behind it (Teacher 17, school D, Humanities)
I myself often arrive in class and I say: "Have you heard the news... or have you read the newspaper?" Because they don’t read the newspapers much and even less listen to the news, on the radio or on television, so it's still me that in the morning, I mention the news... maybe even a little frivolous... but sometimes on important topics, for example, the American elections, they were really very curious, but they knew little... so this also gave me the opportunity to talk about it (Teacher 12, school E, Humanities)

I see that these young people know very little about current affairs, for example, this year with the third years, I asked to bring a scientific article, of any kind, once a week... however, probably, in many houses, the only daily newspapers that arrive at home are XXX or XXX [names of two local newspapers], very few national newspapers, weekly magazines... even less, and therefore from the point of view of current affairs... few students are informed... know (Teacher 18, school D, Maths and Science)

At the same time, several teachers also acknowledged that their students are indeed exposed to current affairs and global issues, particularly those that are high on the media agenda. It is often the students that are asking in class about current affairs topics, and teachers seize these opportunities to discuss them, providing a space where issues can be looked at with a certain depth, and from angles and perspectives that are not given a voice in mainstream media. The issues that are raised by students in class have a high media profile such as migration, terrorism, war in Syria:

another fundamental role of school is to give information that sometimes the news doesn’t give... for example, we worked on migrants a lot... migrants is something that interests them a lot, and they see only... they continue to arrive, so we explain why they arrive, we explain the reasons. And it is a topic that interests them, just because the newspapers, the television more than the newspapers, they talk about it and talk about it only from a certain point of view. They do not investigate the reasons (Teacher 2, school I, Humanities)

everything emerges in class... we talk about everything, there aren’t any taboo subjects, we talk, we express opinions, we try to understand, we try to express motivated opinions, not by hearsay... and therefore they are addressed, precisely because the kids... anyway, they are immersed in reality... if in France there is a group of terrorists that puts a bomb at the stadium they know it, you cannot turn a blind eye, if you don’t raise it yourself, they will do it... because they hear the comments in the family, they are curious to know what the teacher thinks, right? (Teacher 5, school C, Humanities)

when there are issues in the news and the kids ask, why there was the attack in Paris, why the war in Syria... the topic is addressed... with reference also to some news story... but behind it there is some planning because we know that in any case that topic is asked by the kids (Teacher 10, school D, Catholic Religion)

One teacher in particular stressed the importance of young people being exposed to what is happening in the world, so that they realise the injustices that prevail and that the world needs to change:

It is right that they see it with their own eyes, in my opinion. This also happens in the world. Yes, this is the other piece of the world... Not to say, you’re lucky, but... to let them understand that perhaps this world will need to change (Teacher 17, school D, Humanities)

Understanding topical global issues
The accounts provided by the teachers interviewed highlighted work on a number of issues and topics that are generally found in GCE (globalisation, global poverty and inequality, human rights
and denied rights, gender equality, children's rights, malnutrition and world hunger, labour exploitation and new forms of slavery, war and peace, sustainable development). Two key topics however stood out and were mentioned by most of the teachers: migration and terrorism. The relevance of these topics in teachers' accounts is linked to the fact that teachers feel compelled to deal with them because they are issues that have a high profile in the media and therefore students are exposed to them and often bring them up in class. While most teachers took these two issues for granted, one teacher showed a higher level of reflexivity and identified power as a key factor determining what is put on the agenda and what remains marginal:

I see it [GCE] as . . . a sort of perspective with which to look at the big issues, it is a problem also to identify which are the big issues, it is a question of power, who decides which are the big issues, . . . the issues that have a local anchoring, that have local repercussions, but that are also . . . faced by the vast majority of the world population, therefore, global citizenship education is mainly a perspective from which to consider the major issues of the present and the future (Teacher 20, school B, Humanities)

In relation to migration, during the interviews, it became clear that many teachers were very passionate about this topic, and felt a strong need to provide a space where students could be exposed to facts, data and views that are not conveyed by the mainstream media. So, one teacher talked about facilitating access to data that contradicts the commonplaces and prejudices about migrants:

we did some activities in class . . . on prejudice . . . What are the prejudices? The usual ones emerged: foreigners are many, they invade us, foreigners are all men, foreigners steal our jobs, bring diseases. . . . So, . . . establish what are the real data, because we start from asking: “According to you, how many foreigners are there in Trentino?”, and then someone says 30%, someone says 50%, someone says 60%. . . . Then we go to see the data on the website of XXX [name of Provincial office dealing with migration], which are the most updated, . . . and so we begin to deconstruct a preconception . . . and we see that foreigners are 9%. Then, more men or more women? Obviously, they say more men, and instead they are more women because among the foreigners there are also the caregivers. Then, . . . they steal our jobs, . . . The website of XXX is very well structured and you find a lot of information and material to build a lesson. . . . Then, another project that we would like to do, but we will see with what resources, . . . it would be a dream to be able to start to work on this issue next year, with the second grades, to then when they are in third grade bring them to Lampedusa21 and have a twinning with a school in Lampedusa (Teacher 10, school D, Catholic Religion)

Another teacher talked about deconstructing the perception that we are invaded by migrants by showing how there are migratory movements in different continents:

we work on issues related to migrants, refugees, . . . this year I have done the refugee crisis, the difference between refugees and migrants, mechanisms somehow at the basis of migration flows. We looked outside Europe, to show how there are very strong migrations also within Africa, . . . or among other parts of the world, for example towards the Persian Gulf, from Pakistan to Saudi Arabia, from Bangladesh to the United Arab Emirates and so on (Teacher 20, school B, Humanities)

Migration is a topic that can be very easily reconciled with the curriculum of the humanities (Italian, history and geography). This allows teachers to address it with a certain depth and from multiple disciplinary perspectives. Looking at the issue from an historical perspective leads

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21 Lampedusa is an island in the Mediterranean see between Sicily and Tunisia. Since the early 2000s, the island has become a primary European entry point for migrants coming from Africa.
teachers to draw parallels between migrations from Italy, and migrations today. As outlined in chapter 4, section 4.2, drawing simplistic comparisons between migrations from Italy in the past and migrations today from countries in the Global South carries the risk of reinforcing ethnocentric perspectives. Most of the teachers made these comparisons in order to bring this issue closer to students. They did not stress the similarities between the contexts of departure of migrants in the past and today, but rather emphasised the commonalities that characterize all human beings:

having the three subjects allows you to look at a certain topic from several aspects, . . . literature, history, geography, it is much more complete . . . I addressed migrations last year . . . the great migrations of Italians at the end of the XIX century . . . then, from the point of view of literature, we read some books, for example . . . a poem by De Amicis in which he speaks of Italian emigrants to America. I read it to the students, without saying that it was from the end of the XIX century, and almost everyone thought that it was talking about refugees now, because it talked about those ships, all crammed. When I then revealed, they were . . . really very astonished. So, from the historical point of view, literature, and then geography. It is interesting to go and see some cities, like . . . Nova Trento\textsuperscript{22}, where even toponyms are examples of these migrations. And, make the consideration, . . . there was a little Italy, it is normal that those who belong to the same nation get together, stay close, and the same do the foreigners now . . . And, in the end, we are all children of migrations . . . the other you see is the mirror of who you are. . . . The dynamics of migration are always the same, because in the end we are all human beings (ITeacher 7, school A, Humanities)

Migration allows teachers to broaden the discussion and address other global justice issues, and particularly the responsibility that the Western world has in relation to the situation of many countries of origin of today's migrants. Taking a historical perspective allows teachers to link migration to the exploitation of many countries through colonization, and raise awareness about the unjust patterns that still characterize the relations between countries in the Global North and the Global South:

the fact that we are implicated, because we went to their land some time ago, . . . and now that Europe, and also the new world, have now understood that there must be . . . peace, respect for rights, etc . . . they try to come where these rights should be guaranteed . . . maybe we could help them there . . . but how can we help them there if . . . it is still not accepted to cancel the public debt, that, with whom have they contracted it, if not with the former colonizers. I mean, they [pupils] need to know that there are these things . . . we sell weapons, . . . they have to know this (Teacher 8, school I, Humanities)

Dealing with migration does not stop at the cognitive level, as teachers tend to engage students also from a socio-emotional perspective through the use of images, testimonies, personal stories that touch students' emotional cords:

we worked on migrants, really a lot . . . it's a very hot topic, very heartfelt and one brings back what one hears at home or on television. A colleague invited an engineer . . . to school who was responsible for the recovery of a wreck in the Mediterranean, a wreck with 400 corpses on board. And he showed images that do not pass on television and the students, . . . they followed more than they usually do, and were touched. They spoke at home about it, and this is significant because they hardly tell what is done at school. So, we have given information that is not there. He showed pictures, . . . he showed why the ships carrying migrants sink, . . . And this thing shocked them because you do not see this on the news. You see other aspects. . . . A kid . . . used a title, . . . that was "Leave fingerprints on the heart", and he said, "These images I saw left a fingerprint on my heart" . . . It made me understand that this way of

\textsuperscript{22} Nova Trento is a municipality in the state of Santa Catarina in the South Region of Brazil. It was founded in 1875 by migrants coming from the Italian Tirol (now Autonomous Province of Trento)
working that arrives right to where it should arrive is more effective . . . I have learned over the years that I have to invite people to bring their testimonies, and not tell students: "You have to do this, or you have to do that" (Teacher 2, school I, Humanities)

And this topic allows teachers to engage students also at the behavioural level, thus encouraging changes of attitudes and behaviours towards migrants. So, migration is a topic that teachers tend to address in a very comprehensive way that engages the three domains of learning (cognitive, socio-emotional and behavioural) that characterise Global Citizenship Education (see chap. 7, section 2):

with the third grades, it is a few years that we work on the topic of migration . . . we did . . . a questionnaire . . . for adults . . . on the topic . . . The kids built it, and also went around the town . . . Last year we also had a public meeting . . . and we held this year the meeting with XXX [name of a local association working on the topic of war, peace and migrations], the meeting with XXX [name of an association providing support to asylum seekers and refugees] . . . so a testimony [from asylum-seekers], and then we decided to show a film . . . and then . . . with two classes we decided to do . . . a football tournament with fifteen asylum seekers . . . so we will do this football tournament that the kids are organizing, with the idea, to get to know them [the asylum seekers] . . . as one of the attempts is to . . . try to demolish some prejudices . . . you can talk about it [migration] in class but . . . if, on the other hand, you meet . . . a small impression can be changed (Teacher 11, school G, Maths and Science)

The other global topic that featured prominently in teachers' accounts was terrorism. Unlike, migration, however, teachers, did not appear to address it in particular depth or be fully equipped to deal with it in class. When teachers mentioned terrorism, it was only Islamist terrorism, and a 'natural' link was made between migration, Islam and terrorism. The impetus to discuss it in class generally came from the students, either when teachers addressed in history the birth and diffusion of Islam, or whenever a terrorist attack occurred in Europe. The teachers interviewed did not always display a critical and reflective view of this global issue and found it difficult to break the 'natural' association between Islam and terrorism:

especially last year, . . . when there was the attack in Paris, . . . the kids really asked to know what this ISIS is, for example. And what meaning it has, what all of that has to do with us, what danger there is in Italy, both to be informed and to be reassured in a certain sense . . . And, in any case, that topic emerges when we talk about Islam. In this regard, with the Islamic representative responsible for this area . . . they have also done public evenings in XXX [name of local town], but also through us, in the school, to understand exactly what are the real concepts, even if, we know well, that Islam is not all the same, and is not that there is someone who says: "you think so, you're excommunicated". So, it is difficult, even for them, to be able to be credible, completely credible, completely reliable . . . because they explain something but then newspapers, TV, always beat the same point, Islamic terrorism, Islam, the Muslims that arrive, that among them there are terrorists. It is not easy, to distinguish the two things, Islam and terrorism (Teacher 10, school D, Catholic Religion)

Moreover, the teachers interviewed did not seem to have well planned and thought out lessons on terrorism. The impression is that when they address this topic, they improvise:

And I talked about ISIS. I talked about international terrorism, because last year they were news stories and it was impossible not to talk about it (Teacher 5, school C, Humanities)

Terrorism . . . there is a war of religion that has also become . . . Muslims are waging their own war, but since there is globalization, their war has become ours. It is no coincidence that today's terrorists are those who go to school with our children, and this must be said . . . And, it happened . . . when the Paris
episodes happened last year... then, I had 2-3 Islamic girls, from Morocco, Tunisia... and one said: "I talked to dad, he had me read the Quran and it was not written that... you have to expose your religion, your ideas with violence", and the other replied: "Yes, but actually, it is not that the terrorists wanted to kill the kids that were in the disco, they wanted to kill the president". And, I said, "Let's admit that the goal was the president, but... you're saying this as... if it's less serious to kill one than 50-60-70-80 people that were inside the disco. Do you think this is the idea?" And so we analysed it (Teacher 8, school I, Humanities)

While no teacher provided a wider or historical perspective that looked at terrorism beyond the current Islamist terrorism, one teacher showed a certain level of reflexivity, stressing that terrorist attacks happening outside Europe or the Global North are overlooked by the media:

terrorist attacks, for example, it bothers me incredibly when... there was the attack in London, the first title that appeared: Farnesina informs that there are no Italians... So, we talked about terrorism,... there was Manchester, there was London, Spain, years ago, Paris, Berlin... And I say. "Have you noticed that there are other attacks, continuously, that are not mentioned, and talked about, in Egypt, Syria and Indonesia. Why do we not talk about them? (Teacher 17, school D, Humanities)

Another teacher emphasised how the focus on Islamist terrorism may serve a wider agenda of closing us to the world:

know how to deal with certain topics at school with simplicity, certain tragic topics like episodes, even the last one in London, this terrorism that really wants to close us, not to open us to the world, but to close us (Teacher 7, school A, Humanities)

In conclusion, decoding what is happening in the world is considered by teachers a key dimension of GCE. Teachers are encouraging students to watch the news, read newspapers. They place a lot of emphasis on discussing in class current affairs and global justice issues and see it as a stimulating way to foster in students the competences prescribed by the curriculum.

6.3 Preparing for a global society and economy
The last dimension of GCE that emerged from the interviews with the teachers relates to a neoliberal conception of GCE and is essentially about equipping students for life in the global society and work in the global economy. In this perspective, the concept of citizenship, and particularly being an active citizen, is conflated with the idea of acquiring knowledge and skills useful in the labour market, in particular being aware of the own competences:

get used to working as a team, get used to having... the sense, the perception of one's own competences... because... in the labour market, I must also have the sense of what I can do, how far I can go, where I can go further, even that is a right... to be able to do what I am capable of, I like to do, I feel more gratified (Teacher 8, school I, Humanities)

Being active citizens, in this perspective, means learning about production cycles, workplaces, having the competences required by the job market and having a pro-active attitude:

and we have a project that... fits within the combined study-work experience... we have contacted local businesses here in XXX [name of local town],... and we bring the students, as active citizens, to

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23 Farnesina is the government building that houses the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Development Cooperation. The term is used to refer to the Ministry.
visit these businesses, then they understand how a product comes to life, therefore they see the whole production cycle, and then they participate in this production, doing some workshops that will take place here in school, in addition to having a big chunk of training on safety, and how to behave in a workplace (Teacher 6, school E, Technology)

these kids, . . . they may also go to work far away, that is, they must know, be aware, . . . they must have the basics, not only knowledge, that can be a language, or others, or a trade, but also a way to be in society, . . . with a positive attitude, do not expect the unemployment benefit, . . . be active (Teacher 14, school D, Art)

In this vision, GCE is essentially about supporting students to settle into the contemporary society and acquire the forma mentis and the ‘right’ lifestyle and skills:

ey do not yet have this forma mentis, this open-mindedness . . . to be citizens of the world, to see the opportunity to have experiences abroad or find a job abroad (Teacher 12, school E, Humanities)

globality . . . is a lifestyle that should characterize us in the contemporary society…. They [pupils] will be managers, . . . workers, probably with jobs, not permanent or stable for all their life, but flexible. They need to learn and know languages, . . . go and study abroad, . . . they will travel a lot outside Italy for various reasons (Teacher 15, school D, Humanities)

we try to build . . . a person who can fit in anywhere on the planet, . . . also because they have to move these kids, go, therefore, . . . if a person has an open mind, has competences, knows, then he/she can live here, can live in another place in the world, and overall fit in well (Teacher 9, school I, Foreign Language)

In this perspective, global citizenship is equated with the global competences required to live in the 21st century. Only one teacher, while stressing the need for young people to acquire the competences required by the global society and economy, also questioned the model based on competitiveness that is driving it, and stressed the need to help young people discern what is right and what is wrong. However, this is perceived by the same teacher as utopia and very hard to do:

globalization has led us to this [competitiveness], . . . and they [pupils], anyway, will need to be in this world, and they will need to have the competences, but it would be nice, and this sometimes is a bit an utopia, and we hope to do it, . . . understand that the model, well, they have to know it, . . . not to go adrift, because . . . it is a world that otherwise really leaves you aside, but we should also, at the same time, give them the means to understand that it is not always the right model. I don’t know how to explain myself. . . . We need to give them the competences to be able to be in the world, but also give them the competences to understand what is right, and what . . . it is not. But, how do you do it? Don’t ask me, because I know it’s hard (Teacher 9, school I, Foreign Language)

7. Conclusions
This chapter has outlined how citizenship education, in teachers’ views, is no longer about fostering the national citizen, but rather a cosmopolitan citizen, that feels part of a common humanity and whose actions are guided by universal human rights, solidarity and moral duties towards distant others and planet earth. Although (global) citizenship is seen by some of the teachers interviewed as a quite abstract concept, often difficult for young people to understand and grasp, it is also considered an important practice that students can learn in school. Citizenship, in their view, needs to be linked to the life experience of young people and it is used as a lens to look at many contemporary issues, showing how these issues play out in our lives, and what we can do about them. It is strongly linked to fostering a sense of responsibility.
In order to make the concepts of (global) citizenship concrete, the teachers interviewed adopt a multi-level perspective articulated on the basis of two key dimensions. The first dimension moves along a geographical and social continuum that links the local to the global and the personal to the societal. In this perspective coherence becomes very central as teachers stress that citizenship is not only about cognitively understanding certain issues, principles and values, but also about assuming attitudes and behaviours that are coherent with these moral imperatives. The loci where these “new” attitudes and behaviours can be played out are often the microcosm of the classroom, the school and the community where the students live. The second dimension is related to the concept of interdependence and the influence that the far away has on us, as well as the impact that we have on distant peoples and places. According to the teachers interviewed, understanding interdependence is a key dimension of GCE. However, interdependence was mentioned more in terms of a conceptualization of GCE, while the actual accounts of what teachers concretely do in class only in a few cases dealt with the concept of interdependence with a certain depth. Interdependence seemed to remain an abstract idea that teachers try to infuse into students but that young people find difficult to grasp and internalize.

Teachers’ accounts of their practice suggests a perceived lack of distinction between citizenship education and GCE. The teachers interviewed use the concept of citizenship education as a broad container. They included in citizenship education two areas - Democracy, rights and legality, and Moral and social development, that are typical of a citizenship/civics curriculum, and that are explicitly addressed in the provincial curricular guidelines. In terms of these two areas, the main focus of teachers’ practice is on awareness of and respect for human rights, legality with a particular focus on mafias and mafia-behaviours, rules of civil behaviour and the promotion of inclusion and peaceful coexistence. The teachers interviewed stretched the concept of citizenship education and included also Digital citizenship, a new area that is not prescribed by the provincial curricular guidelines and that only recently came to the attention of educators in the Province of Trento. Indeed, as outlined in chapter 4 section 5.2, the Province has recently approved the “Digital schools” plan, signalling that digital citizenship is clearly a provincial priority. It is no surprise therefore that schools have started to address digital citizenship. Yet, the focus is primarily on preventing cyberbullying, while digital media literacy does not receive the same level of attention. Lastly, in teachers’ views, citizenship education encompasses also work on Care for the environment, which results in the conflation of citizenship education with environmental education.

While the teachers interviewed used the terms GCE and citizenship education interchangeably, they also talked about three dimensions that characterise GCE and distinguish it from citizenship education. The first dimension, Life in a “super diverse” society, is essentially about cultural global citizenship and results in the conflation of GCE with intercultural education. The teachers tend to see the school as a training ground for life in today’s multicultural society. Multicultural schools provide a space for students to relate to the ethnically and culturally diverse, and give teachers the opportunity to address prejudices, stereotypes and racism. Several teachers demonstrated awareness of the complexity of working in multi-cultural contexts and of dealing with issues related to culture and identity. But risks of providing an essentialised and folkloristic notion of other cultures were also noted, while addressing stereotypes and prejudices seemed to be more an aspiration than a reality of teachers’ practice. The second dimension of GCE, Decoding
what is happening in the world, relates to the importance given by teachers to discussing in class current affairs and global justice issues, many of whom are clearly controversial topics arising from the current geo-political dynamics. Bringing the world into the classroom is a stimulating way to foster in students the knowledge and skills prescribed by the curriculum. It demonstrates the ability of teachers to keep the curriculum ‘alive’, dynamic and connected to what is happening in the world. The accounts provided by teachers of their work on a number of issues, in particular migration, demonstrates the ability to address a controversial global issue in depth and in a comprehensive and age-appropriate manner. In relation to other issues, however, in particular terrorism, the teachers did not appear to adopt a critical and self-reflective view, and did not seem to be fully equipped to address it in class in an age-appropriate way. The last dimension of GCE that emerged from the interviews with the teachers, Preparing for a global society and economy, relates to a neo-liberal conception of GCE and is essentially about equipping students for life in the global society and work in the global economy. Here the transformative agenda of GCE and its drive towards social justice is completely lost and global citizenship is equated with the global competences required to live in the 21st century.
Chapter Seven: Reconciling Global Citizenship Education with a Competency-based Curriculum

1. Introduction
Chapter 5 has outlined how GCE in the schools studied is essentially a marginal and invisible presence. Chapter 6 has shown that despite this, the teachers interviewed acknowledge the need to foster cosmopolitan citizens. They broaden citizenship education to make it relevant to the reality of a globalised and interconnected world. The chapter has also outlined teachers’ uncertainties about the concept of GCE and the conflation of GCE with citizenship education, environmental education and intercultural education.

This chapter outlines how the teachers interviewed reconcile GCE with the competency-based curriculum prescribed by the provincial curricular guidelines. The first part of the chapter is structured on the basis of the three domains of learning (cognitive, socio-emotional and behavioural) used by UNESCO (2015). Chapter 2, section 5.2 has illustrated the shortcomings of a perspective on citizenship education centred on the acquisition of specific knowledge, skills, and attitudes. The limits of the UNESCO GCE framework were also discussed (chapter 2, section 6.2). Nevertheless a decision was taken to use the three domains of learning in this chapter as the teachers interviewed generally discussed their practice on the basis of cognitive, socio-emotional and behavioural competences.

After presenting the GCE competences pertaining to the three learning domains, the chapter highlights how a global citizenship outlook is not a transversal perspective across the curriculum but rather a sporadic and often unplanned occurrence. It ends outlining the three modalities used by teachers to reconcile GCE with the curriculum and integrate a global citizenship perspective in their practice: a) Designing specific GCE projects; b) Responding to prompts; c) Making curricular choices. Opportunities and challenges related to these three modalities are illustrated.

2. Global Citizenship Education learning domains
The teachers interviewed found it quite difficult to provide a definition of GCE, but they were forthcoming with a number of key competences that they related to it. The three domains of learning (cognitive, socio-emotional and behavioural) used by UNESCO (2015) provide a useful framework to organise the competences identified by teachers. These three domains of learning and the sub-themes that emerged from the interviews with the teachers are illustrated in image n. 7. The cognitive is the dimension that featured more prominently in teachers’ understanding of GCE. It is seen as a required basis, upon which the other two dimensions can be built. The cognitive is also the domain that the teachers interviewed address mostly through their practice. The socio-emotional is also a key dimension of learning identified by the teachers, although in terms of practice, it does not receive the same level of attention as the cognitive. Lastly, the behavioural domain emerged as quite marginal in teachers’ conceptualisations of GCE and especially in their practice.
2.1 Cognitive dimension of Global Citizenship Education

The data that emerged from the interviews with teachers suggests that the cognitive dimension of GCE includes three attributes: a) Knowledge and understanding of global issues, interdependency and rights; b) Critical thinking and ability to form an opinion; c) Open-mindedness and cognitive decentralization.

Knowledge and understanding of global issues, interdependency and rights

The teachers interviewed identified knowledge and understanding of the world, global issues and the interconnectedness of the local, the national and the global as key learning outcomes. As outlined in chapter 6, decoding what is happening in the world through a multi-level perspective that addresses interdependency is a key dimension of GCE. Understanding the complexity of the world, in the past and the present, according to the teachers interviewed, is a fundamental building block to being a citizen of today’s global world:

that the kids know things, know the world, know the problems and, I mean, particularly, the contemporary world, but . . . also . . . the past. So, first of all, to know, to be aware of the complex world in which they live, whether we speak of the past history, the world was complex then, or if we talk about today. So citizenship as awareness of the complexity of the world (Teacher 1, school I, Humanities)

perhaps we start from the assumption that they already know, . . . but they don’t, therefore, getting them to know becomes important, knowledge, awareness. . . . through images, the thematic maps, for example, seem to me very useful to show the gap between the North and the South of the world. . . . I think these things can . . . develop an attention . . . a global outlook (I Teacher 3, school I, Humanities)
The teachers interviewed talked also about facilitating knowledge and understanding of human rights of both individuals and groups. As outlined in chapter 6, learning about rights and responsibilities is a key dimension of teachers’ understanding of GCE. Human rights and denied rights is also a key learning topic that the teachers interviewed address in their practice:

The topic . . . of human rights, women’s rights, the rights of the child, . . . human rights in general (Teacher 13, school D, Humanities)

work was carried out on the UN . . . I did not deal so much with . . . the structure of the UN, in the sense that I did not speak . . . about the UN bodies . . . and instead we did in depth the tasks of the UN agencies and sub-agencies and they [pupils] worked . . . on the tasks of the various sub-agencies producing . . . lapbooks . . . very beautiful, and this was an opportunity to reflect on human rights (Teacher 15, school D, Humanities)

In citizenship education we cover human rights, denied rights (Teacher 17, school D, Humanities)

The international day of happiness, I said: according to you . . . why was the UN forced to found a day of happiness? Are we all unhappy? . . . We did a list of the people that . . . are unhappy, because they lack rights, the right to peace, the right to education. That is unhappiness, that is, happiness is welfare, it is respect for rights . . . there are children that do not enjoy many rights: they are unhappy, unhappy in this sense . . . certainly the basic rights, the right to education and the right to health (Teacher 8, school I, Humanities)

Many of the teachers interviewed emphasized that their work on human rights focuses in particular on children’s rights. Several teachers talked about activities they do or have done individually or in collaboration with other teachers on the Convention on the Rights of the Child:

I talk about rights, . . . this year, specifically, there was this exhibition on children’s rights with a workshop that accompanied the exhibition (Teacher 1, school I, Humanities)

this year we worked on children’s rights . . . so from the point of view of the articles that protect children, what it means to have rights, which parts of the world do not respect these rights, etc. (Teacher 3, school I, Humanities)

Human rights, children’s rights, . . . in the hour alternative to religion, I present them all, and after I let them [pupils] work on what makes them vibrate more, . . . and then they generally prepare a product for the class and present it, because it’s nice that they have this chance to say: "I did this", . . . "I was interested in it because" (Teacher 9, school I, Foreign Language)

we did children’s rights, their rights (Teacher 12, school E, Humanities)

We did . . . all rights for everyone . . . this work on children’s rights, . . . so child soldiers, child labour, in various parts of the world, we read . . . it was a project that lasted a year, . . . we looked at the history, the UN, . . . then we looked for films, we showed . . . Iqbal, we showed Oliver Twist, . . . and we reflected on them . . . We read . . . also some material . . . on India, . . We read the articles [of the Convention on the rights of the Child], we commented them, and we also interpreted them graphically (Teacher 14, school D, Art)

A particular focus of teachers’ work on children’s rights is child labour, often looking at this issue from an historical and geographical perspective, therefore looking at child labour in Europe in the nineteenth century, and child labour today in many countries of the world. Similarly to the comparisons that teachers make between migrations in the past and today, there is a risk that
comparing child labour in the past and present reinforces the idea that countries of the Global South are at the stage of Europe during the industrial revolution and are therefore behind on the ‘development continuum’. This perspective then overlooks historical and current global dynamics. The narrative book *Storia di Iqbal* was mentioned by several teachers as a resource they use to address child labour:

> We worked on child labour . . . this year we read the book Iqbal (Teacher 16, school F, Humanities)

> I discovered that in history, with the other teacher, . . . they are doing the industrial revolution, child labour in the nineteenth century . . . and then I said, I have to do something on it in Italian too, and fortunately there was a reading of *Storia di Iqbal* on the anthology . . . so they can make the comparison between child labour in the nineteenth century, . . . and the current one (Teacher 7, school A, Humanities)

Only one teacher mentioned how child labour is not only an issue that affects the ‘far away’ but also the local context. She stressed the importance to look at it ‘here’, in Italy, in the local area, but still stressed that it is mainly an issue of the ‘far away’:

> I talk about rights, for example, child labour, it is clear that the projection is primarily on the far away, . . . but you can also look at what is near, school dispersion, situations of some suburbs, . . . even here in Italy, and even in our XXX [name of the local area], they are certainly less impacting, but they are there. But it is clear that on this topic, the main focus is on the far away (Teacher 1, school I, Humanities)

A few teachers mentioned also the situation of women and women’s rights as a particular topic of their work:

> Another beautiful project that I always do with the third years is on the female figure . . . in different states . . . in Sub-Saharan countries, or in the countries of the Middle East, . . . in China . . . . I really like to show the kids the evolution that women had, the respect that they conquered and also, on the other hand, those countries where they still live in a situation of . . . subjection, or anyway, in a situation in which they are not free to express the own ideas, master the own life, . . . the own feelings (I Teacher 12, school E, Humanities)

Yet, for some teachers, the presence in the class of foreign students, and in particular Muslim boys and Muslim girls that may be wearing the veil, is quite challenging. This teacher shared her dilemmas and difficulties in addressing the topic of women’s rights in classes with Muslim students and openly acknowledged that she needs help. This teacher sees the veil as the symbol of women’s oppression and as an imposition on women. She does not consider that it may also be a choice that Muslim women freely make:

> Yes, I can say that this is a problem for me . . . What do I mean by that? When I had monozygotic classes, that is, with all locals, let’s call them that, talking about the condition of women in other contexts, the condition of submission, of subordination was spontaneous. I can say, and I would like someone to help me, that I find it difficult to do it now because in the class I have Muslim boys, who therefore may feel perhaps, in some way, affected, or indirectly blamed. In other cases, because there are several girls in this school who wear the veil, but in my class, by chance, strangely, I have some Muslim girls but not with the veil. So, if I had girls with the veil in class, how could I talk about women’s rights in a neutral way, impossible. That is, in my opinion this is an aspect in which we teachers should

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*Storia di Iqbal* is a narrative book by Francesco D’Adamo that tells the story of Iqbal Masih, a Pakistani boy who became a symbol of abusive child labour in Pakistan.
be helped because, there is no doubt that in other realities women are in a condition of subordination and on this no one can say that it is not true, or is only half true. And so, how to do it? I certainly do not give up talking about equality. But I don't overemphasise the specific reference. I speak of equality, I speak of a condition of subordination, in the past, it was there, because it emerges from the history books, for example, it emerges from the stories in the anthology, sometimes from the fables themselves. And then this is a fact, it emerges also from observing the world around us. But it is certainly an issue, in my opinion, very delicate, complex (Teacher 1, school I, Humanities)

Critical thinking and ability to form an opinion

Many of the teachers interviewed stressed the importance of acquiring a broad historical and geographical knowledge of the world, past and present, as the basis for building critical thinking skills:

To know, because you must, first of all, know. If you don't know, you don't build anything, don't build skills, don't build competence, don't build the ability to reason . . . Knowing history, I think it's fundamental, you must know history, you must know how the various peoples were born, why today they are like this, how come we have arrived at such different points of development. Then, certainly know geography, that is, how is this world, what are the resources available to them. And then you have to know the world that was built on it, that is, from the multinationals to the advertising world . . . Knowledge from a historical point, from a geographical point of view, and afterwards, reflect and reason (Teacher 17, school D, Humanities)

help them, first of all, to know and be informed, because without knowing it may be that you also let yourself be manipulated, that is, first of all, to know, be informed . . . giving information and knowledge, . . . that is, knowing, according to me, helps you, as the ancients said, knowledge makes you free . . . from manipulations that may come from the political world, but also from mass media, because . . . they sell us candles for lanterns (Teacher 14, school D, Art)

The teachers stressed that through their work they want to help students develop critical skills and the ability to analyse issues. They emphasized the importance of encouraging students to develop a critical mind and the ability to form their own opinion, which should be based on knowledge and reflection, rather than hearsay and prejudices:

help them develop . . . critical skills, their thinking, their own . . . but I can develop critical skills if I know, if not . . . based on what . . . hearsay? Therefore, . . . the desire to know in order to form my own opinion, of the world . . . critical skills, to reflect, to think, I do not let myself be carried away by what I hear, by prejudices, but I stop, get knowledge and then think. On this, there is a lot of work to do (Teacher 3, school I, Humanities)

ability to know how to judge with one's own . . . consciousness what is around us . . . be able to go even beyond what you hear to get a correct idea of an issue . . . I don't stop at what I hear but I get an informed idea if I have to express an opinion, not agreeing to what I hear, it's said, and everyone says . . . it's not that because everyone says it, that something is fine . . . I would like that there was a small alarm bell in the kids, so they say. Wait a moment that perhaps, rather than tagging along, I try to form my own opinion (Teacher 10, school D, Catholic Religion)

be never satisfied with what is just said to them, but approach things with a critical mind (Teacher 13, school D, Humanities)

I want them to develop a critical mind, but in the Greek sense of the term, not because everything has to be negative but because on everything you have to stop and think . . . I like people that take positions, that are critical, that are willing to change . . . those positions, but after they know, after they understand and after they reflect (Teacher 17, school D, Humanities)
Acknowledging the power of the media, two teachers explicitly mentioned media literacy as a key competence they wish to develop in students and provided apt examples of what they do. One teacher demonstrated to students how the information on Wikipedia may not be always true:

we worked on St. Remedios, and I said: “Go to Wikipedia and you should find a mistake”. And they came back and they told me that yes ... it is inserted as contemporary to San Vigilio but in reality he lived in the year one thousand. So I said: “You see, knowledge, you must always look at it in a critical way, as what they write is not always the truth” (Teacher 7, school A, Humanities).

The other worked on propaganda during Fascism and drew parallels with the media coverage of situations today:

In my opinion one of the most important things in global education – because now the kids hear everything, ... on the internet, online, on television – is fostering critical thinking, being able to understand what you can trust, what is true, what they really want to tell us ... a practical example, in history we did fascism, we did the Ethiopia campaign, the war in Ethiopia, we worked on the sources of information of that time to see how it actually happened, what happened in reality in Ethiopia during the war, and how the propaganda showed it. And then we ... said, but today is still what happens or I can trust what / ... and we, they realized that in reality even today, not everything is told, or they tell us only certain / And it is important that they know, ... this is what they tell me, but it's not just that, it is not certain that it is the truth (Teacher 16, school F, Humanities)

The same teacher provided also an example of how she addressed the issues of child labour in a way that clearly developed students' critical inquiry and media literacy skills:

We worked on child labour ... this year we read the book Iqbal ... And I asked them to do some research ... We had collected a lot of magazines ... and had done some collages on various topics, sports, fashion and there were all these rich, colourful posters. Then I said: "Now take these magazines and do a collage on the exploitation of labour". And there was nothing. There was almost nothing on all these magazines they had brought. And then they were astonished: "So, this problem doesn’t exist". So, we addressed this issue in this way (Teacher 16, school F, Humanities)

**Open-mindedness and cognitive decentralisation**

Several teachers mentioned open-mindedness and the ability to go beyond single stories and read reality from multiple perspectives as key cognitive attributes they wish to foster in students. The teachers talked about fostering an open mind, able to grasp differences and allow spaces where different worldviews and diverse points of views can find expression, a mind without barriers and able to move beyond a single thought:

knowledge, broad knowledge, but open mind, above all, that is, to develop a mind that is able to grasp all these differences, ... if the mind is open, it can grasp them all, historical, geographical, economic, ... So, knowledge and open mind, openness, flexibility, ... Horizons have expanded, ... and therefore, ... open the minds of people as much as possible, get them to know as much as possible different situations (Teacher 9, school I, Foreign Language).

Open-mindedness that allows you to approach a topic, a problem in a panoramic way, ... open-mindedness as willingness to accept different points of view, not to acquire them, not necessarily, absolutely, but to ensure a space for these different points of view, in the awareness that ... these spaces for openness, these encounters, these wide horizons, also contribute to my own growth (Teacher 13, school D, Humanities)
For me it is important to equip the kids to read reality ... not with a single thought, but in a critical way, providing more hypotheses, that is, having an open mind, as much as possible (Teacher 7, school A, Humanities)

do not have any kind of mental barrier and ... have an open mind, and therefore a culture that allows you to have this open mind ... to let the person grow ... with a free mind, without barriers (Teacher 8, school I, Humanities)

A couple of teachers stressed the importance of questioning the assumed objectivity and truth of our knowledge. They talked about discussing with students the fact that history is not objective but is told from different points of view. The idea of multiple histories is mentioned in the provincial history curricular guidelines (see chap. 4, section 4.2) and is eloquently expressed by this teacher:

you must tell them that there are always histories, there is no history, ... so, undoubtedly, you must always have a healthy mistrust towards what you read, hear or see ... so, first, I give them history and knowledge, as objective as possible, then I tell them that objectivity doesn’t exist; because when you read, for example, the Crusades, if you read them in our history book, they have a significance, if you read them in the Tunisian history book, I can assure you that the Crusades are the beginning of the end between us and them. ... So it always depends on the point of view from which you read it (Teacher 17, school D, Humanities)

Just considering how an historical event is referred to in another language can easily bring home the fact that history is interpreted differently and from several perspectives. This teacher emphasised how Italian history books talk about the ‘barbarian invasions’ that caused the fall of the Roman Empire, while German history books refer to them as migrations of people:

sometimes they are also linguistic comparisons, ... in history ... we speak of invasioni barbariche²⁵ and then we discover that the Germans do not call them invasions but call them Völkerwanderungen, so migrations of peoples, so there is also an ideological aspect that we begin to perceive. ... and so we understand how history is interpreted by each people according to its own perspective. ... Sometimes I discover these things and then I communicate them to my pupils or we think about them together (Teacher 15, school D, Humanities)

Another teacher explicitly referred to the importance of cognitive decentralization to move beyond an ethnocentric interpretation of the world, and provided some examples of how she ‘displaces’ students’ Eurocentric views:

work on cognitive decentralization, ... to simply make it clear that the way we have studied the world, and history, is a Eurocentric view, even simply projecting planispheres, as they are depicted in other countries ... this above, this below, the fact that you can’t find Europe anymore because it is in a little corner because maybe at the centre there is / ... this displaces them [pupils]. ... You can also make them reflect on how the European, even historically, has always assessed with its own meter, without valuing what was there, what he was finding. There are some nice readings, maybe you know Papalagi, that is a book written by ... a king ... of a tribe of the Samoan Islands that in the nineteenth century took a trip to Europe, and you see how he lived these European oddities, and therefore here, you work on points of view (Teacher 13, school D, Humanities)

²⁵ Invasioni barbariche is the term used in Italian history books to refer to the Migration Period during the decline of the Roman Empire around the 4th to 6th centuries AD in which there were widespread migrations of peoples within or into Europe, mostly into Roman territory, notably the Germanic tribes and the Huns. It referred to in English by the German loanword Völkerwanderung and—from the Roman and Greek perspective—the Barbarian Invasions.
In conclusion, the teachers interviewed strongly associated GCE with the development of cognitive competences, such as knowledge and understanding of global issues and human rights, as well as skills like critical thinking and open-mindedness. The cognitive, and particularly supporting students to acquire a broad knowledge (subject knowledge as well as awareness of what is happening in the world and global issues) and develop a critical mind, is the dimension that featured more prominently in teachers’ conceptualisation of GCE. It is also the domain that teacher mentioned more easily and frequently when they were providing accounts of what they actually do in practice.

2.2 Socio-emotional dimension of Global Citizenship Education

The data that emerged from the interviews with the teachers suggests that the socio-emotional dimension of GCE includes two attributes: a) Rooted personal identity; b) Emotions and empathy.

Rooted personal identity
A few of the teachers interviewed talked about the cosmopolitan idea of reconciling local and national affiliations with being a citizen of the world. One teacher reflected Nussbaum’s cosmopolitan idea of thinking of ourselves “as surrounded by a series of concentric circles” (1996: 9), whereby “the first one encircles the self, the next takes in the immediate family, then follows the extended family, then, in order, neighbours or local groups, fellow city-dwellers, and fellow countrymen” (1996: 9). The outer and largest circle is humanity as a whole, and “our task as citizens of the world will be to draw the circles somehow towards the center, making . . . all human beings part of our community of dialogue and concern” (9). Another teacher used the metaphor of matryoshkas. However, while a cosmopolitan idea may reflect their understanding of identity, this does not translate in a significant way into teaching practice. The teachers interviewed in fact said that they don’t explicitly work on identity in these terms in class. They also found it difficult to provide examples of work on it, beyond making general remarks to students while addressing other issues:

they [pupils] are very attached, not even to the nation, because they don’t own the concept of nation, the concept of Europe they don’t own it at all, . . . so the local is the city, . . . this is their dimension . . . And . . . therefore, widening, widening, widening . . . the borders is very difficult . . . how do I try to do it . . . every so often . . . I try to instil some patriotism, but not because they as Italians have to . . . consider themselves better, but rather, because they have the opposite prejudice . . . that Italy is not a beautiful country . . . And so I often list the beauties of our country, . . . just to make them feel Italian citizens . . . but also widen in concentric circles their identity. . . . When we get to talk about Europe, . . . I say we European citizens . . . to try to increase this awareness that, as I told you, they don’t have . . . And I try to widen more and talk about being citizens of the world. But, I can’t think of particular examples of my work on this . . . right now (Teacher 3, school I, Humanities)

identity, in the end, it’s not that you have to choose, . . . we’re a bit like a matryoshka, right? In the end we should get to the last matryoshka, in which . . . we are all citizens of the world, so we all find our space . . . . But no, honestly, no, [I don’t address it in class] (Teacher 7, school A, Humanities)

None of the teachers interviewed provided examples of structured work to help students develop a sense of belonging to a common humanity and a feeling of being citizens of the world. One teacher warned against imposing to students a defined cosmopolitan identity, and rather talked about the importance of helping students understand that identity is multiple, changeable, dynamic.
This was echoed by another teacher that stressed how identity is not something given, but is rather the result of encounters with the other and with difference. But again, these ideas about identity appear to be just teachers’ perspectives that do not get easily translated into teaching practice:

work on the identity of the kids, . . . if it is about imposing to them an identity, we are in 2017 you can’t be anything but a citizen of the world, cosmopolitan, I think it will be a failure. We are not in the least able to have such a fascination . . . Reflecting about identity, multiple. More than anything else I would reflect about the fact that identity is something changeable . . . if you live identity as something changeable, like something dynamic, it can also be something that school works on. If it is to give a new identity, it is decided what that must be, it seems to me a complete failure . . . Working on identity is fundamental, we ourselves should question our identity (Teacher 20, school B, Humanities)

how identity is formed, that is not something given . . . they are all topics that I believe . . . can be part of a global citizenship reflection, no? . . . get the kids to understand that the so-called Western culture is not one, for example, it was not born and given once and for all, but was the result of encounters, of clashes, too, that in history generated something else, . . . something positive, it is a reflection to be made with the kids, and then connect it to their own identity, how do you form your own identity? Just by being born and dying in that little house in XXX [name of a local village]. . . . No, our identity develops from . . . the encounter with the other, therefore, the more I meet, the more my identity will be rich, . . . so, from a subject like . . . the Roman Empire that might seem, aseptic, far away from the kids, . . . in reality, you can choose to focus on those reflections, that allow them to really understand that in the end history really speaks to us, tells us so much about us (Teacher 13, school D, Humanities)

Several teachers were more comfortable with the metaphor of identity as a tree that has roots in a particular place. So, identity, for these teachers, is about knowing and having a sense of belonging to the place where one is born or in the culture where one continues to live. It is about being proud of one’s origin, while being also open and sensitive to others and other places:

the awareness . . . that basically we have roots in the place where we were born, in the culture in which we grew up, in the place where we continue to live but then look at the other . . . have the ability to reflect and be sensitive to the situation of others (Teacher 1, school I, Humanities)

feel like a citizen of the world but don’t forget your roots and that’s what I do with foreigners always, it’s right not to forget, in fact it emerged today . . . a pupil chose this image of a girl with a white mask and the caption said: don’t be ashamed, take off your mask, be proud of your origins, right? more or less the concept was this (Teacher 8, school I, Humanities)

When they talked about identity as having and knowing one’s own roots, a few teachers brought as examples the work they have done or are doing on helping students know and understand the local history and the characteristics of the local area. As outlined in chapter 4 section 5.2, the provincial Education office supports an understanding of citizenship linked to a strong sense of local and cultural identity, rooted in the particular history that moulded the characters, traditions and cultures of the people of the Province of Trento. The provincial curricular guidelines also include a strong reference to the specificity of the local area and the importance of learning about the local history and the autonomy that characterises the province. In one of the schools studied, the teachers interviewed talked about a few specific projects on researching the local history, that also opened up an encounter and dialogue with difference. This was done to ensure that a focus on the local identity did not result in closeness towards other places and peoples but rather developed curiosity, openness and respect for difference:
I did a project, . . . in collaboration with the school of XXX [name of a nearby German speaking village]. . . . there was this exchange of letters, . . . being this a border area, with this strange physical and political border, we facilitated a dialogue between the kids, . . . trying to understand, . . . first of all where you live . . . know your history, . . . I believe in the fact that it is right to build an identity in the kids, . . . which in my opinion helps you to engage better with others . . . because, otherwise, you are either afraid of being overwhelmed, in my opinion, or you tend to be . . . so, know who you are, where you come from, the history . . . of your own land, from every point of view, so knowing the history, . . . also, the evolution of society, the changes, even the physical ones, . . . just knowing who you are, where you are from, why, according to me, builds their identity. And then you also have more curiosity to know others (Teacher 14, school D, Art)

they strongly feel their identity but a rather strange concept of identity, because when you say: "Oh, all right, then let's talk a little bit about the local history, your history, starting from what is around here or, I don't know, on the other side, we have South Tyrol [a German-speaking province that is part of Italy]". . . . In reality they knew nothing at all. That is, they know that they live in the autonomous province of Trento, full stop. So, why is it autonomous? What happened? Starting from the Austro-Hungarian Empire, that, anyway, was multi-ethnic . . . then different peoples can live together, maintaining their identity. And so we worked on South Tyrol . . . a bit of history because there is a border there but at the end the question that we wanted to address was: a borderland, where different cultures coexist, is a place of possibility or is . . . a social and cultural death? In the end it emerged that here people live well, so it means that, if positive models are applied, things can improve (Teacher 17, school D, Humanities)

In terms of practice, working on identity for a number of teachers meant also focusing on students' personal characteristics and traits. So, the focus of their work on identity was primarily on personality, personal interests and talents that need to be recognised to be a fully rounded person and find one's place firstly in the class and then in society:

I think that identity is a very important topic that I touch in many ways . . . where I would like to bring them [the students], is to build an I, a being myself, without any pressure from the group . . . they must create their own space, for now just in the classroom, but then tomorrow in society. And I always say: "Guys, you need to have specificities, that is, you must recognize what your attitudes are", and therefore the kids must also have an identity that is not only an identity with the territory, recognizing oneself as part of a territory, but also an identity with oneself. And to do this, what do we do in class? To do this, many readings, many readings! We watch videos, or we also reflect on prejudices, that maybe they don't allow you to discover your identity, a talent, a passion, right? For example, a boy wants to be a dancer or a girl wants to do cycling. So we open up these topics through discussions (Teacher 12, school E, Humanities)

Linked to this is also the work that teachers do on school orientation. Helping students understand who they are and what are their interests and talents is in fact functional to being able to choose the “right” upper secondary school:

at school . . . through certain readings we talk about: "who am I?" . . . in the anthology . . . there is a dedicated section, . . . you are a new student and you must present yourself to others, therefore there are readings for the first-grade kids, . . . there is the descriptive text in which you have to describe yourself physically, but also, what are your passions, what are your skills, where you feel deficient, with some limit, and therefore we work . . . on identity. At the beginning of the year, I have it a bit as a ritual, I like them to make a big identity card, on a piece of paper, . . . a drawing of themselves or a photograph, . . . and then present themselves through the name, . . . the passions . . . While for second and third grades, in this school, there are hours dedicated to orientation aimed at a conscious and, as far as possible, right choice of upper secondary school. And there are also psychological tests, aimed precisely at understanding what are our capabilities, our skills, our competences, in order to choose the school, that is better for us (Teacher 7, school A, Humanities)
[identity] is a topic ... that is important for us both at the level of citizenship education as well as orientation, ... it always starts from who I am, ... and then the choices I make, ... what do they entail, why are they important, from what dress I put on in the morning ... to which school I will attend. So, to be able to choose well I have to know who I am. ... Hence identity and choices are a very important topic, in terms of our work on citizenship and on orientation (Teacher 10, school D, Catholic Religion)

**Emotions and empathy**

During the interviews, the majority of the teachers did not explicitly talk about values. When they described their work in GCE or talked about the competences they associate with GCE, they seldom used the word value. They talked about what can be understood as values (respect for people, care for the environment, tolerance of diversity), but they never used the word values. Only a few teachers explicitly talked about values when they identified the global citizenship competences they intend to develop in students through their work:

And the values, ... I started with peace, then I said, no, first respect ... respect for the fragility, the difficulties ... Then from respect, tolerance ... accept that the other is different from me, ... then, there is probably peace, ... but surely respect, it's the first one (Teacher 7, school A, Humanities)

Exploring values with students in an open way did not emerge as an explicit focus of teachers' practice. On the one hand, for the teachers interviewed, fostering values has an association with religious education. The teachers that talked at ease about promoting values through their work were the catholic religion teacher and another teacher that works on values whenever she teaches the alternative to religion for those kids that opt out of catholic religion. The catholic religion teacher talked about Christian values such as welcoming, solidarity, peace and brotherhood:

So, ... welcoming foreigners ... solidarity, ... willingness to be active in society, the value of peace, ... basically these, ... welcoming, willingness to be active, peace, solidarity, brotherhood (Teacher 10, school D, Catholic Religion)

The other teacher saw human rights as the vehicle for fostering values:

I have used a lot human rights because, anyway, in the alternative to religion, ... we want to pass on some values, right? and human rights clearly lead you to expand. So when I have the hours [alternative to religion], ... I usually work on human rights ... to do something that could be really about passing on values, right? ... I also like, that ... from the resources [on human rights], we move to concrete situations, ... that is, either you embody a right, it touches you and you perceive that it is a value, and that it makes sense to respect it ... otherwise /; in short, it must touch the personal situation (Teacher 9, school I, Foreign Language)

On the other hand, an association emerged between citizenship and the values and the principles of the Enlightenment. One teacher in particular talked about working on citizenship education through addressing the Enlightenment, and in particular the key principles stemming from it, such as tolerance, freedom, rule of law, secularization:

At the moment I'm doing the Enlightenment, so, instead of doing ... the principles of the Enlightenment are ... I projected to the kids some aphorisms, of Voltaire on tolerance, ... for example, the phrase "I do not agree with what you say, but I would give my life as long as you can express it", or, "tolerance has never caused wars", "intolerance has filled the land with massacres", that is, starting from these reflections, we then linked them to us, to our reality, and we also reconstructed the Enlightenment, ...
it allowed me to have broader reflections, on the competences and values of citizenship, ... or a phrase of the Enlightenment that said "freedom is not doing everything you want but what is permitted by law", ... or ... other values that were brought to the fore with humanism, with the Renaissance, for example the principle of the secularization of culture, and the idea that religion must be separated from the management of society, politics, and cultural expression (Teacher 13, school D, Humanities)

In terms of their practice, many teachers emphasised that their work on global issues, human rights and particularly difference and diversity engages students’ emotions. Teachers talked about using methodologies like personal testimonies, images, or stories of kids of the same age of their students, and other stimuli that touch and move students. This is considered by the teachers as more effective than working only at the cognitive level:

I brought in class some reading about an Afghan boy, who arrived ... in XXX or XXX [name of two local towns] attached to a TIR ... I see that they were moved because it was about a kid who was more or less their age, so they felt something, that is, I always try to bring ... also feeling. I see that it moves them, no? experiencing an emotion (Teacher 7, school A, Humanities)

I think that ... when you can touch the kids, their feelings, which is not easy nowadays, their emotions, then the message arrives, I think it arrives. if it's just a blah blah blah, no, it doesn't ... They see a situation that affects them, ... which is part of their world ... I always start from situations that touch them, that is, if you touch their emotional cords, their experience, in my opinion, then the thing has an effect on them, absolutely Teacher 9, school I, Foreign Language)

I really try to pull on their heartstrings, so I use a lot letters, diaries, to make them identify, to look for a sort of ... identification (Teacher 12, school E, Humanities)

A few teachers mentioned also empathy as a key attribute they wish to foster in students through GCE:

who was that scholar who spoke of the thinking capable of visiting, ... that is, putting yourself in the shoes of the other ... they [students] really need it ... So, try to develop in the kids, ... an empathic ability, because, I think that when we talk about interculture, disability, ... also about sustainability, because this is also one of the big issues, ... there must be the ability to put yourself in the shoes ... of the other ... because, when you reflect about the resources available to the planet, on the fact that they are used only by 15% of the population, right? You have to put yourself in the shoes of the other 85%, right? (Teacher 13, school D, Humanities)

It is to put your heart close to the heart of the other, it is not so easy, to look into the eyes of a person, ... what does it mean? what does it mean to just criticize and to ... generalize: they are those who arrive with the boats, instead look into the eyes of a foreigner ... as a person, is another thing ... We have invited some asylum-seekers in the classroom (Teacher 10, school D, Catholic Religion)

In conclusion, in terms of the socio-emotional dimension of GCE, the teachers interviewed tend to shy away from exploring identities in depth with their students. There is some work on identify in terms of knowing one’s roots, but the main focus of how teachers engage with identity is on helping students explore their personality, their personal characteristics, their interests and talents. The teachers interviewed engage students’ emotions by using methodologies and didactic material that are emotionally loaded. Through their work, they indirectly transmit values, but there is no evidence that they accompany students to explore their own values in an open and transparent way through structured activities.
2.3 Behavioural dimension of Global Citizenship Education

The data that emerged from the interviews with teachers suggests that the behavioural dimension of GCE includes 2 attributes: a) Personal responsibility and ethical behaviour; b) The marginality of collective action.

**Personal responsibility and ethical behaviour**

The teachers interviewed related citizenship education and GCE to acquiring a sense of personal responsibility towards people and the environment. Taking responsibility is associated by teachers with being aware that one’s actions and non-actions have consequences. But it does not stop at the level of awareness. Teachers stress that it must translate also into concrete attitudes and actions, exemplified by the behaviour of the ‘responsible and active citizen’:

and then being a citizen means taking responsibility, and these responsibilities certainly must be calibrated according to age, there is no doubt, but the assumption of responsibility ... is certainly one of the great essential objectives, otherwise it is only knowledge, it is only ... the poor things, we should love each other, and so on. Taking responsibility, on the other hand, means, well, in this world, indirectly maybe I contributed too, or maybe I contribute because I don’t do anything ... so everything concerns me, I have to be active (Teacher 1, school I, Humanities)

I think that global citizenship education is ... helping them to feel involved, responsible ... everything I do, or I don’t do, has repercussions, on the environment, on people, on relationships ... my behaviour has a whole series of implications, and I have to take responsibility for it, and therefore. I need all the subjects to build a stock of knowledge, of skills that would help me to move in the world, to move in a just way, right? and therefore to move in a just way is this ... global citizenship competence ... just, according to me, implies ethical, right? So make ethical choices, any time of my day (Teacher 3, school I, Humanities)

I always start from the polis, I like etymology, and say: “You engage in politics, you can do it every day with your choices, with your way of being, with your way of defending an injustice, ... defending a classmate instead of participating in causing an offense. ... This is engaging in politics, that is contributing to a different world. ... So the idea that changing some of our attitudes can help change the world, gutta cavat lapidem, so if everyone played his part, things would change. ... Otherwise, the risk is that you say, that change is always delegated to someone else, right? To the institution, or to those who make the laws. OK, but you, you don’t make the laws ... but you are not exempt from saying I too can contribute. (Teacher 13, school D, Humanities)

Being responsible and active is seen as a key dimension to ensure that GCE is not only knowledge and feelings, it is not just something theoretical or just emotional, but it also translates into concrete behaviours that are ethical and sustainable:

when I ask them to reflect and make a comment, I always say: “Do not say the usual phrases, I want world peace, because everyone wants world peace. No, you have to think about ... yourselves, about how today you can contribute to this with your classmate, right?”. So, for example, when we talk about sustainability, let's see what are our behaviours ... I always try ... “let’s not make great proclamations but rather reflect on ourselves, because each of us is responsible for a little piece of the world” (Teacher 13, school D, Humanities)

I believe that it [GCE] can certainly have concrete implications, because ... it is then translated into actions, into ways of being and acting. ... not something that remains only in the school, ... indeed, we must develop citizens, so ... it is an attitude that then becomes a way of seeing, of living, and of dealing with what is happening, because ... it also becomes a matter of ethical choices (Teacher 14, school D, Art)
Teachers talked about the importance of raising awareness about global justice issues and the ethical implications they have in terms of students’ behaviour. Teachers mentioned issues like labour exploitation and environmental vulnerability. The focus is on promoting ethical consumerism, and behaviours that are environmentally sustainable:

I'm talking about rights, child labour, . . . so, look at the labels, which shoes I wear, a certain level of awareness. So, in this case, even a 12-year-old can take a small position. . . . Or water, it is clear that here we open the tap and we have it without difficulty and a condition of drought, . . . or polluted water doesn’t really affect us, . . . but this does not mean that I must not be responsible for wasting it and therefore of my use (Teacher 1, school I, Humanities)

our food choices, . . . the consequences on the climate . . . it is a project that was done here in the school, organized with the local authority, with external experts, with activities done in the classes, on nutrition and its consequences, on promoting 0 miles food26 (Teacher 10, school D, Catholic Religion)

A focus on fostering a sense of responsibility translated into encouraging certain attitudes and changes in behaviours. There is a focus on the individual, i.e. the concrete individual choices that students can make to live in a more ethical and sustainable way. Teachers, however, stressed also that the concept of responsibility is quite difficult for students to understand and grasp:

the idea that, thanks to what I know, then I can, in different environments, different situations, choose to behave in a different way . . . so, responsibility is also linked to choices, . . . the fact of choosing one thing rather than another, and the fact of . . . being able to be accountable for the choices one makes. There is responsibility in all the issues we have addressed, the concept of responsibility is transversal, it is the choice to adhere to certain . . . ideas that circulate, or not . . . Or the choice related to food, or dress, . . . even though the concept of responsibility is quite difficult for the kids (Teacher 10, school D, Catholic Religion)

The marginality of collective action
The GCE work of the teachers interviewed focuses primarily on the cognitive and socio-emotional dimension. The behavioural has a very marked individual connotation, or is often seen as something that will mature in the future. Teachers tend to consider their students as very young and immature. As outlined in chapter 5 section 5.5, essentially, students are not considered citizens yet but are rather seen as “citizens in the making”. Being active and participating in society is hence seen as something they will do when they get older, provided the right stimuli are given in school. Some teachers talked about encouraging students to be active in their communities through volunteering in local associations. But this is considered as something that students may, if encouraged, do in the future, when they are older:

Since it is a work that in various ways I begin with first years, continue with the second and then the third, sometimes it happens that, as they are growing, experiences come back. So, you can talk about volunteering, you can talk about what I can do later, when I'm 18, I can do community service . . . Precisely because we are working with kids, minors, therefore, in terms of concrete actions, we can imagine small things, within their reach (Teacher 1, school I, Humanities)

26 Food miles is a term which refers to the distance food is transported from the time of its production until it reaches the consumer. Food miles are one factor used when assessing the environmental impact of food, including the impact on global warming.
The Pigotta Project is UNICEF's Italy key fundraising activity. Pigotta is an endearing Milanese pet name for rag doll. Each year school children, citizens, clubs and volunteers get together to hand-make rag dolls representing children around the world. These dolls are then exhibited and sold to raise funds for UNICEF.

Encouraging young students to engage in fund-raising activities to help far-away places and people is a behavioural dimension that characterises GCE actions in many contexts and has been criticised for reinforcing a charity mentality, paternalism and ethnocentrism (Bryan and Bracken, 2011; Blackmore, 2014). This behavioural dimension of GCE did not emerge as very significant for most of the teachers interviewed. Only two teachers mentioned fundraising activities with students as something that they have actively been involved in:

A teacher talked about a school linking project she was involved in when she was working in another school, and that included a fund-raising element. This teacher, however, saw fundraising as collateral and rather than engaging in it, decided to do an alternative activity:

The Pigotta Project is UNICEF’s Italy key fundraising activity. Pigotta is an endearing Milanese pet name for rag doll. Each year school children, citizens, clubs and volunteers get together to hand-make rag dolls representing children around the world. These dolls are then exhibited and sold to raise funds for UNICEF.
the school, there was the habit of doing a market, making objects for Christmas and then send the
proceeds there, but . . . I chose to do something else. During the optional hours, I wrote with the kids a
little book that we also printed and I asked them to give space to their imagination, but include also
Somalia (Teacher 3, school I, Humanities)

Teachers acknowledged that moving from the cognitive and socio-emotional dimension to the
behavioural and in particular to collective actions is a challenge. One teacher could not imagine
that young people could indeed even engage in political actions aimed influencing policy-makers.
She stressed that what young students can do is only change their day to day individual behaviours,
and reflect on these global issues.

So, first I address water, soil, the atmosphere, the air, talking above all about the pollution of one and
the other, . . . and then what we can do day to day . . . I ask them to reflect and . . . think about how they
could act . . . reflecting on what they could do themselves, but with the third grades, also about what
others might do, that is, the people who are . . . above us and who can command us . . . but they [the
students] can only reflect on these things, . . . that is, they can’t do anything else, unless one of them
becomes a great politician, and makes a social climb, . . . it is just at the level of reflection (Teacher 18,
school D, Maths and Science)

Other teachers stressed that the actions that students are encouraged to take need to be calibrated
to their age. Raising awareness is seen as a key activity students can do. Two teachers talked about
encouraging students to raise awareness about the issues they had addressed in class, first of all at
home with their own families, or when the school organizes particular events open to families:

I always urge them: “Guys, talk about it [global issues done in class] at home, listen to what your parents
say, tell them. And this already sets things in motion. . . . The fact that they talk about it at home, so
you relate and engage a bit in a discussion, because the families are many and they are all different and
also have, at times, ways of seeing things very different from what I may have and . . . therefore the
very fact of engaging in a discussion with the parents can already be something, but it doesn’t always
happen, but sometimes it does (Teacher 1, school I, Humanities)

small activities to raise awareness, . . . because you are left with a “what can I do?” I see child
exploitation, . . . what can I do? . . . this is the most complex part, perhaps the most difficult to achieve
on these big issues, but those related to the environment, I can still try to be responsible in my day to
day life . . . or just before I didn’t know, now I am aware, I know and so I raise awareness . . . I can’t
think of . . . activities. Yes, these days that we do every year on a topic . . . this year on sustainable
mobility, the year before it was on the environment in general (Teacher 16, school F, Humanities)

Only in one school, students had the opportunity to bring outside of their classroom some justice
issues they had addressed. The teachers facilitated links with community events and these were an
opportunity for students to be active in their neighbourhood in raising awareness about global
justice issues, such as the mining of coltan\(^{28}\) in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), and the
situation of exploitation through caporalato\(^{29}\), that affects migrants in Italy:

\(^{28}\) Coltan is a mineral, mined primarily in the conflict-ridden Democratic Republic of Congo, that is essential for the
worlds electronic industry. It is used to construct electronic capacitors, a fundamental component of cell phones and
other electronics. It is the subject of controversy as the mining of coltan involves labour exploitation, including child
labour. It is also considered a conflict mineral, as it is fuelling conflicts in the region.

\(^{29}\) Caporalato is an illegal form of recruitment and organization of labour, especially agricultural, through
intermediaries (caporal) that employ, on behalf of an employer and receiving a bribe, daily workers, outside the
normal employment channels and without respecting the contractual tariffs on minimum wages. Labour laws are
the project on coltan, . . . we decided to work on awareness raising, so we built a questionnaire, . . . structured the questionnaire in order to have a part on knowledge, the analysis of the behaviours, and a part with proposals, and then we made some posters . . . for the Argentario Day, . . . the kids described the situation, then . . . another class made a flyer, we activated the collection of used mobile phones . . . with another class, as we have also worked a lot . . . on the subject of exploitation and caporalato . . . we organized public meetings, and there we did . . . a parallel between exploitation products and consumers therefore, for example, tomato-laborers and caporalato and we consumers, or Coltan and exploitation, mobile phones and we consumers. We . . produced a video . . . presenting the problems . . . the solutions . . . the idea was to avoid keeping what we do just for us, but take it out, therefore, for two years we concluded our work with public meetings open to the population of the neighbourhood (Teacher 11, school G, Maths and Science)

One teacher talked about an example whereby they addressed and discussed the challenging conditions of cities in a country of the Global South and the students were encouraged to write a letter to the political leader of the foreign country, but this letter was not meant to be sent. It was just a “fake reality task”. She stressed the importance of encouraging reflections on justice issues and believes that this may be enough for young kids. Yet she also said that the action dimension of GCE is something she would like to develop more in the future:

we are aware that there are different conditions, they have the favelas, they have cities that are different from ours, that . . . live different dynamics from ours, but we here, thinking about how they live, we made our observations . . . they made also a postcard for the president of that country to ask . . . that the president takes care of solving the problem of the favelas, instead of spending all the money to build stadiums . . . I believe that in a lower secondary school, a reflection of this kind is already enough . . . perhaps, at this age, they are not even expected to do more . . . My colleague . . . has succeeded in moving to an action aspect . . . she has worked more on actions . . . I did very little, in the sense that even this postcard, it is a postcard that then remains in the classroom, it is not sent, therefore, it is a fake reality task . . . and maybe this is something that I could develop in the future (Teacher 15, school D, Humanities)

A few teachers recognized the importance of fostering a sense in students that collective action by the citizenry can indeed influence political decisions and policies, but acknowledged that they have not yet managed to do it. It remains at a level of aspiration, rather than actual practice:

one says, at least I am aware, what can I do? What do I decide to do? And . . . how citizens together can make a politician change opinion, . . . the ability to act is another of the skills, isn’t? . . . this is the hardest (Teacher 16, school F, Humanities)

No, it’s not there. At the moment I don’t see this collective dimension, . . . of building a collective responsibility and action, I don’t see it much . . . honestly, there is still some way to go . . . it is very difficult . . . this is the part of global citizenship education that has not yet been done, in my opinion, it is not widespread (Teacher 17, school D, Humanities)

disregarded, the daily wages paid to workers are considerably lower than the minimum salary and often without social security contributions.

The Argentario Day is organized by the local ward to involve and encourage citizens to act in various initiatives of cleaning, beautification and care of the suburbs of the Argentario [name of a neighbourhood] and to raise awareness and disseminate the culture of common goods through workshops and seminars. This occasion becomes also a great community festival that fosters social cohesion and a sense of belonging to the local area.
Actions, ... it's true, we need to counterattack a bit, in some way, and say, let's do something ourselves, ... that can be on the environmental dimension, indeed we did something, ... but, yes, we have to work on this (Teacher 20, school B, Humanities)

Only one teacher explicitly talked about collective action as a driver of political change and provided an example of actual work she did with her students, and that related to signing a petition on the issue of coltan in the DRC:

the idea that one's own action can generate others and can, perhaps, affect higher levels, that is, as long as I believe that what happens ... conflicts, exploitation, do not depend from me ... but I am within this machine and the moment I begin to feel responsible for this mechanism, ... and I do something different, and I bring somebody else along, I can initiate a small change ... I am thinking, for example, the petition of XXX [name of human rights activist] about presenting to the European Parliament the problem of genocide in the Congo. The kids ... gave talks, they disseminated the petition, they asked to disseminate it ... It was not only thanks to them but ... they saw that the number of signatures rose ... so, show that ... I simply signed, but signature, after signature, after signature, XXX [name of human rights activist] arrived with a number of signatures that two days before he did not expect to reach ... It is the idea that ... Why nothing changes? No, wait! Maybe something slowly we can manage to shift (Teacher 11, school G, Maths and Science)

In conclusion, in terms of the behavioural dimension of GCE, the perspective and practice of the teachers interviewed reveal a strong focus on the concept of personal responsibility. The collective social and political dimension of being active citizens did not feature prominently and remained marginal.

3. The cross-cutting nature of (global) citizenship education
Many of the teachers interviewed, as outlined in chapter 6, did not distinguish citizenship education from GCE and during the interviews often used the two terms interchangeably. This was the case especially when teachers talked about citizenship education and GCE being cross-cutting and transversal to all subjects.

3.1 Citizenship education: a truly transversal perspective or rather something easily overlooked?
The perspective of seeing citizenship education as cross-cutting all subjects is in line with how it is addressed in the provincial curricular guidelines, where, although linked to history, it is considered transversal to all subjects (see chap. 4, section 4.1). Many of the teachers interviewed saw favourably the fact that citizenship education is no longer a stand-alone subject within the school timetable, but rather a fundamental subject that underpins all the others:

in the provincial curriculum ... civic education has become the fundamental subject that underpins all the others (Teacher 8, school I, Humanities)

Citizenship education is a goal of the curriculum, transversal, and will be one of our priorities for the next three years, we are developing the new school plan, and [it is a priority] not only because we believe in it, but also because it is required ... by the province, ... by the priorities established at the provincial level (Teacher 10, school D, Catholic Religion)

in my early years it was more a subject, and even a subject that I was not addressing in a systematic way: some activities ... but they were confined there, to the hour of citizenship ... the value added
now is that there is no longer the hour of citizenship and maybe I do not want it either but it is all very transversal (Teacher 15, school D, Humanities)

However, as one teacher stressed, the fact that in the provincial curricular guidelines, citizenship education is cross-cutting all subjects, but also explicitly linked to history, undermines its transversal perspective and the need for all teachers to address it. It becomes something that pertains primarily to the humanities teachers. There is moreover the risk that citizenship education is overlooked also by the humanities teachers, as history, according to this teacher, has an “endless content” and a “diachronic dimension not yet overcome” that absorbs all the hours of the school timetable allocated to history:

there is a problem of spaces, in the sense that . . . for citizenship education, there is not a dedicated hour, precisely because it should be perceived as something interdisciplinary, but then it also partially enters in contradiction with history, because [in the curriculum] it's called history with citizenship education, so you've already included it in something else, . . . that has little time, that actually has an endless content, because unlike geography, Italian where . . . in a way you can be more free in terms of what you do, with history you have a diachronic dimension that has not been overcome, not insurmountable but not yet overcome, and so I think there is something unresolved for many years (Teacher 20, school B, Humanities)

Citizenship education as a transversal perspective, as another teacher underlines, becomes a lens to look at and address many interdisciplinary topics:

So I think that in every aspect the attention to citizenship education, even if it may seem somehow as something just stuck there, in reality it is not, in the sense that there are hook-ups in any interdisciplinary topic (Teacher 10, school D, Catholic Religion)

And, as a few teachers stressed, its absence from the timetable means that it becomes a daily occurrence, a perspective that guides teachers’ everyday work:

Citizenship is not only a topic of the subject citizenship education, . . . but it is a daily occurrence, . . . in my opinion, beyond the topic, beyond the subject, you do it daily (Teacher 8, school I, Humanities)

But, there is also the risk that, as this teacher points out, seeing it as a daily occurrence masks the fact that in reality nothing is done, because citizenship education is seen as something that just happens automatically by the very fact of a teacher and the students being together in class. Its transversal nature reduces it to something that cannot be grasped and therefore can easily be overlooked:

you should do citizenship education but honestly, you will never find anyone who says no I don't do it, at most they say: “But I always do it, we always do it, because the very moment I'm in class and I dialogue with the kids or we are together, that is already citizenship education”. It is saying everything and saying nothing. It is very easy to bypass it (Teacher 20, school B, Humanities)

In sum, there is a risk that citizenship education, rather than being a truly cross-curricular approach, is just something that is easily overlooked by teachers and is not really done in school. This risk is recognized also by the provincial education office:

Civics education was then replaced by this approach (because you can't say it's a subject) of citizenship education that suffers the consequences of . . . being transversal or of wanting to be transversal. If, on
the one hand, it gave the input to say that effectively every teacher is required to deal with these issues because— a bit like global citizenship education— every teacher, every circumstance, every subject could lend itself to talking about it . . . And it is also a transversal . . . because . . . just by being in an educational setting one does citizenship education, civic education, right? But, on the other hand, this transversal approach, that ideally is absolutely pertinent, has been affected by the fact that, in the end, since we all have to do it, in the end no one does it. Or, better, only those teachers— precisely— of history, geography or religion, . . . and this is the weak side of this approach (Provincial representative F)

3.2 A transversal global citizenship outlook as a sporadic and unplanned occurrence

Similarly to their perspective on citizenship education, when prompted to reflect on GCE, many of the teachers interviewed stressed that a global citizenship outlook should be transversal and permeate all subjects, as we live in a globalised world that affects all aspects of our life.

In my opinion, it [GCE] is transversal and intrinsic. You may address that topic [globalization] in a particular way but then you deal with it in everyday’s life. So yes, definitely . . . You do it because it’s part of everyday life (Teacher 17, school D, Humanities)

it is . . . very transversal and so it could be - now I never reflected about it carefully - but it could be that in every hour there is an aspect of global citizenship (Teacher 15, school D, Humanities)

In this perspective, all subjects are needed to help students acquire global citizenship competences. Embedding GCE in all subjects, therefore, means educating students to acquire the knowledge, skills, and attitudes to understand today’s global world and live ethically, in “a just way”:

global citizenship education . . . should be a cross-cutting theme . . . I need all the subjects to build a stock of knowledge, of skills that would help me to move in the world . . . in a just way, right? and therefore to move in a just way is this . . . global citizenship competence (Teacher 3, school I, Humanities)

we educate . . . to be in this world, . . . I do not see it as a subject in itself, . . . it is precisely the way . . . to be, to live, . . . global citizenship education is equal to life education, perhaps trivial, I don’t know (Teacher 7, school A, Humanities)

But in the school studied, as already outlined in chapter 5, this is an aspiration, not the reality, as GCE is not explicitly addressed in the curriculum, is not yet a perspective that informs all subjects, and is not characterised by a whole-school approach:

bringing the global citizenship perspective into every subject, . . . not always, we manage, that is, in the school, there are many very talented teachers, and I think they are trying, we are trying . . . Yes, maybe sometimes we do it, but too sporadically, there is this will, . . . there are people here really good . . . but then to do it systematically, in your subject, I think it’s a real challenge. I don’t think that this opening to global citizenship has really been adopted yet as the foundation of all subjects, right? (Teacher 9, school I, foreign language)

A few interviewees stressed that embedding a global citizenship outlook in their practice requires not only awareness of its importance but also a complete change in the teachers’ way of thinking and teaching:

so, I would say almost paradoxically, that all subjects are functional . . . to global citizenship education . . . if we teachers realize it (Teacher 3, school I, Humanities)
what I have tried to do in recent years is to integrate a global outlook, a global education outlook... within my teaching units, my planning... It needs a different way of teaching, a different way of thinking (Teacher 16, school F, Humanities)

Teachers acknowledge that this change of perspective and way of working is a challenge. They stressed that GCE is not yet embedded in their practice in a systematic manner, but rather remains a sporadic occurrence:

yes, maybe sometimes we do it, but too sporadically, there is this will... but then to do it systematically, in your subject, I think it's a real challenge (Teacher 9, school I, Foreign Language)

Most of the teachers interviewed do not explicitly mention global citizenship or include GCE activities in their planning and therefore their GCE practice is often something unplanned, unstructured and ad hoc:

the list [of what I am doing in GCE] could be infinite or could even stop here because, honestly, I don’t do anything structured on it, in the sense that at the beginning of the year in my plan, I don’t include that I have to do these activities to develop in kids this global citizenship education (Teacher 5, school C, Humanities)

I have not yet defined... an individual work plan where I call 'global education' what I do, but I often try to include knowledge about other cultures, the history of other peoples, so yesterday some kids presented Japan and we reflected on the history of the Far East... and another time maybe we can talk about Gandhi and the non-violent struggle,... another time we talk about Islamic terrorism (Teacher 15, school D, Humanities)

4. Modalities to integrate a global citizenship perspective in teaching practice

In the school studied, the integration of a global citizenship perspective in teaching practice is, as outlined in chapter 5, a choice and not an educational imperative, essentially a self-made endeavour of a few motivated teachers. Embedding a global citizenship outlook in all the subjects is an aspiration of the few rather than a widespread practice. It is essentially carried out by a few pioneering teachers that often, in an unplanned, unstructured and ad hoc manner, strive to give a global citizenship perspective to their work.

The teachers interviewed stressed that despite the absence in the curricular guidelines of a dedicated GCE curriculum or an explicit global citizenship perspective, GCE can be easily reconciled with the curriculum. They mentioned three key modalities that they use to integrate a global citizenship perspective in their practice: a) Designing and delivering specific Global Citizenship Education projects; b) Responding to prompts arising in class; c) Making choices about the curriculum. Image n. 8 illustrates these three modalities, which, as the overlapping areas in the image show, are often combined by teachers.
4.1 Designing and delivering specific Global Citizenship Education projects

A key modality mentioned by the teachers interviewed to integrate GCE in their practice is to run specific projects. In this case, teachers take the opportunity of designing or joining particular projects on GCE topics. This allows teachers to work with colleague and address a particular topic through joint common activities that engage colleagues and students from other classes. The teachers interviewed mentioned different examples of projects on GCE issues. One teacher talked about a project on race and racism:

then there is, in my opinion, an aspect linked to specific projects that can be done at school . . . the first grades worked on racism and went to the African museum . . . to break the stereotypes, . . . demolish the prejudices . . . so, on the topic of race, we worked first here in school, we dealt with it from different perspectives, the religion teacher, the Italian and history teacher, the science teacher who looked at it from a scientific point of view . . . what DNA is, that DNA proves that races don’t exist . . . and then there was the trip to the African museum (Teacher 13, school D, humanities)

Another teacher talked about a project on the impact of globalisation in terms of the disappearance of minority languages:

we designed . . . a project in stages on languages that also goes in the direction of global citizenship education . . . we started from the minority languages that are here in in the Province of Trento, then we looked, in the rest of Italy, we looked in the rest of Europe, then we looked at the global situation, which sees a linguistic genocide, practically, every 20 days or so a language disappears forever, what does it mean? what cultural heritage does it take into the grave? . . . why does it happen? what are the phenomena of globalization that are leading to this cultural and linguistic impoverishment? (Teacher 20, school B, Humanities)
Such projects are generally considered as very valuable experiences because they give teachers a sense of working together towards a common objective. They are also generally designed in ways that facilitate opportunities for students to be active protagonists:

undoubtedly, . . . projects, for example, this year our school . . . participated in this project: we organized this sustainable mobility day. During the year all the teachers of the various subjects carried out projects on this topic, and then we organized this day. . . . These projects are very important, too . . . involving all the teachers, no? for the same goal . . . and then . . . they give importance to the pupils who are really active in organizing the activities (Teacher 16, school F, Humanities)

A few teachers talked about projects that are designed and delivered by colleagues teaching the same subject in different classes. In one of the schools, in particular, the humanities teachers are a cohesive group and are quite active on GCE. They develop and propose every year a GCE project on a particular topic that includes common activities, as well as individual work that each teacher carries out within his/her own class:

lately, it was above all the commission of the colleagues teaching humanities that has . . . proposed every year a global citizenship education project, . . . on themes such as . . . child labour, globalization, North South imbalance, peace education. And every teacher chose how to develop the theme in her own way in the class, but then collegially we gave some tools, for example simulation games, in this case for example I knew how to propose them, interactive activities, material that is shared, so that there is an enrichment for everyone . . . This year, specifically, there was an exhibition on children's rights with a workshop that accompanied the exhibition, open to all first and second grades and then also a third grade decided to participate (Teacher 1, school I, Humanities)

this year, with the first grades, we worked on children's rights. So, . . . XXX [name of a local NGO] . . . came to do a workshop and then . . . we ourselves worked in class, therefore . . . the articles that protect children, what it means to have rights, which parts of the world do not respect these rights, etc. We tried to address it in depth (Teacher 3, school I, Humanities)

A few other teachers talked about multidisciplinary projects on particular GCE topics that involve collaboration between teachers of different subjects and different classes. These projects are generally proposed and designed by one teacher but are then taken on board also by other colleagues. Often, these projects are run in parallel classes, so they involve all the first or second or third grades. The quote below illustrates an interdisciplinary project on nutrition that involved different teachers and grades, collaboration with a local NGO and included a strong element of student participation and involvement in the activities:

a project that was done this year on nutrition, quite substantial, because it involved . . . several subjects, and also . . . an association . . . and the association brought . . . an exhibition entitled "Eating well, eating all" . . . and . . . the German and English teachers . . . brushed up . . . the names of food items in the languages; the science teacher dealt with nutrition, the vitamins, mineral salts, the balanced diet, the food pyramid, the scientific aspects. The technology teacher tells me, ah I have a movie "Supersize me" that speaks about malnutrition in America . . . she showed it to the kids, commented it with the kids . . . and I dealt with the topic by addressing the aspect of undernutrition, world hunger . . . doing research with them to say . . . there is a malnourished world that wastes food, right? that perhaps dies because doesn't eat well, and on the other hand, there are many children who are still dying of hunger. . . . And it was really a very good experience, . . . it was done with all the second grades, . . . and moreover, a small group of motivated second grade kids, . . . worked in such depth on the topic that they presented the exhibition to the other grades, so to the smallest kids of the first grades and to the bigger ones of the third grades (Teacher 7, school A, Humanities)
In most cases, these multidisciplinary projects are just initiatives carried out for one year. They are once off projects that involve a number of classes and teachers of that particular year. Only in one school, a very motivated and passionate teacher designed and delivered in collaboration with other teachers, a number of projects on GCE topics that were implemented for 2-3 years. The *fil rouge* that runs through the multidisciplinary projects implemented in this school are the topics of migration and labour exploitation, and the driving force behind these projects is not so much the school, but rather one motivated teacher. The two quotes below give an idea of these GCE projects and the extent to which they facilitated a link between labour exploitation in Italy (caporalato and migrant agricultural labourers) and labour exploitation in other contexts (coltan in the DRC). These projects facilitated also students’ active participation as well as engagement with the local community:

we also worked a lot, in parallel with all the second grades, . . . for two years, on the topic of exploitation and caporalato, . . . we invited Yvan Sagnet31. I proposed it, designed the project and it was shared. Then clearly there is the class that supported it more, supported it less. It was decided that . . . humanities teachers would read the book [written by Yvan Sagnet], I, looking at the prices of a series of tomato sauces, did a mathematical work . . . the price of the tomato sauce per kilo, . . . we worked out where the money ends up along the supply chain, constructing percentages. We built . . . the yardstick of the supply chain to see how much goes to the labourer, how much goes to the caporale, . . . and then all what is lost in the supermarket, in the big brands. . . . We did some micro plays . . . on work in the tomato farms, . . . and, now for the third year of the project, . . . we developed a simulation game of caporalato, so to put yourself in the shoes of the labourer, . . . the caporale, . . . after having read and talked so much, a game of three hours in which you put yourself in the shoes of/. . . and then you say what you experienced and also compare it with what’s in the book, with the testimony of Yvan Sagnet

(Teacher 11, school G, Maths and Science)

Since John Mpaliza32 came already twice . . . we brought forward the project on coltan, . . . every teacher carried it on, if he/she wanted and what he/she wanted . . . for example, with my class, . . . we decided to work on awareness raising, . . . the kids described the situation in the DRC, then . . . another class made a flyer, we activated the collection of used mobile phones . . . with another class, as we have also worked a lot . . . on the topic of exploitation and caporalato, . . . we organized public meetings, and there we did . . . a parallel between exploitation products and consumers therefore, for example, tomato-laborers and caporalato and we consumers, or Coltan and exploitation, mobile phones and we consumers (Teacher 11, school G, Maths and Science)

Most of the specific projects mentioned by the teachers interviewed had an explicit GCE dimension as they addressed topics that are generally associated with GCE, such as migration, racism and prejudices, rights and denied rights, exploitation, sustainability, etc. A few teachers, however, mentioned also multidisciplinary projects that were not explicitly on a GCE topic but rather focused on local historical or geographical issues. The teachers stressed that in the course of the projects, a global dimension was highlighted or discovered and brought to the fore. The

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31 Yvan Sagnet is a trade union activist, originally from Cameroon. He was the leader of the first strike of foreign agricultural labourers in Italy that lasted about a month in the summer of 2011 in the province of Lecce in southern Italy. Thanks to the strike supported by different associations and trade unions, caporalato was recognized as a criminal offence and introduced into the Italian legal system. That experience inspired his first book “Ama il tuo sogno. Vita e rivolta nella terra dell’oro rosso” (Fandango Libri).

32 John Mpaliza, known as The Peace Walking Man, is an Italian peace activist, originally from the Democratic Republic of Congo, that organises peace walks around Italy and Europe to raise awareness about the situation in the Democratic Republic of Congo and particularly the issue of Coltan.
quotes below illustrate a few projects that combined a focus on local history with a global citizenship perspective:

but also topics more explicitly . . . historical or geographical. I’m thinking of a project we did on thread, for example . . . so on the history of silkworm and silk in the local area, and we made links to concepts related to citizenship, addressing aspects related to the concept of clothing, clothing from an ethical point of view, linked . . . to global citizenship, to critical consumption . . . In another project we worked on . . . on the local water sources and fountains, . . . so we took into consideration the concept of water as a common good, of humanity, . . . so from a wider point of view, not only related to the local, because in any case the property of water is a fact that affects us not only from the local point of view but also worldwide (Teacher 10, school D, Catholic Religion)

A project that I really liked, and that apparently has nothing to do with global citizenship, was the one we did two years ago on Pia Laviosa Zambotti33, who is an archaeologist from XXX [name of the local town where the archaeologist was born]. And . . . I knew she existed but it’s not like I was ever interested in her. And instead, . . . studying this person, then, you find out, . . . you weave and see that everything, in the end, returns, that everything is very circular. . . . So, for example, she is an archaeologist that worked in Turkey, a very well-known archaeologist in the United States, . . . a person that, in some way, shows you that having a global outlook works. What did she do? Among other things, she found the common roots of all peoples. You start from a project like this but then a whole world opens up (Teacher 17, school D, Humanities)

In conclusion, in the school studied, GCE is often delivered through specific projects. A number of key features characterize these projects:

- Scope: generally projects on an explicit GCE topic, but there are also projects with a more implicit global dimension;
- Timeframe: these projects tend to be yearly once off initiatives;
- Spread: while not being whole school, the projects tend to involve more than one class, generally parallel grades;
- Type of work: they include a combination of work carried out individually by teachers in their own class and common activities open to students from different classes;
- Collaboration between teachers: they involve teachers teaching the same subject across different classes, and/or teachers of different subjects;
- Community engagement: often the project involve external people, generally representatives of local NGOs, or people that bring a particular testimony or experience, such as experts, asylum seekers, migrants, etc. They also include activities with the parents and the local community;
- Methodologies: a variety of methodologies and stimuli are used, generally active learning activities that engage students in inquiry, simulation games, etc.;
- Student participation: students are given an active role in the organisation and delivery of some activities, in particular inquiry and awareness-raising activities that involve the parents and more generally the local community.

As outlined in chapter 5, designing special projects is perceived by teachers as a very effective way to address GCE topics from multiple disciplinary perspectives. However, these projects are

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33 Pia Virginia Zambotti (Fondo, 25 January 1898 – Milano, 10 November 1965) was an Italian archaeologist and academic
very dependent on the individual drive and effort of a few teachers. They are not whole school projects that all teachers are required to join, but rather ad hoc initiatives of a few motivated and committed teachers:

I often find myself launching a proposal [of a project on a GCE issue]. . . . so if I have an idea, then I know that when I launch it, I have to keep up with it, follow it through and get to close it. . . . Then I am the one that will, I'd like everyone to join in and, instead, clearly, there are people who are against or who don't feel like it, or are doing something else . . . . . . it really depends on the colleagues you have because, really, these are projects . . . to which all colleagues could participate. In short, it depends on the people, because, if you want, these GCE projects can relate to all subjects, from technology, to informatics, to art. They relate to everything! (Teacher 11, school G, maths and science)

4.2 Responding to prompts arising in class
Integrating a global citizenship outlook in teaching practice, as already outlined, is mainly a sporadic and unplanned occurrence. This is reinforced by the fact that one of the modalities to practice GCE mentioned by the teachers interviewed is to respond to prompts arising in class:

you take the opportunity of what is happening in class to introduce these [GCE] concepts (Teacher 3, school I, Humanities)

And then always take the opportunity, every time something happens in the classroom (Teacher 9, school I, Foreign Language)

Comments, reflections, or particular instances that happen in class may in fact encourage teachers to prepare ad hoc lessons on a particular GCE topic:

but above all, during a lesson something makes me reflect . . . because there is that click, that I say, wow, wait, so then, maybe I go home, have a look at it again and maybe then I prepare an ad hoc lesson (Teacher 7, school A, Humanities)

I start a lot from . . . the inputs, the things that happen in the classroom and then I hook them up to some readings, or videos or movies . . . for me it is very important that there is a charge, a shock, an input, a flame that lights during a lesson, or the essay of a kid . . . triggers something, and so aside, I do a two or three hour lesson on a different topic . . . maybe a sentence they say, an example they make, a place . . . they have visited . . . often make me draw some links (Teacher 12, school E, Humanities)

Alternatively, the teachers may decide to address again a particular topic or issue because what happened in class reveals that the concepts had not sunk in. This teacher mentions in particular racism and prejudices as a topic that she addresses over and over again whenever racist episodes occur in class:

in . . . the legend of my plan, I can always insert something . . . that refers to . . . what is happening, I mean, . . . as things happen, because if the Moroccan friend is insulted by her classmate: "Shut up you, ugly nigger", even if I talked about it [racism] already, I have to deal with the topic again, starting from that episode . . . because that episode at that point affects you directly as well as the others (Teacher 8, school I, Humanities)

Lastly, responding to prompts arising in class, often leads teachers’ lessons into unplanned directions. In the heat of the moment, teachers end up discussing topics and issues that they had not envisaged or planned to address:
you can, in your everyday work, take a cue from so many things, from what you are addressing in class, or from the behaviours . . . to make the kids reflect. I'll give you an example, today, as we are reading the novel Heart\textsuperscript{34}. we started to talk about work, so I decided to address employment in more depth. . . . This is citizenship education, right? And maybe also global citizenship education. It's not something that I had planned, it's something that emerged from the kids' discussion of that topic, and on which we reflected (Teacher 13, school D, Humanities)

Responding to prompts arising in class demonstrates flexibility and capacity to adapt the lessons to what is relevant to students at a particular moment. It also demonstrates the ability to seize opportunities to address anew or refresh issues and concepts. However, whenever teachers seize the moment and address an unplanned issue, there is also the risk that it is done in a simplistic, superficial, or inappropriate way.

4.3 Making choices about the curriculum
The teachers interviewed mentioned another key modality to bring a global dimension into their teaching. They emphasised the autonomy and freedom of teaching that the law grants them\textsuperscript{35} as an opportunity to make choices about the curriculum:

I make choices very freely because in any case the law allows me, there is freedom of teaching. It depends on how much you like to address a topic (Teacher 17, school D, Humanities)

The freedom of teaching and the fact that the curriculum no longer prescribes a detailed syllabus but rather includes broad competences that teachers should develop in the students are a key resource for those teachers that indeed want to bring a global citizenship perspective into their practice:

the freedom of teaching is guaranteed by art. 33 of the Italian Constitution, by the national education law (d. lgs. 16 aprile 1994, n. 297) and by the provincial school law that states: "Teachers' freedom of teaching is reflected in particular in their teaching autonomy and in their freedom to conduct research. The freedom of teaching, as a guarantee of cultural and social pluralism, is expressed with reference to the right to learning and education of the students, and is aimed at the promotion and growth of their personality, while respecting their dignity and individual, moral and civil conscience" (art. 10, Provincial School Law).

So, the space and opportunity to integrate GCE are there and, as this teacher underlines, it is up to the teachers to use them to build their own curriculum, and integrate global citizenship issues in it. However, a gap persists between the presence of this free space and how it is used by teachers. Many teachers, in fact, tend to still follow the prescribed syllabus of the past:

\textsuperscript{34} Heart is a children's novel by the Italian author Edmondo De Amicis. It is set during the Italian unification, and includes several patriotic themes. It was issued on October 18, 1886. Through its investigation of social issues such as poverty, Heart shows the influence of left-wing ideologies on De Amicis' work (he was later to join the Italian Socialist Party). On the other hand, the book's strong evocation of Italian nationalism and patriotism also made it very welcome in Fascist Italy

\textsuperscript{35} The freedom of teaching is guaranteed by art. 33 of the Italian Constitution, by the national education law (d. lgs. 16 aprile 1994, n. 297) and by the provincial school law that states: "Teachers' freedom of teaching is reflected in particular in their teaching autonomy and in their freedom to conduct research. The freedom of teaching, as a guarantee of cultural and social pluralism, is expressed with reference to the right to learning and education of the students, and is aimed at the promotion and growth of their personality, while respecting their dignity and individual, moral and civil conscience" (art. 10, Provincial School Law).
we work on competences and therefore the teacher . . . is less constrained than before when . . . the curriculum syllabus was detailed. Now the teacher can build the own syllabus, the important thing is that competences are built. But it is difficult because teachers are still tied to the old curricular syllabus. It is very difficult, but . . . I think that . . . any issue that is out there you can adapt it to your teaching . . . Yes, in my opinion you can easily do it [have a global citizenship perspective]. . . it can really be done, if one wants (Teacher 21, school H, Humanities)

Teachers succumb to a sort of ‘curriculum anxiety’, i.e. an urge to cover what they perceive is the required curricular syllabus of their subjects and this prevents them from integrating a global citizenship perspective in their work:

sometimes the worry of arriving to cover the whole curricular syllabus, . . . and so if you are worried not to get to the end of it, you will keep going and skip things related to global citizenship that . . . could be included in your curriculum. So only if one wants to do it and has time to do it, it is done . . . it’s personal (Teacher 2, school I, Humanities)

For example, this year, when I wanted to work on the history of the border between Trentino and South Tyrol, . . . I would have liked to work with other classes. But, indeed, the curricular syllabus often seems to be a suffocating thing, so, in the end, I found myself alone (I Teacher 17, school D, Humanities)

The ability to deal with ‘curriculum anxiety’ and to integrate a global citizenship perspective in the work indeed means for teachers making choices and being able to live with the fact that certain topics deemed less important may be covered in a superficial way or skipped altogether:

but I’m not that bothered by the curricular syllabus, that is, . . . yes, I have to do some things, so I have to do my mathematical part and if I spend some time examining the data of a questionnaire on migration, that is mathematics . . . if I do science, . . . and we talk a lot about genetics, evolution, . . . races exist or don’t exist: they are concepts that are straddling current issues and . . . a science curriculum. Then, . . . you always get to the end of the year, and you say . . . I didn’t do this topic of science, but okay . . . it doesn’t matter. I prefer . . . to talk about certain topics . . . migrations, exploitation, caporalato . . . maybe tomorrow, if they [students] have to make some purchases, they reflect for a moment, they have the idea of a supply chain, . . . if they meet a foreign person perhaps the first reaction is not the sense of diversity (I Teacher 11, school G, Maths and Science)

Making choices about the curriculum means, for the teachers interviewed, adopting a variety of strategies that include: a) Finding hook ups and connections; b) Selecting topics conducive to GCE; c) Subverting the order.

Finding hook ups and connections
The first strategy used by the teachers interviewed is to open up a particular curricular topic to the global dimension by finding connections to the present and to particular global citizenship issues. This means doing GCE indirectly, i.e. rather than addressing a particular GCE issue head on, the teachers draw out a global citizenship dimension from curricular topics that apparently have little to do with GCE. In the following quote, a teacher talks about the social stratification in the Middle Ages as an opportunity to address contemporary social inequality:

[GCE] can also be done . . . indirectly. You may indeed talk about the Middle Ages, and . . . the feudal pyramid . . . We can simply see only social data, so there were the peasants, the bourgeoisie, etc. or reflect about what a society distributed in that way means, what’s right, what’s wrong with having a pyramid . . . a hierarchy. And then today, . . . there is inequality, there is the concept of rights, . . . So,
it is not always necessary to address in depth a specific issue, you can let the issues emerge, so do global citizenship, without doing it, . . . so without saying, well now I do global citizenship, but bring out . . . concepts and reflections . . . So, according to me, there is a doing global citizenship almost always, I would say (I Teacher 1, school I, Humanities)

This strategy allows teachers to follow the textbooks and therefore feel confident that what is expected is done, while at the same time providing a global citizenship perspective by engaging in reflections and discussions:

I always start from the curriculum and then . . . these [GCE] topics, . . . you can bring them inside. The content of the curriculum can be done from several angles but anyway I always manage to cover it all. Sure . . . it is never the substitution of the curriculum content . . . but these links . . . I always do them (Teacher 8, school I, Humanities)

Teachers draw links and connections that open a topic to a global citizenship dimension because they feel strongly about global justice issues and believe that it is important to expose students to this perspective. However, some of the teachers also displayed some insecurity as they feel the pressure to cover the curricular syllabus and see their global citizenship reflections and discussions as diversions, as going off on a tangent:

I do a bit of a selection, however. I do not turn the curriculum upside-down . . . to do intercultural education, or global citizen education. I try to find a connection with what we normally do, because in this way, I feel relaxed because I am covering the curricular syllabus, . . . But, I must say that I am behind in terms of the curriculum because, with these discussions [on GCE issues], I go off on a tangent (Teacher 7, school A, Humanities)

As outlined in chapter 5, the teachers interviewed believe that GCE can be very easily reconciled with the curriculum of the humanities, as the curricula of Italian, geography and history present ample scope for bringing a global citizenship dimension into the teaching:

But, as far as I am concerned, we certainly have subjects, . . . in which we can easily insert it [a global citizenship perspective]. . . . in anthology, that is in Italian, and, above all, in geography, there are spaces . . . also in history, . . . you can find the connection, you just need to want to do it, in my opinion (Teacher 1, school I, Humanities)

Findings hook ups and connections is a strategy used particularly in history. Teachers bring a global citizenship perspective by looking at topics that are apparently very distant from GCE, like the fall of the Roman Empire or the Middle Ages for example, from an angle conducive to GCE. Essentially, they address a topic of the traditional history curriculum and bring a global citizenship perspective by stressing links and connections to the present and to contemporary global citizenship issues. In the quote below, the teacher linked the Migration Period that characterized the decline and fall of the Roman Empire and the birth of new kingdoms with the current migrations towards Europe:

for example, the fall of the Roman Empire and the Roman-Barbaric kingdoms, so, it seems such a catastrophic event and . . . with the kids we began to think about how, in the end, . . . a chapter was closed but another one was opened, namely the Roman-Barbaric kingdoms or . . . the sacred Roman Empire, the Carolingian Empire, they are part of our heritage, that is, in the end, we cannot only see us as children of ancient Romans but we are also children of the Lombards, etc., . . . so in the end we said: “We are a mosaic”. . . . And we also discussed the fears that the Romans had about the barbarians, these
strangers, but then they also formed new kingdoms, and ... they built what then became Europe. And then, I dared to say: "Guys, even ... this movement today from Africa, no? from Asia, is always seen with great terror, but perhaps, it is a normal thing, something we have always done. That is, people have always been moving, have they not?" (Teacher 7, school A, Humanities)

A couple of teachers however expressed their difficulty in pursuing this strategy because they feel that the curricular syllabus of history is very demanding and there is not time to engage in ‘diversions’:

In Italian ... I find it easier [select topics related to GCE]. Yes, Italian and geography, in history I find it easy to draw links [to GCE issues]. but less in terms of availability of time, I have to be honest. ... you struggle to get to the end; ... then, ... it is up to the ability of us teachers to select, absolutely. And maybe I have to improve on this (Teacher 3, school I, Humanities)

Maybe it’s one of my limits but geography, as it is extremely interdisciplinary, lends itself to it [GCE] very well, with history ... I struggle more (Teacher 20, school B, Humanities)

The curriculum of religious education, as this teacher explains, is also particularly suitable to discussing global justice issues:

And then obviously there are some fixed topics, that we cannot avoid addressing in a school year, as they are in the provincial curriculum of catholic religion. So, ... there must be something that concerns the Bible, ... Jesus, but obviously the figure of Jesus is a considerable source of topics, also in reference to the topic of racism, for example, he who welcomes everyone, there is neither Jew nor Greek, neither slave nor free, neither man nor woman, so, you can easily find a link [to GCE issues], ... and it is done (Teacher 10, school D, Catholic Religion)

Also within the art education curriculum, as this teacher explains, global citizenship education issues can be addressed both in terms of practical art work, i.e. stimulate a global citizenship perspective in students’ drawings, paintings, etc., but also when studying the history of art, when global citizenship issues can be drawn out indirectly:

it is clear that you cover the curriculum because you have some fixed points, right? But ... you can do it in many ways. I try to draw links to many things, ... my subject ... is art, so the kids like to do, use colours, things, they have to learn some techniques, but I also try to give some [global citizenship] topics. ... When we do art history, ... I generally choose some works of art that are significant, ... because of their social meaning, or the life of the painter, ... and we try to see what transpires, ... or ... if there are poems, texts that they are studying or they know, we try to connect them (Teacher 14, school D, Art)

Also the competences prescribed in a math curriculum can be met while addressing global justice issues. Again it is the freedom of teaching that gives a teacher the space to find hook ups and links between the competences of the curriculum and contemporary global justice issues:

we built a questionnaire, ... we did all the data analysis ... because many of these [GCE] topics are perhaps more within the scope of the humanities, so I also have to find a little the hook up to my subject and therefore, there is precisely the whole part of mathematical operations, ... of creating charts (Teacher 11, school G, Maths and Science)
In conclusion, GCE can be done indirectly, without explicitly addressing a global justice issue but rather through covering the topics normally included in the curriculum of a particular subject and providing to this topic a global dimension. Indeed, this is the strategy that allows teachers to more easily reconcile GCE with the curriculum, and, according to this teacher, it is the approach that can be more easily embraced by teachers. It does not demand to add new topics, or skip others, but rather change perspective and deal with a topic normally addressed in class with a renewed global citizenship perspective:

I would not do it as a package of things to do in addition to what is done, because if it is so, then it will fail because colleagues will tell you . . . there is no time, I have everything already planned. You either give up something and sometimes you can indeed give up something, or in my opinion, you simply change perspective, . . . so the topic you always address in a certain way, you now address it with this [global citizenship] perspective (Teacher 20, school B, Humanities)

Selecting topics conducive to GCE
The second strategy adopted by the teachers interviewed to make choices about the curriculum is to freely choose topics that are conducive to fostering a global citizenship perspective. It means focusing with a certain depth on a number of topics that they believe are important for the cultural, moral and social development of pupils, while skipping or addressing in a more superficial way other topics that they deem less relevant:

Then I think . . . the choice of the disciplinary content, . . . and there, in my opinion, the work that can be done is to make a choice of those topics that are more generative of a thinking in this sense [global citizenship thinking], . . . if instead of a lesson [on the Enlightenment], I did four, it is obvious that I had to make a choice by restricting other types of topics (Teacher 13, school D, Humanities)

in 30 hours a year . . . I have to make choices. This year the emergency was indeed . . . the acceptance of the different, so we developed more the interpersonal concept of welcoming and including [migrants] (Teacher 10, school D, Catholic Religion)

The Italian curriculum is particularly conducive to addressing global citizenship topics in this way as, in order to develop the competences prescribed in the curriculum, teachers can freely choose texts in the anthologies, or in other narrative books, that deal with global justice issues:

I pick a little from the topics [in the anthology book] those that are connected to global citizenship issues . . . so, I don't follow the linearity of the anthology book but . . . I extract . . . we did a third of the readings in the anthology book because instead we did readings from narrative books that I took to school and we read from those (Teacher 2, school I, Humanities)

in Italian, what lends itself more to it [GCE] are texts in the anthology, so I choose texts that indeed . . . address global problems. . . . It must be said that in Italian we have a lot of freedom of movement, especially in lower secondary schools where . . . we are not so obliged . . . to deal with literature. . . . We must focus a lot on linguistic aspects, in my opinion, so grammar, expression, etc., but we can use many means, many texts, . . . that we can choose ourselves, therefore, there is maximum freedom (Teacher 3, school I, Humanities)

The curriculum of geography, as outlined in chapter 4, explicitly includes a number of global issues, and it is also possible, as these teachers underline, to deal marginally with physical geography (rivers, lake, mountains, etc.), and rather take a human geography perspective and focus
all or most of the attention on global issues such as globalisation, migrations, global poverty, rights and denied rights, etc.:

I take the liberty to choose and therefore to skip some things... in geography I made the choice to deal only marginally with rivers, lakes, mountains, and to work instead on... the aspect of denied rights in different countries. They are choices... I learn the rivers and then I forget them, maybe these things remain inside [the students], in their personal development (Teacher 2, school I, Humanities)

the space [for global citizenship issues] is found more easily in geography which, in the end, I think, cannot be a list of regions, states and continents. It doesn’t make sense, in my opinion, ... therefore, the main mountains, the main capitals, the main rivers are done because it is right to know them, but... this cannot be the purpose of geography. So, to insert some topics of human geography... is easier for me... I insert the topic of globalization... or the... international imbalances (I Teacher 3, school I, Humanities)

the geography syllabus of the third grade, in the initial part, before dealing with the states, addresses a whole series of topics, global poverty... globalization, you start from there and in globalization there is everything, there are migration flows, there are... different lifestyles, different cultures... the teacher, in fact, can put many other things into it, for example, based on my personal experience,... with them, I very much like to address the issues of migration flows (Teacher 5, school C, Humanities).

a subject that clearly allows me good connections [to global citizenship issues] is geography because above all the geography for the third grade, ... is above all human geography, more than physical, so that also allows you to do it a lot (Teacher 17, school D, Humanities)

In terms of the history curriculum, the positions expressed by the humanities teachers interviewed varied. One teacher stressed that she decides very freely which historical topics to address. She feels confident to skip or deal marginally with some topics included in the history book, like Napoleon for example, and amplify others, like globalisation, that according to her are more important:

I find it useless to cover Napoleon and not globalization... so, I skip some parts, or I address them very shortly and instead I amplify others (Teacher 17, school D, Humanities)

Other teachers, on the other hand, feel more tied to the traditional history syllabus, and tend to exercise their freedom of teaching by choosing to focus with more depth on particular aspects of the topics included in the history book that have the potential to bring out a global citizenship perspective:

I have to facilitate in the kids the development of certain competences, so, given the fact that I must have this lighthouse in the fog, to reach those competences I can choose through which content I want to do it. It’s obvious that it is not that I can exempt myself from teaching the fall of the Roman Empire... however, within these topics, I can choose what to focus on in more depth (Teacher 13, school D, Humanities)

Or to look at particular topics that have a clear connection to GCE, like colonization for example, in more depth and with a focus on drawing links between the past and the present:

Because I am particularly interested in the problems of the Global South,... it is inevitable that when I explain history, I try to make it clear that certain current phenomena have their roots, very, very far
away, for example. And that the gestures that were made in the fifteenth century have repercussions today. . . . We are doing now colonization, slavery, . . . speaking of colonisation, . . . I broadened it to the global level . . . saying: "We Europeans, in relation to the other countries . . . we have done this and our behaviour of that time has an impact today" (Teacher 3, school I, Humanities)

History, you start from the present, cover the past and then the past makes sense only if you return to the present, that is, you cannot do the discovery of America, full stop, the beautiful story of Columbus that arrives there. Okay, and what's the current situation? In Africa there are wars . . . why? Are they stupid people who continue to wage war to each other? No! Where do they come from? The delicate balance that was broken, just after the discovery of America. Or South America, all its resources . . . Brazil, it is a world giant, but there are also the favelas. Why are there these abysses? (Teacher 17, school D, Humanities)

Some teachers, however, while having a clear interest in citizenship and global justice issues and attempting to integrate a global citizenship in their history teaching, find it difficult to select topics and succumb to the pressure to follow the history textbook:

history . . . it is true that the curriculum no longer includes a detailed syllabus, but it is also true that if you arrive in third grade having done only two or three topics . . . I mean that they cannot arrive with gaps, so you find yourself with those two hours of history per week and . . . you should talk about history up to the present day, . . . a no happier connection with citizenship, but it is not always so obvious . . . So, personally, in history, I find myself a little more constrained. I realize that I find it difficult to select the topics, because they seem to me almost all important, I don't want to leave any temporal gaps, and therefore, there, you do draw a connection [to GCE issues], however, it becomes perhaps episodic . . . it is not systematic . . . maybe it's my limit . . . history is dense, it's long, so I think I have less space . . . then, . . . it is up to the ability of us teachers to select, absolutely. And maybe I have to improve on this (Teacher 3, school I, Humanities)

The science curriculum is also particularly suitable to integrating GCE, particularly the environmental education and sustainable development perspectives that many teachers associate with GCE. One of the teachers interviewed explained that her explicit choice is to work in depth on environmental education topics and issues. She begins in first grade with addressing water, soil, and air with a focus on pollution, continues in the second grade covering the ecosystem and the biosphere, and in the third grade she addresses sources of energy, forms of pollution and the concept of sustainable development. This means that chemistry and physics are covered in a more superficial manner:

the science syllabus, if you go to see the curriculum, is immense . . . and therefore one focuses on some topics, . . . you don't manage to do everything. There are choices that I've been making for years . . . I address some topics . . . faster, like chemistry . . . physics, . . . and I focus a lot on this area of environmental education (Teacher 18, school D, Maths and Science)

In conclusion, the freedom of teaching gives teachers the opportunity to make curricular choices and in particular decide to focus on particular topics that they deem important. Such topics may be and often are topics that are conducive to a global citizenship perspective.

**Subverting the order**

The last and minor strategy used by the teachers interviewed to make curricular choices and integrate GCE in their practice is to subvert the order of things. Subverting the order means first of all making choices about the distribution of the hours per subject to ensure that it better responds
to what a teacher wants to do. As this humanities teacher underlines, for a number of months at the beginning of the year, she allocates more hours to history at the expense of Italian to proceed faster, and then later in the year she redistributes the hours between Italian, history and geography to cover in depth the period after the second world war:

we should do two hours of history per week, but, for most of the year I do three, at the expense of the readings of the anthology, so I go much faster, . . . I like to deal much more with the period after the end of the second World War, so the issues that they [the students] feel closer. Therefore, I proceed fast . . . and then, afterwards, I dwell more and use the hours of anthology, which I neglected at the beginning, to go in more depth, that is, they already have the historical knowledge to deal with the topics . . . Therefore, I also make choices about the distribution of the hours per subject (Teacher 2, school I, Humanities)

This redistribution of hours allows this same teacher to work in depth during the course of a year on the topic of rights and denied rights. With this work, the teacher abandons a strictly chronological order in history and rather adopts a thematic perspective looking at issues in the present and in the past, such as women’s rights, children’s rights, environmental protection, war, racism, as well as the link between colonialism and development. Taking a historical perspective allows her to look at the historical causes of current situations and “explain the present through the past”:

In third grade, I propose, . . . an interdisciplinary work in history, geography and Italian. I don’t work in a chronological way but rather on rights . . . rights in history, how we have come to obtain or lose certain rights, then with links to narrative texts and in geography to see in which parts of the world certain rights are respected or not . . . This year we started from women’s rights, so, in history, from the suffragettes to the first countries to give the vote to women where women do not yet have a vote . . . then we talked about children’s rights, child workers . . . then the right to health, the right to education and now we will work on the right to environmental protection. And I do it in history and geography, and . . . we work also on narrative texts . . . And, working on these issues, I work on why . . . how I can explain the present through the past, . . . we explain the historical reasons, so we talk about wars, which lead to the lack of rights, very often, . . . I work on war in history, we study the wars, but we study them from the point of view of civilian victims . . . We talk about racism, . . . this is related to history, of course, and geography because we analyse the figures of Nelson Mandela, Martin Luther King, Rosa Parks, . . . and it is related to citizenship . . . Colonialism will be the last issue we address when we talk about environmental issues because . . . we will talk about colonialism in particular with regard to the aspect of resources, therefore, . . . colonialism because there are resources, . . . colonialism as an explanation of why there are some countries that are rich in resources but are poor from the point of view of the HDI36 and it is the last issue we address this year, . . . So I also allow myself to choose how much space to devote to each subject. I’m not so law-abiding . . . so far, I haven’t received any big complaints, so I keep doing it (Teacher 2, school I, Humanities)

This thematic approach allows this same teacher to jump back and forward in time, as well as take a multidisciplinary approach on a topic that includes a historical and a geographical perspective, as well as work on literature:

36 The Human Development Index (HDI) developed by the United nations Development programme (UNDP) was created to emphasize that people and their capabilities should be the ultimate criteria for assessing the development of a country, not economic growth alone. It is a summary measure of average achievement in key dimensions of human development: a long and healthy life (life expectancy at birth), being knowledgeable (expected years of schooling and mean years of schooling) and have a decent standard of living (GNI per capita). The HDI is the geometric mean of normalized indices for each of the three dimensions (http://hdr.undp.org/en/content/human-development-index-hdi)
the chapter has outlined that the cognitive is the dimension that featured more prominently in teachers' GCE practice. The teachers interviewed strongly associated GCE with the development

5. Conclusions
This chapter has outlined how the teachers interviewed reconcile GCE with the competency-based curriculum prescribed by the provincial curricular guidelines. The teachers found it quite difficult to provide a definition of GCE, but they were forthcoming with a number of key competences and practices that they related to it.

Using the three domains of learning (cognitive, socio-emotional and behavioural) as a framework, the chapter has outlined that the cognitive is the dimension that featured more prominently in teachers' GCE practice. The teachers interviewed strongly associated GCE with the development

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37 Risorgimento is the political and social movement that consolidated different states of the Italian peninsula into the single state of the Kingdom of Italy in the 19th century. The process began in 1815 with the Congress of Vienna and was completed in 1871 when Rome became the capital of the Kingdom of Italy
of cognitive competences, such as knowledge and understanding of global issues and human rights, as well as skills like critical thinking and open-mindedness. The cognitive is seen as a required basis, upon which the other two dimensions (socio-emotional and behavioural) can be built. A number of teachers demonstrated a clear ability to foster critical inquiry skills and work on cognitive decentralisation though the idea of multiple histories and the displacement of students' Eurocentric views. In terms of the socio-emotional dimension of GCE, the teachers interviewed tend to shy away from exploring identities in depth with their students, and in particular how identities are not only socially constructed but also fluid, overlapping, multiple and dynamic. Teachers did not seem to be confident to address the various and overlapping geopolitical, cultural, social and religious perspectives that define students’ experiences and identities. There is some work on identify in terms of knowing one’s roots, but the main focus of how teachers engage with identity is on helping students explore their personality, their personal characteristics, their interests and talents so that they may choose the ‘right’ upper secondary school and eventually find their place in society. The teachers interviewed engage students’ emotions by using methodologies and didactic material that are emotionally loaded. Through their work, they indirectly transmit values, but there is no evidence that they accompany students to explore their own values in an open and transparent way through structured activities. The teachers interviewed seem to fear that talking explicitly about values may be perceived as imposing on students certain values. In terms of the behavioural dimension of GCE, the perspective and practice of the teachers interviewed reveal a strong focus on the concept of personal responsibility. Teachers in general mentioned actions that students were encouraged to take individually, like discussing the issues with their families, or being responsible consumers, or changing particular behaviours like environmentally unsustainable practices. The collective social and political dimension of being active citizens did not feature prominently, and while in certain cases it was acknowledged as an important aspect to be developed, in others it was somehow postponed to the future, when the kids will be older and mature enough to have a more active role in society.

The chapter has outlined how citizenship education and GCE are perceived by the teachers interviewed as important transversal perspectives that should inform all curricular subjects. Yet, the experience of citizenship education, that indeed is included in the provincial curricular guidelines as a transversal approach, suggests that in practice citizenship education is easily overlooked by teachers and is not really done in school. On the one hand, teachers assume that they are automatically doing citizenship education just by being in an educational setting with students. On the other hand, it is something that is consciously delegated to others, namely teachers of particular subjects (history, geography and religion) that are more conducive to addressing citizenship education issues. Similarly to their perspective on citizenship education, when prompted to reflect on GCE, many of the teachers interviewed stressed that a global citizenship outlook should be transversal and permeate all curricular subjects. However, GCE, even for motivated and committed teachers, is essentially a rather sporadic and often unplanned occurrence.

The chapter ends outlining the three modalities used by teachers to reconcile GCE with the curriculum and integrate a global citizenship perspective in their practice: a) Designing specific GCE projects; b) Responding to prompts; c) Making curricular choices. As outlined also in chapter 5, designing specific projects is perceived by teachers as a very effective way to address GCE topics from multiple disciplinary perspectives. However, these projects are very dependent on the individual drive and effort of a few teachers. They are not whole school projects that all teachers
are required to join, but rather ad hoc initiatives of a few motivated and committed teachers. Responding to prompts arising in class is a widespread strategy used by the teachers interviewed. It demonstrates flexibility and capacity to seize opportunities and adapt the lessons to what is relevant to students at a particular moment, but if adopted as the main strategy reinforces a practice of GCE as a sporadic and unplanned occurrence. There is also a risk that global issues are addressed in a simplistic, superficial or age-inappropriate way. Making curricular choices means, for the teachers interviewed, adopting a variety of strategies that include Finding hook ups and connections, Selecting topics conducive to GCE and Subverting the order. Findings hook ups and connections is the strategy that allows teachers to more easily reconcile GCE with the curriculum. It does not demand to add new topics, or skip others, but rather change perspective and deal with a topic normally addressed in the curriculum with a renewed global citizenship outlook. Selecting topics and, particularly, subverting the order require a more pro-active role of teachers in shaping and crafting a curriculum that integrates a global citizenship perspective. These strategies require the ability to deal with ‘curriculum anxiety’, to live with the fact that certain topics deemed less important may be covered in a superficial way or skipped altogether.
Chapter Eight: The Moral Dimension of Global Citizenship Education in the Province of Trento

1. Introduction
Chapters 4, 5, 6 and 7 have outlined the key findings of the research. Chapter 4 has illustrated the extent to which GCE permeates the perspectives and policies of the Province of Trento. The focus of the other three chapters was on the school level. Together these three chapters have outlined the profile of GCE in the school studied, as well as how GCE is conceptualised and translated into practice by the teachers interviewed.

This chapter draws together the findings illustrated in the previous four chapters and links them to the theoretical perspectives outlined in chapter 2. In line with Constructivist and Informed Grounded Theory (Charmaz, 2014; Thorberg, 2012), this chapter attempts to provide an answer to the research questions by outlining an overall theory. It starts by presenting four GCE ideal-types: Neo-liberal human capitalism, Cosmopolitan humanism, Social justice activism, and Critical counter-practice. It then underlines that in the Province of Trento, the political discourse on GCE and its enactment in schools are characterized by a distinctive moral dimension. In both discourse and practice GCE is essentially in line with Cosmopolitan humanism: it is constructed as a new ‘moral pedagogy’, that reflects adherence and commitment to a universal value structure centred on cosmopolitan values. Moreover, GCE is not an educational imperative demanded by the provincial education policies, but it is rather a personal ‘moral’ choice in the hands of ‘willing and able teachers’ who are committed to cosmopolitan values. The chapter then describes the three main strategies used by teachers in relation to GCE: a) Avoidance; b) Pioneering; and c) Building communities of peers. It ends outlining a constellation of institutional, curricular, organisational and conceptual barriers that limit the structural embedment of GCE in the provincial schools.

2. The four Global Citizenship Education ideal-types
The literature review chapter of this thesis (see chap. 2) has outlined how GCE has emerged recently and has fast become an educational priority of the 21st century (Tarozzi & Torres, 2016). In many Western countries, in particular, the language and practice of GCE has entered formal education. But, according to some scholars, this heightened interest in integrating a global dimension in the curriculum responds to particular policy interests. Mannion et al (2011) underline that the recent “curricular turn towards the global” and enhanced profile of GCE in national policy discourses are not arriving by chance in the West but they rather respond to particular cultural and economic threats perceived by politicians and policy-makers. These threats are linked on the one hand to the challenges of increasingly culturally diverse societies and work environments, and on the other hand, by a desire of Western countries to continue to be significant global players both economically and culturally (Mannion et al., 2011). In this perspective, the “official curricular global turn” and GCE are instruments to further the onward economic development of Western countries, and prepare young people to face the threats and reap the benefits of globalisation by learning to live in the global society and work in the global economy.
This vision of GCE may be dominant in education policy discourses, but it is not the only perspective that tries to influence educational policies and practices. In the context of today's globalised and unequal world, a number of scholars call for an ethical, political and critical GCE. Mannion et al. (2011), for example, react to the fact that GCE might conflate environmental and development agendas within a new-found citizenship agenda based on a “socialization conception” of civic learning (Biesta, 2014). In this socialisation vision, the focus is on producing the global “responsible citizen” defined in cultural/social and economic terms, i.e. a citizen that is doing good work in/for the community and is working for the economy. In this perspective, the political and justice-oriented citizen can be easily obliterated (Mannion et al., 2011). Hence, Mannion et al. (2011) call for a GCE that draws from its “lineages”, in particular environmental education, development education and citizenship education, and “the rich tapestry of eco-socially critical approaches” that can be found in these “lineages” (2011: 454). In this perspective the focus of a critical and political GCE is no longer about acquiring the competences to be responsible global citizens that are “obedient, deferential, and compliant as they take their place within hierarchic and authoritative social structures and power relationships” (Jickling & Wals, 2007: 8). In a “subjectification conception” of a critical and political GCE, the focus is on the process of citizenship, and hence on asking what kind of global citizenship practices are possible within schools and society more generally and what and how students might learn from such practices (Mannion et al., 2011).

Other scholars emphasise the potential of a critical GCE in terms of an ontological and epistemological alternative to the dominant globalisation and global citizenship discourse. Scholars such Andreotti (2006; 2010; 2015; 2016b) and Pasby (2015; 2016) draw from post-colonialism to criticise humanistic interpretations of GCE that reinforce the “modern/colonial global imaginary” (Andreotti, 2015). Andreotti imagines a critical and reflexive GCE that has the potential to provide educators with “other lenses and ways of knowing, being and relating” so that they may “fully engage with the complexities, diversities, uncertainties and inequalities of globalisation” (Andreotti, 2010: 238). Andreotti’s conceptualisation of “global citizenship education otherwise”, as outlined in chapter 2, emphasises learning to unlearn, learning to listen, learning to learn and learning to reach out (Andreotti & De Souza, 2008), so that we can begin “to imagine otherwise” (Andreotti, 2015: 221).

In consideration of the multiple interpretations of GCE, this thesis has constructed a typology of four ideal-types to explain how GCE may be conceptualised and practiced. The four ideal-types are: Neo-liberal human capitalism, Cosmopolitan humanism, Social justice activism, and Critical counter-practice (see table n. 5). The typology is grounded in the conceptual categories constructed from the empirical research conducted in this study. But it draws also from the scholarly literature, in particular the different theories and discourses that inform the types of global citizenship (political, moral, cultural, economic, social, critical environmental and spiritual) outlined by Oxley and Morris (2013), and the categorisation of the purposes of education (qualification, socialisation and subjectification) developed by Biesta (2009). The conceptual categories constructed during the analysis of the empirical data were therefore combined and put in dialogue with these theoretical concepts. A certain level of resonance was found and led to the construction of the four ideal-types. Hence, in line with informed GT, the typology is thoroughly grounded in empirical data while being also informed by the scholarly literature.
Table n. 5: The four GCE ideal-types

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Neo-liberal human capitalism</th>
<th>Cosmopolitan humanism</th>
<th>Social justice activism</th>
<th>Critical counter-practice</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Main theory &amp; key theorists</strong></td>
<td>Neoliberalism (Milton Friedman, Friedrich Hayek, James M. Buchanan) Human capital theory (Gary S. Becker, Jacob Mincer)</td>
<td>Cosmopolitanism (Martha Nussbaum, Kwame Anthony Appiah, Will Kymlicka &amp; Kathryn Walker)</td>
<td>World system theory (Samir Amin, Immanuel Wallerstein) Critical pedagogy (Paulo Freire, Henry Giroux)</td>
<td>Post-colonialism (Edward Said, Gayatri Spivak, Homi K. Bhabha, Frantz Fanon, Walter D. Mignolo)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Global citizenship</strong></td>
<td>Economic global citizenship</td>
<td>Moral, cultural and environmental (mainstream) global citizenship</td>
<td>Social and critical global citizenship</td>
<td>Critical and environmental (eco-centric) global citizenship</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Function of GCE</strong></td>
<td>Qualification (global competences)</td>
<td>Socialisation (universal values)</td>
<td>Subjectification (critical literacy - structures of domination)</td>
<td>Subjectification (non-dominant knowledges and values)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Citizenship Education</strong></td>
<td>Not a priority</td>
<td>Being a respectful and responsible citizen</td>
<td>Becoming a democratic subject</td>
<td>De-centring the nation-state and national citizenship</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Global Citizenship Education</strong></td>
<td>Preparing for a global society and economy</td>
<td>Living in a &quot;super diverse&quot; society and world</td>
<td>Transforming structures of power and domination</td>
<td>Deconstructing the dominant global imaginary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Learning domains</strong></td>
<td>Cognitive (foreign languages, economic system, digital skills, problem-solving) Socio-emotional (intercultural communication) Behavioural (flexibility, entrepreneurship)</td>
<td>Cognitive (human rights, global issues) Socio-emotional (human community, empathy, conflict-resolution) Behavioural (ethical and sustainable living, community work)</td>
<td>Cognitive (structures of domination, critical literacy) Socio-emotional (multiple identities, commitment to social justice) Behavioural (activism)</td>
<td>Cognitive (structures of domination; other cultures, hyper-self-reflexivity) Socio-emotional (reflexive identities, commitment to social justice) Behavioural (ethical ways of seeing, knowing and relating)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In this thesis the typology was used as an analytical tool to construct an overall theory able to explain how GCE is conceptualised and practiced in the Province of Trento. In line with the phenomenological approach of Alfred Schutz, the four ideal-types were constructed in a way to exclude “all forms of normative-evaluative stance from the research process” and had a “purely analytical, not normative” function (Harrington, 2000: 737). It should be noted that the four ideal-types illustrate an artificial distinction between approaches that in research, policy and practice are densely inter-related and overlapping. Indeed, even this thesis shows how both policy and practice in the Province of Trento do not neatly fit into one of the ideal-types but rather merge and conflate different discourses (see section 3.1 in this chapter). While synergy between aspects of the four
ideal types is certainly possible, it is important to acknowledge also that the different perspectives also work in tension and therefore when they are merged, there is also potential for contradiction and conflict.

Neo-liberal human capitalism is driven by neo-liberalism and human capital theory. Neo-liberalism maintains that competition is and should continue to be the driving force of the economy. From a global citizenship perspective, a neoliberal discourse focuses on building the knowledge and skills of individuals to make them competitive in the global economy. Human capital theory, on the other hand, takes a country perspective and considers people as human resources needed to facilitate the economic productivity and competitiveness of their own countries. In Neo-liberal human capitalism, GCE is related to economic global citizenship (Oxley & Morris, 2013) and has a defined qualification function which focuses on the acquisition of a certain set of knowledge and skills (Biesta, 2009). Through GCE, students acquire the global and intercultural competences to compete for jobs in the global economy, and a country builds a pool of human resources that will help it to gain or maintain a position in the global economy. In terms of the dimensions of citizenship education and GCE outlined in this research (see chap. 6, sections 5 and 6), citizenship education is not a priority, while GCE is clearly about preparing young people for the global society and economy. The learning domains that characterise Neo-liberal human capitalism relate to cognitive knowledge (foreign languages, knowledge of the economic system and the job market, understanding of the ‘rules of workplaces’), cognitive skills (digital skills and problem-solving), socio-emotional skills (intercultural communication), and behavioural (being entrepreneurial and flexible).

Cosmopolitan humanism in underpinned by moral cosmopolitanism and in particular its focus on our common humanity and the moral duties and obligations owed to all human beings. The emphasis is on a global ethic centred on common human values and norms, which are exemplified by universal human rights. In Cosmopolitan humanism, GCE is related mainly to moral and cultural global citizenship and the mainstream perspective that characterises environmental global citizenship (Oxley & Morris, 2013). Cosmopolitan humanism has a distinctive socialisation function, articulated in terms of the promotion and acquisition of certain norms, values and identities (Biesta, 2009). This relate to becoming ‘better’ citizens of the global world. Through GCE students become aware of and committed to universal values such as human rights, peaceful coexistence, solidarity and sustainability. In terms of the dimensions of citizenship education outlined in this research the main focus is on fostering the ‘respectful and responsible citizen’ that engages in pro-social behaviour to ensure social cohesion and integration. There is a strong emphasis on awareness of the rule of law, legality, the rights and duties of the ‘good citizen’, as well as the political actors and processes at local, national and international level that govern our life. The moral and social development of students is a core concern and work is centred on fostering respect for the rules of civil behaviour, promoting tolerance of diversity, as well as coexistence and inclusion. In terms of digital citizenship, the primary interest is fostering online ethical behaviour. Care for the environment is also a key concern, and the main emphasis is on fostering ecological citizens that in their private spheres ‘do the right things’ like recycling, reducing their carbon footprint, etc. In terms of GCE, Cosmopolitan humanism is essentially about learning to live in a “super diverse” society and world. The learning domains focus on cognitive knowledge (human rights and global issues), socio-emotional attitudes and skills (sense of
belonging to a human community, empathy and conflict-resolution) and behavioural (ethical consumerism, sustainable living, community work and volunteering, charity).

Social justice activism draws from a radical discourse based on Marxist world system theory, and a critique of the socio-economic structures of global inequality. World system theory suggests that the current world economic system is established on a three-level hierarchy consisting of core, periphery, and semi-periphery areas, which perpetuates the domination of core countries and the exploitation of the peripheral ones. Social justice activism draws also from critical pedagogy and its emphasis on critical literacy to achieve equality and social justice. In Social justice activism, GCE is related mainly to social and critical global citizenship (Oxley & Morris, 2013). It has a subjectification function aimed at promoting independence from existing socio-political orders (Biesta, 2009). It is associated with a radical and transformationist view of global citizenship and an empowering pedagogy. In terms of the dimensions of citizenship education outlined in this research the main focus is on opening spaces for students to learn to engage in the “experiment of democracy” and become “democratic subjects”. Priority is given to experiencing democratic processes in school, in the community and in national and international settings. The emphasis in terms of digital citizenship is on digital media literacy, and the potential of the new technologies for political activism. Similarly, care for the environment does not prioritise individual sustainable behaviours, but rather focuses on the larger structures and processes that are at the core of environmental problems. In terms of GCE, Social justice activism emphasises the transformation of political and economic structures of power and domination. The learning domains focus on cognitive knowledge and skills (political and economic structures of domination, critical literacy), socio-emotional attitudes (multiple identities, commitment to social justice) and behavioural (political activism).

Critical counter-practice draws from post-colonialism which stresses the epistemic violence of colonialism, uses poststructuralist “deconstruction” to destabilise Western/European/White cultural supremacy and focuses on protecting and reviving “voices that have historically been subjugated by colonial violence” (Andreotti, 2010: 238). In Critical counter practice, GCE is associated with critical global citizenship and the eco-centric version of environmental global citizenship (Oxley & Morris, 2013). It has a subjectification function aimed at pluralising epistemologies and exposing students to non-dominant knowledges and values. In terms of citizenship education, Critical counter-practice challenges the presumed inevitability of the continued existence of the nation-state, and suggests a curriculum that de-centres the bounded nation-state and complicates the notion of citizenship (Stein & de Oliveira Andreotti, 2017; Pashby, 2011). In terms of GCE, Critical counter-practice fosters the deconstruction of the dominant modern/colonial global imaginary, and the overcoming of hegemonic, ethnocentric, ahistorical, depoliticised, self-serving, uncomplicated and paternalistic patterns of international engagement (Andreotti, 2015). The learning domains focus on cognitive knowledge and skills (political, economic and cultural structures of domination; other cultures and minorities to diversify perspective, cognitive decentralisation, hyper-self-reflexivity), socio-emotional attitudes (reflexive identifications, commitment to social justice), behavioural (ethical, responsible and responsive ways of seeing, knowing and relating to others ‘in context’).
In conclusion, the four ideal-types have been constructed and used in this study as an analytical tool. They have informed the development of an overall theory able to explain how GCE is conceptualised and practiced in the Province of Trento.

3. The moral dimension of Global Citizenship Education

In the Province of Trento, GCE, in both the political discourse and in its enactment in schools, has a distinctive moral dimension. In both discourse and practice GCE is essentially in line with Cosmopolitan humanism: it is essentially constructed as a new ‘moral pedagogy’, that reflects adherence and commitment to a universal value structure centred on cosmopolitan values. Moreover, GCE is not an educational imperative demanded by the provincial education policies, but it is rather a personal ‘moral’ choice in the hands of ‘willing and able teachers’ who are committed to cosmopolitan values.

3.1 Global Citizenship Education as a new moral pedagogy

The four ideal-types of GCE outlined in the previous section, provide a useful framework to analyse how GCE is conceptualised and practiced in the Province of Trento. The perspectives that emerged from the different provincial actors (local government representatives, key informants, teachers) did not neatly fit into one of the four ideal-types. Rather the position of the actors merged and conflated elements from different ideal types, often without fully realising the tensions and contradictions that this engenders. This is not a surprise as reality is messier and more complex than the neat categorisations proposed by academia. So, merging and conflating characterised the perspectives of the three main sectors included in the research, i.e. the provincial education policies, the provincial international development policies and the practice by teachers. Yet, it was also possible to locate the narrative of each of these three sectors within a dominant ideal type of GCE. In particular, as outlined below, while the discourse dominant in the education sector is located in Neo-liberal human capitalism, the narratives of the international development sector and the teachers are broadly consistent with Cosmopolitan humanism. Although elements of Social justice activism and Critical counter-practice were also noted.

GCE in the provincial education discourse

Neo-liberal human capitalism is the dominant discourse in the provincial educational policies and plans. In this perspective, schooling responds predominantly to the qualification function of education. Global competences, related to knowledge of foreign languages (English), as well as entrepreneurial and digital skills, are valued because they respond to the provincial objectives of equipping students with the skills needed to succeed in the global economy, while at the same time enhancing the internationalisation and economic development of the Province. These objectives clearly permeate the provincial education policies:

Educate and train a population with adequate skills and knowledge, able to face the processes of innovation and internationalization, able to support the exercise of the rights/duties of active and responsible citizenship, as well as to reach and maintain an adequate level of economic development of the provincial territory (Provincia autonoma di Trento, 2015b).

As outlined in chapter 4, section 5.2, in the provincial education discourse, the emphasis on global competences is reconciled with a socialisation conception of citizenship education. In this discourse, the main focus is not global citizenship, but rather a ‘traditional idea of citizenship’,
interpreted as civil virtues. Citizenship does not have a global dimension, but is rather linked to fostering a sense of belonging to a clearly defined local and cultural identity. In this perspective, the function of citizenship education is to foster the ‘respectful and responsible local citizen’. Promoting respect for the rule of law and legality as well as stressing social cohesion in the context of culturally diverse local communities are the key areas of attention in the provincial citizenship education discourse.

**GCE in the provincial international development discourse**

Cosmopolitan humanism is the dominant discourse permeating the provincial international development cooperation policies. GCE is framed within a humanistic perspective that recognises the unfairness and unsustainability of the current global system. The approach is essentially about making the current system more humane and sustainable, rather than fundamentally questioning and transforming it. As outlined in chapter 4, section 5.1, GCE is located within a commitment to universal human rights and a vision that merges economic growth with a rights-based understanding of development, which is broadly in line with the 2030 Agenda and the Sustainable Development Goals:

> we are in favour of models . . . of growth, economic growth . . . that are based on the participation of people, on the respect of rights, within, if it at all possible, . . . political and institutional systems that are more democratic (Provincial representative b)

The provincial international cooperation discourse emphasises the interdependence that characterises the globalised world and the interconnectedness of people. GCE is about fostering the ‘respectful global citizen’, that understands this interdependence and moves in the world in a responsible and sustainable manner. This global citizen moving in the world in the ‘right way’ is conceptualised primarily as a consumer in the global economy adopting ethical and sustainable practices, as opposed to a political actor that can contribute to social change. The narrative is located in Cosmopolitan humanism, but in the provincial international development discourse there are also elements of Social justice activism and particularly Critical counter-practice. These critical perspectives stress the need to decolonise our thinking, question our taken for granted conceptual and interpretative frames, refuse what is considered natural, thus unveiling the conventional nature of realities, and learn from visions, worldviews and approaches from the Global South (see chap. 4, section 5.1). The international development discourse includes also elements of Neo-liberal human capitalism, related in particular to the promotion of global competences. The emphasis in the international development discourse on ‘responsible internationalisation’ conflates Neo-liberal human capitalism with Cosmopolitan humanism (see chap. 4, section 5.3).

**GCE in teachers’ discourse**

Despite a strong focus in the provincial education discourse on Neo-liberal human capitalism and the qualification function of education, the perspectives of teachers are predominantly located within Cosmopolitan humanism. In their discourse, GCE has a distinctive socialisation function, which the teachers articulated in terms of the promotion of a cosmopolitan identity. Even if the term cosmopolitanism was not explicitly used by teachers, their views on fostering in young people a feeling of being a global citizen, a citizen of the world, clearly reflects a cosmopolitan perspective in line with moral global citizenship. Strong emphasis was given by teachers to universal human
rights, to the sense of belonging to a common humanity, to the commonalities between humans that transcend differences, to having moral obligations towards distant others, and to the idea of solidarity beyond the national borders (see chap. 6, section 2). A key concept that teachers associated with GCE and being a global citizen is being aware of the interdependence that characterizes the world and that creates links and connections between the “here” and the “far away” (see chap. 6, section 4.2):

Citizenship education . . . that is, to educate young people to be citizens, and, in a globalized world, it goes without saying that citizens means citizens of the world . . . we are not educating them to something that is not there, . . . we need to overcome nationalisms . . . We are connected, interconnected . . . we educate them to be in this globalised world (Teacher 7, school A, Humanities)

In terms of the dimensions of citizenship education outlined in this research the main focus of teachers’ work is on fostering the ‘respectful and responsible student’. The assumption is that if young people learn to be ‘respectful, well-behaved and cooperative students’ in the school environment, in terms of their relations to the teachers, to the classmates and to the facilities and equipment of the school, they will then become ‘good citizens’ in society. This perspective is reflected in the provincial curricular guidelines (see chap. 4, section 4.1) and clearly permeates the way teachers conceptualise citizenship education and translate it into pedagogical practice:

when you have students that don’t understand, . . . why that thing must be respected, why there is a limit, why they need to stop . . . sometimes what gets out of hand . . . is really respect, towards teachers, . . . among classmates, the lack of respect all around. So, if you succeed to get them to understand why it is important, maybe they can even manage to export it outside of school (Teacher 9, school I, Foreign Language)

Hence the main focus of citizenship education is on the areas that in this research pertain to becoming aware of the rights and duties of citizens, legality and rule of law, learning the rules of civil behaviour, promoting coexistence and inclusion and ensuring online ethical behaviour (see chap. 6, section 5):

In terms of GCE, teachers’ work focuses primarily on cultural global citizenship and in particular on preparing students for life in a culturally “super diverse” society. The teachers tend to conflate GCE with intercultural education. Their perception is that school can be a training ground for life in today’s multicultural society, as it provides a space for relating to the ethnically and culturally diverse, and for addressing prejudices, stereotypes and racism (see chap. 6, section 6.1). A few teachers demonstrated a critical and self-reflexive perspective on culture, identify and relations in multicultural settings, but the “interculture” approach of many teachers just stopped at the level of experiencing the folkloristic aspects of the other cultures, like multicultural food, music, clothing, etc.. The perspectives conveyed by some teachers carried also the risk of essentialising ethnicity and culture, seeing the foreign student, or his/her parents, as the “bearer” of a monolithic foreign culture, that we need to tolerate. There was also a sense among teachers that what is done in school cannot really change deep rooted stereotypes and prejudices towards the culturally diverse. So, addressing prejudices and stereotypes seems to be more an aspiration than a reality of teachers’ practice. Moreover, accepting and respecting the ‘other’ presupposes a deep engagement with the concept of identity, however teachers did not clearly outline a multiple, fluid, dynamic concept of identity. They also did not seem confident in accompanying students to critically reflect on their
identities, nor explore their values in an open, transparent and critical manner (see chap. 7, section 2.2).

The way the teachers involved in this research conceptualise and practice GCE conflates a cosmopolitan humanist discourse that focuses on cultural global citizenship, with the neoliberal human capitalist imperative of preparing young people for work in the global economy. While some teachers openly criticised the provincial focus on the trilingual school, overall the provincial policy to shape the schooling system to prepare young people for the global economy while supporting also the economic development and internationalisation of the Province were not challenged. Similarly to the situation found in an English school, where different agendas (economic, moral and cultural) were merged (Blackmore, 2014), the teachers in the Province of Trento conflated cosmopolitan values with the inevitability of the global society and economy. The current global economic system and the functional role of schooling in relation to it were put beyond question.

There is an element that characterises how GCE is conceptualised and practiced in the schools in the Province of Trento and that distinguishes it from experiences in other countries. Studies conducted in secondary schools in Ireland and England underline that teachers’ GCE work is characterised by the behavioural dimension of GCE, i.e. to provide opportunities for students to be active and do something about the issues they are addressing in school. Bryan and Bracken (2011) criticise the emphasis on activism in theIrish schools as this is generally focused on specific global justice causes, tends to be “underpinned by a development-as-charity framework, and dominated by a ‘three F’s approach, comprising Fundraising, Fasting and Having Fun” (2011: 15). Similarly, Blackmore (2014) found in the English experience a “semi-compulsory emphasis on helping” (2014: 208) which was linked to numerous charitable initiatives that gave students the sense of doing something to solve the problem of poverty. Drawing from Jeffress (2008), Bryan and Bracken (2011) criticise this charity-focused approach that defines the global citizen as somebody that “is somehow naturally endowed with the ability and inclination to ‘help’ the Other while constructing this Other as an object of the global citizen’s benevolence, empathy or pity” (2011: 43). Blackmore (2014) emphasises that this focus on helping is quite problematic as it reinforces notions of the Northern student being able and capable of making a difference while the Southern poor person is portrayed as a passive victim to be assisted. The helping agenda, for both Bryan and Bracken (2011) and Blackmore (2014) also detracts from learning about the complex causes of poverty and encourages “simplistic thinking” and “quick-fix solutions”. The emphasis on encouraging students to be active and do something to ‘help’ or ‘solve’ global issues did not emerge as a prominent feature of the way the teachers interviewed in this research conceptualised and practiced GCE. Teachers’ perspectives and practices revealed a strong focus on the concept of personal responsibility, with importance given to encouraging students to engage in ethical and sustainable practices at the individual level. Teachers mentioned actions that students were encouraged to take individually, like discussing the issues with their families, or being responsible and ethical consumers, or changing particular behaviours like environmentally unsustainable practices. Fundraising and charitable work, although mentioned in a few cases, did not feature prominently in teachers’ accounts of their GCE work (see chap. 7, section 2.3).

The marginality of the ‘action agenda’ is a welcome departure from the paternalistic, ethnocentric and solution-focused perspectives that characterise GCE in some contexts. It opens spaces for
teachers and students to engage critically with GCE issues without the ‘anxiety’ of finding solutions to global issues or crafting opportunities for students to ‘make a difference’ in the life of distant others. Indeed, elements of criticality emerged from teachers’ narratives of their work (see chap. 7, section 2.1). A few teachers talked about creating spaces where ‘single stories’ can be challenged and different perspectives can find expression. They stressed the importance of questioning the assumed objectivity and truth of our knowledge, and of discussing with students the fact that history is not objective but is told from different points of view. One teacher explicitly referred to the importance of cognitive decentralization and provided examples of how she challenges her students’ Eurocentric visions of the world.

These elements of criticality are very important and should more strongly characterise the way GCE is practiced in schools. However, they should not be seen necessarily in opposition to a discourse that focuses on activism. Indeed, they can be reconciled with a perspective that supports students to become ‘democratic subjects’ as suggested by Biesta (2014). Educators, as Mannion et. al. (2011) underline, can focus on the kind of global citizenship practices that are possible within schools and society more generally and what and how students might learn from such practices. Yet, this research outlines that in the schools studied, the collective social and political dimensions of being citizens did not feature prominently in the way GCE is conceptualised and practiced (see chap. 7, section 2.3). While a few teachers acknowledged that it is an important aspect to develop, for most teachers it was somehow ‘postponed to the future’. The students are not considered citizens yet but are rather seen as “citizens in the making”. Being active ‘democratic subjects’ in society is hence seen as something they will do when they get older.

In conclusion, GCE as subjectification in its expressions of Social justice activism or Critical counter-practice is marginal in the discourses that permeate the provincial policies and teachers’ GCE practice. While the radical perspective of GCE as Social justice activism to transform structures of power and domination was virtually absent from the discourses dominant in the provincial Education office and in schools, elements of criticality in line with Critical counter-practice were found in the way GCE was conceptualised by some representatives of the international development sector and by a few teachers. In the Province of Trento, and particularly in the perspectives of the teachers interviewed, GCE is broadly in line with Cosmopolitan humanism. It is essentially conceptualised as a ‘new moral pedagogy’ that merges socialisation with qualification, but overall reflects what is perceived to be a universal moral structure based on humanistic cosmopolitan values.

3.2 Global Citizenship Education as a moral choice for “willing and able teachers”

Similarly to the findings of a research in post-primary schools in Ireland, this study shows that the responsibility for ensuring that students are provided with opportunities to explore the global dimension of their citizenship falls largely upon the shoulders of “willing and able teachers” (Bryan & Bracken, 2011: 14). These teachers are highly motivated and see GCE as a moral duty of the teachers of the 21st century. When prompted to reflect on GCE, many of the teachers stressed that a global citizenship outlook should be cross-curricular and permeate all subjects, as we live in a globalised world that affects all aspects of our life. From this perspective, all subjects are needed to educate students to understand today’s global world and live ethically. But in the schools studied, this is an aspiration, not the reality. GCE is a marginal presence: it is invisible and is characterised by the personal and self-made effort of a few motivated and committed teachers (see
chap. 5, section 3.). GCE is not an educational imperative, but is rather a ‘moral optional choice’ for “willing and able teachers”. The teachers that are experimenting with global citizenship themes and perspectives have a distinctive profile (see chap. 5, section 5.). They teach predominantly humanities. They are in the middle of their career and therefore have the experience and confidence to experiment with their teaching. Many of them have a background in interculture, international development or community work and all of them are motivated and driven by a passion for global justice issues and a keen interest in bringing these issues into their teaching. They feel a moral duty to foster the future citizens of this global world and feel compelled to lead by example.

4. Strategies used by teachers in relation to Global Citizenship Education

In the schools studied, three broad strategies are used by teachers in relation to GCE: a) Avoidance; b) Pioneering; c) Building communities of peers. Figure 9 illustrates these three strategies and further articulates Pioneering in terms of how GCE is reconciled with the competency-based curriculum prescribed by the provincial guidelines.

Figure 9: Strategies used by teachers in relation to Global Citizenship Education

Avoidance

Avoidance is used by those teachers that follow a traditional syllabus and do not engage with global citizenship perspectives and issues. They refer to the curricular guidelines that, as outlined in chapter 4, do not have a “global citizenship breath”. Although the curriculum is competency based, these teachers tend to follow a rigid syllabus of disciplinary topics, not prescribed by the curricular guidelines, but rather grounded in tradition, i.e. what has always been taught in that subject. They choose and follow textbooks that lack or have a weak global citizenship perspective or they even skip the parts of the textbooks that deal with global citizenship perspectives and issues. Avoidance is reflected also in a traditional teaching style that is not based on active and participatory learning methods.
**Pioneering**

Pioneering characterises motivated and willing teachers who interpret and ‘manoeuvre’ the curriculum to provide students with opportunities to explore the global dimension of their citizenship. They use imaginatively the freedom and autonomy of teaching that the Italian Constitution grants them, and draw on the fact that the curricular guidelines are broad and competency-based. So, although the guidelines lack a “global citizenship breath”, they also do not prevent teachers from including a global citizenship perspective in their enacted curriculum. Strategies used to bring a global perspective are: a) Designing specific GCE projects; b) Responding to prompts arising in class; c) Making choices about the curriculum.

A key modality mentioned by the teachers interviewed to integrate GCE in their practice is designing or joining specific projects on a GCE issue, or on topics with a more implicit global dimension (see chap. 7, section 4.1). These projects are based on collaboration between teachers, often see the participation of external people (experts in GCE, or people that bring a particular testimony), and use student-centred active learning methods. They are generally considered very valuable experiences because they give teachers a sense of working together towards a common objective, provide students with the opportunity to engage with a topic from a multidisciplinary perspective and include activities that engage the community. However, these projects are heavily dependent on the personal initiative and leadership of one teacher, engage a limited number of ‘like-minded’ teachers, involve only a few students (those of the teachers involved in the project), and are temporary, i.e. they last generally one academic year.

Another key modality used by teachers to integrate a global citizenship perspective in the curriculum is responding to prompts arising in class. Comments, reflections, or particular instances that happen in class encourage some teachers to prepare ad hoc lessons on a particular GCE topic. Alternatively, they lead teachers to address again a particular topic or issue because what happened in class reveals that the concepts had not sunk in. Teachers mentioned in particular racism and prejudices as a topic that they address over and over again whenever xenophobic or racist episodes occur in class or in society. When responding to prompts, teachers reported that they often end up discussing topics and issues they had not planned to address. Responding to prompts arising in class demonstrates flexibility and capacity to adapt the lessons to what is relevant to students at a particular moment. It also demonstrates the ability to seize opportunities to address anew or refresh issues and concepts. However, if it is the only strategy used by teachers it reinforces an approach to GCE as a sporadic occurrence, rather than an embedded and systematic practice. Moreover, whenever teachers seize the moment and address an unplanned issue, there is also the risk that it is done in a simplistic, superficial, or inappropriate way. Indeed, many global citizenship issues are very controversial topics, and to address them with young learners requires planning as well as conceptual and methodological tools to deal with them in an age appropriate manner. The research found that the teachers interviewed did not always appear to adopt a critical and self-reflective view of these controversial global issues. They also did not seem to be fully equipped to address them in class in an age-appropriate way. There is no evidence that teachers have undergone training on teaching controversial issues or are using resources that are specifically formulated to address controversial issues with young learners. While training and resources on teaching controversial issues are high on the international agenda and in some countries there are courses and resources available for teachers (Emerson, et. al., 2012; Kerr &
Huddleston, 2015), in Italy, and particularly in the Province of Trento, they are not yet readily available.

Lastly, another key modality to facilitate a global citizenship perspective is making choices about the curriculum which includes three basic strategies. The first strategy is to open up a particular curricular topic, that apparently may have little to do with GCE to the global dimension by finding connections to the present and to particular global citizenship issues. This allows teachers to introduce GCE indirectly, i.e. cover the content of the ‘traditional curriculum’, and therefore feel confident that what is expected is done, while at the same time providing a global citizenship perspective. The second strategy adopted by pioneering teachers is to freely choose to focus with a certain depth on a number of topics that the teachers personally believe are conducive to stimulating a global citizenship perspective. This means being prepared to skip or address in a more basic way other curricular topics. A history teacher, for example, talked about covering Napoleon very superficially while amplifying other topics of the curriculum that facilitate a link to current global issues, like for example the discovery/conquest of America and the slave trade. A geography teacher, for example, chose to deal marginally with physical geography, and rather took a human geography perspective addressing in more depth issues such as rights and denied rights. A science teacher said that she works in depth on environmental issues and sustainable development, while covering chemistry and physics in a more basic manner. The last and more radical strategy, but also less frequently found among the teachers interviewed, is to subvert the order of things. This means that, for instance in teaching history, the strictly chronological order of the history curriculum and most textbooks is abandoned in favour of a thematic approach that looks at the historical causes of current situations and “explains the present through the past”. A history teacher stressed that she addresses globalisation in this manner by covering together the first, the second and the current industrial revolutions. In sum, making choices about the curriculum is a key modality to integrate a global citizenship perspective in teaching practice and potentially ensures that GCE is taught in a holistic and comprehensive manner. However, it relies on teachers that have the experience and confidence to ‘manoeuvre’ the curriculum of their subjects to address global citizenship and “defend” their choices. It may therefore be out of reach of newly qualified and inexperienced teachers.

I did not do it in the first years, now I feel the need to do it [address GCE controversial issues]. . . . I have been teaching for 19 years, in the same school on a permanent basis for 10. I think I can defend my choices . . . and I do it. I understand that for some colleagues, who may have to change school every year, they are perhaps more intimidated . . . and they struggle to think that they can defend a choice like this, which may not please parents. . . . Over the years, I have built my armour to defend myself and to defend my choices, not everybody does it (Teacher 2, school I, Humanities)

Building communities of peers

In the schools studied, pioneering teachers often feel quite alone. Some tend to engage with GCE themes and topics mainly in the ‘isolated’ spaces of their classrooms and subjects. But other teachers do not resign themselves to this situation and strive to ‘contaminate’ colleagues by supporting the integration of a global citizenship perspective in the enacted curriculum of their school. They do this in a number of ways. Firstly, they use formal school structures, like the Interculture Commissions (which facilitates the inclusion in school of foreign students), the Departments (which include all the teachers teaching the same subject across the school), and the Class Councils (which include the teachers teaching different subjects in the same class). In some
of the schools studied, the Interculture Commission and the Humanities Department are indeed quite active promoters of GCE, but in the majority of cases they have not proven to be very effective: the Interculture Commission is primarily focused on the integration of foreign students, and the Departments and Class Councils provide limited opportunities for pedagogical discussions and the development of shared educational projects. Secondly, pioneering teachers try to break their isolation by building informal communities of peers to plan together, share practices and exchange materials. Working closely with like-minded colleagues provides teachers with emotional and professional support. However, these communities are informal and often dependant on friendship bonds. Lastly, planning and managing specific projects is, as outlined, a key modality to integrate GCE in the practice. It is also a way to build communities of peers, and often pioneering teachers, rather than proposing projects on explicit GCE issues, they design multidisciplinary projects on broad topics that are less threatening for ‘conservative teachers’ but where a global citizenship perspective can be included in a more implicit manner.

The environment . . . is a topic on which you can work with many teachers, nutrition as well. . . . These themes-containers, a little wider, also allow teachers, . . . who may not believe so much in global education, but believe in nutrition education, environmental education, to participate in multidisciplinary projects . . . I have seen that, when I manage to put myself in a perspective less explicitly focused on global citizenship, but rather with these more open topics, I also manage to work with colleagues, so work is more complete manner (Teacher 7, school A, Humanities)

5. Barriers to the embedment of Global Citizenship Education in school practice
Chapter 2 has outlined a constellation of barriers that limit the structural embedment of GCE in the curriculum (chap. 2, section 7). Similarly, this research reveals that the integration of GCE in the school practice is hampered by four types of barriers: a) Institutional barriers; b) Curricular barriers; c) Organisational barriers; d) Conceptual barriers.

Institutional barriers
The scholarly literature highlights that the institutional policy environment plays a crucial role in the integration of GCE in formal education. Tarozzi and Ingugliatto (2018), in particular, underline the important role of national policy-makers in promoting GCE through, in particular, the issuing of policy documents that establish a normative framework for teachers’ GCE action, and the provision of funding to facilitate the implementation of GCE activities in schools. The development of a national strategy on GCE, in particular, is considered fundamental to facilitate the embedment of GCE into the curriculum and the inclusion of GCE in pre-service and in-service teacher education (Tarozzi & Ingugliatto, 2018). GCE in Italy lacked until recently both a clear policy anchoring, and also predictable and long-term financial resources (Ingugliatto & Antonucci, 2016). This research highlights the key role played by the Province of Trento in the development of a national GCE strategy, which is certainly an important policy document that can steer the embedment of GCE in formal education. Yet, as outlined in chapter 4 section 2.2, a number of concerns remain related to whether the national GCE strategy is truly owned by national policy-makers and hence it is still a lived and living document that can facilitate the integration of GCE in formal education.

This study shows also the key role played by the Province of Trento at the local level to facilitate the integration of GCE in the primary education curriculum. The fact that the Province enjoys a special autonomous status within the Italian regional system is considered a key facilitating factor,
as it allows the Province to more easily initiate changes in the education legislation and in the curricular guidelines. The study reveals that a few timid policy changes were introduced in the past three years. The provincial education law was modified and now includes a reference to global citizenship, while the presence of a provincial EU funded project on GCE provided funding to schools and CSOs and mobilised a local constituency supporting the integration of GCE in the curriculum. Yet, GCE is not explicitly endorsed and supported by the provincial education office and therefore is still a marginal issue in the provincial education policies, which focus on three areas (see chap. 4, section 5.2). Firstly, the strengthening of young people’s competences through a school system that facilitates knowledge of/links to the job market and the involvement of the private sector in building students’ knowledge and skills. Secondly, the improvement of students’ linguistic competences, in particular English, through the promotion of a trilingual school (Italian, English and German). Third, the digitalisation of schools and the promotion of digital competences. These priorities are clearly transmitted to schools and are not substantially questioned by school managers and teachers. In conclusion, GCE is a marginal issue within the provincial education system. And the perception is that it will become a reality in schools, only if the concept is endorsed and promoted through explicit education policies and plans:

if it arrives, like it arrived for trilingualism, a document, in our case a provincial one, that tells you, look, citizenship, global citizenship education must permeate all activities that you do, it is clear that . . . , given that school managers . . . are appraised on the basis of the policy directions given by the local government, it is clear that if this becomes a prominent topic, they are going to do it, do it more (Provincial representative d)

Curricular barriers

Some scholars highlight that the meaningful integration of GCE in schools requires a curricular scaffold (Rapoport, 2015b; Peterson, et al., 2018). This means flexible curricular guidelines that include a global citizenship perspective across all subjects and support teachers’ didactic autonomy and freedom. This research highlights that in the provincial curricular guidelines the concepts of global citizenship and GCE are not explicitly adopted and used to provide a global perspective to citizenship education and to the other curricular subjects (see chap. 4, section 4). There are some references to concepts and topics related to GCE in the citizenship education curriculum, and particularly in the geography and history curriculum. The citizenship education curriculum mentions the relevance of fostering global citizens, but overall the global dimension of citizenship is marginal as the curriculum is based on the traditional civil and civics competences (see chap. 4, section 4.1). Globalisation and global issues are addressed explicitly only in the geography curriculum, and to a certain extent in the history curriculum. Geography and history therefore offer opportunities to engage with GCE, they open possibilities to explore GCE topics and issues, however, they also foreclose moves towards critical perspectives (see chap. 4, section 4.2). A global citizenship perspective is virtually absent from the other subjects, which focus on traditional subject-specific knowledge and skills and do not have a global citizenship perspective. Overall, the global, citizenship and education in the provincial curricular guidelines are disconnected and lack a unifying definition, cohesion, and clear approach. GCE in the Province of Trento is characterised by curricular insecurity. Hence, in the absence of curricular pressure, GCE practices remain sporadic, fragmented and generally delivered only by individual motivated teachers. To ensure that GCE is systematically embedded in the curriculum, the curricular guidelines need to be revised and provided with a global citizenship perspective:
the impression is that something is being done, ... that there are moments where ... the planetary perspective is provided. But for the most part, teachers remain on the citizenship education competencies. ... And above all, even when there is a more global, more planetary perspective, it is a bit fragmented. ... What is really important to do ... is an analysis and reinterpretation of the provincial curricular guidelines through the GCE lenses. ... This would be a support to the teachers who then ... can begin to understand, begin to systematise, instead of doing small things. ... Illuminations here and there, ... they can provide a global dimension in a more systematic manner (Member of expert group 1)

Organisational barriers

Scholars believe that a policy environment that supports GCE and “curricular pressure” are important factors that facilitate the systematic integration of GCE in school practice. However, these are not sufficient. Scholars and practitioners underline that a whole school approach is fundamental to ensure that GCE is structurally and systematically embedded in school practice. This means integrating GCE across all areas of school life, in particular school policies, practices, and teaching. It means also involving all the stakeholders of the school, from school managers to teachers, to students, to parents and the wider community (Shultz & Elfert, 2018; Oxfam, 2015).

The British NGO Oxfam developed a framework that illustrates the key pillars of a whole school approach to GCE (see table n. 6). This research highlights that in the school studied GCE is not characterized by a whole school approach. Elements of the Oxfam whole school approach framework were identified in some schools, but overall in none of the schools studied all or most of the elements of the whole school approach were implemented.

Table n. 6: Oxfam whole school approach framework

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School ethos</th>
<th>The curriculum</th>
<th>Participation</th>
<th>Staff development</th>
<th>Transition</th>
<th>Community engagement</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ensure that global citizenship is reflected in your school vision, ethos and development plan, with learners playing a key role in decision-making.</td>
<td>Promote global citizenship across the curriculum, with activities delivered across a range of subjects and key stages.</td>
<td>Enable learners to participate in or lead global citizenship projects through curricular or extra-curricular activities - for example, peer of cross-phase learning.</td>
<td>Develop staff understanding of global citizenship and participatory and critical approaches, and planning time to co-ordinate projects.</td>
<td>Use global citizenship to support primary to secondary transition and explore the place of global citizenship values and skills in further and higher education and the workplace.</td>
<td>Develop ways to engage your local community using global citizenship, and invite community members to related events.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In terms of school ethos, as outlined in chapter 5, section 2, the schools that participated in the EC funded “Global Schools” project adopted the term GCE and included a reference to it in their three-year plans. Yet, the inclusion of a reference to GCE in the school plans did not translate into a clear imperative to integrate it into teaching practice as a gap remains between the broad intentions of the school plans and what is then spelled out in the curricula and in the timetable.

The curricula developed by the schools follow the provincial guidelines and therefore do not have a dedicated GCE curriculum, nor they include an explicit global citizenship dimension transversal
to the curriculum of the other subjects. In all the schools studied, GCE is a marginal and invisible presence (see chap. 5, section 3.2). It is not embedded in teachers’ practice in a systematic manner, but rather remains a sporadic occurrence (see chap. 7, section 3.2).

In terms of staff development, in the schools studied, there are no formal spaces for teachers to debate what GCE means, what giving a global dimension to citizenship education implies, or how it can be translated into pedagogical practice. There are also limited formal places for teachers to plan and coordinate projects together. GCE is essentially an individual choice and is characterised by the personal and self-made effort of a few motivated and committed teachers, who engage with GCE themes and topics mainly alone, in their classrooms and within their subjects (see chap. 5, section 3.3). None of the schools studied have permanent GCE school projects or initiatives. Only in a few schools, the teachers, often in collaboration with a few colleagues, promoted over the years ad hoc projects on GCE topics.

As outlined in chapter 7, section 4.1, cross curricular projects are very valuable as they facilitate teacher collaboration, and enable students’ participation in the planning and implementation of the activities. They also facilitate community engagement through the involvement of CSOs and the organisation of activities that involve parents and the wider community. However, these specific projects are heavily dependent on the motivation and initiative of a ‘driver teacher’ that manages to involve a few like-minded colleagues (see chap. 7, section 4.1).

In conclusion, despite elements that characterize the whole school approach were noted in certain schools, overall, in the schools studied, GCE is just a personal choice, and is essentially a sporadic and unplanned occurrence:

Bringing the global citizenship perspective into every subject, . . . not always, we manage, that is, in the school, there are many very talented teachers, and I think they are trying, we are trying . . . Yes, maybe sometimes we do it, but too sporadically, there is this will, . . . there are people here really good . . . but then to do it systematically, in your subject, I think it’s a real challenge (Teacher 9, school I, Foreign Language)

**Conceptual barriers**

The concepts of global citizenship and GCE, as outlined in chapter 2, are ambiguous and conceptually vague. The lack of conceptual clarity is considered a main barrier for the effective embedment of GCE in schools and a key challenge for teachers (Buchanan, et al. 2018; Rapoport, 2015b, Blackmore, 2014). The Province of Trento only recently started to use the concept of GCE. It is therefore not surprising that this research highlights significant confusion and hesitancy by teachers around the concept of GCE. As outlined in chapter 5 section 2, many of the teachers were not familiar with the concept of GCE, and this term was hardly used in their schools and in their classrooms. The terms generally used were citizenship education and intercultural education. The teachers interviewed acknowledged that in today’s context, citizenship education does need to assume a global perspective. They felt comfortable with the term GCE and believed that it captures the importance of adjusting citizenship education to the reality of a global world (see chap. 6, section 2 and 3). However, they generally found it quite difficult to define what GCE is and what it entails in terms of teaching practice.

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Similarly to the findings of the study conducted by Rapoport (2015a) among teachers in Indiana (USA), the teachers interviewed interpreted GCE through familiar discourses and paradigms, in particular through the concepts of citizenship education and intercultural education (see chap. 6, sections 5 and 6). Using these terms to conceptualise GCE is however problematic. On the one hand, the teachers saw GCE as a natural extension of citizenship education, but they did not fully acknowledge the tensions that exist between GCE and citizenship education. The latter is in fact still largely conceived as a nation-state centred concept and therefore potentially in contradiction with GCE. Moreover, the global dimension was added to an already overstretched conceptualisation of citizenship education which included everything that teachers could not neatly fit into a particular subject. It included also what can be more aptly referred to as promoting discipline and good behaviour. On the other hand, the conceptualisation of GCE through the intercultural education lenses significantly amplified a cosmopolitan humanist perspective and in particular the dimension of GCE related to preparing students for life in a multicultural society. As a result, teachers overlooked other dimensions of GCE, in particular those related to seeing GCE as an ethical and political framework for the critical deconstruction and transformation of structures of power and domination.

Scholars underline the importance of teacher education (Bourn, et al., 2017), and in particular, the creation of formal and sustained ‘GCE spaces’ within initial and in-service teacher education as a means to motivate teachers and enhance their confidence and ability to embrace a global citizenship perspective (Bryan & Bracken, 2011; Buchanan, et al., 2018; Peterson, et al. 2018). Indeed, several teachers interviewed in this research voiced a need to attend training on GCE, as well as participate in communities of practice where teachers can share perspectives and ways of integrating a global citizenship dimension in their work:

we’ve been working on a lot of things that have to do with GCE, even if they're partial, ... on the whole, in my opinion, they foster the global citizen. But one thing that in my opinion is needed, would be some nice professional development course on this subject, instead of always doing them on the usual things. ... A course organised by IPRASE or the school itself ... When there are new stimuli, ... or new needs of society, because probably GCE ... emerged to respond to a need of society ... an emerging need, ... then some professional development course ... could be in my opinion of help, and also could be a stimulus to work in a different way (Teacher 14, school D, Art)

6. Conclusions
This chapter has drawn together the findings described in the previous four chapters and has linked them to the theoretical perspectives highlighted in chapter 2. It started by outlining four GCE ideal-types, developed by combining the conceptual categories constructed from the analysis of the empirical data with the theoretical concepts identified in the scholarly literature. These four ideal-types include: Neo-liberal human capitalism, Cosmopolitan humanism, Social justice activism, and Critical counter-practice. The chapter has outlined that in the Province of Trento GCE is characterized by a distinctive moral dimension, articulated in the way GCE is conceptualised, integrated in the curriculum and then translated into pedagogical practice.

The dominant perspective in the Province of Trento is Cosmopolitan Humanism, articulated in terms of the promotion and acquisition of certain values and identities to become ‘better’ citizens of the global world. GCE as subjectification in its expressions of Social justice activism or Critical counter-practice is marginal in both the provincial policies and teachers’ GCE practices. Elements
of criticality in line with Critical counter-practice were found in the way GCE is conceptualised by some representatives of the international development sector and by a few teachers. Overall, however, GCE is essentially conceptualised as a 'new moral pedagogy' and it reflects adherence and commitment to a perceived universal moral structure based on humanistic cosmopolitan values. In the dominant discourse, this 'new moral pedagogy' has a defined socialisation function but is infused also with a qualification focus aimed at equipping students with the skills they need for life in the global society and work in the global economy.

In the Province of Trento, GCE is not structurally integrated in education policies and in the curriculum. It is not an educational imperative demanded by the provincial education policies and curricular guidelines. It is not a priority in the schools included in this research and is not characterised by a whole school approach. It is just a personal 'moral' choice, essentially a 'moral optional' in the hands of 'willing and able teachers’ who are committed to cosmopolitan values. These teachers are highly motivated, and see GCE as a moral duty of teachers of the 21st century. The research has described the three main strategies used by teachers in relation to GCE: a) Avoidance; b) Pioneering; and c) Building communities of peers. It has identified also a constellation of institutional, curricular, organisational and conceptual barriers that limit the structural embedment of GCE in the provincial schools. Throughout the chapter points of convergence and departure with empirical research conducted in other contexts have been outlined.
Chapter Nine: Conclusions

1. Introduction

As I was approaching the writing of this final chapter, an event happened in Trento, the town where I live, that shocked me but also reinforced my conviction of the importance of GCE and the role that schools can play in a society that is dangerously moving towards widespread and institutional xenophobia and racism. On October 16th a young woman wrote on Facebook a post that quickly became viral. In the post, the 19-year-old student talked about a racist episode she had just witnessed on a bus. A young Senegalese man had got onto the bus with a ticket and when he went to his assigned seat, he was verbally abused by an Italian passenger: “No, here no, go away, go to the back of the bus, you are coloured, you are of another religion”. The situation was ‘resolved’ through the intervention of the police and the availability of another passenger to swap seat, so the young Senegalese man ended up sitting beside the girl that wrote the post. The situation was essentially ‘resolved’ by the police in favour of the racist passenger. The young woman that told the story on Facebook showed some sympathy towards the Senegalese young man, got to know him during the bus journey and decided to use social media to publicly condemn what happened. She ended her Facebook post with these words:

when at school I read about Rosa Parks and the buses with the reserved seats, I saw that society far from ours and said to myself ‘Fortunately now, it is not like that’. What happened today on this bus makes me sad, makes me go back to those times and makes me understand that maybe we have never changed, that there is no end to human wickedness (E. Irini, Facebook, 16th October 2018)

In her post, the young woman attributes the racist act to human wickedness and fails to recognise the structural factors (political, economic, social and cultural) that are at the roots of racism. Yet, she was able to link what she experienced in Trento today to what happened in racially segregated societies. In school she had studied Rosa Parks, and probably also Martin Luther King, Nelson Mandela, Mahatma Gandhi. So, school had played a role in providing her with some insights into racism and also with the urge to do something about it. The young woman provided emotional support to the victim of the racist attack, demonstrated empathy and used the social media to condemn the episode and shake people’s consciousness.

In the context of a global world and increasingly culturally diverse societies, schooling, in her experience, did not only absolve a qualification function to equip her with the competences she needs in the global society and economy. School gave her much more than just intercultural competences, i.e. interpersonal and communication skills to live and work effectively in “super diverse” societies. School managed to socialise her into adherence and commitment to a universal moral structure based on human rights and humanistic values. But did school manage to help her understand the structural problems of racism? Did school address the links between racism, colonialism and hierarchical structures of power and domination? What if schools had talked to her about Rosa Parks and Martin Luther King, but also about Ngũgĩ wa Thiong’o?

Ngũgĩ wa Thiong’o, a Kenyan scholar and novelist, who was recently brought to my attention, made the decision to write in his language gĩkũyũ in a maximum security cell in which he was
locked up for a year, from 31 December 1977 to 12 December 1978 (A. Surian, personal communication, 10th October 2018). His crime was that, with a novel form of theatre, he used his native language gĩkũyũ, instead of English, the colonial language. He also addressed potentially transformative social issues, and sought to liberate the theatrical process from what he held to be "the general bourgeois education system", by encouraging spontaneity and audience participation in the performances (A. Surian, personal communication, 10th October 2018).

Post-colonial African scholars like Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o, and from Latin America Walter Mignolo, Nelson Maldonado-Torres, Boaventura de Sousa Santos, or from Asian Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak talk about the epistemic violence of colonialism and the role of European cultural supremacy in the subjugation of different peoples and knowledges in both colonial and neocolonial contexts. These scholars pose challenging questions: how do we decolonize our mind? How do we learn to decentralize and reposition ourselves? How do we radically question colonial categories? So, what if school, through GCE, provided opportunities for young people to learn about human rights and cosmopolitan humanistic values, but was also exposing them to the critical post-colonial voices from Africa, Latin America and Asia? What if students were encouraged to be committed to human rights and humanistic values, but were offered also spaces to recognise the epistemic violence of the dominant western model of knowledge production?

These questions about the role of schooling in fostering critical global citizens have influenced the construction of this study. This thesis has explored how GCE is conceptualised in the Province of Trento and hence the multiple perspectives and meaning-making that different provincial actors (decision-makers, key stakeholders, teachers) convey through GCE, and that shape the way GCE is practiced in lower secondary schools. GCE had recently emerged as a new educational discourse in this province, hence the research used Informed and Constructivist Grounded Theory to study a phenomenon as it was developing. It addressed also two interests underrepresented in the scholarly literature. Firstly, it responded to calls from different scholars for empirical research in schools to explore perspectives, experiences and approaches on GCE (Marshall, 2011, Peterson, 2016). Second, as the bulk of the writings on GCE, both theoretical and empirical, is mainly from the Anglo-Saxon world, it added the case of Italy, where GCE is being practised in both formal and non-formal education, but is still marginal within scholarly pedagogical discourses and literature.

2. Methodological contribution

Chapter 2 has described in as much detail as possible the whole process of data collection and analysis. Similarly to Blackmore (2014), as far as possible, I have written myself into the account as a way to make explicit how decisions were made and why. This was done in an effort to ensure that my data collection and analysis was transparent and could stand up to scrutiny. But I also openly included turning points, as well as doubts and challenges, and provided an ‘honest’ account of the difficulties I encountered in applying a research methodology like Constructivist Grounded Theory (CGT). This was done with the intention of unveiling the complexity and challenges, and the “messiness” of undertaking empirical research in education and using a methodology like CGT. The research journey described in chapter 2 could therefore provide researchers, particularly PhD students, with insights on the opportunities and difficulties of using CGT.
This thesis offers a number of findings and theoretical insights which are relevant for policy-makers and educators in the Province of Trento, but may also be interesting and pertinent for scholars and educators in other contexts. The significance of this study lies in the plausibility and adequacy of the description and explanation I have provided, but also in the extent to which it enters into dialogue with empirical research conducted in other contexts. Throughout the thesis, but particularly in chapter 8 where I have drawn together the threads of my theory, I have outlined points of convergence and departure with empirical research conducted in other contexts. This dialogue between commonalities and differences in the way GCE is conceptualised and translated into practice can enrich the scholarly work on GCE, but also the practice through the cross-fertilisation of ideas and ways of operating.

3. Summary of findings
The four empirical chapters of the thesis (chap. 4, 5, 6 and 7) have illustrated the findings of this study. Chapter 4 has described how GCE is interpreted by provincial decision-makers and key stakeholders, and which agendas inform their understanding of GCE. It has outlined how, as a result of the EC funded “Global Schools” project, the Province of Trento scaled up its support to the integration of GCE in the local school system. Yet, it has also shown how this Province is not a monolithic entity that embraced GCE and cohesively pursued its integration in the curriculum. Rather, different offices within the Province played different roles and equally displayed different priorities and agendas. On the one hand, GCE is considered a new framing paradigm of international development cooperation. It can facilitate an understanding of international relations in terms of rights and relationships between citizens, rather than aid relations based on need. Within this perspective, GCE is also seen as an educational priority, necessary to build the competences that citizens, particularly children and young people, need to understand global dynamics and move in this interconnected and interdependent world in a responsible and sustainable manner. On the other hand, GCE is seen as an academic label irrelevant for a school system that is focused on a traditional citizenship education, strongly linked to a legality/rule of law approach, and an idea of citizenship rooted in a “cultural” and ethically defined local identity. An attention to global competences in this perspective draws from a discourse that foregrounds the future employability of students and the economic gains for the Province itself. Two diverging visions of GCE and two different instrumentalist agendas permeate the policies of the Province. Yet, these perspectives and agendas are not completely divergent but rather converge through a dominant discourse that focuses on excellence and competitiveness, and on internationalisation.

Chapter 5, 6 and 7 have outlined the profile of GCE in the schools included in the research and how GCE is conceptualised and translated into practice by teachers. Chapter 5 has described how in the schools studied GCE is not an educational imperative but rather an individual choice. The schools studied do not pursue a whole school approach to GCE but rather leave it to the personal initiative of a few teachers. GCE is essentially invisible and is characterised by the personal and self-made effort of a few motivated and committed teachers. The leadership of the school manager is considered fundamental to give visibility to GCE, provide clarity and guidance and create the conditions for teachers to experiment and ‘contaminate’ colleagues. However, the presence of a group of interested and motivated teachers able to support each other is equally important to turn GCE into reality and facilitate its integration into teaching practice. A distinctive profile of the teachers that engage in GCE emerges from the research. These teachers teach predominantly humanities. They are in the middle of their career and therefore have the experience and confidence
to experiment with their teaching. Many of them have a background in intercultural, international development or community work and all of them are motivated and driven by a commitment to global justice issues. They feel a moral duty to foster the future citizens of this global world and feel compelled to lead by example.

Chapter 6 has discussed how citizenship education, in teachers’ views, is no longer about fostering the national citizen, but rather a cosmopolitan citizen whose actions are guided by universal human rights and humanistic values. In line with moral global citizenship, the cosmopolitan citizen imagined by the teachers interviewed feels part of a common humanity and recognises his/her moral duties towards distant others and planet earth. Teachers’ accounts of their practice suggests a perceived lack of distinction between citizenship education and GCE. The teachers interviewed use the concept of citizenship education as a broad container. They include in citizenship education two areas - *Democracy, rights and legality,* and *Moral and social development,* that are typical of a citizenship education curriculum, and that are explicitly addressed in the provincial curricular guidelines. But they also stretch the concept of citizenship education and include *Digital citizenship,* a new area that is not prescribed by the provincial curricular guidelines and that only recently came to the attention of educators in the Province of Trento. Lastly, in teachers’ views, citizenship education encompasses also *Care for the environment,* which results in the conflation of citizenship education with environmental education. While the teachers interviewed used the terms GCE and citizenship education interchangeably, they also talked about three dimensions that characterise GCE and distinguish it from citizenship education. The first dimension, *Life in a “super diverse” society,* is essentially about cultural global citizenship and results in the conflation of GCE with intercultural education. The teachers tend to see the school as a training ground for life in today’s multicultural society. Yet, risks of providing an essentialised and folkloristic notion of other cultures were noted, while addressing stereotypes and prejudices seemed to be more an aspiration than a reality of teachers’ practice. The second dimension of GCE, *Decoding what is happening in the world,* relates to the importance given by teachers to discussing in class current affairs and global justice issues, many of whom are clearly controversial topics arising from the current geo-political dynamics. Teachers, however, did not always adopt a critical and self-reflective view of these controversial global issues. The last dimension of GCE that emerged from the interviews with the teachers, *Preparing for a global society and economy,* relates to a neoliberal conception of GCE and is essentially about equipping students for life in the global society and work in the global economy. Here the transformative agenda of GCE and its drive towards social justice is completely lost and global citizenship is equated with the global competences required to live in the 21st century.

Chapter 7 has described how the teachers interviewed reconcile GCE with the competency-based curriculum prescribed by the provincial curricular guidelines. The teachers found it quite difficult to provide a definition of GCE, but they were forthcoming with a number of key competences and practices that they relate to it. The chapter has outlined that the cognitive is the dimension that featured more prominently in teachers’ GCE practices. The teachers interviewed strongly associate GCE with the development of cognitive competences, such as knowledge and understanding of global issues and human rights, as well as skills like critical thinking and open-mindedness. The cognitive is seen as a required basis, upon which the other two dimensions (socio-emotional and behavioural) can be built. The socio-emotional is also a key dimension of learning identified by the teachers, although in terms of practice, it does not receive the same level of attention as the
cognitive. The teachers engage students' emotions by using methodologies and didactic material that are "emotionally loaded", but they tend to shy away from exploring identities in depth, or accompany students to reflect on their own values in a critical, open and transparent manner. Lastly, the behavioural domain emerged as quite marginal in teachers' GCE practice. The perspectives and practices of the teachers interviewed reveal a strong focus on the concept of personal responsibility, while the collective social and political dimension of being active citizens did not feature prominently. The chapter has outlined also how citizenship education and GCE are perceived by the teachers interviewed as important transversal perspectives that should inform all curricular subjects. Yet, citizenship education is essentially a "Cinderella subject" that is easily overlooked by teachers, while the integration of a global dimension to citizenship education and the other curricular subjects is a rather sporadic and often unplanned occurrence. The chapter has also described the three modalities used by teachers to reconcile GCE with the curriculum and integrate a global citizenship perspective in their practice. Designing special projects is perceived by teachers as a very effective way to address GCE topics from multiple disciplinary perspectives. However, these projects are very dependent on the individual drive and effort of a few teachers. Responding to prompts arising in class is a widespread strategy used by the teachers interviewed. It demonstrates flexibility and capacity to seize opportunities and adapt the lessons to what is relevant to students at a particular moment, but if adopted as the main strategy it reinforces a practice of GCE as a sporadic and unplanned occurrence. Lastly, making curricular choices means, for the teachers interviewed, adopting a variety of strategies that include: a) Finding hook ups and connections, b) Selecting topics conducive to GCE, c) Subverting the order. Findings hook ups and connections is the strategy that allows teachers to more easily reconcile GCE with the curriculum. Selecting topics and, particularly, subverting the order require a more pro-active role of teachers in shaping and crafting a curriculum that integrates a global citizenship perspective.

4. Theoretical contribution

The theoretical contribution of this thesis is illustrated in chapter 8, which draws together the findings described in the previous four chapters and links them to the theoretical perspectives outlined in chapter 2. In line with Constructivist and Informed Grounded Theory (Charmaz, 2014; Thornberg, 2012), this chapter tries to answer the research questions by outlining an overall theory. It provides a nuanced understanding of how GCE is conceptualised and translated into policies and teaching practice in the Province of Trento. Chapter 8 illustrates a typology of four GCE ideal-types, which is thoroughly grounded in data and is also informed by the existing research literature on GCE. Combining the conceptual categories constructed from the empirical data with the perspectives that emerge in the scholarly literature, this typology of GCE includes four ideal-types: Neo-liberal human capitalism, Cosmopolitan humanism, Social justice activism, and Critical counter-practice. The four ideal-types illustrate an artificial distinction between approaches that in research, policy and practice are densely inter-related and overlapping. Indeed, even this thesis shows how both policy and practice in the Province of Trento do not neatly fit into one of the ideal-types but rather merge and confabulate different discourses. While synergy between aspects of the four ideal-types is certainly possible, it is important to acknowledge also that the different perspectives also work in tension and therefore when they are merged, there is also potential for contradiction and conflict.

The theoretical contribution of this thesis draws from these four ideal-types and is centred on a core category explaining how GCE is conceptualised and practiced in the Province of Trento. This
core category indicates that in the Province of Trento, GCE, in both the political discourse and in its enactment in schools, has a distinctive moral dimension. In discourse and in practice GCE is essentially constructed as a new ‘moral pedagogy’, that reflects adherence and commitment to a universal value structure centred on cosmopolitan and humanistic values. Moreover, GCE is not an educational imperative demanded by the provincial education policies, but it is rather a personal ‘moral’ choice in the hands of ‘willing and able teachers’ who are committed to cosmopolitan values. These teachers are highly motivated, and see GCE as a ‘moral duty’ for teachers of the 21st century. The theoretical contribution of this thesis in relation to the specific questions that drove the research are summarised here.

Conceptualisations of GCE dominant in the provincial policies and in school practice
The dominant perspective in the Province of Trento is Cosmopolitan humanism. GCE has a defined socialisation function, articulated in terms of the promotion and acquisition by young people of certain values and identities to become ‘better’ citizens of the global world. A subjectification approach to GCE in its expressions of Social justice activism or Critical counter-practice is marginal in both the provincial policies and in teachers’ GCE practices. Elements of criticality in line with Critical counter-practice were found in the way GCE is conceptualised by some representatives of the international development sector and by a few teachers. Overall, however, GCE is essentially conceptualised as a ‘new moral pedagogy’ and it reflects adherence and commitment to what is perceived to be as a universal moral structure based on human rights and humanistic cosmopolitan values. In the dominant discourse, this ‘new moral pedagogy’ has a defined socialisation function but is infused also with a qualification focus aimed at equipping students with the skills they need for life in the global society and work in the global economy. Overall, the provincial policies shape a schooling system aimed at preparing young people for the global economy while supporting also the economic development and internationalisation of the Province. This vision of education was not challenged by teachers. The inevitability of the global economy and the functional role of schooling in relation to it were put beyond question. Hence, the merging of socialisation with qualification in teachers’ perspectives on GCE resulted in a vision of GCE that conflated three core dimensions: Living in a “super diverse” society, Decoding what is happening in the world and Preparing for a global society and economy.

Strategies used by teachers in relation to GCE
In the Province of Trento, GCE is not an educational imperative demanded by the provincial education policies and curricular guidelines. In the schools included in this research, GCE is not a priority and hence it is not embedded in teachers’ practice in a systematic manner. Three main strategies are used by teachers in relation to GCE: a) Avoidance; b) Pioneering; and c) Building communities of peers. Avoidance is used by those teachers that follow a traditional curriculum and do not engage with global citizenship perspectives and issues. Pioneering characterises motivated and willing teachers who interpret and ‘manoeuvre’ the curriculum to provide students with opportunities to explore the global dimension of their citizenship. These teachers use imaginatively their freedom and autonomy of teaching, draw on the fact that the curricular guidelines are broad and competency-based, and use three different strategies to integrate a global perspective in their practice: a) Designing specific GCE projects; b) Responding to prompts arising in class; c) Making choices about the curriculum. Each of these strategies has distinctive strengths and weaknesses, but overall they require teachers to be ‘masters’ in shaping a curriculum informed by a global citizenship perspective. In the schools studied, these pioneering teachers often feel quite isolated.
Institutional, curricular, organisational and conceptual barriers influencing the way GCE is practiced in lower secondary schools

A constellation of institutional, curricular, organisational and conceptual barriers limit the structural embedment of GCE in the provincial schools. Institutionally, GCE is a marginal issue in the provincial policies, which are centred on the qualification function of education: ensuring students’ employability through knowledge of links to the job market, linguistic competences and digital skills. In the curricular guidelines, the concepts of global citizenship and GCE are not explicitly adopted and used to provide a global perspective to citizenship education and to the other curricular subjects. GCE is characterised by curricular insecurity, and this lack of ‘curricular pressure’ hampers its systematic embedment in teaching practice. From an organisational point of view, GCE is not characterised by a whole school approach. Elements of a whole school approach were noted in certain schools, but overall, in the schools studied, GCE practices remain sporadic, fragmented, and often unplanned. Conceptually, the research highlights significant confusion and hesitancy by teachers around the concept of GCE. The teachers interpreted GCE through familiar discourses and paradigms, in particular through the concepts of citizenship education and intercultural education. However, this overlapping of concepts, on the one hand, masked the tensions that exist between GCE and citizenship education. And, on the other hand, conceptualising GCE through the intercultural education lenses significantly amplified the dimension of GCE related to preparing students for life in multicultural societies.

5. Concluding reflections

This chapter started with a racist episode that occurred in my home town. This racist attack reflects a number of socio-political challenges that characterise the Province of Trento, and more broadly Italy and Europe. The growth of extremism, rising populism, the threat of neo-fascism, assaults on basic human rights are not new (Wegimont, 2018). However, today they are a common feature, a marker of the socio-political climate across many countries. Human rights and humanistic values such as equality, equity, respect for diversity, solidarity, social cohesion, that have been the cornerstone of Western democracies, and Europe in particular, are no longer strongly upheld by the policy-makers of many Western countries. This is not to say that Western countries have always lived up to these rights and values. Indeed, Western countries are not virtuous, but have rather been “a model of wickedness, of exploitation” (Freire, 1997: 10). We just need to think about colonialism and how European countries invaded, massacred, subjugated and colonised peoples across the world. The two world wars of the last century, the brutality of Nazism and of fascist regimes, the Shoah, racial segregation and discrimination in the USA are just a few examples of the contradictory and ambivalent relationship that Western countries have with human rights and humanistic values. But, until a few years ago, these gross violations of human rights appeared to be part of a shameful past that had been overcome. Today with the rise of populist and neo-fascist movements, as well as widespread xenophobia and racism, it looks like large parts of Europe are “suffering from political amnesia regarding our recent past” (Wegimont, 2018: 9). This is a worrying development as “a strong voice for human rights in the world is diminished when it
has to defend the very notion of human rights – and fight rear-guard actions – at home” (Wegimont, 2018: 9).

These socio-political challenges, coupled with ever increasing inequality both within and across countries and with environmental issues like climate change that threaten our very survival, highlight the need for GCE. Yet, these challenges seem insurmountable and the issues that are at the heart of GCE – human rights, equity, sustainability, social justice – seem unattainable. So, what role can education and GCE play in this scenario? Is it naïve to think that education can contribute to addressing some of these challenges? Is it unrealistic to believe that education can transform the world? Paulo Freire (1997) talks about a “pedagogy of hope”. He warns about the dangers involved in intellectual positions that accept the inexorability of what happens. Dreams and hope, for Freire, “are an intrinsic part of any educational practice with the power to unmask the dominant lies” (1997: 7). Freire links hope to struggle: without hope we cannot start the struggle, but “without the struggle, hope, as an ontological need, dissipates, loses its bearings, and turns into hopelessness” and despair (1997: 9). So, one of the “tasks of the progressive educator, through a serious, correct political analysis, is to unveil opportunities for hope, no matter what the obstacles may be” (Ibid.).

Young people are particularly in danger of accepting the inexorability of the dominant global world order and seeing today’s socio-political and environmental challenges as insurmountable. This may result in uncritical adaptation and urge to ‘fit in’, and ‘thrive’ in today’s global world, or in hopelessness, despair and possibly violent radicalisation as a result of marginalisation and exclusion. In this context, formal education has an important role to play, and GCE can provide teachers with the perspectives necessary to help young people make sense of the contemporary world and take conscious decisions about the role they want to have in it. GCE is a perspective and approach that can help educators and teachers bring back to the fore human rights and humanistic values. But GCE demands that educators foreground also a socio-political analysis of what is happening locally and globally and how the local and the global are intertwined. GCE can open opportunities for hope and, by drawing from voices that have been silenced by the colonial epistemic violence, GCE can be a space for imagining alternatives.

This research has outlined how in the Province of Trento GCE is not structurally embedded in the curriculum. The experience of this province is symptomatic of what is happening in other areas of the world, including in countries with a longer and more established tradition of embedding GCE in the curriculum, like Canada, the USA, the UK, Ireland, Australia, and New Zealand, (see chap. 2, section 7). Overcoming the institutional, curricular, organisational and conceptual barriers highlighted in this thesis is essential to facilitate the structural and systematic integration of GCE in the curriculum. But where is the starting point to address these barriers? I believe that the role of teacher education and an alliance between academia and practice are of paramount importance to facilitate a more structural grounding of GCE in the curriculum and stimulate reflection on the necessity for political and critical GCE approaches.

**The role of teacher education**

Teacher education is a key instrument to stimulate teachers’ agency. Integrating GCE in initial teacher education programmes and providing in-service teachers with ample opportunities for professional development on GCE theories and practices can empower teachers to be GCE agents...
in their classrooms and schools. It can also contribute to building a community of practice that can push for policy change. In this respect, the provision of training on GCE to school managers is also fundamental. Unless GCE becomes an approach firmly embedded in educational policies, plans and curricular guidelines, it will be impossible to overcome its ‘moral optionality’. But change of policies and curricular guidelines are more owned and therefore more likely to be translated into practice if the impetus for change comes from the bottom-up, rather than the top down. Hence, the creation through teachers’ education of networks of “Global Schools” that are experimenting with GCE and that call for the integration of GCE in policies and curricular guidelines can play a significant role.

Teacher education is also important as it can provide spaces where the multiple interpretations and approaches of GCE can be identified, discussed and debated. Such spaces should not be “about ‘unveiling’ the ‘truth’ for the learners” (Andreotti, 2006: 49). They should not be about telling teachers what GCE should be like, what are ‘best practices’ in GCE, or providing them with a ready-made GCE toolkit. But rather teacher education should be a space to discuss and reflect about the different theoretical frameworks, agendas and curricula that characterise GCE. It should be an opportunity for teachers to critically reflect on mainstream GCE discourses (Neo-liberal human capitalism and Cosmopolitan humanism) and be exposed to more political and critical pedagogical frameworks based on GCE as subjectification (Social justice activism and Critical counter-practice). In this way teachers can identify and reflexively analyse the discourses and theoretical frames that give meaning to their practice. They can then experiment with different frameworks and consciously decide where to locate their GCE practice. In a context where teachers often look at teacher education as an opportunity to receive methodological tools and materials that they can readily apply in class with their students, it is important that these pedagogical spaces are opportunities where teachers come together to address practical aspects relating to the place of GCE within the curriculum and its enactment within schools and classrooms. So, these spaces should facilitate sharing of critical GCE classroom activities that teachers can adapt and test with their students, as well as exchanges of knowledge and learning from one another about experiences of ‘doing’ GCE in schools.

*Alliance between academia and practice*

Pike (2015) underlines that one of the weaknesses of global education in the 1970s and 1980s was that these movements did not invest in providing research-based evidence supporting the teaching and learning strategies they were promoting. In the Anglo-Saxon world, the situation has changed and in the past ten years, GCE has become a key topic of academic-based research (Sant & al., 2018). But this is not yet the case in Italy where GCE is still in the realm of practice and has not yet entered in a significant way mainstream pedagogical discourses and academic research. In Italy, but also in other contexts, GCE needs theoretical and empirical research, and a strong alliance between academia and practice. GCE would greatly benefit from the new trends in research, which Gibbons et al. (1994) call ‘Mode 2 knowledge production’, or ‘Mode 2 science’.

Mode 2 science is characterised by transdisciplinarity, includes a wide variety of stakeholders, emphasises the importance of reflexive processes conducted from a multiplicity of viewpoints, has a strong focus on social accountability, and pays attention to the context of the application of knowledge (Lorenz, 2014b). Mode 2 differs from traditional academic research, or Mode 1 knowledge production, because it has a distinctive ‘democratic’ and practice orientation. A
practice orientation, in particular, is of great importance in Mode 2 science, both in terms of "the rootedness of enquiries into real problems (and hence into needs, rather than into the problems as defined as such by academics)", and in terms of the use that can be made of the results of research (Lorenz, 2014b: 105). So, for Mode 2 science, the key question in all areas of knowledge production is: 'where is the place of people in all our knowledge?' (Ibid.). This new paradigm in knowledge production poses considerable challenges to established academic disciplines, which have always been practice oriented, but have also "made knowledge generation the exclusive domain of experts" who feel that they have the right to use their own parameters to decide what is practice-relevant (Ibid.).

Mode 2 knowledge production is of great relevance to GCE. As a cross-curricular educational approach, GCE would be greatly enriched by transdisciplinary research involving humanities, social sciences, and natural sciences. Research on GCE so far has been conducted predominantly by scholars in education, a transdisciplinary approach could provide fresh and unexplored perspectives. The 'democratic' orientation of Mode 2 and the emphasis on involving different stakeholders as subjects of the research process and not objects to be studied is also of particular relevance for GCE. In this perspective, not only policy-makers, but also teachers, CSO practitioners, students can become co-producers of knowledge, hence amplifying the 'democratic' potential of GCE. Lastly, the practice orientation of Mode 2 is also of particular relevance to GCE. Again, the democratic focus of Mode 2 can provide insights into who should define the parameters of what counts as practice-relevant in GCE theoretical and empirical research.
References


Annexes

Annex 1: Informed Consent form – teachers

Modulo di consenso informato per la partecipazione allo studio dal titolo provvisorio:

La dimensione globale nell’educazione alla cittadinanza. Rappresentazioni e esperienze di dirigenti e insegnanti di scuole secondarie di I grado trentine

Corso di Dottorato in Pedagogia generale, pedagogia sociale e didattica - XXXI Ciclo
Facoltà Scienze della Formazione
Libera Università di Bolzano

Prima di decidere liberamente se vuole partecipare a questo studio, legga cortesemente questo consenso informato e ponga alla responsabile della ricerca tutte le domande che ritiene opportune al fine di essere pienamente informato/a degli scopi, delle modalità di esecuzione della ricerca e delle procedure.

La preghiamo di ricordare che questo è un progetto di ricerca e che la sua partecipazione è completamente volontaria. Lei si potrà ritirare in qualunque momento.

SCOPO DELLO STUDIO
Sullo sfondo del mondo attuale, caratterizzato da interdipendenza, rapide trasformazioni, squilibri e contraddizioni, sfide globali, il progetto di ricerca intende studiare se e come in alcune scuole secondarie di I grado della Provincia di Trento vengono preparati ragazzi e ragazze a vivere in una società che è locale ma anche globale.

Lo studio coinvolge scuole secondarie di I grado ed in particolare dirigenti e insegnanti di discipline diverse.

È stato/a selezionato/a come partecipante in questo studio in quanto dirigente e/o docente di scuola secondaria di I grado con profilo rilevante per la ricerca.

STRUMENTI DELLO STUDIO
L’impegno richiesto ai partecipanti allo studio è di:

- partecipare ad un’intervista individuale audio registrata che verrà svolta nel periodo febbraio-giugno 2017;
- mettere a disposizione della responsabile della ricerca eventuale documentazione delle attività didattiche che i partecipanti ritengono di poter condividere;

In funzione dello sviluppo dello studio verrà valutata l'opportunità di condurre dei focus group con alcuni partecipanti nella seconda fase della ricerca per approfondire eventuali tematiche emerse dalle interviste individuali.

L'intervista sarà audio registrata. Lei può chiedere in ogni momento che l'audio registrazione venga interrotta. Inoltre ha il diritto di riascoltare la registrazione e richiedere che siano ommesse o modificate alcune parti. Lo studio prevede che l'intervista venga trascritta.

Le registrazioni e i trascritti delle interviste saranno codificati usando pseudonimi per proteggere l'identità dei partecipanti.

**RISERVATEZZA**

I dati raccolti saranno trattati in accordo con le leggi sulla privacy e in conformità al Decreto Legislativo 30 giugno 2003 n. 196 "Codice in materia di protezione dei dati personali", garantendo l'anonimato dei partecipanti.

La preghiamo di compilare la parte seguente:

Il/la sottoscritto/a __________________________________________

Dichiara:
- di aver liberamente dato il consenso alla partecipazione a questo studio;
- di aver letto attentamente il presente modulo di consenso informato;
- di essere stato informato/a riguardo allo scopo ed agli strumenti dello studio in questione;
- di aver avuto la possibilità di porre domande a proposito di qualsiasi aspetto dello studio e di aver ottenuto risposte soddisfacenti;
- di aver ricevuto soddisfacenti assicurazioni sulla riservatezza delle informazioni fornite sulla propria persona;
- di essere consapevole di potersi ritirare in qualsiasi fase dello studio;

Data ______________________

Firma del partecipante: ______________________

Firma del ricercatore_____________________

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Modulo di consenso informato per la partecipazione allo studio dal titolo provvisorio:

La dimensione globale nell’educazione alla cittadinanza. Rappresentazioni e esperienze di istituzioni e scuole trentine

Corso di Dottorato in Pedagogia generale, pedagogia sociale e didattica - XXXI Ciclo
Facoltà Scienze della Formazione
Libera Università di Bolzano

Prima di decidere liberamente se vuole partecipare a questo studio, legga cortesemente questo consenso informato e ponga alla responsabile della ricerca tutte le domande che riterrà opportune al fine di essere pienamente informato/a degli scopi, delle modalità di esecuzione della ricerca e delle procedure.

La preghiamo di ricordare che questo è un progetto di ricerca e che la sua partecipazione è completamente volontaria. Lei si potrà ritirare in qualunque momento.

SCOPO DELLO STUDIO
Sullo sfondo del mondo attuale, caratterizzato da interdipendenza, rapide trasformazioni, squilibri e contraddizioni, sfide globali, l’obiettivo della ricerca è studiare se e come in alcune scuole secondarie di I grado della provincia di Trento vengono preparati ragazzi e ragazze a diventare cittadini/cittadine di una società che è locale ma anche globale.
Nella ricerca viene utilizzato il concetto di Educazione alla Cittadinanza Globale, un concetto complesso e ambiguo, e quindi, obiettivo della ricerca è capirne il significato ed il senso che viene attribuito ad esso a diversi livelli. Da un lato viene studiato il contesto istituzionale e come l’Educazione alla Cittadinanza Globale viene interpretata e promossa dalle istituzioni della Provincia. Dall’altro lato, viene analizzato il senso che dirigenti scolastici ed insegnanti attribuiscono a questo concetto, e come viene tradotto in pratica a livello di curricula e di didattica.
È stato/a selezionato/a come partecipante in questo studio in quanto assessore, dirigente c/o funzionario con profilo rilevante per la ricerca.

STRUMENTI DELLO STUDIO
L’impegno richiesto ai partecipanti allo studio è di:

- partecipare ad un’intervista individuale audio registrata che verrà svolta nel periodo febbraio 2017 - giugno 2018;

L’intervista sarà audio registrata. Lei può chiedere in ogni momento che l’audio registrazione venga interrotta. Inoltre ha il diritto di riascoltare la registrazione e richiedere che siano omesse o modificate alcune parti. Lo studio prevede che l’intervista venga trascritta.
Le registrazioni e i trascritti delle interviste saranno codificati usando pseudonimi per proteggere l'identità dei partecipanti.

**RISERVATEZZA**
I dati raccolti saranno trattati in accordo con le leggi sulla privacy e in conformità al Decreto Legislativo 30 giugno 2003 n. 196 "Codice in materia di protezione dei dati personali", garantendo l'anonimato dei partecipanti.

La preghiamo di compilare la parte seguente:

Il/la sottoscritto/a ______________________________________

Dichiara:
- di aver liberamente dato il consenso alla partecipazione a questo studio;
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- di essere stato informato/a riguardo allo scopo ed agli strumenti dello studio in questione;
- di aver avuto la possibilità di porre domande a proposito di qualsiasi aspetto dello studio e di aver ottenuto risposte soddisfacenti;
- di aver ricevuto soddisfacenti assicurazioni sulla riservatezza delle informazioni fornite sulla propria persona;
- di essere consapevole di potersi ritirare in qualsiasi fase dello studio;

Data ______________________

Firma del partecipante: ______________________

Firma del ricercatore ______________________