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**Doctoral Dissertation of Philosophy in Global Education Cooperation**

**Global Citizenship Education for Development as  
Universality: Goals and Missions of South Korea and the  
UK compared**

발전을 위한 세계시민교육의 보편성:  
비교적 관점에서 본 영국과 한국의 목표와 임무

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**Global Education Cooperation Major**

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# **Global Citizenship Education for Development as Universality: Goals and Missions of South Korea and the UK compared**

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## **Abstract**

### **Global Citizenship Education for Development as Universality: Goals and Missions of South Korea and the UK compared**

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This dissertation was motivated by one central research question: What are the implications of the UK and Korea Global Citizenship Education for Development (GCED) missions and goals for the future advancement of GCED discourse domestically and transnationally? In this context, the sub-questions for the research were: (1) What is the purpose or rationale of GCED discourse? (2) What are the implications of a GCED discourse which is produced by and for individual nations? and (3) Are transnational or national forms of GCED discourse informed by grassroots or 'bottom up' activities? One of the methods used to produce data to address the research questions was Critical Discourse Analysis, which was used to examine three sets of documents: the first set is representative of GCED discourse produced in the UK; the second set consists of transnational GCED discourse, and the third set consists of GCED discourse that has been produced in Korea. In addition, semi-structured interviews were conducted with five Korean graduate students with experience in the field of GCED in various capacities and one expert in GCED who is a professor of Korean heritage using Thomas' (2006) general inductive approach. The conclusions reached based on the research findings are that transnational GCED discourse and curricula reflect a 'one-size-fits-all' approach that is inappropriate because it lacks the cultural specificity required to be effective in particular contexts. At the same time, the study shows that such discourse creates a common discursive space that allows nations to agree upon shared goals, while those nations are nonetheless free in practice to pursue their own political agendas in relation to development. The implications of the findings are that a more critically oriented form of GCED is required if researchers and educators are to help prevent official GCED discourse in both the UK and South Korea from becoming nothing more than a marketing tool for development projects by the

governments of both nations and others, and cause it, instead, to become a critical tool for the empowerment of citizens. To this end, an approach to GCED based on Adorno's theory of conceptual experience, which could promote empathy through 'mediation', or, a qualitative change in the perceiving subject (O'Connor, 2004), is proposed.

**Keywords:** global citizenship education for development, grassroots, critical discourse analysis, mediation, theory of conceptual experience

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## **Acronyms**

**GCE (i)** Global Citizenship Education

**GCE (ii)** Global Campaign for Education

**GCED** Global Citizenship Education for Development

**EGC** Education for Global Citizenship

**CE** Citizenship Education

**CDA** Critical Discourse Analysis

**DE** Development Education

**EE** Environmental Education

**ESD** Education for Sustainable Development

**MDGs** Millennium Development Goals

**SDGs** Sustainable Development Goals

**OECD** The Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development

**PISA** Program for International Student Assessment

**UN** The United Nations

**UNESCO** The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural

**KNU** Korean National Commission for UNESCO

**APCEIU** Asia-Pacific Centre of Education for International Understanding

**NGO** Non-Governmental Organization

**NPO** Non-Profit Organization

**Oxfam** An international confederation of charitable organizations focused on the  
alleviation of global poverty

## Chapter 1: Introduction

As Marshall (2011) points out, global citizenship remains a contested concept. Each notion of global citizenship within GCED's plurality of discourses corresponds to a different perspective or orientation to the global community. To capture this pluralism, Marshall (2011) uses the term 'social imaginaries,' which refers to the sense in which people belonging to particular collectives imagine the social whole; in this case, the *global* social whole. Each perspective on GCED corresponds to a different understanding of the notion of global citizenship, and these understandings are constructed discursively. Urry (1998:4) distinguishes six conceptions of global citizenship that are no less familiar twenty years after his paper was written, although the degree to which each perspective has been emphasized in GCE discourse has differed over time:

- global capitalists who seek to unify the world around global corporate interests which are increasingly 'de-nationalized';
- global reformers who try to use international organizations to moderate and regulate global capitalism;
- global environmental managers who implement managerial and technical solutions to environmental problems;
- global networkers who set up and sustain work or leisure networks constituted across national boundaries and having forms of non-national regulation;
- earth citizens who seek to take responsibility for the globe through a distinct and

often highly localized ethics of care;

- global cosmopolitans who develop a stance and an ideology of openness towards ‘other’ cultures, peoples and environments (Urry, 1998:4).

All the different conceptions of global citizenship that have emerged since Oxfam (1997) published the world’s first global citizenship education curriculum have had at least one thing in common: their emphasis on the interconnectedness of human beings globally in all domains. In the words of Rizvi (2009), all global citizenship discourses stress “the ease with which goods, finance, people, ideas and media are now able to flow across the world, leading to a radical shift in our understanding of space and time” (Rizvi, 2009: 257). And with regard to educational discourse in this context, a matter of significance with regard to the present study is that *cultural empathy* and *intercultural competence* have been the two most important goals of global citizenship education since its inception in the 1970s in the form of ‘global education’ in the U.S.A. (Merryfield, 1996), and ‘world studies’ in the U.K. (Ibrahim, 2005).

The challenges associated with the attempt to realize these values at the present time for citizens in the UK and Korea are considerable, and for different reasons. In terms of the challenges faced by British citizens, the sheer ethnic and cultural diversity of the UK means that interaction with others involves learning to survive and make progress in an extremely culturally diverse environment in which, in a school setting for instance, there are often students of multiple ethnic and cultural heritages who therefore identify with more than one culture and are multilingual. However, the UK’s relative wealth of experience as a multicultural society has by no

means resulted in complete harmony in that context. As was observed recently, certain aspects of British political discourse in the lead up to the ‘Brexit’ referendum showed that there is a certain amount of xenophobia in British political discourse in the UK, and such discourse has itself presented challenges to the whole populace in that it has to some extent exacerbated the very societal problems against which it rages.

In the case of Korea, the challenges with regard to realizing the core values of global citizenship (cultural empathy and intercultural competence) are different. As a largely homogeneous society, it is almost inevitable that the approach taken to the reception of migrants will be assimilationist to some extent, as it has been in every single other ‘developed’ and formerly relatively homogeneous nation in the early stages of their societies becoming multicultural (Brubaker, 2001). According to Ngo (2008), there are three main types of acculturation, namely, unidirectional, bidirectional, and interactive, which generally have been implemented in the last two centuries. The first of these, unidirectional, implies a change of the cultural patterns of immigrants to fit the dominant culture. The second, bidirectional, also takes into account the importance of the maintenance of immigrants’ cultural identity. The third, interactive, implies two extra considerations as regards the way in which acculturation is to be achieved, namely, a focus on the specific orientations to the dominant culture that are adopted by immigrant groups and the relational outcomes that occur due to the interaction between immigrant groups and the dominant culture (Ngo, 2008). While the latter is clearly the best type of acculturation from the perspective of immigrant groups, none of the three types suggest an entirely egalitarian approach to acculturation, based on the analysis of Ngo (2008). In the Korean context, it seems that there are now enough immigrants for the relative newcomers to have become a

sufficiently important factor that the government has had to make significant changes in terms of educational policy. However, there are not yet enough immigrants to make Korea a truly heterogeneous society, although the numbers of immigrants settling permanently is increasing steadily, a state of affairs that will cause to Korea becoming a ‘country of immigration’, in the view of Lim (2012), who believes the pattern of immigration in Korea going forward may be similar to that which has been experienced in Germany since the 1970s (Lim, 2008) after there were found to be labor shortages in certain areas of industry.

In mainstream GCED literature the terms cultural empathy and intercultural (or global) competence are often used more or less interchangeably. Green (2010), for example, conflates the terms cultural empathy and intercultural competence, stating that, “cultural empathy or intercultural competence is commonly articulated as a goal of global education” (p.2). This conflation of the two terms is relatively common in the literature, where it is noticeable also that cultural empathy is sometimes named as a component of intercultural competence (e.g., Sercu: 2016). Green (2010:2) states that cultural empathy is a matter of being able to see questions from multiple perspectives, making it, “an important skill in the workplace”, which explains the sense in which it is also to be viewed as a form of competence. Another example of the interchangeability of terms in the literature is that intercultural competence is often used synonymously with the term *global* competence. In Zhao’s (2010) discussion concerning the necessity of ‘preparing globally competitive citizens’, the author names the increasing importance of cross-cultural communication as one of the challenges of globalization, for which ‘global competence’ is required of global citizens. With the exception of foreign language learning, transferable hard skills, such as engineering or computer programming, are not generally named in

discussions concerning intercultural or global competence. This is because scholars in the field primarily view intercultural competence as requiring qualities, that is, cultural empathy or the ability to view situations from multiple perspectives, which will enable people to cooperate in an intercultural setting to get specific things done. The key idea with regard to intercultural competence overall is that such activity must be done in an *appropriate* and *effective* manner (Trede *et al*: 2013). In the words of Deardorff (2011:66), for example, “the overall external outcome of intercultural experience is defined as *effective* and *appropriate* behavior in intercultural situations” (emphasis in the original). The logic seems to be that it is the appropriateness of one’s behavior in conjunction with others in an intercultural setting that makes the action efficacious. Trede *et al* (2013) who, unlike Deardorff (2011), view this conception of intercultural competence critically, identify potential problems with the prevailing conception of intercultural competence, which they view as having purely instrumental value in this context. More specifically, the omission of any sociocultural dimension to intercultural competence in the relevant literature results in a lack of attention to the notion of fostering *dispositions* that may inform abilities to engage with others in intercultural situations, thereby benefitting communities in a broader and more open-ended manner. Instead, emphasis may often be placed on strategic behaviors, rather than dispositions that reflect the kind of ‘global civics’ envisaged by Altinay (2010), for example. It is quite conceivable, in fact, that intercultural competence, as it is currently conceived, could be deployed, “for purposes of competitive gain, profit, or exploitation rather than global cooperation in support of sustainability, human rights, and social justice” (Trede *et al*, 2013:443). It must be noted, then, that there are scholars such as Trede *et al* (2013) and Marshall (2011) who find the current overemphasis on instrumental skills troubling. In these

cases, however, there seems to be little or no suggestion that financial gain or profit is undesirable in itself, but that there might be little in the way of sociocultural benefits as regards global citizenship education if it is predominantly thought to have instrumental value. After all, it is global citizenship *values* that organizations such as UNESCO are actually promoting, and the term ‘value’ suggests a disposition, rather than behavior as strategic action. As Thornberg (2008:1791) points out, fundamental value questions do not relate to the learning of strategic behavior meant to be conducive to carrying out specific tasks. Instead, they suggest the fostering of ‘settled dispositions’ (Thornberg, 2008) that could guide future behavior in a more potentially open-ended manner, that is, towards more altruistic behavior, if it is to result in the kind of broader sociocultural benefits envisaged by Trede *et al* (2013), for example. On the whole, the GCED practitioners who participated in the present research conceived of global citizenship values in a way that is more consistent with Thornberg’s (2008) understanding of the concept, as is explained in detail in the findings chapter of this study, and that of Agosta (2010), whose discussion of empathy in the context of philosophy offers a useful counterpoint to current conceptions of intercultural (or ‘global’) competence in particular. His discussion of empathy focuses on the distinction he makes between ‘epistemological empathy’ and ‘moral empathy’, two terms that are relevant to the present discussion, and are described further in what follows.

In GCED discourse there have always been noticeable conceptual tensions, of which two are especially striking. The first of these tensions is apparent in the type of discourse of which the influential UNESCO documents (e.g., 2014 and 2015) are representative. The authors of documents of this kind aim to establish directives for GCED that are meant to be applicable in *any* particular nation’s educational context.

It is for this reason that the apparent lack of cultural specificity in GCED discourse as regards directives of this kind is problematized in the present study. The second noticeable tension regarding GCED discourse is summed up well by Torres (2002), who observes that GCED discourse attempts to suggest a means of reconciling global solidarity with global competition. It is to this matter that the present study now turns, focusing first on global competition as it is constructed in GCED discourse, which is primarily influenced by human capital theory, and then the theme of global solidarity in the relevant discourse, in which cosmopolitan theory is the dominant mainstream theory.

## **Background**

Max Weber used the term ‘disenchantment’ to describe the process of rationalization within which he believed human reason has become distorted (Foster, 2007). According to Weber, this distortion occurs when reason, which is oriented to *ends*, is to a large extent replaced by rationality, which is oriented to *means*; Weber calls this instrumental reason. As Foster (2007) points out, there is obviously nothing inherently malign about the purposive- practical attitude. However, on Weber’s account, the increasing dominance of instrumental reason in human beings’ attempts to solve societies’ problems has resulted in a state of affairs within which the particular ability of human beings to calculate and quantify gained primacy and now determines what is considered ‘cognitively significant’ in human experience, according to Weber. In other words, whether a concept is considered cognitively significant is based purely on that concept’s practical usefulness (Foster, 2007). In this process of rationalization, as Weber called it, because primacy is given to calculation

and quantification as the primary means of solving problems in all domains of society, human beings are involved not just as subjects but also *objects* of that type of knowledge. In fact, human beings can become *means* as well as *ends* in the process of rationalization, or the spread of instrumental reason. This state of affairs also has a detrimental and limiting effect on conceptual experience in that “the purposive-practical attitude begins exclusively to usurp the authority to determine when experience can count as cognitively significant” (Foster, 2007:10). That is why philosophers such as Adorno were interested in developing a critical method that could illuminate the ways in which subjective experience has been distorted, devalued or repressed. In sum, the process in which rationality prevails over reason is a dual process in which the purposive-practical attitude aims at the domination or control of nature, while at the same time subjective experience is, in a sense, devalued, since it has no practical usefulness in this context.

With regard to the present study and the significance of the preceding discussion in relation to it, it is argued that there are two strands of thinking in GCED discourse. The first of these relies on human capital theory and is found in the discourse of OECD/PISA. It mostly references *global competence* in education, a state of affairs that is representative of the process of rationalization or instrumental reason that was just described. The second strand of thinking in GCED discourse is more values-oriented and aims at the fostering of *intercultural empathy* in learners. In what follows, the way in which these two strains of thought in GCED discourse were initially understood by the author of the present study are explained in order that its purpose can be made clear, as is the reason for the choice of the theoretical framework for the research.

It is first necessary to state the reason for making the present study a comparison of GCED discourse in the educational contexts of the UK and Korea. GCED, by definition, implies an attempt to identify and promote values relating to the concept of global citizenship that are considered to be *universal*. It was therefore assumed, for the very reason that the British and Korean contexts for GCED are so different in terms of culture and history, that a comparative study would be revealing in that it might determine whether or not the universal global citizenship values that are promoted in the form of directives (e.g., UNESCO, 2014) in such discourse are truly considered to be universal values by practitioners. The assumption at this point was that there might be a sense in which the production of such discourse was an instance of Western hegemony in terms of educational policy. In other words, it was assumed that this study might be an inquiry into whether the production of GCED discourse was an instance of *universality* (the desire to identify and promote common values that are considered to be universal) or of *universalization*, which refers to the extension of the area and range over which values that are associated with a particular region are *spread*, and is used almost synonymously with the term ‘globalism’ (Escobar, 2001). This idea that the production of GCED discourse might be promoting values that are particular and partial, but presenting these values as if they were universal (Dill, 2013), is representative of the stance taken by post-colonial theorists such as Andreotti and de Souza (2013) for example. At the same time, however, it was also assumed that GCED discourse may represent a genuine attempt on the part of the authors of the documents that are examined in the present study to create social cohesion through the fostering of intercultural empathy in young learners. In that case, in the present phase of globalization, global society could legitimately be described as a ‘world risk society’, as Beck (2004) claims. In this context, GCED or

the global dimension of education might be considered to be an attempt to alleviate the negative effects of dual shocks to society that are now more frequently experienced at the global scale: huge *economic crises* such as the one in 2008, the impacts of which are still being felt; and the shock of *rapid migration*. However, as is detailed in what follows, there are reasons why this was not a premise that seemed to apply to Korea to the same extent that it perhaps applies to the US and the UK. It was therefore necessary to try to determine what the more values-oriented type of GCED discourse, of which the UNESCO (2014; 2015) documents are representative, is actually meant to achieve in terms of educational goals, and the form of political rationality of such discourse. The reason for the focus on political rationality in the present study is that, as Fraser (1999) points out, education is *inherently* political. And this is especially true of any form of citizenship education, since by definition it aims at fostering pre-determined values in young learners in order to produce citizens of a particular ideal type (Reid *et al*, 2010; Levinson & Stevick; 2006). It was at this point in the process that the author of the present study also realized the importance of what might be called the ‘developmental turn’ in GCE discourse, in other words, the point at which GCE became GCED, a process which is described in what follows.

Since the UN replaced the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) with Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), thus establishing the organization’s post-2015 development agenda, SGD 4.7 has referred to global citizenship education as a necessary component for the fostering of qualities in young people that would lead to a more sustainable global society. UNESCO, as the UN agency specializing in educational, scientific, and cultural projects and research, was the agency primarily responsible for promoting GCE, a form of education whose educational aims were

now more closely aligned with the aims of Education for Sustainable Development (ESD). This is evident in statements like the following:

GCED builds on many related fields such as human rights education, peace education, education for international understanding and is aligned with the objectives of education for sustainable development (ESD). (UNESCO, 2015)

However, as Chung and Park (2016) point out, in the relevant discourse, a distinction is still currently made between GCE and ESD. Another reason for the 'D' being added to GCE is that UNESCO needed to distinguish their GCE program from an advocacy movement called Global Campaign for Education, a coalition consisting of various types of institutions that was set up in 1999 to assist in achieving the UN's Education For All (EFA) goals by 2015 (UNESCO, 2017). In any case, on the whole, the trend in global citizenship education discourse worldwide is to increasingly link global citizenship values with sustainable development. Since sustainable development could be said to relate as much to attitudes and behaviors at the level of the individual and the local community as to large-scale development projects overseas, the logic of this discursive shift is clear. In sum, in the present study it is argued that the developmental turn that has taken place in GCE discourse is highly significant. For example, it raises interesting questions as to whether GCED practitioners and learners mainly conceive development as an activity that takes place overseas or domestically or both, and as to the way in which intercultural empathy is interpreted. And in this context, Torres' (2002) observation concerning the difficulty that authors of GCED discourse have in attempting to reconcile global competition with global solidarity is an important insight; one that is given more attention in what follows.

As regards the development field, or any other domain, as Agosta (2010) points out, there is in any case an important distinction between empathy and altruism, and whichever of the two has primacy in a given educational or other context will depend on whether an ethical situation is perceived from a moral or from an epistemological perspective (Agosta, 2010). While empathy discloses the emotions of another person to oneself, virtuous action by no means follows automatically. In fact, as Agosta (2010) points out by way of a rather extreme example, in Poland during World War II the Nazis attached special sirens to Stuka bombers for no other purpose than to terrify the populations that heard it, the point being that even if the Stukas were not visible or on a bombing mission the terrifying noise was present in the ears and minds of the local population. This was obviously a case of human beings using their empathic knowledge for a reason that is far distant from altruism. It is therefore morality rather than merely empathy that leads to altruistic behavior, in the view of Agosta. However, from an ontological perspective, “the invitation is to identify a vicarious experience that discloses the other individual and becomes the basis of *knowing* how the other feels because one has a qualitatively similar experience. This gives empathy priority” (Agosta, 2010:14, emphasis in the original). In sum, empathy is a type of knowledge and a capacity that can potentially be developed, but this is no guarantee that it will lead to altruistic behavior on the part of learners. One could potentially increase one’s empathic knowledge of the other with a view to manipulating them. Given that the main strands of thinking in GCED discourse are global competence and intercultural empathy in the context of the developmental turn in education for global citizenship, this is another matter that is necessarily examined critically in what follows.

The global dimension of education in the OECD/PISA discourse is predominantly influenced by human capital theory, as Sellar & Lingard (2014) argue, and is motivated by the assumption that young learners worldwide must be prepared to compete with each other for jobs in a competitive global jobs market, as is described further in what follows. The global dimension of education in the UNESCO type of GCED discourse, on the other hand, is more concerned with *striking a balance* between the state of affairs presented by the OECD, which emphasizes global competition among young learners worldwide, and *intercultural empathy*, which, as previously mentioned, is highly ambiguous in that empathy does not necessarily lead to altruistic behavior at all. In sum, if the goals of the UNESCO discourse are in essence no different to the goals stated in the OECD/PISA discourse, in other words, if the aim is to develop a holistic educational approach to producing global citizens that can be competitive in the current phase of capitalism then this needs to be made explicit. If, on the other hand, the goal of the UNESCO discourse is to foster the capacity for more altruistic behavior on the part of students, this should also be explicit. In any case, Agosta's (2010) distinction between the epistemological (having empathic knowledge) and the moral (actually engaging in altruistic behavior) is clearly important, and on that basis it is only through careful examination of the use of language in current GCED discourse that the ambiguity of intercultural empathy can be adequately addressed and the implicit messages conveyed in the discourse in general can be challenged where necessary.

Rather than argue for an explicitly moral dimension to GCED discourse, however, the present study argues instead for the integration of a theory of conceptual experience into GCED discourse that is conducive also to promoting an increase in the capacity of young learners to think critically. Foster (2007) notes that one of the

consequences of the rationalization process is that conceptual description is reduced to a narrow form of classification, meaning, in the context of the global educational policy field, for example, that narrowly defined discrete items lend themselves to the creation of new educational metrics, as is the case in the discourse of OECD/PISA (Sellar & Lingard, 2014). In this context, Foster refers to Cora Diamond's remarks about this transformation that has taken place in contemporary discourse in general. If conceptual cognition becomes nothing more than classification, there are consequences for education and pedagogy. There is "a contrast between grasping a concept in the sense of 'knowing how to group things under [a] concept,' and in the sense of 'being able to participate in life-with-concept' (Diamond, 1988:266, cited in Foster, 2007).

As previously stated, the present study is a comparison of the missions and goals of GCED in the educational contexts of the UK and South Korea. In Chapter 2, there is a review of work by researchers that has also compared global citizenship and other similar types of educational discourse to investigate the extent to which these studies revealed that there was convergence or divergence in terms of educational policy in a particular region and the reasons for this. However, to my knowledge, no other studies except the research that was conducted for this study involved a comparison of educational contexts that were in different continents. As stated previously, the rationale for this decision was the following: for the very reason that the two nations are so different in terms of culture and history, it was assumed that any commonalities between them as regards GCED discourse would be significant. Transnational GCED discourse, of which the UNESCO GCED documents are representative, is somewhat paradoxical in that directives concerning education for global citizenship are formed

jointly by representatives of UNESCO's member states, thus creating generic documents that are meant to be applicable to *any* particular educational context, even though each of the nations concerned obviously has its own culture, its own history, and its own political and economic strategic aims (Sellar & Lingard, 2014). This is one of the tensions within GCED discourse that is examined in the present study, namely, the fact that generic documents are produced jointly whose directives then have to be followed in a specific and particular educational context within which the culture and political circumstances might not be conducive to the realization of the GCED values so defined.

Therefore, both transnational GCED documents (such as those of the OECD and UNESCO) *and* GCED documents that were produced *in* and primarily intended *for* stakeholders in the two specific educational contexts that are compared in the study, the UK and Korea, were analyzed, the idea being that any discrepancies between the messages conveyed either implicitly or explicitly in those contexts and the generic documents of UNESCO would provide valuable information concerning the missions and goals of GCED in the two nations. Using these findings, the assumption was that it might be possible to make a valuable contribution to the academic literature relating to GCED with a view to identifying aspects of GCED discourse that are problematic, and that it would be possible to for policy makers or educators to attempt to address these problems based on the findings of the present study.

I realized early on that apart from the difficulties concerning the use of generic documents that are to be used as guidelines for nations with unique cultural, political, and economic situations, there were also difficulties associated with the attempt to reconcile global competition and global solidarity, as Torres (2002) points out. This

tension is caused by the fact that there are two antithetical strands in GCED discourse, a ‘global competence’ strand that is informed mostly by human capital theory, of which the OECD/PISA documents are representative, and an ‘intercultural competence’ strand, which is either implicitly or explicitly informed by cosmopolitan theory, and of which the UNESCO (2014; 2015) documents are representative. On this basis, it was very important that neither GCED discourse nor the concept of global citizenship were treated as a monolithic entity. For numerous reasons that are given in the present study, global citizenship is in fact a contested and evolving concept. Nonetheless, there are good reasons why scholars such as Sellar and Lingard (2014) state that the human capital theory-influenced educational discourse of the OECD/PISA and the like could be considered to be a ‘monopoly of the universal’, while the more values-oriented approach of the UNESCO discourse, on the other hand, is oriented toward intercultural empathy, but is also meant to serve as *guidelines* or as a *manual* for the implementation of educational policies in *any* particular setting. Intercultural empathy, as stated previously, is bound to be interpreted and constructed differently in different nations depending on their culture and history, and this is one of the main reasons why it was assumed that a comparative study of the missions and goals of GCED in the UK and Korea would yield interesting and significant results and have implications for future academic work in this area, while at the same time the very fact that the generic UNESCO type of discourse whose directives are meant to be common to all member nations, regardless of those nations’ specific cultures and histories, is also presumed to be a matter of academic interest, which is why it is investigated in the present study. The main analytical focus of the present study was therefore the messages, both implicit and explicit, that are conveyed in GCED discourse and the political rationality that these messages reflect.

In any case, the purpose of offering these preliminary remarks was to roughly describe the domestic context for GCED discourse in the UK and Korea. However, it is now not just through the socialization of young British and Korean citizens that- from a domestic perspective- the governments of those two nations mean to produce citizens that can make a worthwhile contribution to society. For reasons that are explored in the present study, they also see the need to foster global citizenship values in young citizens for the sake of their own future and for that of each nation as a whole, including for the promotion of economic growth. However, there is now a heavy emphasis on *development* as such in GCED (formerly GCE), a situation that is a consequence of the United Nations establishing its post-2015 educational agenda (and in the Korean context, the fact that the government proposed to make GCED a central item on its own agenda at the World Educational Forum, which Korea hosted in 2015). This outward looking aspect of GCED discourse, its overseas development orientation, is an important feature of the relevant discourse that was analyzed in the present study so that the missions and goals of GCED in the UK and Korea and the implications of them could be determined.

The main argument developed in the preceding discussion can be summed up thus:

- The UK and Korea face different domestic challenges with regard to diversity in their societies, due to the fact that the UK is extremely heterogeneous, whereas Korea is largely homogeneous, although Korea's immigration levels are projected to rise.
- However, in both (and in fact most) nations, acculturation of immigrant groups is still to some extent oriented to the dominant culture.
- GCED has had much more of a development orientation since the UN launched its post-2018 agenda.

- The inherent tension between global competition and global solidarity (Torres, 2002) reflected in GCED discourse has not yet been resolved.
- The two main theories informing contemporary mainstream GCED discourse are human capital theory and cosmopolitan theory.
- Both of the dominant theoretical frameworks for GCED are producing universalizing discourses that present values that are partial and particular as if they were universal values.
- On this basis, the stated core values that are promoted in such discourse cannot currently be realized.

## **Conceptual Framework for the Study**

As stated previously, there are two main types of transnationally published and domestically published discourse that focus on the global dimension of education. The first of these is the type of literature that focuses mainly on competence, which is referred to either as intercultural or, especially, *global competence*; documents like those of OECD/PISA, which are mainly concerned with the notion of education as a driver of economic growth in the context of economic competition between nations, and therefore also education systems, at global scale (e.g., Zhao, 2010). The second type is more values-oriented and is typified by UNESCO's GCED documents. Such documents focus more on *intercultural empathy* and tend to downplay the notion of global competitiveness, although to some extent they constitute an attempt to reconcile conflicting desires, namely, for global competition and for global solidarity (Torres, 2002). It is this attempted balancing act, namely, the attempt to show that the

fostering of global citizenship values is a means of resolving this tension, that became one of the main foci of the present study. In what follows, the paper describes the theoretical frameworks that, in some cases implicitly and in other cases explicitly, have influenced these two main strands of thinking in GCED discourse, namely, human capital theory and cosmopolitan theory. There follows a description of Foucault's theory of discourse, which underpins the main analytical method for the research, Critical Discourse Analysis, and an explanation as to why it was considered suitable for the present study.

In GCED discourse there have always been noticeable conceptual tensions, of which two are especially striking. The first of these tensions is apparent in the type of discourse of which the influential UNESCO documents (e.g., 2014 and 2015) are representative. The authors of documents of this kind aim to establish directives for GCED that are meant to be applicable in *any* particular nation's educational context. It is for this reason that the apparent lack of cultural specificity in GCED discourse as regards directives of this kind is problematized. The second noticeable tension regarding GCED discourse is summed up well by Torres (2002), who observes that GCED discourse attempts to suggest a means of reconciling global solidarity with global competition. It is to this matter that the present study now turns, focusing first on global competition as it is constructed in GCED discourse, which is primarily influenced by human capital theory, and then the theme of global solidarity in the relevant discourse, in which cosmopolitan theory is the dominant mainstream theory.

## **Global Competence as Human Capital**

According to Sellar and Lingard (2014), PISA, which is the OCED's Program for International Assessment and OECD's Directorate for Education, have become increasingly significant within the OECD organization-wide. Furthermore, PISA in particular "has received considerable media coverage and attention from politicians and policy-makers in many nations" (Sellar & Lingard, 2014: 917). In the view of the authors, PISA has contributed to the OECD's influence within what they call 'global governance in education'. The authors attribute PISA's increasing significance for both OECD member and non-member nations to what they call a bureaucratic 'accountability and audit culture' (Sellar & Lingard, 2014). In this context, there is a desire to form policies based on educational metrics (Grek, 2009). In other words, policy is determined by numbers that corresponds to almost all types of educational outcomes, even students' behavioral traits. Sellar and Lingard (2014) call this translation of numbers into policy as 'commensurative work', and it is through this commensurative work that the OCED influences nations' educational policy worldwide. Even nations whose economies are said to be in transition and are not OECD nations, such as the BRIC nations (Brazil, Russia, India, and China), are nonetheless also greatly influenced by PISA, and students within those nations frequently participate in PISA tests (Meyer & Benavot, 2013). In fact, when in 2012 the PISA test results of students in Shanghai were unexpectedly high, the American government experienced the educational equivalent of a 'Sputnik moment' (Sellar & Lingard, 2014). This was part of a wider trend among Western countries to examine the educational systems and policies of East Asian countries more carefully to see why they often perform so well on PISA tests.

One of the ‘PISA effects’ noted by Waldow (2009) is that the very fact that results are internationally *publicized* creates a kind of soft power effect in the form of peer pressure between countries. For example, according to Waldow, until the 1990s, Germany had never participated in international-scale educational assessments, the prevailing attitude in that nation being, ‘what is important about education cannot be measured’ (Bos & Postlethwaite, 2002:253-4, cited in Waldow, 2009: 476). However, in the first round of PISA tests German students’ performance was average or relatively poor in certain areas. While these shortcomings were already known about in Germany, the worldwide negative publicity was such that Germany made changes to its education system that are still being felt to this day (Waldow, 2009).

The main reason that education became such a major concern in the OECD is that the organization draws mostly upon human capital theory when forming educational policy, thus creating “an overarching policy narrative that presents education and training as a primary site of policy intervention to improve, simultaneously, both well-being of individuals and the economic strength of nations” (Sellar & Lingard, 2014: 922). As the authors point out, however, this is not a promise that can necessarily be kept. As Brown *et al* (2012) note, worldwide competition in the jobs market in combination with the fact that jobs which were previously being done by human beings are now being done by computers and machines, a phenomenon that has been called ‘robosourcing’ (Gore, 2013), has created a workforce that is predominantly either highly skilled or low wage. This means that the middle class in richer nations currently have to invest more time, effort, and money into being sufficiently educated and skilled, but with absolutely no guarantee that they will be successful in securing the type of employment they seek (Brown *et al*, 2012).

Significantly, it is not only educational outcomes that are measured on PISA tests, but also the behavioral traits of students that the organization views as predictive of future success in the global jobs market. The OCED defines “non-cognitive skills or personality traits [...] as ‘wider’ human capital” (OECD, 2002, cited in Sellar & Lingard, 2014: 926). These non-cognitive skills and personality traits are considered to have “more enduring potential for human capital appreciation, in contrast to specific technical or academic skills that are susceptible to obsolescence with technological and economic change” (Sellar & Lingard, 2014:926). However, as Feher (2009) points out, the potential for students’ future success based on their psychological and personality traits is almost impossible to measure. Nonetheless, in the view of Sellar and Lingard (2014), because conceptions of human capital are getting ever wider, more aspects of young learners’ capabilities, including traits that PISA associates with future success, such as determination, for example, are correspondingly subject to commensuration by PISA (Sellar & Lingard, 2014).

According to Feher (2009), human capital is one of the main components of neoliberal theory. He contends that neoliberal policies should be resisted, but states that opposition to neoliberalism from the political left currently takes two forms that for different reasons he regards as ineffective. One of these is pursued by what Feher calls the ‘modern left’, by which he means organizations such as the New Labor party in the UK, which tried to soften the impact of their neoliberal policies by invoking the ‘middle way’ theory of Anthony Giddens (Dahrendorf, 1999); the other is from what he calls the ‘authentic left’, by which he means groups that are vocal in their opposition to neoliberalism and that advocate the type of wealth redistribution that is traditionally championed by left wing groups (Flesher-Fominaya & Cox, 2013). Feher judges the former approach to be a form of apologism and the latter approach to be

largely ineffective, due in part to the fact that the power of labor unions has diminished greatly over the last few decades, although this situation, particularly with regard to the latter point, does not apply to Korea, where labor unions are still strong (Lee, 2011). According to Feher (2009), however, it is possible to oppose neoliberalism by defying it from within, in other words, on the terms of its own discourse, as a form of ‘immanent critique’ (Antonio, 1981). For Feher, this means re-appropriating the conception of *self-appreciation* that he believes is implicit in such discourse and giving it new meaning. It is the attention that Feher pays to the power of discourse rather than the idea of resistance to any particular ideology that is of special interest in the context of the present study.

Feher illustrates the potential to address power asymmetries through the re-appropriation of linguistic constructions with reference to Foucault’s observations about the early days of the feminist movement. As Curzan (2016) notes, history has shown that it is possible for oppressed groups to re-appropriate language that reinforces structural inequality, and in the case described by Feher, feminists defied the way in which women were being discursively constructed by re-appropriating the language of sexist discourse and imbuing it with new meaning. In the words of Feher (2009), “instead of rejecting sexual norms that were meant to colonize and subject women [...] early feminists endeavored to work through them, that is, to embrace them but only to impart them with unexpected meanings and to put them to unforeseen uses” (Feher, 2009: 22). What is therefore of critical importance in the approach Feher proposes is “knowing what type of subjectivity is being simultaneously presupposed and targeted by neoliberal policies” (Feher, 2009: 23).

Feher (2009) first explains what he thinks were the most crucial factors in the transition from economic liberalism to neoliberalism. In Feher’s view, liberalism

recognized two forms of growth that were considered to be separate: material wealth and what might be called spiritual wealth, the latter being a reference to those activities that human beings pursue essentially for the sake of enjoyment, rather than for financial gain. Spiritual growth was, however, in the regime of liberalism, considered to be a necessary complement to activities that generate material growth. However, with the genesis of the notion of human capital, Feher argues, the boundary between market needs and the pursuit of personal interests has become blurred. This notion can be confirmed through examination of the literature on corporate brand management, in which emphasis is placed on the importance of finding ways to create, “a closer alignment between the employees’ values and those of the corporate brand” (Foster *et al*, 2010:410). The use of the word ‘values’ here clearly indicates thoughts and attitudes that are meant to be ingrained in employees, a state of affairs that Villas and Cummins (2015), for example, believe is detrimental to employees, in ways that are explained below. The situation just described is characteristic of neoliberalism, prior to economic liberalism, its predecessor.

Prior to neoliberalism, the concept of human capital only “referred to the set of skills that an individual can acquire thanks to the investments in his or her education or training [...] or, to put it simply, the impact on future incomes that can be expected from schooling and other forms of training” (Feher, 2009: 25). However, as Feher points out with reference to Foucault’s (2008) lectures on neoliberalism, two of the main advocates of human capital theory, Theodore Schultz and Gary Becker, were influential in broadening the definition of human capital so that it now also involved the evaluation of innate, contextual, and collateral factors pertaining to the potential future success of the individual. In other words, as Feher (2009) puts it, “the things I inherit, the things that happen to me, and the things I do all contribute to the

maintenance or the deterioration of my human capital” (p.26). It is with reference to human capital- influenced discourse that Feher views *self-appreciation* (understood in a similar sense to the appreciation or depreciation of stock value) as being the key term in discourse that should be utilized but re-appropriated, that is, given a new alternative meaning.

According to Feher, there is a difference between liberalism and neoliberalism to which the evolution of human capital theory corresponds. In globalized financial markets that are largely unregulated, “corporate governance is concerned less with optimizing returns on investment over time than with maximizing the distribution of dividends in the short run. Accordingly, its major preoccupation is capital growth or appreciation rather than income, stock value rather than commercial profit” (Feher, 2009:27). The corresponding shift in the notion of human capital, says Feher, is that the individual is now constructed as being

concerned less with maximizing the returns on his or her investments- whether monetary or psychic- than with appreciating, that is, increasing the stock value of, the capital to which he or she is identified. In other words, insofar as our condition is that of human capital in a neoliberal environment, our main purpose is not so much to profit from our accumulated potential as to constantly value or appreciate ourselves- or at least prevent our depreciation (Feher, 2009:27).

It is at this point that Feher’s strategy with regard to challenging neoliberal discourse becomes clear in relation to the notion of self-appreciation. Feher believes those that have an alternative notion of self-appreciation, can raise, “from [their] own perspective, the question of what constitutes an appreciable life” (Feher, 2009: 41). To illustrate that Feher’s use of the term ‘appreciation’ is more than just a play on words in this context, and also that Feher is right to say “it is arguably the psychological discourse of ‘self-esteem’ that is the most accurate correlate of

practices and policies that aim at maximizing the (self-) appreciation of human capital” (Feher, 2009: 28-9), a concrete example that supports his argument is provided in what follows.

Vallas and Cummins (2015) note that since the late 1980s, “a powerful discourse has emerged that has increasingly brought an entrepreneurial logic to bear on job seekers, job changers, and the precariously employed” (p.295). In this context, the authors’ paper focuses on the situation for job seekers in the contemporary jobs market and those individuals’ attempts at ‘personal branding’. According to the authors, whereas would-be employees were formerly “advised to embrace the logic of the consumer market, and thus passively to anticipate consumer wants” (Villas & Cummins, 2015:295), “now, they are exhorted to utilize the tools of corporate marketing campaigns, emulating the practices of the firm as a means of shaping the market for their own skills and dispositions” (p.295). The authors see the discourse of ‘personal branding’ as representative of this shift. This type of discourse “invites employees to reconceive themselves as capitalist firms in their own right, establishing their own personal ‘brand’ as a means of creating and managing demand for their own services” (Villas & Cummins, 2015: 295). The authors suggest that in this discourse the emphasis on empowerment is distorted in that it promotes “a kind of market voluntarism [which] lends it an especially seductive force” (p.295). In this context, “the marketing of one’s own assets [...] is conjured as an essential source of human agency and empowerment” (p.303). Contrary to Beck’s (2004) notion of ‘banal cosmopolitanism’ (discussed in detail in what follows) which he associates with consumer culture, Villas and Cummins’ (2015) observation in relation to personal branding is that “it is not the logic of the customer or consumer culture that one must embrace [...] but rather the theory and practice of corporate marketing campaigns”

(p.303). Furthermore, the authors note that the discourse of personal branding conveys the message that

embracing such an entrepreneurial posture signifies a form of defiance that challenges the traditional economic structures in which wage and salaried employees have been trapped. In a word, these powerful messages *idealize precarity*, in that they invite readers to see labor market uncertainty as providing the basis for their emancipation- if only they can shed the time-encrusted patterns of dependence on employers for their livelihood (Villas & Cummins, 2015: 308).

However, in the view of Feher (2009), “instead of denouncing and lamenting the personalization of politics as the strategy through which neoliberalism causes people to lose sight of their collective interests, playing the human capital card could [...] be a way of relaunching the politicization of the personal” (Feher, 2009:38). As Feher (2009) points out, there are two main factors that “robbed the critique of capitalist exploitation of much of its galvanizing power” (p.40): the collapse of the Society Union and the diminution of the power and influence of labor unions. However, Feher advocates a redefinition of self-appreciation in the context of struggles that are ongoing in contemporary society, for example, in the disputes in many domains between groups that uphold property rights and groups that promote users’ access to products that are created and potentially shared online. A group will evoke different principles depending on which side of the argument they are on. For example, “advocates of open networks and free software [...] usually invoke individual freedom and stress the economic cost of repressing it” (Feher, 2009: 38). Through discourse such groups try to “legitimate [their] desire to have access to the resources required for meeting the physical and cultural conditions for self-appreciation” (Feher, 2009:38). In the context of the present argument concerning GCED, it may be that a similar discursive strategy could be applied to the key term in

a large proportion of GCED discourse that is emphasized to a greater or lesser degree, *intercultural empathy*. As Feher points out, this would require interested parties to identify the type of subjectivity that is presupposed whenever intercultural empathy is invoked in the discourse, and this is one of the aims of the present study.

With reference once again to the discourse of global competence, it should be noted that the suggestions of the OECD/PISA with regard to education are not simply accepted by member nations wholesale and directly turned into educational policy in those nations (Sellar & Lingard, 2014). According to the authors, there are two reasons for this: “First, nations are involved in agenda-setting within the OECD and at each stage of the OECD’s committee and review processes. Secondly, nations still have the capacity to mediate OECD policy recommendations and advice” (Sellar & Lingard, 2014: 931). Nonetheless, there is no question that through the statistics and educational data sets of PISA and the Directorate for Education, the OECD has created a global policy field for education, and it is the acceptance and alignment of educational policy at the global and national scales that leads to the discursive construction of “the global as a commensurate space of performance measurement” (Sellar & Lingard, 2014: 932). In sum, ‘global competence’ is a notion mostly linked to commensurable hard skills that can allow individuals to compete in the global jobs market, and which through the influence of PISA constitute a ‘monopoly of the universal’ (Sellar & Lingard, 2014) with regard to education. However, the second of the two main goals of global education, ‘intercultural empathy’, is a very different proposition, both because different nations are likely to interpret this notion differently based on their specific histories, cultures, and political context, but also because of the specific strategic political and economic goals being pursued by the governments of those nations, a state of affairs that Koh (2010) calls ‘tactical

globalization’.

### **Intercultural Empathy as Cosmopolitanism**

This universal concern with interconnectedness and intercultural empathy has its roots in cosmopolitanism, which, as a philosophy, has a very long history. Approximately two thousand years ago, cosmopolitan sentiments were expressed by Confucius in his collections of sayings such as these: “if [one] behaves with courtesy to others and observes the rules of ritual, then all within the Four Seas are his brothers” (*The Analects of Confucius*, Waley, 1989). In the 16<sup>th</sup> century in Europe, Michel de Montaigne was “calling for expansive visions of belonging”, emphasizing that “affections should be for ‘all mankind,’ not only what is ‘underfoot’” (Dill, 2013:29). In the late 20<sup>th</sup> and early 21<sup>st</sup> centuries, many of the richer nations’ societies, such as the UK and the USA, for example, were increasingly multicultural. One motivation for developing global citizenship education and related forms of education such as multicultural education has therefore been to help create social cohesion that, it was assumed in the present study, must begin in the formal educational sector. A second motivation for developing global citizenship education is equally prevalent in the discourse, and it is expressed succinctly in the following statement, which is from a document produced by an American non-profit organization called the College Board, which promotes global education: “if the U.S. does not enact measures to counteract [...] growing competition, it faces the risk of being outmaneuvered, outperformed, and outpaced by countries that have the ability to adapt to ever-increasing rates of constant change, something that will characterize global markets for the foreseeable future” (Balistreri *et al*, 2012:4). Hence, there are, in a sense, two desired aims that

run like threads through virtually all current GCE discourse and that sometimes appear contradictory or irreconcilable, namely, global competition and global solidarity (Torres, 2002). In the early years of the production of GCE discourse, of which the first Oxfam (1997) curriculum is representative, the aim was to foster a critical orientation, and in fact to elicit ‘outrage’ (Oxfam, 1997) on the part of the learner with regard to injustices in various domains transnationally. At the present time, mainstream publications focusing on global citizenship education fall mostly into two categories: those that, to use Torres’ (2002) terminology, focus on education in the context of *global competition* (representatives of which being OECD/PISA, 2016 and Reimers, 2013), and those that focus on *global solidarity* (UNESCO, 2014; 2015). Documents in the former category foreground global competition as the context for educational goals, and documents in the latter category do the inverse. However, both threads are noticeable in both types of discourse, even if some messages are implicit, one of the aims of the present study being to make those messages explicit and consider their implications. One crucial aspect of this discursive context, from the perspective of the present study, is the extent to which one set of GCED directives, such as those of UNESCO (2015) for example, are to be implemented in the education systems of many different nations that have extremely diverse cultures and histories.

In this context it is argued in the present study that the dominant theory in GCE discourse is cosmopolitanism. Marshall (2011) points out that scholars such as Weenink (2008) and Rizvi (2009) have identified two understandings of cosmopolitanism that are equally prevalent but seem antithetical. Weenink (2008), for example, identifies parents of children whose setting was ‘an internationalized form of education’ in the Netherlands as what he calls ‘dedicated cosmopolitans’ and

‘pragmatic cosmopolitans’. Weenink’s (2008) research revealed that in the case of ‘pragmatic’ cosmopolitanism “parents viewed cosmopolitanism as a form of cultural and social capital, rather than feelings of global connectedness or curiosity in the Other” (p.1089). In a similar vein, the attitude that Weenink calls ‘pragmatic cosmopolitanism’, is characterized by Rizvi (2009) as ‘corporate cosmopolitanism’, which involves the valorization of ‘culturally flexible and adaptable’ young people “who are able to take advantage of the global processes [and are] less concerned with the moral and political dimensions of global connectivity than with ‘education’s strategic economic possibilities” (Rizvi, 2009: 260, cited in Marshall, 2011). On this basis, Marshall concludes that global citizenship education, instead of engendering an open-minded curiosity toward the Other, could simply have instrumental value. In the other words, the terms ‘pragmatic cosmopolitanism’ or ‘corporate cosmopolitan capital’ “might therefore be appropriate for those interested in highlighting the most powerful forms of cosmopolitan capital at play in schools” (Marshall, 2011: 416). This normative view of cosmopolitanism as being either ‘good’ (reflecting open-minded curiosity toward the Other) or ‘bad’ (pragmatic) is problematic because most citizens’ behavior clearly reflects a *combination* of self-interestedness and conduct that might be described to be prosocial, that is, behavior primarily intended to promote friendship and acceptance in a particular social setting. Another problematic feature of cosmopolitan theory, I argue, is that it is elitist, since it implies that regular citizens’ experience of cosmopolitanism is essentially ‘passive’, ‘latent’, or ‘unconscious’ (Beck, 2004) until such a time as global citizenship values are presented to them in the form of educational discourse by exponents of the highest form of cosmopolitanism, which Beck (2004) calls ‘philosophical cosmopolitanism’.

Ulrich Beck, a well-known proponent of cosmopolitan theory, distinguishes between two main forms of cosmopolitanism. These are an approach he describes as either ‘normative’ or ‘philosophical’, and an approach he calls ‘analytical-empirical social science cosmopolitanism’ (Beck, 2004). The former (philosophical cosmopolitanism) “argues for harmony across national and cultural frontiers” (Beck, 2004:132). In parallel with this, Beck sees the empirical social scientific cosmopolitan approach as a means of analyzing cosmopolitanism as a ‘side-effect’ of globalization; this is what he also calls latent, unconscious, or passive cosmopolitanism, in other words, ecological, economic, and cultural changes that are experienced but were not necessarily intended. Beck describes this state of affairs as symptomatic of what he calls the ‘world risk society’ over which he states the world’s governments pretend to have control, when they really do not, partially due to the difficulties inherent in forming a consensus among numerous countries, each having different needs and agendas. This applies also to interactions between regular citizens, according to Beck: “the everyday experience of cosmopolitan interdependence does not emerge as a love affair between all social actors; it consists of perception of global situations of danger. These risks generate a huge pressure to cooperate” (Beck, 2004: 138). The problem here, Beck warns, is the danger that there could be an attempt to institutionalize global norms as a reaction to psychologically intolerable risk *before* the ‘socialization’ of the world risk society is properly understood; Beck calls this ‘institutionalized cosmopolitanism’. Beck suggests therefore that cosmopolitan institutionalism cannot take place until, as a priority, more successful ‘institutions of successful global coordination’ are formed.

Prior to embarking on the present study, the first assumption of the author was that official GCE discourse in general is exactly what Beck describes in the context of

world risk society. GCE discourse, it was assumed, was intended as a means of ‘institutionalized cosmopolitanism’, i.e, a means of attempting to establish global norms among citizens that might promote social cohesion during times of increased perceived risk. Given the global scale at which Beck contends that this institutionalization might take place, it was assumed that, if Beck were right, this would apply to governments’ motivations to introduce GCE in any context, including the UK and Korea, two contexts so different in terms of culture and history that any commonalities between them would be especially significant as regards the universalizing tendency of GCED discourse. Given the emphasis on ‘active citizenship’ (a concept that is examined in detail in what follows) in such discourse, it was also assumed that this would fit with the worldwide trend in the neoliberal era toward placing more responsibility for the provision of services formerly offered by the state onto regular citizens. However, there were three issues with this assumption.

The first issue was that Beck’s (2004) concept of the psychology of the ‘world risk society’ might apply to some regions of the world more than others. For example, in many developed nations rapid migration and historical actions by the governments concerned have brought about transnational issues such as terrorism. These have been major factors in the creation of what Beck calls the world risk society in Europe, for example, however, these have not been such big factors in the case of the richer nations of Far East Asia. While immigration has increased to an extent in Korea, Korea is still a largely homogeneous society within which such threats are completely alien. Furthermore, as Hong (2010) points out, at the time of the 2008 global economic crisis, the negative economic effects for Korea were not as severe as they were in other nations due to, among other factors, the fact that the fiscal stimulus provided by the Korean government was relatively successful in bringing about

economic recovery. In addition, Korea still has the characteristics of a developmental state (Chang & Turner, 2012). While neoliberalism has been influential in terms of the formation of policies in Korea (Chang & Turner, 2012), strong intervention by the state in the Korean context is in some ways another factor that generally mitigates the pervasive fear and dread that Beck thinks is symptomatic of the ‘world risk society’. The final issue was the study’s assumption with regard to GCE discourse itself, or more specifically, the way in which GCE works as a ‘nodal point’ in discourse; the way in which, “like an airport hub for meaning making, it also creates distinctive points of departure and new agendas” (Mannion *et al*, 2011: 444). While official GCE discourse explicitly promotes universal values; by definition, values that are to be promoted in all contexts, it can actually serve as a ‘*point of departure*’. In other words, it can allow individual states’ governments to pursue their own educational and political goals regardless of whatever specific directives have been decided upon, and this is something that the British and Korean (and presumably other) contexts for GCE do have in common. This notion is explained further in what follows.

Mannion *et al* (2011) examined what they call ‘the curricular global turn’, a phenomenon that they have observed in the educational sector in the UK. Specifically, the authors focus on three forms of education that have so far had a critical orientation in the British context, namely, Environmental Education (EE), Development Education (DE), and Citizenship Education (CE). According to the authors, these three forms of education had a more *critical* orientation before they were largely subsumed under (the authors’ preferred term) Education for Global Citizenship (EGC). Using the terminology of Zizek *et al* (2000) the authors call EGC in this context a ‘nodal point’ or ‘signifier’ that “works as a privileged reference point [...] that attempts to partially fix meaning and bring together different discourses” (Mannion *et*

*al*, 2011). In this case, the educational discourses that have been brought together under the nodal point of EGC are EE, DE, and CE. In the words of the authors, EGC

“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).

Here the authors emphasize that on one hand EGC is a ‘privileged reference point’, while on the other hand, it is also a ‘malleable and unstable discourse’. The implication of this is that EGC “allow[s] diverse meanings to converge while subordinating other meanings” (Mannion *et al*, 2011:444). The authors suggest that in this case it is the critical orientation of the three formerly separate subjects that has been subordinated. As the authors put it, the nodal point (EGC in this case) is “like an airport hub for meaning making, [...] also creat[ing] distinctive points of departure and new agendas” (p.444).

With regard to the possibility that GCE can be a nodal point for new agendas, one of the crucial discursive turns with regard to GCE has been the increased emphasis on development, in other words, the point at which GCE became GCED. When the UN replaced the Millennium Development Goals with the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), which established the UN’s post-2015 development agenda, SGD 4.7 referred to global citizenship education as a necessary component for the fostering of qualities in young people that would lead to a more sustainable global society. UNESCO, as the UN agency specializing in educational, scientific, and cultural projects and research, was the agency primarily responsible for promoting GCE, whose aims were closely aligned with those of Education for Sustainable Development (ESD). This is evident in statements like the following:

GCED builds on many related fields such as human rights education, peace education, education for international understanding and is aligned with the objectives of education for sustainable development (ESD) (UNESCO, 2015 b).

However, there does seem to still be some distinction made between GCE and ESD as (Chung & Park, 2016), and it will be very interesting to see whether in the future one will be subsumed under the other or whether they will remain separate terms. As mentioned previously, since sustainable development could be said to relate as much to attitudes and behaviors at the level of the individual and the local community as to specific large-scale development projects overseas, the logic of this discursive shift- making GCED an umbrella term or ‘nodal point’ in development discourse- is clear, as is the *malleability* of the concept. Since, in addition to human capital theory, the main theory that is dominant in GCED discourse is cosmopolitanism, I briefly return again to Beck’s (2004) construction of cosmopolitanism because of its relevance to the present study.

As previously mentioned, Beck distinguishes between values-oriented ‘normative’ or ‘philosophical cosmopolitanism’ on one hand and what he calls ‘analytic-empirical cosmopolitanism’ on the other. As stated in the foregoing discussion, Beck believes that these should be kept separate until the sociological implications of ‘cosmopolitanization’ have been worked out, at which time he claims that the institutionalization of global norms will be more than just a response to the psychological effects of the ‘world risk society’, and by which time the necessary global institutions facilitating more successful coordination of nations’ activities will also have been formed, making the institutionalization of global norms possible.

However, Beck also names a third type of cosmopolitanism: ‘banal cosmopolitanism’ (Beck, 2004). By banal cosmopolitanism, Beck means the type of cosmopolitanism that he relates primarily to contemporary consumer society, which he regards as the context in which everyday life becomes more cosmopolitan, in other words, the context in which interconnectedness is intensified. One of Beck’s observations in this context is that cosmopolitanism itself is now a commodity. Exotic images and cultural products “are globally cannibalized, re-staged and consumed as products for mass markets” (Beck, 2004: 151). Beck’s comments as regards global media reflect his view that banal cosmopolitanism, or cosmopolitanism as experienced by regular citizens is, on the whole, not conscious, not reflexive. In the author’s words, with regard to global media, “the accessibility of other cultures and experiential spaces [...] may well lead to a situation where [...] everyday cosmopolitan interdependence [...] becomes gradually more conscious” (Beck, 2004: 151-2). However, the main effect of what Beck calls banal cosmopolitanism is that it leads to ‘a kind of globalization of emotions and empathy’. Empathy in this context refers to a negative phenomenon, that is, “people experience[ing] themselves as part of a fragmented, endangered civilization and civil society, whose characteristic feature is the simultaneity of events and knowledge of this simultaneity” (Beck, 2004: 152). In other words, for Beck, it is in the form of banal cosmopolitanism that the ‘world risk society’ is experienced by citizens in everyday life.

In sum, on the whole, it is noticeable that Beck creates a hierarchy of cosmopolitanisms consisting of a ‘normative’ or ‘philosophical cosmopolitanism’ whose values will one day inform the establishment of global norms, once ‘normative-analytic cosmopolitanism’, or in other words, research conducted by the sociologists of globalization, has resulted in the working out of the implications of the

world risk society, within which, for the masses, the everyday unconscious experience of banal cosmopolitanism reminds them only that contemporary life globally is more fragmentary and unstable, and therefore riskier, than ever before. In his discussion, the everyday experience of regular citizens, or 'banal cosmopolitanism' implies a passive orientation to the everyday experience of cosmopolitanism that he assumes lacks reflexivity, in other words, is unconscious. Clearly, this does not necessarily reflect real lived experience. On the contrary, in everyday life we can observe individuals forming strategies in relation to others that they are getting to know in the context of work and in other domains, and those individuals' behavior is sometimes prosocial and sometimes self-centered, but it is usually a mixture of the two. Cosmopolitanism is in any case by no means unconscious, and certainly not passive. Furthermore, this approach offers nothing with regard to a conception of the potential empowerment of individuals.

In contrast to this conception of cosmopolitanism, according to which, as previously discussed, empathy is described negatively, I would like to describe an alternative approach from the psychology literature which could be applied to the concept of intercultural empathy and that focuses on the empowerment of individuals, namely 'learned hopefulness' (Zimmerman, 1990). What is important here in the context of the present study is that 1) there are alternative conceptions of civic activity that *promote* prosocial behavior, in contrast to the passivity implied in what Beck (2004) calls banal cosmopolitanism; 2) that this alternative promotes behavior that is not just empathetic but also altruistic; and 3) that this alternative promotes empowerment of the individual of a sort that is consistent with Feher's (2009) alternative conception of 'self-appreciation'. In this context, the following briefly describes the evolution of the concept 'learned hopefulness' (Zimmerman, 1990)

because it suggests a notion of civic activity that is ‘bottom up’, and is therefore a very different approach to both the presumed passivity of ‘the masses’ in what Beck (2004) calls banal cosmopolitanism *and* the ‘market voluntarism’ that Villas and Cummins (2015) describe in the context of personal branding.

In the late 1970s, Abramson et al (1978) developed a concept called ‘learned helplessness’ (Abramson *et al*, 1978) based on their empirical research. Pioneers in this area determined that uncontrollable events can have the debilitating consequence that human beings (and animals) can ‘learn’ that their actions are futile, in other words, that their environment is unresponsive; that, *in general*, they have no control over their life situations. In the words of Abramson *et al*, “the cornerstone of the hypothesis is that learning that outcomes are uncontrollable results in three deficits: motivational, cognitive, and emotional. The hypothesis is ‘cognitive’ in that it postulates that mere exposure to uncontrollability is not sufficient to render an organism helpless; rather, the organism must come to *expect* that outcomes are uncontrollable in order to exhibit helplessness” (Abramson *et al*, 1978:50, emphasis added). Learned helplessness theory therefore “suggests that as individuals experience uncontrollable events they show performance deficits on subsequent tasks” (Zimmerman, 1990: 71). Zimmerman (1990), however, on this basis developed an alternative theory, which he calls ‘learned helpfulness’ (perceived control being a primary variable in both theories). It is a concept that is similar to another theory in the psychology literature called social competence theory (Rose-Krasnor, 1997), which states that the extent to which individuals possess the ability to form positive relationships will determine the extent to which friendships (specifically, horizontal relationships with peers) provide them with the necessary “information, emotional support, instrumental aid, affection, self-validation, companionship, and opportunities

for learning conflict-resolution in a supportive environment” (Rose-Krasnor, 1997:116). In the words of Zimmerman (1990), “learned hopefulness is the process of learning and utilizing problem-solving skills and the achievement of perceived or actual control” (p.72). Zimmerman associates the type of skills building that can take place through participation in voluntary work in community organizations and in “natural settings such as mutual help groups and other forms of voluntary citizen participation” (p.74) with the desired form of psychological self-empowerment. Through direct experience, through the observation of others, and through modeling behaviors, “individuals gain control and mastery over their lives, and learn and utilize skills for influencing life events [and thereby] become empowered” (Zimmerman, 1990: 73).

The way in which this relates to the present study is that, first, the notion that there is a necessity for global norms to be established and delivered in a top-down fashion to citizens, as Beck (2004) believes is entailed under the conditions of ‘banal cosmopolitanism’, is disputed. Second, it is claimed that the forms that voluntary citizen participation might take cannot be dictated, again, in top-down fashion, especially in the present era, in which *networks* now have a more important role in relation to hierarchies than ever before, and that in fact this is presenting a serious challenge to hierarchies in all domains (Mason, 2015). By this I mean that in the contemporary era, the ‘natural settings’ to which Zimmerman (1990) refers will also be social media networks that in contemporary life operate most often outside of the formal educational context, which is not to say that these resources cannot potentially of be utilized by educators, and they often are. These themes are developed further in what follows.

## **Critical GCED as Normative vs. Critical GCED as Experiential**

In sum, my exploration of the GCED literature and my interactions with practitioners of GCED in the Korean context led me to form two conclusions prior to embarking on the present study. First, the difficulties associated with the attempt to reconcile global competition and global solidarity were caused by the fact that there are two antithetical strands in GCED discourse, a ‘global competence’ strand that is informed mostly by human capital theory of which the OECD/PISA is representative, and an ‘intercultural competence’ strand which is either implicitly or explicitly informed by cosmopolitan theory, and of which the UNESCO (2014; 2015) documents are representative. On this basis, I learned that it was very important that GCED discourse or the concept of global citizenship were not treated as a monolithic entity. While, as Sellar and Lingard (2014) point out, there are good reasons to claim that the human capital theory-influenced educational discourse of OECD and the like could be considered to be a ‘monopoly of the universal’, the more values-oriented approach of the UNESCO discourse focuses on intercultural empathy, which, as stated previously, is bound to be interpreted differently depending on the culture and history of individual nations, and this is one of the main reasons why it was assumed that a comparative study of the missions and goals of GCED in the UK and Korea would yield interesting and significant results and have implications for future academic work in this area, while at the same time the very fact that the UNESCO type of GCED discourse is *common to all member nations*, regardless of those nations’ specific culture and histories, was also presumed to be a matter of academic interest, which is why it is investigated in the present study. With these considerations in mind,

the main analytical focus of the present study was the messages, both implicit and explicit, that are conveyed in transnational, British, and Korean GCED discourse, and the political rationality that these messages reflect. This is why Foucault's theory of discourse served as the main theoretical framework for the present study in general, and underpinned the main analytical method used, namely, Critical Discourse Analysis. It is to this theoretical framework that the study therefore now turns.

### **Critical Discourse Analysis of Documents Relating to GCED**

There now follows an outline of the main theoretical framework that is utilized in the present study, namely, Foucault's theory of discourse. This is the theoretical foundation for the method used to analyze transnational GCED discourse and GCED discourse that has been produced specifically for the British and the Korean context. This method of analysis is known as Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA hereafter).

Michel Foucault's theory of discourse largely constitutes the philosophical underpinnings of CDA. Other methods tend to focus on the motivations of individuals and groups in writing policy documents (Wagenaar, 2015). In contrast, Foucault's theory of discourse is more concerned with the way in which *discourses produce subjectivities* than the way in which individual subjects and groups produce discourses (Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1983). Understanding Foucault's method as a form of 'interpretive analytics', Dreyfus & Rabinow state that Foucault's main concern is what he calls 'serious speech acts', which are "those types of speech acts which are divorced from the local situation of assertion and from the shared everyday background so as to constitute a relatively autonomous realm" (Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1983:47). Furthermore, as O'Farrell (2005) points out, Foucault also tends to examine

texts that are prescriptive and programmatic. This, in the case of the present study, refers to the GCED discourse of UNESCO.

It is a paradox of such discourse that the authors of UNESCO's (2015) document, for example, gathered data on educators' experience of the implementation of GCE in numerous settings worldwide, and that this led to the publication of a generic document that is meant to be valid in any specific context (UNESCO, 2015). It is for this reason that P calls contemporary corporate GCED discourse a 'one-size-fits-all' approach that is 'lost in translation' in the Korean context, since it was essentially conceived elsewhere. However, since this discourse is shared across educational contexts that are as different in many respects as the UK and Korea, it is important to understand why this is the case. Having hopefully determined the reason for this, it is equally important to attempt to comprehend the implications of it, which is what the present study set out to do. This is especially important because discourse and social practices are mutually reinforcing in Foucault's theory. Therefore, discourse can produce subjectivities that perpetuate the problems with GCED that are explained by P instead of generating new discourse that is appropriate to the cultural contexts. Furthermore, the political rationality in policy documents is often implicit. The implication of this for policy analysis is that researchers must pay close attention to the specific linguistic features of official discourse, so as to make explicit those messages that were previously implicit. CDA is therefore the ideal method for work of this kind.

According to Machin & Mayr (2012:2), CDA originated from 'critical linguistics', a field developed in the late 1970s at the University of East Anglia in the UK. Pioneers of critical linguistics, such as Roger Fowler and Gunther Kress, "sought to show how language and grammar can be used as ideological instruments" (Machin

& Mayr, 2012:2). The field rapidly developed into a method for analyzing both written texts and spoken language that is now known as Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). Many of the linguistic analytical resources used for CDA are based on Michael Halliday's (2002) seminal work, 'Linguistic Studies of Text and Discourse', in which he introduces 'functional grammar', a type of grammar that is concerned with what language *does* or accomplishes in the social field (Gee, 2014), as opposed to prescriptive grammar, which describes what correct grammatical sentences consist of, or generative grammar, which aims to describe the underlying rules or laws that generate grammatical sentences (Machin & Mayr, 2012).

CDA is considered to have played an important role in fields such as media and cultural studies, but most importantly, perhaps, in interpretive policy analysis. In this context, Wagenaar (2015:107) states that one of the strengths of discourse analysis is that "it is anchored in a highly developed linguistic theory, which posits that meaning does not reside in the intentions of actors, but in the structural properties of the text" (if this were not the case, discourse would not achieve the status of an 'autonomous realm', as described by Dreyfus & Rabinow). According to Wagenaar (2015), another strength of Foucault's method was that it applies the sophisticated theory of discourse that he formulated to specific political topics, such as "the development of regimes of power and regulation as exemplified in prisons and mental institutions, or the birth of the modern penal system" (Wagenaar, 2015:111). Another important example of Foucault's analysis of political topics through discourse is his 'History of Sexuality' series (Foucault, 1986; Foucault, 1988; Foucault, 1990), in which Foucault balances his prior preoccupation with 'external controls'- that is, coercion (Foucault, 1977)- with a focus on 'internal controls' (self-discipline) (Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1983) and thereby determines pathways of resistance (Miller,

1993). In what follows, I describe the role that has been played by CDA in analyzing policy and political discourse to date, and briefly explain how this form of analysis has so far been conducted.

CDA aims to reveal “structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power, and control as manifested in language” (Wodak & Mayer, 2009:10). While most scholars who use the set of analytical tools known as CDA seem to agree that the method had its origin in critical linguistics in the 1970s, there have in fact been far earlier efforts to analyze linguistic practice in political discourse. For example, shortly after the Second World War, the linguist Utz Maas analyzed the political discourse and everyday linguistic practices of German National Socialism (Wodak & Mayer, 2009:17), the aim being to identify the linguistic features or language ‘rules’ that make for fascist discourse as such. The types of text produced more recently that have been subjected to such analysis are extremely diverse. For example, there have been CDA studies that focus on European Union- that is, transnational -political discourse which reveals the “discursively constructed visions/conceptions of social and political order in Europe/the EU” (Wodak & Mayer, 2009:17). Apart from policy documents, however, CDA can also be used to analyze political speeches, Fairclough’s (2000) study being of special relevance to the present discussion, given that through his analysis of then-Prime Minister Tony Blair’s speeches Fairclough reveals the way in which New Labor set out to de-politicize mainstream public discourse to help facilitate ‘transborder capitalism’ (Scholte, 1997) in the late 1990s. The British government’s aim at the time, according to Fairclough (2000), was to embrace neoliberal economic policies unhindered by public dissent, a point of view that echoes Feher’s (2009) critique of the ‘modern left’.

In sum, the main aim of CDA is to reveal power relations that are often obscured, and to present results- based on this analysis- that could be practically relevant, for example, to the formation of educational policy. In addition, Rose & Miller (1992) revealed through discourse analysis the ways in which medical professionals in the UK formed what the authors call an ‘enclosure’ through discourse in an attempt to protect the UK’s National Health Service from the government’s threat of privatizations:

Doctors could deploy their expertise to translate the interests of civil servants and government ministers into their own. They managed to make their arguments and calculations the obligatory mode for the operation of the network as a whole, the lines of force flowing, as it were, from the operating theatre to the cabinet office and not vice versa (Rose and Miller, 1992:188).

As Davidson (2011)- who emphasizes the importance of ‘counter-conduct’ in Foucault’s later work- points out, for Foucault, power within any regime is ‘relational’, which means that the structure of power can change. In the words of Davidson (2011), “force relations structure the possible field of actions of individuals [but] resistance and counter-conduct modify these force relations” (Davidson, 2011: 28-9). For example, in contrast to official discourses (e.g., economic or political) there are *counter-discourses*, whose power and reach have been hugely magnified owing to citizens’ use of online social networks and ICTs throughout much (but not all) of the world. The political activism of such groups seems destined to become a far more important factor in politics in the years to come, and is likely to become a force that could challenge the traditional political system, a possibility that was recently brought to the attention of the most senior government officials in the US, for example, by

social media innovators such as Reid Hoffman, who has acted as consultant to the Obama administration (Lehmann, 2015). There is therefore no reason to believe that individuals constituting themselves as subjectivities in conjunction ‘with the ruling configuration of power/knowledge’ will do so in a docile or passive manner in the years ahead.

## **Purpose of the Study**

In what follows the study introduces the research questions that are addressed and indicates the kinds of data that it was anticipated might be collected through the discourse analysis and through the semi-structured interviews that were conducted. The themes that it was anticipated might emerge from the data are briefly described below, each of the three themes corresponding to one of the three research sub-questions.

One of the aims of the present study was to establish whether the promotion of the core values of global citizenship that are emphasized in the GCED literature, namely global competence and intercultural empathy, reflect the desire for universalization of the values of a particular region or whether GCED practitioners’ orientation to this discourse was in some way unique to the culture and values that are prevalent in the nation concerned.

Given that- in the case of the transnational GCED documents that were analyzed in the present study at least- common or universal educational goals concerning GCED are articulated, I sought to learn about whether and in what way major stakeholders of GCED in the UK and Korea (which I presumed to be the

government in both contexts) are constrained or are free to pursue their particular political and economic goals in the context of what I call the developmental turn in global citizenship education discourse.

Finally, having analyzed the necessary GCED documents and the data from the semi-structured interviews, the study aimed to try to establish, depending on whatever shortcomings were identified with regard to GCED discourse, whether the findings suggested that a conception of GCED could be developed that was more conducive to the realization of the stated core values of global citizenship that are to be found in the relevant literature, namely, global competence and intercultural empathy.

## **Research Questions**

The central research question for the present study is the following:

**What are the implications of UK and Korea Global Citizenship Education for Development (GCED) missions and goals for the future advancement of GCED discourse domestically and transnationally?**

The research sub-questions for the present study are the following:

- 1) What is the purpose or rationale of GCED discourse?
  
- 2) What are the implications of a GCED discourse which is produced by and for individual nations?

- 3) Is global or national GCED discourse informed by forms derived from grassroots or bottom-up?

## **Organization of the Study**

The study begins with a literature review consisting of a critical review of academic work that is relevant to the present study. This will include, first, a review of literature relating to the distinction that I make in this study between what I call ‘corporate GCED’ and ‘grassroots GCED’. I then review literature relating to the concept of ‘active citizenship’ with reference to the political theories behind and the political rationality implicit in this aspect of GCED discourse, and examine its relevance to both the UK and Korea. Third, I consider two concepts of Deleuze and Guattari, the ‘relative global’, and the ‘global absolute’ in the context of the positive and negative manifestations of what P calls ‘the domestication of global issues’. Finally, I examine the relevant literature relating to ‘intercultural empathy’ with reference to Adorno’s theory of experience.

In Chapter 3 I describe the methodology utilized and the research design used in the present study. The study first explains the procedure used for the Critical Discourse Analysis of GCED documents that were produced transnationally, that is, by committees consisting of representatives of members states of OECD/PISA and UNESCO; documents published in the British context, specifically the ‘Crick Report’ (QCA, 1998) and the British government’s Department for Education and Skills; and documents produced in the Korean context, specifically by the Ministry of Education, ACEIU, and former president Park Geun-hye’s speech at the 2015 World Education

Forum in Incheon, South Korea. There follows a description of the way in which Thomas' (2006) general inductive approach was used to form categories based on the data collected from the semi-structured interviews that were conducted with three graduate students who have experience as practitioners of GCED and a Korean-American expert on GCED. Finally, the findings of the present study are presented and discussed. Here the results of the analysis of the interview data as well as the results of the critical discourse analysis of the transnational, British, and Korean GCED documents that were examined. In the Appendix the English translations of documents relating to GCED that were published in the Korean context are presented.

## **Chapter 2: Literature Review**

### **‘Corporate GCED’ and ‘Grassroots’ GCED**

In what follows, all the relevant literature focusing on citizenship education, global citizenship education, and the ‘global dimension’ of education across the curriculum in schools in the UK and Korea are reviewed. As previously stated, the aim of this is to understand the missions and goals of GCED in the two contexts with reference to the two core aims of GCED, namely cultural empathy and intercultural competence. Given that these are the core aims in any context for GCED, it was expected that the present study would reveal both commonalities and differences with regard to the specific GCED materials that are produced in the two contexts and that the interpretations of GCED materials that were produced by international organizations such as UNESCO in Korea would be different from those of the UK. The literature review that follows is divided into four parts that are each pertinent to the aims of the study. The first part relates to the concepts ‘corporate’ and ‘grassroots’ GCED that are employed in this research. The second part concerns the notion of ‘active citizenship’ (Pathak, 2013), which is reviewed critically in the context of the relevant literature. The third part introduces the terms ‘relative global’ and ‘global absolute,’ which are associated with Deleuze and Guattari (Bogue, 2005), and which represent the negative and positive manifestations (respectively) of what P calls ‘the domestication of global issues’ in the context of GCED discourse. The fourth and final part addresses the perceived lack in terms of the appropriateness of current GCED discourse and practice as regards its effectiveness in fostering cultural

empathy and intercultural competence in learners. This perceived lack is contrasted with the notion of ‘mediation’ in the context of Adorno’s theory of experience (O’Connor, 2005), which provides a way of conceptualizing the difficult notions of self-awareness and empathy, as well as offering a foundation for the conceptualization of critical thinking.

In this study, I refer to two forms of GCED discourse, namely, ‘corporate’ GCED and ‘grassroots’ GCED. In this context, organizations such as UNESCO (2015) promote what I call in this study official or ‘corporate’ GCED. The term ‘corporate’ refers, not to commerce, but to the second definition of ‘corporate’, which is “of, relating to, or formed into a unified body of individuals” (Merriam-Webster). While the GCED directives of organizations such as UNESCO are formed and agreed upon by representatives of member states, both in the UK and Korea, the practice of GCED is generally conducted through governments (in conjunction with NGOs or NPOs) and in a top-down manner. In contrast, what is characteristic of ‘grassroots’ GCED is that it is GCED by and for citizens and involves addressing transnational issues at the local level, or ‘from the vantage of the local’ (Bogue, 2005). Participants in the present study gave numerous examples of this type of activity. These include the example of Korean elementary school teachers who are researching GCED and developing their own materials of their own volition, independently of any specific directions through the government or specific NPOs. With reference to a completely different context, the professor who participated in the present study provided another example of grassroots GCED, or, addressing transnational issues from the vantage of the local. As P pointed out, the Standing Sioux in Dakota successfully protested against the American government’s plan to build an oil pipeline on their land and they

accomplished this in conjunction with activists and environmentalist groups (Meyer, 2017).

With regard to official or corporate GCED discourse, it is useful to compare UNESCO's (2015) conception of global citizenship with that of OECD/PISA (2016). These two documents are representative of the two main emphases in contemporary global education discourse. The first of these is an emphasis on global interdependency and interconnectedness; the second is an emphasis on global competencies and competitiveness. UNESCO's (2015) definition of the term 'global citizenship education' (GCE) is representative of the former. The authors of this document first state that the term global citizenship

refers to a sense of belonging to a broader community and common humanity. It emphasizes political, economic, social and cultural interdependency and interconnectedness between the local, the national and the global (UNESCO, 2015: 14).

Interdependency and interconnectedness, then, are important themes, while community and commonality are also emphasized. What is noticeable about this document in general is that there is very little emphasis on the acquisition of knowledge, skills, and competencies, which OECD/PISA (2016) promote as critical for students in OECD member countries who must be able to compete in the global jobs market. In the UNESCO (2015) document, there are also very few references to the global economy (relative to the OECD/PISA document described below, for example). In other words, on the whole, UNESCO (2015) GCED discourse emphasizes the cultural rather than the economic impact of learning.

In contrast, the OECD's (2016) document, which was produced in conjunction with PISA (the Program for International Student Assessment), emphasizes 'global

competencies'. In other words, the OECD's discourse also focuses on the global dimension of education, although for the most part it places more emphasis on the importance of the learning of skills that must be acquired if one is to be able to compete for a job in the global economy. Most educators and scholars in the GCED field and members of NGOs promoting some form of global education tend to focus far more on documents such as UNESCO (2015) and its predecessors (Marshall, 2005) that also emphasize cultural diversity and our interconnectedness as global citizens (e.g., Oxfam 1997; 2002; 2006), rather than texts such as the OECD document previously mentioned. The contrast or conceptual tension between these two viewpoints reflects the difficulty that Carlos Torres has identified with respect to global citizenship education discourse in general: it represents an attempt to reconcile global solidarity with global competition (Torres, 2002).

Part of this conceptual difficulty in GCED discourse concerns the attempt to 'capture' the global vis-a-vis the local dimension in GCE discourse (Dill, 2013). The global and local are two interrelated ideas in constant tension that stand in a dialectical relationship to one other. The global partially defines the local and vice versa. In the present study, it is claimed that GCED- an educational concept originally conceived in the West and exported for use elsewhere throughout the world- currently does not seem to reflect this dialectical relationship (Dill, 2013), which is one of the reasons why P states that GCED in the Korean context is 'lost in translation' and why one of the graduate students in the present study (GS2) considers GCED to be a form of Western hegemony. The phenomenon just described can cause a kind of 'epistemic blindness' (Andreotti, 2006) in that particularistic Western values are often presented as universal (Dill, 2013), causing alternative epistemologies and worldviews to be simply ignored, thus undermining GCE's professed aims, one of which being to

engender inclusiveness (Andreotti & de Souza, 2012). That is one of the reasons why P describes corporate GCED as a ‘one size fits all’ approach to global citizenship education.

At the same time, however, there is no question that global citizenship remains a contested concept. Even UNESCO concedes that there is as yet no consensus as to how GCED is to be defined and therefore what aims GCED should promote (UNESCO, 2014). In that context, the considerable investment and commitment that the Korean government is making with regard to GCED is of great interest. If, as P states, the Korean government is pursuing GCED in a way that does not adhere to the UNESCO directives, which Koreans have interpreted in their own way, that means that, given the investment on the part of Korean stakeholders, as P put it, ‘Korea may be the biggest testing laboratory for GCED in history.’ Therefore, one of the key challenges concerning GCED is that it is an ever-evolving concept.

A further challenge in understanding the missions and goals of GCED is that governments also have their own particular political agendas with regard to the global dimension of education at the domestic level, and the present study will attempt to identify these in what follows. In the case of the UK, the global dimension is part of the mandatory civic education curriculum. To varying degrees nationally it has been ‘mainstreamed’ across all school subjects (Ibrahim, 2005). In the case of Korea, there has also been a big effort on the part of educators to accentuate the global dimension in humanities subjects in the Korean curriculum and supplement them with new and appropriate material (Moon & Koo, 2011). In this study it is argued, with regard to the more ‘outward-looking’ dimension of GCED discourse, that since the UN’s post-2015 agenda named development as an important component of GCE, GCED has been linked much more closely to development projects overseas than it was previously. As

will be shown in what follows, this has also been the case in the UK, and the study reveals that a paternalistic attitude toward developing countries is a feature of GCED discourse in both contexts.

With regard to the domestic context, the notion of grassroots GCED employed in the present study might also apply to Korean educators implementing a global dimension of education in a specific context, predominantly their own formal education systems, and with a view to helping create educational policies that have a positive effect on a society that is becoming increasingly multicultural. Korea is therefore facing challenges with regard to the integration of students whose parents were born overseas into Korea's education system. One of the main differences between the UK and Korea in this respect is that British society is already intensely multicultural (Neal *et al*, 2013), while people who are not of Korean ethnicity account for only approximately 3% of the population of South Korea (Roh, 2014). By historical standards, however, the majority of immigrants to Korea have arrived in a relatively short period of time. Therefore, Korean educators such as Roh (2014) have identified the need for more intercultural sensitivity on the part of educators and students alike in the nation's education system. This may become an even more pressing issue in the years to come, given that the birth rate in Korea is now very low and the fact that Korea is now officially classed as a super-aging society (Kwon & Koo, 2014). It is due to these significant issues that some experts have suggested that the Korean government may decide to facilitate the arrival of as many as 25 million immigrants by 2060 to sustain economic growth (Jun, 2014).

However, according to Schattle (2015), both official Korean discourse concerning global citizenship and global citizenship in the media is often very outward looking (Schattle, 2015). At the same time such discourse often overlooks the

way in which the global dimension is experienced in relation to immigrants within the nation's own borders. Korea's outward looking global citizenship discourse may reflect the nation's unique conception of globalization (Shin, 2003). In the words of Park, "although *segyehwa* is the official term for 'globalization' [...] this phrase in Korea evokes strong nationalist sentiment, calling for national unity in order to survive and gain leadership in the international community" (Park, 1996: 2, quoted in Grant & Lee, 2009: 53).

With regard to the issues associated with the concept of citizenship within Korea's borders, Moon (2010) argues for a multicultural rather than the current assimilationist approach to dealing with the increasing number of foreign economic migrants to Korea. The main difference between assimilationist and multicultural approaches is that the emphasis is on conformity for the sake of social cohesion with regard to the former, and recognition of diversity for the sake of cohesion as regards the latter. This is also an issue with which the UK has obviously struggled. In the Korean case, according to Moon (2010), "a long-standing belief that Korea is an ethnically, linguistically, and culturally 'homogeneous' society has been challenged by recent migrant workers, families, and ethnically diverse student populations from different countries" (Moon, 2010:2). In this context, Moon calls for educators and policy makers to address the transnational issues that she perceives in domestic citizenship education. As regards the conception of grassroots GCED employed in the present study, this would need to entail the involvement of those most negatively impacted by the issues Moon (2010) has described, in order that the assimilationist trap of excluding the very citizens that the Korean government is trying to help in relevant processes can be avoided.

The demographic changes Moon (2010) describes have made a big impact on Korean educational discourse. As Moon (2010) points out, immigration to Korea consists mostly of three groups: “migrant workers; international marriages between Korean citizens and migrants; and North Korean defectors” (Moon, 2010:3), and the Korean education system must accommodate them. Moon reveals that there have also been additional external pressures on Korea, such as pressure to conform to international norms, especially from the time of Kim Youngsam’s administration in the mid-nineties, which is when Korea’s increasingly economic liberalization and democratization were being promoted in parallel (Jeong, 2016). This may be one of the reasons global citizenship discourse in Korea’s mainstream media has, in fact, been rather outward looking, in the sense that it tends to be understood primarily in terms of the degree of young people’s potential competitiveness in the global jobs market, and in this respect official global citizenship discourse in Korea seems to reflect neo-liberal economic values (Schattle, 2015).

As Scholte (2010) points out, it is not just individual citizens but “national governments [that] are socialized into global norms” (Scholte, 2010: 11). And it is within discourse as such that this becomes possible, hence, discourse analysis is the main chosen method for the present study. It is often due to a shift in the discourse at the level of global governance, such as the emergence of the term ‘post-Washington’ or ‘augmented-Washington consensus’- which was a response to negative public reaction to the more brutal effects of neo-liberal economic policies (Rodrik, 2006)- that new terms such as ‘Caring Conservatism’ in the case of the Tories and ‘New Labor’ in the case of the Labor party in the UK, for example, could even appear in political discourse at the national level. In the same era as the New Labor party held power in the UK, the ‘third way’ centrism of the Clinton administration in the US

reflected a similar political approach (Skowronek, 2008). Such terms have been used by government officials across the political spectrum that were still operating under the assumption that the solutions to socioeconomic problems caused by neo-liberalism could still be essentially market-based. Terms such as ‘Caring Conservatism’ were therefore deemed necessary to create a softer image for the government in the face of harsher economic policies from the perspective of the British public” (Scholte, 2010).

In the present study it is claimed that GCE is a discourse reflecting a form of ‘governmental rationality’ consisting of activities “aiming to shape, guide, or affect the conduct of some person or persons” (Gordon, 1991:26) in relation to two aspects of corporate GCED discourse. The first of these is the notion of ‘active citizenship’, which is discussed in detail in what follows; the second is the promotion and marketing of GCED, which, this study reveals, in both contexts elicit a paternalistic attitude toward people in developing countries, while making no serious attempt to encourage learners to challenge the status quo at the domestic level. For example, Scholte (2010) points out that income inequality in Britain has been well above the OECD average for three decades (OECD, 2015). It is precisely because such relevant information is largely excluded from political and media discourse that virtually the sole theme in political discourse throughout the buildup to the Brexit referendum was immigration (McKee & Galsworthy, 2016). Not only did this encourage the scapegoating of economic migrants (Onaran & Guchanski, 2016), but it also distracted the general public’s attention from the inequalities that are experienced across many demographics in the UK due to the neoliberal economic policies of the current and previous governments (Scholte, 2010).

Furthermore, it is partly the British government’s success in keeping the UK’s domestic issues concerning income inequality out of political discourse both at home

and abroad that enables the government to nonetheless retain some credibility while exporting its notions of democracy, development, and progress in general to the rest of the world- through GCED for example- as a rich nation that until now has had a great deal of influence within major supranational organizations such as the G20, to name but one. As regards development, according to Williams (2017), the British government recently achieved its aim of designating 0.7% of the UK's GDP for aid/development in 2013. In essence, she states that the form British aid now mostly takes is investment in the infrastructure of other countries. As Williams points out, this is common globally. For example, the Chinese government has invested in the UK's nuclear industry and the German government has invested in the UK's railways. However, as Williams (2017) also notes, this type of investment is not characterized as aiming to lift Brits out of poverty. By comparison, this is how David Cameron spoke about overseas development in a green paper before he became prime minister: "Capitalism and development was Britain's gift to the world. Today we have an opportunity to renew that gift by helping poor countries kickstart growth and development" (Cameron, 2009 cited in Williams, 2017). This is a dubious message to convey to the British public, among whom there are young people that may wish to get involved in development work in some capacity. According to Williams (2017), Priti Patel, Britain's secretary of state for international development recently made it clear that she would like the aid budget to be used to "tear down the barriers to free trade" (Patel 2017, cited in Williams 2017), and what this often amounts to is "investment in the privatization of another nation's infrastructure" (Williams, 2017). For example, Williams points out that when the UK's Department for International Development invested 600 million pounds in private African agribusiness, the stated aim was to lift millions of people out poverty by 2022, when in fact this turned out to

be a for-profit venture that “exacerbated land insecurity among smallholders and accelerated seed privatization” (Williams, 2017). In sum, the statement by Cameron cited previously: ‘today we have an opportunity to renew that gift by helping poor countries kickstart growth and development’, is representative of corporate GCED, which promotes and markets British development projects as being benign and altruistic, while they are often self-serving and implicitly paternalistic.

As mentioned previously, it is through discourses that subjectivities are formed, partially through the way in which they represent relations of power (O’Farrell, 2005). This means that individual identities are to some extent constituted through the discourses in which individuals participate and the corresponding linguistic resources they use to interact with others. It is therefore important to look at specific linguistic features of discourse, given that the political rationality of discourse is by no means always explicit (Machin & Mayr, 2012). On the other hand, being constituted in a certain way partially through discourse, citizens also influence and affect each other; as Foucault puts it, “the individual which power has constituted is at the same time its vehicle” (Foucault, 1980: 98). However, this means that the citizen can be a subject as well as an object of power, which is why Foucault was capable of seeing strategies and paths of resistance throughout his career (Miller, 1993). For Foucault, to think critically is therefore to be a subject, rather than an object, of power. On this basis, it is important that GCED discourse in both the UK and Korea must either contain a component that allows critical reflection on the part of the individual with regard to their domestic situation in relation to transnational issues, and/or they must have the opportunity to participate in collaborative projects aimed at tackling transnational issues at the local level.

## **‘Active Learning’ for ‘Active Citizenship’**

According to Marshall (2005), NGOs, especially the well-established ones such as Oxfam, have had a dominant voice in determining the global content to be used in the Citizenship Curriculum in the UK. Indeed, the global dimension that has been incorporated in school subjects across the spectrum has largely been drawn from the curricula of major INGOs such as Oxfam, since they were among the first INGOs to publish a global citizenship curriculum (e.g., Oxfam’s Curriculum for Global Citizenship, 1997; 2002). Certain national curricula, such as the education department’s Developing a Global Dimension in the School Curriculum (DfES/DFID, 2000/2005) are also valued highly by global educators (Marshall, 2005), due to this document’s emphasis on making links between local and global issues, which educators believe will help young people acquire the appropriate knowledge, skills, and understanding to play an active role in the global community. According to Marshall (2005), there are eight key concepts that underpin the ‘global dimension to the curriculum’ in the British government’s DfED (2000/2005) documents: citizenship, sustainable development, values and perceptions, interdependence, conflict resolution, human rights, diversity, and social justice.

Scholars who take a human capital-oriented approach to economic growth such as Murdie & Kakietek (2012) find ample evidence that the activities of INGOs have a positive effect on economic growth, both directly and indirectly, “through providing access to capital, supporting entrepreneurship, and facilitating economic stability” (Murdie & Kakietek, 2012:1). However, critics, such as Deforges (2004), focus on the marketing strategies that INGOs are compelled to implement given the financial pressure they are under pressure to maintain their activities. These marketing

strategies elicit the paternalistic attitudes mentioned previously. According to Deforges (2004), who focuses on INGOs in the British context, the central goal of an INGO is actually the survival of the organization itself (Deforges, 2004). Deforges (2004) is critical of the way in which INGOs “mediate between supporters in the UK and partners in the developing world” (Deforges, 2004: 550). This point is echoed by Smith (2004), who argues, also with regard to INGOs, that fundraising, marketing, media and education work play a significant role in producing development narratives in the ‘North’, and in doing so, play significant roles in mediating notions of citizenship” (Smith, 2004:68).

It should be pointed out that neither the UK nor South Korea has a statutory GCE curriculum as such, although the UK has a mandatory Citizenship Curriculum that was established in 2002 and it has a global dimension, as previously mentioned. The global dimension of curricula in both contexts has been heavily influenced by the same GCE curricula that were created by NGOs such as Oxfam (1997; 2006), although the UNESCO (2015) document that was produced in conjunction with Korea’s APCEIU (Asia Pacific Center of Education for Educational Understanding) is likely to be more influential from this point. The global dimension of Korea’s civic education has, until now, been reflected mostly in its Social Studies and Ethics curricula (Moon & Koo, 2011). In the case of the UK, the British government’s primary motivation for establishing a Citizenship Curriculum was the perceived apathy toward the democratic political system on the part of young people (Pykett, 2007), while INGOs such as Oxfam were key players as regards the integration of a global dimension into this curriculum. In the case of Korea, Moon & Koo (2011) reveal that it was the nation’s democratization/economic liberalization beginning in the 1990s and its increasing integration into the global community (especially after

the election of President Kim Daejung) that created the need for a global dimension to the curriculum, owing to Korea's changing economic status.

As Chang and Turner (2012) point out, South Korea still has all the characteristics of a developmental state, and the continuous interventions of all kinds by the state in the interests of economic development in this context obviously partially shape citizenship in South Korea, as the authors note. The task for scholars, therefore, in the view of Chang and Turner (2012) is "to research the specific conditions and attributes of citizenship as are shaped by the state's aggressive mobilization of national resources and authoritarian control of class relations and civil life in the overt interests of economic development" (p.3). However, 'developmental statism' is only one of three factors carrying causal weight in the transformations of citizenship in South Korea and elsewhere in East Asia, in the view of the authors: these are "developmental politics, globalization, and the struggle between national unity and sociopolitical division" (Chang & Turner, 2012:3). With regard to the second factor, globalization, Chang and Turner specifically state that neoliberalism has "destabilized the developmental [as in developmental state] foundation of East Asian citizenship" (Chang & Turner, 2012:4) due to the ideological commitment to neoliberal policies that entail labor market flexibility and a reduction- rather than an expansion- of welfare provision. With reference to Japan, South Korea and Taiwan, the authors state:

South Korean [...] citizens have been ideologically encouraged to accept the supposedly practical necessity of labor market flexibility under the intensified global economic competition. Furthermore, their conservative governments have willingly embraced and cherished the anti-welfare state arguments of the New Right administrations of the West (Chang & Turner, 2012:4).

It should also be noted, however, that the effects of neoliberalism in Korea's modern history have often been somewhat tempered by the administrations of Presidents Roh Moohyun and Kim Daejung, which were in many ways more liberal than former President Park Geunhye and her predecessor, Lee Myungbak (Doucette, 2010).

In addition to the effects of neoliberalism, another feature of the interplay between successive Korean governments' policies and the global economy has been the globalization of trade, which has led to the intensification of interdependency between East Asian countries due to the sharing of work and business across borders in the region (Chang & Turner, 2012). However, the nature of integration in East Asia has been primarily economic rather than social. In fact, according to the authors, the intensification of economic interdependency between nations in the region has actually led to an increase in nationalism. With reference to Korea, Japan, and China, the authors state: "The paradox of this emerging social situation in these three societies is that the globalization of labor markets has not resulted in a set of cosmopolitan values, but on the contrary, the restoration of nationalism" (Chang & Turner, 2012:9).

According to Kim (2010), Korea's education sector has also been affected by the government's neoliberal economic policies, largely due to a switch in emphasis on the part of Korean would-be employers from 'organization-specific' knowledge to 'individual-specific' knowledge. The former refers to knowledge that is gained through 'on the job training', whereas the latter refers to already-existent individual knowledge and skills and adheres to the principal of 'the right man [sic] in the right place' (Aoki, 1988, cited by Kim, 2010). Both Korean recruitment systems and the process for entering universities now reflect this change toward 'individual-specific'

knowledge, which represents a shift toward the model of American enterprises, and is meant to enable enterprises, “to make the best use of particular talents and different skills of employees” (Kim, 2010:310). The acceleration of this shift was precipitated by the IMF crisis of 1997, from which point, “Korean organizations, especially in the private sector, have followed the so-called world’s best practices usually associated with American or Western firms” (Kim, 2010: 310). This shift toward increased demand for individual-specific knowledge, in addition to the increased flexibility of the Korean labor market, which is also the result of neoliberal policies, as mentioned previously, has resulted in an increase in the anxiety felt by Korean parents and students alike, partly due to the current “high degree of ambiguity in how applicants for employment and universities are to be evaluated” (Kim, 2010:310). Furthermore, and this is Kim’s central point, Korean parents have lost faith in the ability of the public education system to prepare students for the new demands of would-be employers, which also has the knock-on effect that universities have to provide an infrastructure that caters to the demands of Korean enterprises. In order to try to prepare for the new reality, Korean parents invest even more of their financial resources into private education for their children than they did previously. In the words of Kim, “vast personal resources have been poured into private education, skewing the educational process in a manner that would not have been expected just two decades ago” (Kim, 2010: 310).

## Historical Overview of Global Education in the UK

As mentioned previously, some of the bigger NGOs in the UK, such as Oxfam, were very much involved in the design and ongoing development of Britain's Citizenship Curriculum (Marshall, 2005), although, they, in addition to the UK's Development Education Centers (DECs), have always also been involved in global education projects outside of the formal education system as well. Ibrahim (2005) emphasizes that teachers in the UK have been pursuing a range of global education projects since the 1970s, seeking to, "enable young people to understand principles of justice and equality in the context of cultural diversity and global change" (Ibrahim, 2005:179). As early as 1973, the British government set up the World Studies Project, whose director, Robin Richardson, was tasked with developing Britain's variant of global education (Ibrahim, 2005). The pedagogical style used in the implementation of such projects at this time was influenced by the educational philosophy of Paulo Freire (Holden, 2000), although such methods were discouraged in the 1980s, partly due to concerns about 'leftist' elements in schools during the Cold War era:

The new wave of conservative ideology [...] led to the introduction of the National Curriculum in 1988, where for the first time teachers were required to teach a specified body of knowledge in 10 traditional subject areas with a largely Anglo-centric focus (Holden, 2000: 77).

This was a highly significant development. It is not the case that there was a revival of Freireian or other liberal educational philosophies in the 1990s when the global dimension was brought into the curriculum by NGOs such as Oxfam at a period during which global capitalism that was being enthusiastically embraced by the British government, as mentioned previously (Fairclough, 2000). However, according

to Ibrahim (2005), the prior Freirean model of global education established by Richardson, with its emphasis on global knowledge and understanding, skills, values and attitudes, nonetheless served as the foundation for Oxfam's highly influential (1997) global citizenship education curriculum. The themes covered in the UK's Citizenship Curriculum clearly relate both to the local context and the wider world, reflecting the concept behind the 'act locally, think globally' slogan that was ubiquitous at the time (Ibrahim, 2005). The emphasis on the development of skills as regards inquiry, communication and debate, group participation, and responsible action in the Citizenship Curriculum Key Stages 3 and 4 (which is mandatory for 11-16 year olds in the UK) reflects the 'active learning pedagogies' (Ibrahim, 2005) recommended by the Crick Report (QCA, 1998)- led by Bernard Crick- which was commissioned by the British government to address the issue of apathy toward the British political system on the part of young people. This led to the publication of Britain's first ever Citizenship Curriculum (QCA, 1999), launched in 2002.

Lister (1998) contextualizes the discussion about the perceived problems in British society that led to the Crick Report being commissioned by the governing party- at the time, New Labor- in the first place. The perceived issues of apathy toward political institutions on the part of Britain's youth and a sense that community renewal was required led to the embrace and promotion of civic republicanism on the part of the British government, and the notion of citizenship as a practice is important in British citizenship education because it is supposed to relate both to skills considered necessary for participants in a democratic system (in one's home nation) and for the global jobs market in general, namely, communicative (and social/intercultural) skills (Marshall, 2011). Because civic republicanism emphasizes the importance of the good of the collective over the good of the individual (Peters,

2010), a lot of ambiguity is created whenever the values of civic republicanism are invoked on political discourse. As Pathak (2013) points out, the government's promotion of such ideas about society and citizenship have coincided with a tendency to increasingly make public services that were previously provided by the government the responsibility of individual citizens in the form of 'active citizenship'. While this is, in a sense, consistent with the tenets of civic republicanism, it also fits neatly into the government's neoliberal program, which operates according to the needs of global capitalism. In this regard, the agenda-led 'instrumentalism' of stakeholders in GCE is something Marshall (2011), for example, warns about.

According to the Department for Education in the UK, one of the aims of citizenship education is that, "all pupils [...] develop an interest in, and commitment to, participation in volunteering as well as other forms of responsible activity that they will take with them into adulthood" (DfE, 2013). This trend toward more volunteer work is not in any way negative in itself. However, in tandem with this development, social services in the UK have now shrunk to the extent that, to give just one concrete example, there are now 'food donation banks', where citizens can leave food for people who cannot afford to buy food themselves, food poverty having now turned into a public health issue in the UK (Butler, 2015). Such phenomena seem to be symptomatic of rising wealth inequality in the UK, which is why the notion of 'active citizenship' is seen as problematic by scholars such as Pathak (2013). This should raise questions about the purpose of citizenship education in the UK. With reference to the modern history of citizenship in the UK, Heater (2001:109) states:

the questions civil servants and politicians have always tended to ask are: is civic/political education more likely to keep the citizenry docile, make them more questioning of the status quo or render them more actively supportive of the democratic process? (Heater, 2001:109).

Before about 1950, according to Heater (2001), the consensus in British political circles seems to have been that the first of these possible outcomes would have been the most desirable, while the Crick Report (QCA, 1998) reflects a renewed interest in a more dynamic or active conception of citizenship. However, some commentators, such as Faulks (2006) feel that the Crick Report fails to address the issue of structural disadvantage in the UK. This has important implications for the possibility of equal citizenship and the renewal of communities that are meant to be accomplished through ‘active citizenship’.

Annette (2009) reiterates that the Crick report reflected the authors’ view that “the conception of citizenship underlying UK lifelong learning for citizenship should be a civic republican one which emphasizes democratic political participation” (Annette, 2009:149). According to Annette (2009), in 2004, “the Civil Renewal Unit of the Home Office, which was established under the influence of then-Home Secretary David Blunkett, enabled the development of the ‘Active Learning for Active Citizenship’, or ALAC programme for adult learning in the community for citizenship (Annette, 2009:156). This was originally part of a strategy on the part of New Labor (led by Tony Blair) to revitalize local communities, while placing more responsibility for this task on citizens (Pathak, 2013), in keeping with civic republican political philosophy. In this context, some scholars have been advocating that service learning or community based learning should form an integral part of an education for active citizenship (Annette, 2009). Annette points out that there was a great deal of political kinship between so-called ‘Third-Way’ communitarianism under New Labor in the UK, inspired by Anthony Giddens (Klees, 2008), and the contemporaneous ‘Compassionate Conservatism’ of the Republican party in the USA. In both cases,

“the idea of community is now seen as a key to rethinking the relationship between civil society and the state” (Annette, 2009:152). The reasons for ambivalence on this point on the part of scholars such as Marshall (2011) become clearer when, for example, voluntary work on the part of citizens began to bring advantages to entities in the private sector as well as the local or global community in general. In the words of Annette (2009), “there is evidence that volunteers are increasingly looking to gain knowledge and skills for employability through volunteering” (Annette, 2009:155), a phenomenon that is also familiar in the Korean context, where the Korean government recently began implementing a policy that involves an ‘exam-free semester’ for middle school children (Choi, 2014), the aim of which being to help parents cut down on the considerable costs of education in the private sector in Korea (which many parents try to provide for their children, as previously mentioned) and to give schoolchildren more time to pursue their own interests. However, the extra time, allotted for volunteer work and other activities, is likely to result in increased competition to gather what Koreans call ‘specs’, meaning ‘specifications’, among middle school children who, in an already exceptionally competitive society, are essentially creating a resume containing experience, including volunteer work, that might be seen as meritorious in future work environments (Lee, 2014).

### **GCED in the Context of ‘Risk Society’**

As scholars such as Martilla (2015) point out, it is impossible to establish a foundation for any form of political rationality, given the lack of any grounds on which we can objectively perceive social reality. In other words, discourses and political rationalities really are developed on the basis of contingency, even though

discourses often convey ideological messages with which we identify. As Fink puts it, “thinking always begins from our position within the symbolic order” (Fink, 1996: 24), that is, from within discourse. In other words, from within the symbolic network, individual subjectivity is a stance taken in relation to the ‘ideal objects’ that are characteristic of a particular discourse (Fink, 1997). In terms of Martilla’s (2015) post-foundational political theory, contingency, and not a foundational knowledge of society (the validity of which cannot be objectively determined) is what political decision –making is based on. In fact, as Larsen and Mehta (2008) point out, human emotions such as fear and insecurity can even become the, “mechanisms for motivating and shaping public policy”, and it is through discourse analysis of the relevant policy documents that the authors reveal the following with regard to educational discourse in the US, which is described in the report they analyze as a ‘nation at risk’:

Fears and insecurities about economic and social decline [...] motivated US educational reform in the 1980s with the publication of the Nation at Risk report, and again more recently with the No Child Left Behind Act (Larsen and Mehta, 2008).

One possible interpretation of global citizenship discourse is that it represents an attempt to mitigate risk and promote social cohesion, especially in the case of the type of GCED discourse found in the UNESCO (2014; 2015) documents. Such discourse is, in a sense, the psychologically comforting reverse side of the coin of the discourse typified by the OECD/PISA (2016) document mentioned earlier, with its emphasis on competencies and competition between nations and between individuals in every social domain and at all scales.

With regard to risk and security, in describing the general shift from ‘discipline’ to ‘security’ with regard to governmental practices in his lecture series given in the late 1970s, *Security, Territory, Population*, Foucault (2004), refers to the town, or the milieu, as a ‘space of security’: “The specific space of security refers [...] to a series of possible events; it refers to the temporal and the uncertain, which have to be inserted within a given space” (Foucault, 2004: 20). According to Foucault, the design of the town reflected the need to plan for the criminal activity, for example, that would be guaranteed to occur, given the economic necessity of the circulation of the population. The legacy of this strand of thinking in political rationality is still present in what would become the human security paradigm (Paris, 2001). The genesis of the human security paradigm was the speech in which American President Roosevelt declared the ‘Four Freedoms’ (Roosevelt, 1941). His speech implied that by securing people’s freedoms, including ‘freedom from want’, it might ultimately be possible to establish the security of nations, instead of employing traditional (that is, military) means of establishing nations’ security (Paris, 2001).

In the latter part of the twentieth century the concept of the ‘risk society’ was developed by Beck (1998), who argued that risk is inherent in all societies in the present phase of globalization, due to many factors, including, for example, the rapid development of advanced technologies, but also due to the erosion of what Rainie and Wellman call ‘bonding ties’, in other words, traditional kinship structures. (Rainie & Wellman, 2012). Beck is also an advocate of cosmopolitanism, which he conceives as an outlook characterized by the embracing of the interconnectedness of human beings such that individuals identify as much with the idea of supranational, that is, European or even global citizenship, than they do with the nation of which they are a citizen. In the words of Pichler (2008:1108): “rather than embedding the individual in exclusive

social and cultural groups based on shared similarities, the cosmopolitan is a member of various communities ranging from local to global ones”. This, however, in the view of Pichler seems to reflect a ‘both/and logic’ of cosmopolitanism that is shared by an elite minority but not by most Europeans (Pichler, 2008), who, according to the empirical results of Pichler’s study, put far more emphasis on national identity than European identity. This question of citizens’ primary identification is significant. It cannot be denied that, in the words of Miller, “as agents we have special duties of limited scope” (Miller, 2002:80). On the other hand, it also cannot be denied that individuals do form identities that in some sense transcend national barriers, and that it is partly their imagination that makes this possible. After all, as Anderson (2006:6) explains in his study of nationalism, even the individual nation is an imagined community, in the sense that, “the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of the fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion”. These comments concerning the cosmopolitan vision shared by scholars such as Beck and Held (2010) are meant to emphasize only that it does not reflect the attitude of most citizens, and that cosmopolitanism conceived in this way is therefore not viable as a basis for social organization. In comparison, cosmopolitanism as it is described in network theory (Rainie & Wellman, 2012) does offer a perspective on contemporary social formations that seems to better represent how people interact socially and manage their personal networks in both Western and the Far East Asian nations (Chua & Wellman, 2016), as the study argues in what follows.

The work of two scholars in the field of social movements, Porta and Tarrow (2004), reveals how P’s concept of GCED as the ‘domestication of global issues’ can have both explanatory power and also point to the potential for GCED to be a social

movement, as opposed to a form of top-down social technology. After reviewing the work of Porta & Tarrow (2004), in what follows I go on to consider the interrelationship of the ways in which citizens put digital technology to use and the present phase of capitalism with reference to Mason's (2015) notion of 'postcapitalism', suggesting, finally, that the concept 'networked individualism' (Rainie & Wellman, 2012) may be a critical component in the rethinking of GCED as a social movement.

### **GCED: From the 'Relative Global' to the 'Local Absolute'**

As Porta and Tarrow (2004) point out, until quite recently the individual state has been the main target for protest with regard to social movements, but since the beginning of the new millennium, there have been new internal and external challenges faced by both the nation state and citizens that had never been faced before to the same degree of intensity, and these challenges have inevitably brought about changes in the targets for protest and the forms of activity of social movements. Among these challenges, according to the authors, is uncertainty with regard to, "new forms of internationalization and globalization that connect citizens to a global market but reduce their control over their own fates" (Porta & Tarrow, 2004:1). *Internally* individual states have experienced a shift in power, "from parliaments to the executive, and within the executive, to the bureaucracy and to quasi-independent agencies" (Porta & Tarrow, 2004:2). *Externally*, challenges for the state have included, "a shift in the locus of institutional power from the national to both the supranational and the regional levels, with the increasing power of international institutions, especially economic ones" (2004:2), for example, the IMF. It is crucial to mention that the degree to which an IO like the IMF has power over an individual state

depends on its place in the global hierarchy as regards economic power, which places developing countries at a particular disadvantage in terms of the degree to which they have control over their own economic policies. These and other challenges have been experienced in the context of what the authors call ‘complex internationalism’, “which provides both threats and opportunities to ordinary people, to organized non-state actors, and to weaker ones” (Porta & Tarrow, 2004:2). The following lengthy quote provides a theoretical lens through which P’s notion of ‘domestication of global issues’ can be understood. The authors identify three different processes, *diffusion*, *domestication*, and *externalization*, each a form of ‘transnationalization’:

By *diffusion*, we mean the spread of movement ideas, practices, and frames from one country to another; by *domestication*, we mean the playing out on domestic territory of conflicts that have their origin externally; and by *externalization*, we mean the challenge to supranational institutions to intervene in domestic problems or conflicts (Porta & Tarrow, 2004:2).

In the context of the present study, the authors’ conceptualization of transnational collective action as *domestication*, or, “the playing out of conflicts that have their origin externally” (Porta & Tarrow, 2004:2) is the most significant process described. This is because it reveals the fact that, within the borders of an individual nation, the agendas of governments and regular citizens may often be misaligned with regard to transnational issues. This can result in the formation of coalitions consisting of people in local communities enlisting support from groups of activists overseas whose ideology and mission corresponds to the concrete problem at hand, sometimes to resist the policies of local communities’ own government. An example of this type given by P in the present study is the efforts of the Amerindian Standing Sioux tribe of Dakota who, in their efforts to resist the building of an oil pipeline through their

ancestral homeland, managed to form a global coalition of activists and environmental groups that successfully defied the government (Meyer, 2017). Porta and Tarrow (2004) use the term ‘transnational collective action’ to describe transnational cooperation of this kind, since it involves coordination among networks of activists to address actions perceived as unjust. This form of transnational collective action, instigated by citizens and involving activists from elsewhere, is very different to a situation involving more or less continuous intervention by an individual government in the affairs of other nations as a matter of development policy despite a relative neglect of social injustice- including with regard to inequality, for example- at the domestic level, as previously described with reference to the UK (Williams, 2017).

On a related note, it is equally relevant to the present study that transnational social movements often fail. According to Glassman *et al* (2008), social movements often fail, due to the fact that the strategies that they use to oppose neoliberalism and neoconservatism are opposite. In the case of Korea, the strong labor movements that emerged in the late 1980s were successful in mobilizing to help bring about the election of a liberal president, Kim Daejung. However, after being elected, Kim was more or less forced to adopt the policies that were considered necessary to accommodate the needs of transnational capital, which even involved Kim signing a secret agreement with IMF which committed Korea to adhere to the rules of IMF’s Structural Adjustment Program (Glassman *et al*, 2008). As a result of these developments, a coalition of activists and intellectuals in Korea took a distinctly anti-globalization stance, meaning that they became more insular, therefore foregoing at the same time the abundant possibilities for activism at the global scale that are now possible due to digital technology. This is in contrast to South American and European activists, who, as social movements within the World Social Forum, have

taken every opportunity to pursue activism at the international level (Santos, 2013). The dynamic situation described, wherein activists may take a nationalistic stance or a stance that seems to assume that the importance of global coalitions is vital in the face of pressures caused by economic globalization, and often in defiance of citizens' own governments, reveals the difficulties inherent in the top down control of GCED discourse and practices both at the transnational and the national levels, in that the very organizations and institutions that are producing discourse meant to promote global citizenship values are often in fact implicated in creating conditions that make those values unrealizable.

Perhaps most importantly, with regard to GCED, if the government always takes the lead and has ultimate power in relation to GCED, most practitioners of GCED- but not the participants in the present study- think only in terms of *action*, in terms of what is to be done within the parameters of the government's agenda, rather than seeing GCED, firstly, as primarily a matter for citizens, and secondly, as a form of social action involving *cognitive change*. As (Porta & Tarrow, 2004) put it, with regard to transnational collective action:

While some analysts appear to think that globalization is sufficient to produce global social movements, changes in the global environment are not sufficient to produce a transnationalization of collective action. *Cognitive change* within and relational changes between actors must be the active forces for such a fundamental change (Porta & Tarrow, 2004:6, emphasis added).

Globalization is often associated with human beings' interconnectedness through digital media. However, as the quote above makes clear, it does not automatically lead to social reform. This is partly because the behavior patterns of participants in communication networks reflect the cultural attitudes and norms of the regions in

which they live, and it is *these* that influence individuals' behavior most, and which are intensified in some ways rather than radically altered by access to digital media. Consequently, social media themselves are, in the words of Chua and Wellman (2016), "circumscribed by the boundaries of space, language, gender, race, and class". However, digital media have clearly revolutionized the ways in which we interact and cooperate with one another, and it is to this topic that I now turn.

According to Rainie & Wellman (2012), one of the ways in which contemporary society is different from that of several generations ago is that the importance of small, closely knit groups has diminished, and that "a different social order has emerged around social networks that are more diverse and less overlapping than those previous groups" (Rainie & Wellman, 2012: 8-9). While this state of affairs was already underway even *without* the aid of what they call the 'Triple Revolution,' (continuous rapid development in the form of the Social Network Revolution, the Internet Revolution, and the Mobile Revolution), the authors state that this has obviously intensified and accelerated the process. According to the authors, this is the era of 'networked individualism,' or the management by individuals of 'personal communities' which, while socially liberating in many ways, is also taxing, in that maintaining a network requires individuals to expend considerable time and energy.

One of the reasons why the term 'social network' is so popular among researchers is that it accurately describes social interactions in contemporary life. Rainie and Wellman (2012) point out that politicians make a grave error when they think of 'the community' purely as a bounded group consisting of people that live in a particular locale. This difference in the way individuals perceive themselves as belonging to groups/networks may also partly account for the division in the UK along generational lines revealed by the Brexit referendum, which resulted in baby-boomers

and older people overwhelmingly voting for Brexit and approximately 75% of young adult voters, that is, networked individuals, voting (in vain) to remain in the European Union (Cresci, 2016).

In terms of network theory, true groups are, “*clusters* of people with many interconnections among them” (Rainie & Wellman, 2012: 50). According to the authors, participation in a network results in a tradeoff between the benefits of “*bridging ties*, [which] are great for getting information in and out of cluster relationships [...] and *bonding ties* that [...] are often necessary for internal trust, efficiency, and solidarity” (Rainie & Wellman, 2012: 49). As Storper (2005) notes in his discussion of bonding and bridging, bridging is now of special interest in the social sciences, since it provides a theoretical perspective within which to analyze the ways in which diverse social actors coordinate their actions for the sake of collective goals. This way of understanding social ties can help us to adequately describe the difference between networks and communities respectively, bonding ties being stronger in the case of offline social interaction. Our social relations now consist of a combination of offline and online interactions, which is why the term ‘techno-social situations’ was coined in network theory to describe the way in which the offline and online worlds are connected and ‘reinforce each other in everyday life’ (Chua & Wellman, 2016).

In terms of network theory, people in a cluster who form bridging ties can be called ‘cosmopolitans’, while those who have mostly formed bonding ties can be called ‘locals’ (Rainie & Wellman, 2012). On the basis of the preceding discussion, this concept of ‘cosmopolitan’ seems far more accurate and useful when applied to the contemporary situation than the other conceptions of cosmopolitanism that were previously described. In any case, the evolution of the social formation that the

authors call the ‘network operating system’ represents, on one hand, a positive societal development, in that it, “has been built on flexible connectivity between individuals and the ability to trust one another across distances and groups without requiring the cohesive force of the tribe to punish transgressions” (Rainie & Wellman, 2012:57), while, on the other hand, this seems to have led to the deterioration of bonding ties, which are associated with a deeper sense of affection, trust, and solidarity, as previously mentioned.

While early work in network theory focused mainly on networked individualism in Western contexts, there is a growing body of literature that examines it as a contemporary phenomenon in East Asia (Chua & Wellman, 2016). In other words, networked individualism is no less a feature of social activity in this region than it is in the West. It is important to examine the similarities and differences between networked individualism in Western and Eastern contexts a little more closely to determine how the social institutions and customs of these regions affect the patterning of personal communities in the context of a potential ‘grassroots’ form of GCE (Chua & Wellman, 2016); a combination of online and offline GCE as a social movement, or ‘techno-social situation’.

According to Chua & Wellman, (2016), the historical evolution of groups to networks has taken place in three –albeit not completely sequential- phases: *door-to-door* connectivity (which involved people traveling on foot to each other’s houses to communicate); *place-to-place* connectivity (made possible by new modes of transport, such as cars, trains and planes, bearing in mind, as the authors note, the cost of long-distance phone calls was too high for the majority of consumers until the late 20<sup>th</sup> century); and *person-to-person* connectivity, the current phase, in which communication has been made far easier via the Internet and digital media, making

physical distance far less of a barrier, and making the ideal of ‘perpetual contact’ a reality (Chua & Wellman, 2016).

As previously mentioned, there are both similarities and differences between East Asian and Western society in relation to this phenomenon. Since there is a consensus that the core values of GCED, *cultural empathy* and *intercultural competence*, reflect the need to identify commonalities while respecting and valuing differences, it is important to bear this in mind in the present discussion. According to Chua & Wellman (2016), the differences in terms of the shift toward networked individualism are differences in degree rather than in kind. While similarities and differences are considered in what follows, there is no intention to reify either context. According to Chua and Wellman (2016), the similarities between Western and East Asian societies in relation to ‘personal communities’ are the following: they are *geographically dispersed* (in comparison to the era prior to digital social media); they are *sparsely knit*, implying relative freedom in terms of *who* one communicates with and *what* one what can say to them, as opposed to the higher degree of ‘mutual monitoring’ that goes on in closely knit communities; and they involve *specialized ties*, meaning that members go to specific other members of the community for particular types of support (Chua & Wellman, 2016).

It seems clear that while the way in which individuals connect and form personal communities in Korea is changing. For example, in the words of Chua & Wellman (2016), “in Korea, social networking sites and instant messaging applications such as ‘Kakao Talk’ and ‘Band’ connect [...] individuals such as single mothers and fathers by organizing gatherings and travel”. Furthermore, “in Seoul, young protesters (so-called wireless protestors) have mobilized a variety of digital media such as email, mobile phone, online journalism, and so on to gather

information” (Chua & Wellman, 2016). At the same time, the instant and wide dissemination of information through social media can also have negative effects if the information is not reliable, and this has been identified as a problematic trend worldwide (Chrisafis *et al*, 2016).

With regard to the differences from Western societies, Chua and Wellman (2016) identify three: “the strong emphases on kinship, the hierarchical nature of their social relationships, and [...] conformity culture”, the latter being a characteristic of “much of public and private life in East Asia” (Chua & Wellman, 2016). Cinirella and Green (2007) use the term ‘cyber-conformity’ to describe this phenomenon. With regard to the strong kinship focus, an example of this given by the authors is “the elaborate ways in which East Asian families mobilize childcare” (Chua & Wellman, 2016). Parents-in-law and others are often integral to the bringing up of children in the Korean context, for instance (Lee & Bauer, 2010) . Another feature of the strong emphasis on kinship is the “patriarchal norms [that] permeate the family structure” (Chua & Wellman, 2016), and which can hinder the educational and economic mobility of women, according to the authors. Interestingly, according to Lee (2013), patriarchy is in fact a reason why many young Korean women consciously construct themselves as ‘cosmopolitan workers’, apparently as a way of disidentifying with the patriarchal attitudes that can limit their professional opportunities. Finally, Confucian tradition, in which respect for hierarchy is a key feature, is still strong in East Asian nations (Shim *et al*, 2008), and is therefore often a factor in people’s chances of advancement. This is obviously a complex issue, because while seniority in age, for example, is respected in East Asian societies on this very basis, at the same time ageism is identified by P as a critical societal issue, and this will be explored in what follows in relation to the influence of the human rights paradigm in GCED discourse.

However, it is now necessary to consider P's conception of GCED as a means for the 'domestication of global issues', or a mechanism that enables the linkage of the global and the national dimensions in more detail. Specifically, P's notion of the 'domestication of global issues' has two dimensions or manifestations, negative and positive: the domestication of transnational issues *on the part of governments* and domestication of transnational issues *on the part of citizens*.

### **Two Dimensions of GCED: The 'Relative Global' and the 'Local Absolute'**

In this context, the present study focuses on two visions or dimensions of the global found in Deleuze and Guattari's (1980) *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*. These dimensions of the global are the 'relative global' and the 'local absolute' (Bogue, 2005). In what follows, I connect these to P's conception of GCED as a means for 'the domestication of global issues'; the *relative global* being the negative manifestation of this, the *local absolute* being its positive manifestation.

It is first necessary to introduce a relevant term, 'nomadism', which I connect with the positive manifestation of the domestication of global issues- in other words, action by citizens- and the notion of 'the rhizome'. Nomadism, according to Bogue (2005), is an important concept in the work of Deleuze and Guattari. However, this term does not relate to the behavior of specific nomadic groups as they are described in anthropology. Nomadism, in Deleuze and Guattari's terms, is a group consisting of people that have *distributed themselves* (in an open space without precise limits), as opposed to a group consisting of people who *have been distributed* in what Deleuze and Guattari call 'striated space' (Bogue, 2005).

Deleuze and Guattari contrast nomadism with ‘sedentarism’, which relates to control and the imposition of rules (Malkki, 1992), that is, the work of the state). It is important to note that Deleuze and Guattari are not describing a zero-sum game in this opposition. In the words of Bogue, “the opposition of nomadism and sedentarism is one of tendencies rather than discrete entities, and hence an opposition that manifests itself empirically only in *mixtures* of the two categories” (Bogue, 2005: 8, emphasis added). It is through their emphasis on these oppositional tendencies that Deleuze and Guattari wish to capture what they call the ‘schizophrenic’ tendencies in the global capitalist system (Stanley, 1995). In an earlier work, *Anti-Oedipus*, the authors capture this quality of capitalism using the concept of ‘flows’, which refers to not just economic, but also social and cultural relations (Malkki, 1992). In the capitalist era, the *decoding of flows* (through capitalism such that everything can be reduced to having exchange value) and the requisite *recoding of flows* (the striation of space by the state for the sake of social cohesion) is as prevalent today as it was when Deleuze and Guattari were writing their most influential works (Bogue, 2005).

According to Gough (2006), a nomadic multiplicity may be characterized as a ‘rhizome’, which is a non-hierarchical horizontal structure that does not have a center. Deleuze and Guattari contrast this term with ‘arborescences,’ meaning tree-like structures, which are vertical and hierarchical and have a clear locus of growth (Hess, 2004). In contrast, rhizomes have no root, which means that they do not have a ‘privileged locus of growth’ (Bogue, 2005). In contrast, with regard to the discourse and practice of GCED, we might call the state ‘the privileged focus of growth’ in Korea or in the UK. By comparison, there is a striking similarity between a rhizome and a network such as the Internet, which is a multiplicity within which any terminal is rapidly adjoining potentially any other terminal, regardless of how far apart the

terminals may be in terms of physical distance, and which has no central locus of growth or power (Bogue, 2005). In sum, a rhizome, like the Internet or a nomadic group, as conceived by Deleuze and Guattari, does not have a center and does not have a hierarchy.

The political dimension suggested in these concepts is clear: the characteristics of nomadism and its production of smooth space may come into conflict with the working of state apparatus, which is associated with ‘striated’ or ‘sedentary’ space (Deleuze and Guattari: 2010). Deleuze and Guattari point out that while the state has to help facilitate the functioning of the capitalist system, at the same time they liken capitalism to a ‘war machine’ because it presents challenges to the state that threaten social cohesion, as mentioned earlier. For example, governments must provide certain goods and services to citizens within a neoliberal economic regime that makes this difficult to accomplish (Mason, 2015). However, this state of affairs is dynamic; striated space can become smooth space, and vice versa. The dynamic nature of this phenomenon involving competing types of space is similar to the concepts found in Lefebvre’s (1991) book, ‘The Production of Space’, in which he describes three types of space: absolute, abstract, and differential. Absolute space describes space that was cohesive in a primordial way, that is, prior to the rational organization of society, and may be under divine authority from the perspective of the population. Abstract space is space that is subject to rational systems and relationships based on exchange value, much like Deleuze and Guattari’s striated space, while differential space is space within which inclusiveness is valued highly and the orientation to objects is based on their use value, rather than their exchange value. Differential space would therefore be equivalent to smooth space, in the language of Deleuze and Guattari (2010).

An example of the way in which smooth space can become striated space (or vice versa) is the world's oceans (Dahlberg, 2011), which for centuries were experienced as smooth space in Deleuzian terms, but gradually became striated space in the sense that technology made it possible for human beings to map out the oceans in the form of a grid, thus creating a striated space of domination and control and domination that could facilitate commercial or military activity. This is characteristic of what Deleuze calls the 'society of control', a concept which Hardt (1998) elucidates in the context of globalization, revealing the complex interplay between forces generating smooth and striated space. The concept 'society of control' suggests an environment that is meant to be both conducive to unfettered capitalism but also capable of being acted upon in such a way that a degree of social cohesion is still possible, thus 'transcending cultural divisions' (Bogue, 2005).

The relevance of this to the present study is that official GCED discourse itself frequently uses terms such as 'transcends cultural divisions', and one reason why many scholars show ambivalence toward GCED is because they know it is essentially global capitalism that 'transcends cultural divisions' (Bogue: 2005), and not official GCED discourse. In other words, it is a kind of erasure of difference in official GCED discourse that people mistake for values such as 'acceptance'- or even worse- 'tolerance' of difference in official GCED discourse; it is what passes for 'intercultural competence' in this context.

As stated previously, however, there are difficulties involved in the state's facilitation of capitalism, which, according to Deleuze and Guattari, threatens to undo traditional social codes that restrict it. To put this more concretely, in the words of Lee & Hewison (2010), "neoliberalism is [...] associated with ideas about 'freeing'

capitalism of the spatial ‘locks’ that have constrained its mobility in terms of increasingly disarticulated production and the flows of finance and capital” (p.183). On the other hand, “states are required to discipline societies precisely because the marketization of the economy and society leads to fragmentation and disorganization” (Lee & Hewison, 2010:183). With regard to Korea, however, Park (2012) suggests that when a developmental state adopts certain free-market policies, it usually does out of pragmatism, and is often meant to preserve the developmental state, rather than undermine it. In other words, it is not always a matter of virtual coercion by other nations or international organizations such as the IMF, and is certainly not a question of blind imitation of the policies of other nations that might have a very different set of needs (Park, 2012).

This has, until now, however, acquiescence on the part of many or most states to a neoliberal economic worldview that produces corresponding social policies that may be unsustainable. In Europe, for example, contemporary phenomena such as Brexit indicate the beginning of the end of this state of affairs. Streeck (2016) believes this event may signal the beginning of a ‘post-capitalist interregnum’, by which he means a post-capitalist period of great uncertainty in which no dominant paradigm like neoliberalism emerges. According to Streeck (2016), the situation in Europe indicates that we are now entering a phase he calls the ‘post-capitalist interregnum’, defined as “a prolonged period of social entropy; of radical uncertainty and indeterminacy” (Streeck, 2016:69). In the view of Streeck, neo-liberalism is undergoing a crisis, and the problems associated with ‘the four freedoms’ of the European Union are symptomatic of this crisis, which he thinks might lead to the possible disintegration of the European federal system. Streeck (2016) sees a kind of evolutionary logic to the current downward trajectory of neo-liberalism in Europe and

elsewhere, while also acknowledging the part played in all this by contingent circumstances. For example, in the view of some commentators, had David Cameron not made a political miscalculation concerning what he needed to do to alleviate pressure from the UKIP (the United Kingdom Independence Party) and the right wing of his own party, Brexit would not have occurred because the referendum would not have occurred (Erlanger & Castle, 2016; Glencross, 2016). However, it is clear that there were underlying structural problems that caused Brexit. According to Streeck, Brexit may be one of the signals that we are entering an era he calls the ‘post-capitalist interregnum’, which he describes thus:

A society in interregnum [...] would be a *de-institutionalised* or *under-institutionalised* society, one in which expectations can be stabilised only now and then by local extemporisation, and which for this very reason is essentially ungovernable (Streeck, 2016: 69).

Streeck’s (2016) analysis seems to support the idea that, increasingly, global capitalism creates what Deleuze calls *smooth space*, while the individual State tries (increasingly unsuccessfully) to ‘recode flows’ to create *striated space* through ‘local extemporization’. Streeck believes that one of the inevitable consequences of this is that the traditional political party system is being undermined, especially left-liberal political parties, whose membership is seriously divided, the Brexit referendum being evidence of this. In this case, in the view of Streeck, the rift that Brexit revealed is between, “[the left-liberal party’s] new middle-class supporters who profess to internationalism in the name of universal solidarity, and their traditional working-class voters whose experience tends to be that open borders undermine their jobs and ways of life” (Streeck, 2016:74-5).

One of the main implications of Deleuze & Guattari (2010) analysis is that public officials are, on one hand, implementing neoliberal economic policies that do not seem to be in the interests of the majority of the general populace, while at the same time they are struggling to ‘recode flows’ and maintain a degree of social security – and thereby social cohesion as well- in an economic environment in which it is increasingly difficult to do so (Chang & Turner, 2012).

An individual government must pursue its own political agenda in these circumstances, it must create ‘striated space’ in a dynamic situation wherein global capitalism- a highly complex and almost endlessly adaptable system (Mason, 2015)- creates ‘smooth space.’ The reason, however, that P regards the Korean government as *not being a stakeholder at all* in GCED and that GS1 regards GCED in Korea as ‘a fashion’, and that GS3 regards the purpose of GCED in Korea as being primarily just for the Korean government to make its voice heard within the global community, is that GCED is, for the most part not by or for citizens- and this may also be the case with regard to GCED in most if not all contexts. In what follows, the present study develops this line of argument through the addition of two further terms, also from the work of Deleuze and Guattari, namely, the ‘relative global’ and the ‘local absolute’.

The main purpose of Bogue’s (2005) discussion of Deleuze and Guattari, as was previously suggested, is to present these two ideas: ‘sedentary’ striated space and smooth nomadic space, as contrasting visions of ‘the global’: “Striated space is an englobing, containing Whole, a totality that gains its coordinates and dimensions through its delimitation of a sphere of total control” (Bogue, 2005:22). This is what Deleuze and Guattari call the *relative global*, a concept that they contrast with the

*local absolute*, which involves ‘a series of local operations with varying orientations’ (Bogue, 2005) that generate smooth space. Deleuze and Guattari view the local absolute as the cultural and social manifestation of the creation of smooth space (Bruun & Narangoa, 2006). According to Bogue,

Smooth space [...] is an open Whole, an expanse with no limits, a ceaseless process of acentered proliferation in all directions. It is, say Deleuze and Guattari, “a *local absolute*, an absolute that has its manifestation in the local, and its engendering in a series of local operations with varying orientations (*MP* 474 [382]) (Bogue, 2005:22).

This adequately describes the positive manifestation of what P calls the ‘domestication of global issues’, which suggests a form of GCED that is by and for citizens, in that it entails the interconnectedness of citizens while it is at the same time ‘always from the vantage of the local’:

The open Whole appears only as an uncompleted ongoing process, and *always from the vantage of the local*. The open Whole is a rhizomic multiplicity without fixed center that cannot be apprehended as an enclosed totality. One can encounter the open Whole only in the local, and at whatever local site one encounters it, that site functions as the provisional, shifting center of a proliferating process of formation of the open Whole, an ever expanding flux of nomadic flows (Bogue, 2005:22, emphasis added).

In sum, Deleuze and Guattari’s contrasting conceptions of the global, the ‘relative global’ and the ‘local absolute’, - as well as equivalent concepts, such as ‘abstract space’ and ‘differential space’ (Lefebvre, 1991) provide a useful theoretical lens through which both the negative and positive manifestations of P’s notion of GCED as ‘the domestication of global issues’ can be understood. The problem with GCED discourse and practice in general is that it is primarily a question of the interplay between the policies of an individual state- and their impact on citizens’

actions and decision-making- and global capitalism itself, the former being in part, but not completely, a response to the realities of the latter (in that there is obviously a hierarchy among nations with regard to their relative wealth and, as a consequence, their political power). In this situation, the state tries to create *striated space* (in the language of Deleuze and Guattari) in the context of global capitalism, a complex and almost infinitely adaptable system (Mason, 2015), while global capitalism creates *smooth space* (although as mentioned previously this is a dynamic situation in which these are tendencies, not entities, so there is always an admixture of the two tendencies). The ‘local absolute’ is the cultural and social manifestation of the creation of smooth space.

One of the political implications of *A Thousand Plateaus* (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987) relates to the rhizome; a network of human beings among whom there is no ‘privileged center of growth’ characterized by knowledge creation and dissemination (as well as an increase in the proportion of non-market transactions, an aspect of the situation which is examined in what follows), and fresh invention. This represents an ‘open whole’ (Bogue, 2005) in which the global is always experienced at the local level, hence the term the ‘local absolute,’ which is the positive manifestation of the ‘the domestication of global issues’ (P), as opposed to the ‘relative global,’ which could describe the operationalization of official GCED, which is run in top-down fashion, originating with agreed upon declarations signed by member states of international organizations, and finally handed to citizens in the form of educational policies that are formed and implemented by the individual states. Bogue (2005) associates the *relative global* with all the social injustices to which people have been subjected via the neoliberal economic approach to development, which has for three decades been largely presented as “the only course of action open to the planet’s

peoples” (Bogue, 2005:22). As mentioned previously, since Korea is a ‘developmental state’, its situation with regard to neoliberalism has less to do with the state allowing the markets to work in a completely unfettered manner, although neoliberal economic rhetoric has been used strategically by Korean elites in such a way as to justify policies whose effects from the point of view of citizens (for example, flexible markets) are sometimes the same, as Chang & Turner (2012) point out.

In what follows, some of the literature concerning the current phase of capitalism and what it might give way to is examined. This will include an examination of the interplay between networks and hierarchies in the context of the creation of and dissemination of knowledge through digital media. In the words of Mason (2015:144), now “the main contradiction in modern capitalism is between the possibility of free, abundant socially produced goods, and a system of monopolies, banks and governments struggling to maintain control over power and information. That is, everything is pervaded by a fight between network and hierarchy”.

However, due to the emergence of certain other developments in economic theory, described in what follows, there may be cause for optimism.

### **Endogenous Growth Theory**

According to Ilon (2015), in the late 1980s, Paul Romer was among the first economists to build on existing economic theories which stated that land (and human resources including man-made structures such as ports), labor, and capital all

contributed to economic growth, by adding *ideas* as an important factor that he said could lead a country toward economic growth. In this context, for example, the term ‘Marshall-Arrow-Romer externalities’ (Stiglitz & Greenwald, 2014) was used to describe the phenomenon in which firms in the same area of industry generate more innovation and growth through the transmission of knowledge if those firms are in close proximity. Ilon (2015) points out that economists such as Romer recognized that knowledge has special characteristics that other factors, which can also contribute to economic growth, do not have: “Because [knowledge] was cheaper to produce (replicate) each time one wanted another copy, it was substantially different than either physical goods or services” (Ilon, 2015:133). Fairclough & Fairclough (2012) refer to Amartya Sen’s imaginary story, which reveals the ethical problems posed by having to decide how to fairly allocate resources that are *scarce*. Each claim for eligibility represents a different conception of social justice in this context:

“A decision has to be made as to which of three children ought to receive a particular gift, a flute. One child argues that she ought to receive it because she is the only one who can play it. Another child says the flute should be given to him because he is poor and has no toys to play with. The third child claims she deserves to get the flute because she has actually made it. How is one to decide between these three arguments? As Sen argues, there is no institutional arrangement that will help us resolve this dispute in a universally acceptable manner, no unique impartial resolution. The choice an agent might eventually make will depend on the relative value he or she attaches to the fulfillment of human virtue, the fight against poverty or inequality, and the entitlement to enjoy the results of one’s labor” (Fairclough & Fairclough, 2012:176).

However, the current *lack* of scarcity in some contexts, and the ease with which information goods and services at least are now shared via ICTs, is the reason why sharing in those contexts is so commonplace now; in fact it has often led to the *expectation* that a large range of goods and services will be free. The people who

sociologists now call ‘networked individuals’ know how to access information goods and services from a relatively open global system, namely the Internet, for free (Mason, 2015). In the words of Mason (2015), “thirty years on from Stewart’s Brand’s famous claim that ‘information wants to be free,’ they instinctively believe that under normal circumstances it *should* be free” (p.155).

However, returning to Sen’s story cited above, its essential feature is that it involves a party that has a particular resource giving to a party that does not, and only *that* party, not others, given its scarcity. And this decision is based on, “which particular conception of justice should take precedence over others” (Fairclough & Fairclough, 2012:176) in the view of whoever possesses the resource and is willing to give it away. However, as mentioned previously, knowledge in the digital era is both superabundant and free (Shirky, 2010), in which case, the main ethical question should surely be: how could this free resource be accessed by as many people worldwide as possible so that they can build better lives for themselves and their communities? It is on this basis that a great deal of effort is being expended in less wealthy nations and in the context of development partnerships to build the prerequisite technological infrastructure for that very purpose (Williams, 2011).

Inevitably, over time social networks have made increasingly possible the spread of ideas and collaboration between creative problem-solvers, although the new means of cooperation facilitated by digital technology have not supplanted face-to-face interaction, which takes place in any community of practice (Lave & Wenger, 1991). A community of practice could describe a collective such as, for example, all the people in a firm in which the aim is to achieve particular goals. In this situation, people who are at first on the periphery with regard to the activities of the firm gradually begin to have more engagement with more central and more complex

activities relating to the firm's goals (Lave & Wenger, 1991) on the basis of the learning that takes place through face-to-face interactions over time. Social media technology has not supplanted this. However, as Wenger *et al* (2009) point out, it has also long been possible for firms and other organizations, both formal and informal, to benefit from the interplay between technology and communities of practice to expand learning opportunities, learning being a central component of any community of practice, including a firm (Wenger *et al*, 2009). The special characteristics of knowledge identified by Ilon (2015) in conjunction with the technological developments described previously have led to a change in the way in which knowledge is understood and used. For example, the *dynamics* of knowledge may now be more important than the *accumulation* of knowledge:

It became apparent fairly quickly that it was the *dynamics* of knowledge rather than the *accumulation* of knowledge that created momentum forward for communities and societies. Because already existing knowledge is “cheap” (increasingly able to be accessed), there is little value in mastering it. New knowledge (ideas) helps solve problems and creates new opportunities (albeit often built on existing knowledge). This involves learning (Lundvall & Johnson, 1994) (Ilon, 2015:134).

In terms of education, these insights concerning the ways in which social formations change in the context of knowledge/ideas being produced and spread via social networks suggest the importance of reforming the current education system in such a way that these new challenges are addressed; by no means does this suggest that a privileging of top-down educational methods will be desirable in the years ahead. According to Ilon (2015), the situation with regard to knowledge and education just described raises some fundamental questions, such as, “Does knowledge come from education or does education come from knowledge? Who are the learners, who are the teachers, and who are the creators? [...] And perhaps most important, under

what conditions do people turn their creative thinking power into knowledge that has value for their society?” (Ilon, 2015:128).

According to Mason, the management consultant and educator Peter Drucker posed similar questions. One of his main insights was that since knowledge had become *the* resource, and not just *a* resource, new economic dynamics and new social dynamics were being created. Drucker believed that ultimately this would bring about what he called a ‘post-capitalist society’ (Mason, 2015). Given the preceding argument, according to Mason (2015), Drucker then stated that the next logical goal must be to improve the *productivity* of knowledge. Drucker’s proposed solution to this problem was human connectivity; people should be trained to work with others in an interdisciplinary manner. However, in the words of Mason (2015), “humanity came with a better idea: the network” (p.113), which allowed everybody with access to digital media to interact spontaneously “using information pathways and forms of organization that did not exist until twenty-five years ago” (Mason, 2015:113).

According to Mason (2015), Drucker posed a second question, namely, ‘who is the social archetype of post-capitalism?’, in other words, who embodies ‘post-capitalist social relations’? Drucker’s answer was ‘the universal educated person’, or in terms of contemporary sociology, ‘networked individuals’ (Mason, 2015). This relates to Lundvall and Johnson’s (1994) insight: that easy and immediate access to information implies that the *dynamics* of knowledge now takes precedence over the *accumulation* of knowledge. This is what Drucker may have meant when he suggested that the social archetype of the current age might be the ‘universal educated individual’. He was not referring to a scholar or expert who accumulated a vast amount of knowledge, but was anticipating a dynamic situation within which a networked individual could potentially draw information from a vast network that can

enable them to identify and solve problems fast in coordination with others; so fast, in fact, that catching up with events as quickly as groups of networked individuals can cause them to happen has become both an economic and political problem for governments, since political institutions obviously move very slowly in comparison. To sum up, Mason's (2015) argument concerning the possibility of a post-capitalist phase is based on this understanding of, "how information behaves as an economic resource and who the new social archetype is" (Mason, 2015:115): this social archetype, for Mason, is the networked individual.

### **Technology and (Post) Capitalism**

Citing an OECD report (OECD, 2014), Mason (2015) points out that the dynamism currently being experienced in developing countries will have come to an end by around 2060; that developed countries will experience weak growth for another fifty years, and that the level of wealth inequality will increase by 40% in the same time frame. While acknowledging that neoliberalism helped to trigger the rapid growth of core technologies, for example, which helped fuel economic growth, it has also brought the level of worldwide inequality to its highest point for the last hundred years (Mason, 2015). Although Mason acknowledges that capitalism is an enormously adaptable system, he believes that it has nonetheless reached the limits of capacity to adapt, partly because of the development of ICTs and due to the very characteristics of knowledge mentioned previously. For example, "information goods are corroding the market's ability to form prices correctly" because markets are based on scarcity, while information is abundant, resulting in the production of information goods that are now often available for free, and which therefore are "corroding the

market's ability to form prices correctly" (Mason, 2015:xiii). In sum, the characteristics of knowledge creation and diffusion in the digital era have created an expanding non-market sector that is not dominated or regulated by market forces.

In the context of the present discussion, given that we normally assume acquiring new ideas and knowledge improves people's life opportunities- and know that uneven distribution of opportunities is a facet of the present era of globalization (Ali, 2007)- it is important that knowledge production is sometimes free of institutions, including learning institutions, whose purpose is to create 'striated space' to facilitate capitalism (Deleuze & Guattari, 2010). That is why Wikipedia, the free online encyclopedia, is itself a form of Global Citizenship Education par excellence.

As an organization, Wikipedia is an egalitarian 'adhocracy' in terms of its mode of governance (Konieczny, 2010). It is *global* in that there are eleven million Wikipedia writers and editors around the world; it is a form of active *citizenship* because anyone has the right to contribute their writing and editing but also has the obligation to participate in an ethical manner according to an established code; and it is *education* because a participant has to *learn* to write and edit for Wikipedia, while also improving their academic writing and digital literacy skills as they go. It also involves teaching, since experienced Wikipedians guide less experienced contributors in a multitude of ways, not to mention its uses as a teaching tool in formal educational settings (Konieczny, 2012). Furthermore, Wikipedia has even been identified as a social movement (Konieczny, 2014; 2009). Specifically, in this regard, Konieczny examines the positive impact of a vote taken by Wikipedia writers and editors worldwide to protest against laws proposed by the American government that were meant to reduce online piracy (the Stop Online Piracy Act), but which critics also thought had the potential to infringe upon people's (online) freedom of speech. In

protest, Wikipedians voted to take strike action. As a consequence, for a twenty-four-hour period nobody could access the Wikipedia website. This was a big factor in the eventual defeat of the proposed SOPA bill (Konieczny, 2014).

On a related note, the author of the present study created a Wikipedia account in order to experience writing and editing Wikipedia articles and to begin to understand the educational value of Wikipedia. Since the experience is of direct relevance to the present study, it will be briefly described in what follows. The author noticed that there was currently no Wikipedia article for Global Citizenship Education, although there was one for Global Citizenship, so decided to write one. The first step that is taken when writing a new article after setting up an account is preparing the content in what is known as the ‘sand box’. This is the stage at which the writer of an article writes the text and gathers any necessary citations, since the article must be written in encyclopedic style. The first impression of the author regarding his experience of writing an article was how quickly experienced Wikipedia writers and editors respond to the content, specifically, almost immediately, and a few weeks before it was uploaded onto the Internet (which Wikipedians usually refer to as the ‘main space’). What was interesting, from the author’s perspective, apart from the speed of the response, was the nature of the concerns that those who contacted the author had expressed about the article. The first concern was that the author might be promoting something (in this case, Global Citizenship Education). This is against the rules of Wikipedia, so there had to be an exchange between the author and the Wikipedian who was essentially patrolling Wikipedia to make sure the standards of the organization were upheld, so as to assure them that nothing was being promoted. The second concern was stylistic. A Wikipedian who was a professor of sociology at a university in New York stated that the style of the article was too essay-like, and not

encyclopedic. As a result, the style of the article was changed accordingly, at which point the professor indicated that he was satisfied.

In conclusion, it was possible on the basis of this experience to understand two things about Wikipedia as an organization. Firstly, it is an organization with specific rules and standards, and its members voluntarily police the writing of articles to make sure the integrity of Wikipedia is maintained. There appears to be no hierarchy within which people take specialized roles that have specific boundaries. In other words, it is an ‘adhocracy’, as Konieczny (2010) points out. Secondly, there is clearly a high degree of *intrinsic* motivation among Wikipedians to engage in this activity (given that it is not paid work, and many or most Wikipedians are anonymous, choosing to use a pseudonym). In other words, neither payment nor the recognition of others seem to be a factor in the motivation of Wikipedians. In sum, the author of the present study concluded that to a large degree, Wikipedia writers and editors, such as the professor in New York who made contact, must have an egalitarian view of knowledge production and dissemination, and be willing to continuously contribute their work, despite neither payment nor recognition. Perhaps unsurprisingly, a study by Yang and Lai (2010), which aimed to determine the motivations of Wikipedia writers and editors found that the nature of Wikipedia members’ motivation was ‘self-concept based’, as opposed to ‘conventional’. In other words, in the terms of Yang and Lee’s (2010) study, Wikipedians identified with the concept of producing and sharing knowledge freely, and it appears to be their motivation for contributing. In sum, their understanding of what learning should be is of an egalitarian nature, and they are committed to taking action to support the realization of this ideal through the writing and editing (not to mention the monitoring of standards) that they contribute (Yang & Lai, 2010).

It may now be useful to compare the way in which an adhocratic egalitarian organization such as Wikipedia operates to the way in which traditional hierarchical organizations operated, especially prior to the digital age. For this purpose, I refer to McPhail's (2014) study of the roles played by the member states of UNESCO in forming policies concerning global communication, including television and even journalism until the start of the digital era. McPhail (2014) points out that in the 1970s and 80s, UNESCO was seen as the UN organization that was most friendly to developing countries, stating, "UNESCO [...] sponsored crucial international conferences that focused on the global communication debate and also directed its research program toward promoting new policy initiatives, such as the New World International Communication Order (NWICO)" (McPhail, 2014:47). In the years after the Second World War there were two distinct models for global media practices. The American model involved, "commercial media systems in which advertising and market forces play critical roles" (McPhail, 2014:47). In the case of many European countries, however, mass media tended to be government owned or government controlled, the BBC being an example of the latter. McPhail (2014) states that in the decade after World War II, "in most of the world (in particular former colonies of European countries), radio evolved as a government medium without commercials or the influence of marketplace competition" (McPhail, 2014:47).

During the 1960s and 1970s, more and more developing countries joined UNESCO and had more of a say in the direction taken by UNESCO in terms of its development and research agenda. Developing nations formed a bloc known to this day as the 'Group of 77', even though many more than seventy-seven developing nations eventually joined them. With regard to UNESCO's global communication

policy, developing countries were concerned that slick Western-produced TV programs were having a pervasive influence on indigenous cultures and were in fact eroding them at a time when technology was beginning to make it possible for populations in developing countries to receive such content, and when the high cost of making TV programs in their own nations was prohibitive. There were also controversies concerning journalism and press freedoms, since developing countries felt that they needed to have a degree of control of their press in order that they could keep their own priority, namely development, on track. Meanwhile, a loose coalition had formed including the Group of 77, the OPEC nations, and the countries of the Soviet Union. For various reasons, it made sense for the members of this coalition to join forces against the aspects of UNESCO's global communication policy just mentioned. The core members of UNESCO, the US and the UK, were strongly committed to free trade (while neoliberal economics was in the ascendancy) and the freedom of speech, meaning that there was no possibility that they would agree to press freedoms. Finally, the Reagan administration announced that it would withdraw its membership in January, 1985, meaning that UNESCO's funding would be immediately cut by 25 percent (McPhail, 2014). The UK also left UNESCO one year later. The Berlin Wall fell in November, 1989, and the assumption was that countries across Eastern Europe would soon have more democratic institutions and a free press. Therefore, from the late 1980s until the new millennium UNESCO's declarations relating to global communications policy reflected the new commitment to free trade and an independent press. By 2002, the US administration of George W. Bush was willing to rejoin UNESCO.

There are two reasons why I felt it necessary to recap this story of the battle between member nations of UNESCO over global communication policy. The first

reason is that the story is typical of what usually happens in hierarchies: the most powerful entities within the hierarchy tend to be successful in steering policy most of the time unless something unexpected, such as- in this case -the sudden collapse of the Soviet Union, takes place. For example, Behringer (2005) notes that 'middle power' states, such as Denmark and the Netherlands, tend to be less successful in realizing their goals within international organizations if they pursue consensus-based diplomacy. The battle within UNESCO between the 'Group of 77' coalition and the US and UK exemplifies this. The free trade policies of these two nations made the aims of UNESCO difficult to achieve, especially after both countries decided to simply withdraw from UNESCO, which meant an automatic and significant reduction of the organization's funding as well (Smith, 2007). This pertains to the second reason for mentioning UNESCO's internal struggles, the requirement for full cooperation on the part of 'contracting states' (Smith, 2007) within the organization if its stated objectives are to be achieved.

As Smith (2007) points out, UNESCO has consistently attempted to promote more equality not just among but within nations, for example, with regard to the domestic treatment of cultural minorities. However, Smith (2007) finds that for UNESCO to achieve its objectives, needs to come from the contracting states themselves. However, such support is sometimes in short supply. As Horowitz (2016) notes, co-management, that is, a deal between UNESCO and individual contracting states to protect UNESCO's World Heritage Sites, for example, was promoted after observers pointed out the negative effects of top-down development and conservation efforts prior to the 1980s. UNESCO's emphasis on co-management from the 1980s onwards can have outcomes that are far from the ones intended, however, since, this approach is vulnerable to co-option and manipulation on the part of corporate interests.

Using the language of Deleuze and Guattari in his analysis, Horowitz (2016) refers to the organization UNESCO as ‘arborescent’ and the activities of indigenous groups striving for convergent goals, but often being thwarted by the unintended consequences of UNESCO’s own operations, as ‘rhizomic’. Horowitz (2016:167) cites a particular example concerning UNESCO’s co-management approach, calling it, “a globally promoted, but locally inappropriate, co-management diagram that targeted local fishing activities despite an absence of overfishing”. The third and final reason for mentioning UNESCO in the present study relates to the impacts of digital technology on communication policy. As McPhail’s (2014) study reveals, the NWICO could only function for as long as the types, media and volume of international communication flows was a matter that was decided by UNESCO’s contracting states. As Horowitz (2016) points out in this context, almost as soon as the Internet appeared and greatly enhanced opportunities for the exchange of information and ideas, the NWICO was quickly made virtually obsolete (McPhail, 2014). In other words, for as long as global communication and/or information exchange *could* be controlled, that is, before the existence of the Internet, it could be controlled almost exclusively by those countries that were richest and therefore more politically powerful. However, in the fully digital age, nobody, not even the governments of rich nations can control the free flow of information (Mason, 2015), as organizations such as Wikipedia, and its members’ anti-SOPA protest in particular, have demonstrated.

In the words of Mason (2015:128), “[Wikipedia] is one of the most valuable learning resources ever invented, and has (so far) defied all attempts to censor, subvert, troll, or sabotage it, because the power of tens of millions of human eyeballs is greater than any government, stalker, interest group or saboteur can match”. With regard to the current ongoing battle between hierarchies and networks (as Mason sees

it), networks scored a victory. Furthermore, the online debate that was conducted to determine whether or not Wikipedians should take strike action was a rare instance of *direct democracy* in action, as was the Brexit referendum, except the former was conducted without interference from political parties or other vested interests with specific agendas.

Another exemplar in terms of the way in which the creation and dissemination of knowledge can be an egalitarian phenomenon is the concept of MOOCs (Massive Open Online Courses) as a means of ‘culturalizing instruction’ (Auh & Choi, 2016). This approach differs from the regular conception of MOOCs, which is a one-way street in educational terms due to the emphasis the platform places on the delivery of a traditional lecture format involving the transmission of content that is passively received by potentially very large numbers of students. In contrast, the type of MOOC conceived and implemented by the authors involves an emphasis on building a community of lifelong learners that are free to contribute and adapt the course materials themselves, meaning that a learning environment is created that is culturally inclusive (Auh & Choi, 2016). Like the previous two examples given, this MOOC design has the following features: full advantage is taken of available platforms for knowledge sharing; the environment for learning is of an egalitarian nature; and it does not involve the transmission of knowledge by one expert, but rather contribution of knowledge by learners that can then also be shared by other learners in a different locale using the materials in other contexts for learning that might be similar, meaning the materials become ever more culturally appropriate.

### **GCED: Empathy through ‘Mediation’**

One thing that is clear on the basis of the review of the literature is that there is a need for more educational approaches such as those just mentioned, which foster empathy (as opposed to sympathy), and a *critical* orientation to global citizenship education. It is therefore necessary to use a theoretical framework that gives primacy to both empathy (in the form of a theory of the structure of experience) and the critical (in the form of a critical theory of society). Adorno provides such a theory; it is called ‘mediation’ and is the foundational subject-object philosophy on which his critical theory is based. I refer mainly to O’Connor’s (2004) reconstruction of Adorno’s philosophical approach in what follows.

Max Weber used the term ‘disenchantment’ to describe the process of rationalization within which he believed human reason has become distorted (Foster, 2007). According to Weber, this distortion occurs when reason, which is oriented to *ends*, is to a large extent replaced by rationality, which is oriented to *means*; Weber calls this instrumental reason. As Foster (2007) points out, there is obviously nothing inherently malign about the purposive- practical attitude. However, on Weber’s account, the increasing dominance of instrumental reason in human beings’ attempts to solve societies’ problems resulted in a state of affairs within which the particular ability to calculate and quantify gained primacy and determined what was considered ‘cognitively significant’ in human experience based on a concept’s practical usefulness (Foster, 2007). In this process, the increasing degree of primacy given to calculation and quantification as the means of solving problems in all domains of society can involve human beings not just as subjects but also *objects*. In other words, human beings can become *means* rather than *ends* in the process of rationalization or instrumental reason. This state of affairs also has a detrimental and limiting effect on

conceptual experience in that “the purposive-practical attitude begins exclusively to usurp the authority to determine when experience can count as cognitively significant” (Foster, 2007:161, emphasis added). That is why philosophers such as Adorno were interested in developing a critical method that could illuminate the ways in which subjective experience has been distorted, devalued or repressed. In sum, the process in which rationality prevails over reason is a dual process in which the purposive-practical attitude aims at the domination or control of nature, while at the same time subjective experience is, in a sense, devalued, since it has no practical usefulness in this context.

According to Foster (2007), much of traditional philosophy has contributed to this ‘cognitive deficit’ because of the way in which it has conceived human experience. The human subject was presented as being engaged in an attempt to control nature by making it calculable and predictable through conceptual abstraction. This involves the formation of concepts based on the instantiation of a ‘generalizable characteristic or property’ of particular items that can be classified within those concepts, and which are cognitively significant only in the sense that they serve that purpose. Foster (2007) describes this as an established norm based on which human beings determine what is cognitively significant. It is partly this process of conceptual abstraction that causes ‘situated experience’ to be devalued (Foster, 2007) and causes top-down thinking to become more prevalent. Adorno sought to address this cognitive deficit by developing a theory of experience that gives primacy to the object and emphasized the value of situated experience (themes that will be explored further in what follows). Adorno drew upon the work of various thinkers, including Nietzsche and Bergson, in conceptualizing the type of repression that is implied in the preceding discussion. His aim was to analyze “the stultifying force of everyday schemes for organizing and

classifying experience according to the dictates of practical usefulness” (Foster, 2007:12). In the view of Foster (2007), Adorno was aiming at the recovery of what might be described as spiritual experience, a philosophical enterprise that he referred to as an ‘outbreak attempt’ (Foster, 2007).

In Adorno’s view, the organization of experience in every human sphere is a process of conceptual abstraction that involves the total replacement of a *qualitative* characteristic with a *quantitative* aspect. In this context, “particulars are subordinated to an instrumental logic that constitutes them as a means to instantiate value” (Foster, 2007:13). Adorno argues that this conceptual shift coincided with the shift in capitalism from an emphasis on *use value* to an emphasis on the *exchange value* of goods and services. Human reason is hereby reduced to instrumental reason. Adorno’s response to this was his development of a theory of experience in which primacy is given to the object rather than the subject, while at the same time emphasis is given to the *mutually determining* nature of the subject-object relationship in conceptual thought, which Adorno called ‘mediation’ (O’Connor, 2005).

In working out a philosophical basis for his critical theory, Adorno’s main aim was to develop a subject-object philosophy within which a theory of human experience would be an essential element. In the words of O’Connor: “For Adorno, experience is the process in which ideally, that is, in its fullest possibility, one (a subject) is affected and somehow changed by a confrontation with some aspect of objective reality” (O’Connor, 2004:2-3). Adorno holds that the economic structure of society is such that rationality has become problematic because it is an instrumental and dominating version of rationality so one-sided as to ‘render truth inefficacious’ (O’Connor, 2004). In this situation “the subject simply cannot account for the

presence of an object in any sense that would entail ethical recognition of the object” (O’Connor, 2004:i).

Adorno’s subject-object philosophy is a synthesis of certain aspects of the philosophies of Kant and Hegel. In the case of Kant, Adorno’s focus is the subject’s direct physical experience of an object. Adorno’s philosophy actually gives primacy to the object- his aim is to ‘do justice to’ the object- so in Kant’s philosophy he is especially interested in the notion that ‘a subject is unrealizable without an object’ (O’Connor, 2004). For Adorno, the subject and object are interrelated and in fact determine each other. In the case of Hegel’s philosophy, Adorno’s focus is the way in which ‘a subject judges- applies a concept to- an object’ (O’Connor, 2004). Adorno is especially interested in ‘conceptual adjustment’, which the latter regards as an important, since it is the rational component of experience.

To sum up, the Kantian dimension of Adorno’s theory of experience describes the structure of experience, while the Hegelian dimension explains the nature of the subject’s engagement with objects, which brings about a qualitative change in the subject. *Mediation* (the interrelation of subject and object) is the term Adorno gives to the structure of experience so described and, as can already be seen, unlike most forms of subject-object philosophy it gives primacy to the object, rather than the subject.

In refuting Descartes’ notion of the existence of an essential ego that has no relation to ‘outer experience’, Kant shows the way in which inner and outer experience determine each other by first stating that inner experience relates to the temporal, which he says determines empirical self-consciousness. In other words, self-consciousness is “the awareness of the temporal sequence of one’s experiences” (O’Connor, 2004). However, Kant then points out that there must be something

permanent, namely, external objects- the things of the outer world- with which the representations or thoughts of the inner world can be contrasted, in order that one can experience empirical self-consciousness and have a stable sense of self. Therefore, in the words of O'Connor (2004), "self-consciousness [...] is unrealizable without experience of actual objects or 'outer experience'" (O'Connor, 2004). This is how Kant shows the interrelation of the subject and the object, the inner world and the outer world, and the fact that they determine one other (Taylor, 1955). However, Adorno still required the dimension of Hegel's philosophy of consciousness that deals with 'conceptual adjustment', the element of rationality, so that his subject-object philosophy could therefore be turned into a critical theory that would be able to subject discourse to what he called immanent critique (Antonio, 1981), that is, a form of analysis that reveals the contradictions within a political philosophy's own discourse .

With regard to Adorno's emphasis on Hegel, in the words of O'Connor (2004), "Hegel's theory of experience provides Adorno with an account of a subjective, spontaneous component in which thought operates in accordance with rationality". Unlike Hegel, Adorno did not think the goal was 'absolute knowledge', but he did incorporate Hegel's description of consciousness as a cumulative process in which knowledge is at first partial and provisional; it is characterized as an achievement "gained after ongoing revisions of earlier efforts" (O'Connor, 2004). In other words, it is not spontaneous intuition that is the focus of Hegel. What Hegel describes is 'the dialectical movement which consciousness exercises on itself' (O'Connor, 2004). Each judgment made by human beings therefore has a historical quality in this cumulative process: "judgment 2 is necessarily aware of the inadequacy of judgment 1, and so on" (O'Connor, 2004). Through this process it is possible to see "belief

formation beginning with dogmatic belief, passing through doubt, and arriving at a more reflective level” (O’Connor, 2004). In other words, “consciousness must revise its presuppositions about what the object is: it [...] transforms itself” (O’Connor, 2004). This underlines the importance of the experiential in education. All of the interviewees felt that experiences outside of the classroom, group work, collaborative work, and creating or producing something were crucially important. Whatever is learned in a formal classroom setting involving passive learning cannot be put to the test if that is the end of the story. Otherwise, it would not be possible for learners to potentially revise their concept of an object.

Hegel’s master-slave dialectic describes the process through which one progressively achieves a higher degree self-consciousness through recognition of one by *another* self-consciousness (the recognition of one by another person). This is the ethical dimension of Hegel’s philosophy of consciousness. In the words of O’Connor (2004), “from the process of the development of self-consciousness an ethics emerges in which the dynamic of self-hood realizes the need for an acknowledgement of something outside itself” (O’Connor, 2004). This describes a genuine interconnectedness relating to the self-consciousness of an individual in relation to other self-conscious individuals. What is key is the mutual recognition of one by another: “if I am to receive the sort of recognition that affirms me I have to be able to respect that person who recognizes me, for otherwise their recognition is worthless” (O’Connor, 2004). With regard to GCED and development in general, it is clear in the context of this argument that a critical orientation to GCED is essential. If people are attracted to development by the idea that people from rich nations have a moral responsibility to people from poor nations in an extremely top-down and paternalistic development regime, everything, from ‘global citizenship’ values to the marketing of

development projects in other countries is predetermined and prepackaged. There is no question also that the amount of time people spend in a certain field of experience is also a big factor in terms of personal growth, but it should lead to self-awareness, with which comes empathy. In the words of Adorno, “subjectivity changes its quality in a context which it unable to evolve on its own” (ND 183/184). In other words, if the subject’s concept of an object is inadequate; if the concept is a poor match for the object, it is the *subject* that changes. This demonstrates the reason why Adorno felt philosophy should both be critical and give primacy to- or ‘do justice to’- the object. What I think this implies in terms of a potential critical form of GCED is that primacy would need to be given to *experience* and *participation* in projects rather than the classroom study of, for example, structural inequalities in the processes of globalization, extremely valuable though that definitely is (Andreotti & de Souza, 2013). While such forms of GCE as post-colonial GCE (Andreotti & de Souza, 2013) are likely to be incorporated into classes or lectures by individuals (such as those mentioned by GS2), it is quite unlikely that they will be adopted officially into curricula at the national level because of the ways in which they might implicate governments themselves. The UNESCO (2014) document that is analyzed in the present study is itself extremely conservative in that does not even touch upon such approaches to GCE. Therefore, a transformative learning experience is more likely in the form of participation in projects through which learners’ preconceptions are challenged.

As the present study shows, there is a danger that current injustices can go unidentified and therefore *reinforced* through official GCE discourse. If someone is addressed as a global citizen then both an identity and an ethical position of the addressee is presumed (Jefferess, 2013). It “seemingly marks the transcendence of

national identity and other exclusionary modes of affiliation, such as race, ethnicity, gender, or religion” (Jefferess, 2013). However, and this is the key point that the results of the present study support: in the words of Jefferess (2013), “global citizenship seems to mark an attitude of being in the world, and a transnational or universal identity, but as an ethics of action the global citizen is defined as one who helps an unfortunate Other”. It is precisely this notion of global citizenship that is prevalent and which needs to be challenged, if learners are to experience empathy – instead of sympathy- and therefore self-awareness. A critical *experience* will be one which goes beyond something the learner can articulate conceptually. In other words, a critical experience may not be one in which an individual learns about, for example, structural inequalities in processes of globalization. In this case, such knowledge is added to or incorporated into the learners *existing* structure of knowledge; it does not necessarily bring about a qualitative *change* in the subject. In the words of Foster (2007):

To have a critical thought is to have an *experience* which goes beyond something you can conceptually articulate. So, to have a critical thought; to have a critical experience, a critically reflective experience, is to have an experience where we are *aware* of something about the structure of our own thought, but we can't *articulate* it, because if we were to articulate it, it would become part of the structure of our thought itself. But if the experience is one that is *critical*, it is critical *of* the very structure of our thought. So, there is a paradox here. The very fact that it is critical means that we can't articulate it, and if we can articulate it, it's not critical any more (Foster, 2007, emphasis in the original).

To sum up, with regard to Adorno's theory of experience- what he calls 'mediation', the interrelation of subject and object and how they determine one another- there are two main dimensions in the context of the present discussion, the ethical and the critical. The notion of the ethical relates to the importance of 'mutual

recognition', or the knowledge that it is the recognition of the other that truly affirms the self and brings about self-consciousness (Fraser, 2000). The critical, in terms of GCED, relates to a critical understanding of the power structure that has brought official global citizenship education discourse into being in the first place, and how GCED is operationalized in the way that is it is in specific contexts. This would entail a critical orientation toward the 'taken for granted' assumptions that generate discourse. In the words of P, 'all concepts are contestable'. This is partly because there are no meanings being generated in human society (that is, concepts) that can fit a collective or an individual (as an object of knowledge) perfectly. In the words of O'Connor (2004):

The social totality and the individual are not of course identical: the individual is faced with meanings that have been produced through the social totality, and obviously enough, these meanings are irreducible to any individual (O'Connor, 2004).

## **Review of related empirical research**

Although a search for studies similar to the present one revealed that there are no published papers comparing the missions, aims, and pedagogical goals of educational professionals concerned with GCED in two different nations, it was nonetheless possible to find three comparative studies of nations' civic education programs which could be used as a reference the present study. These were: a

comparison of civic education programs in Germany and Spain (Engel and Ortloff, 2009); Finland and Russia (Piattoeva, 2009); and Hong Kong and Taiwan (Law, 2004). In what follows, the three studies are described in terms of the research topics and methods chosen by their authors in relation to the present comparative study of the UK and Korea. Considerably more space is devoted to a discussion of Engel and Ortloff's (2009) paper than the other two studies described because their study is more detailed with respect to methodology than the other two.

### **Civic Education in Germany and Spain**

Engel and Ortloff's (2009) comparison of the citizenship education policies of Germany and Spain focuses on their 'Europeanization'. This is of special significance to the researchers because these two European states have always traditionally maintained strong regional control of education policy. However, when the authors of the study examined the conception of the 'ideal citizen' at local, regional, and central state-level citizenship education policy, in relation to the relevant European Union's educational initiatives, they found that there was significant convergence, reflecting the increasing influence of the EU. In the context of the present discussion, however, it is the researchers' chosen methods that are of the greatest interest. The researchers analyzed the content of education policy and curricula statements produced since the year 2000 in the two regions concerned (Bavaria and Catalonia). They also conducted 35 interviews with policy-makers, ministry of education officials, union leaders, and educators in the two regions to contextualize their content analysis. The researchers used conventional validity checks for qualitative research, such as peer review, member checks, and extended time in the field. Although the methodology utilized by

Engel and Ortloff (2009) seems to be very similar to that used by Marshall (2005), unlike Marshall.

With regard to case selection, the researchers have clear reasons why they chose to focus on ‘Europeanization processes’ in Bavaria and Catalonia. Both regions have always had strong roles to play in their respective nations, in political, economic, and cultural terms, and both have a tradition of protecting regional rights. The authors obviously reasoned that if locations with as strong a tradition of regionalism as Bavaria and Catalonia are subject to Europeanization, and that this is now very much part of their conception of the ‘ideal citizen,’ then it can be assumed that this evolving ‘identification process’ (Stavrakakis, 1999) within that particular ‘discursive regime’ (Mattila, 2015) must be at least as prevalent, if not more so, in other European nations. One similarity between the Engel and Ortloff (2009) study the present one is that the authors make a methodological choice that limits their conclusions to a broad comparison of the relationship between discursive regimes at the regional and supra-national level that does not include an analysis of the implementation of the policies concerned. Engel Ortloff’s (2009) main focus is on the evolving notion of the ‘ideal citizen’ (now more European than ‘merely’ German or Spanish, as it turns out), and the authors are “able to offer, in a comparative structure, an understanding of new influences on citizenship education” (Engel and Ortloff, 2009:181).

As regards the authors’ theoretical and methodological framework, the authors use framing theory as a means of sociological analysis. Framing theory was pioneered by Goffman (1974) and was later used by Rein and Schon (1993), whose research provided a model for Engel and Ortloff’s (2009) study. The authors state that framing theory has two functions. First, it is a substantive social theory that “helps us to explain the relationship between the cultural conceptualizations of citizenship and the

texts of the culture” (Engel and Ortloff, 2009:182). It allows the researcher to analyze cultural and normative-based frames. In the authors’ own words, “this may yield the identification of unique values that are in the process of emerging as ‘European’, or moving from being previously a regional normative value (such as citizens should speak High German and their local dialect) to a European normative value (such as citizens should be multilingual in European languages)” (Engel and Ortloff, 2009:182). The approach taken allows the researchers to determine the extent to which citizens at the regional level share normative-based frames. This is important because, as Engel and Ortloff (2009) point out, educational policies have normative-based force. As the authors put it, “they represent policy insofar as they are prescriptive guides to action” (Engel and Ortloff, 2009:182, emphasis added). Framing theory is also a methodological theory that can serve as a methodological guide for research, according to the authors. It provides a means for selection, organization, and interpretation of data concerning a complex reality. In the authors’ view, framing theory “allows for a substantive concept of the ideal citizen to emerge, which may then be interpreted in terms of its relationship to Europeanization” (Engel and Ortloff, 2009:183). However, there do seem to be some controversies concerning framing theory, the most serious of which being that it seems to lack a strong theoretical basis, a state of affairs that has led to a great deal of ambiguity in methodological terms (Reese et al. 2001). For this reason, Critical Discourse Analysis was the chosen method for the present research, since there seems to be a consensus that there is a very close connection between this method and the theoretical framework on which it is based (Machin & Mayr, 2012; Wodak & Mayr, 2009).

## **Civic Education in Hong Kong and Taiwan**

Law's (2004) paper, which compares citizenship education in Hong Kong and Taiwan, is very interesting, in that the author concludes, as in the case of Russia in Piattoeva's (2009) study, but for very different reasons, that both nations' citizenship education policies reveal that more attention is paid to local and national than global concerns, rather than that there is any form of 'transnational convergence' taking place. Another feature of Law's (2004) paper, is Moon and Koo's (2011) evaluation of it with reference to global citizenship in the Korean context, a context in which they suggest national identity was not a priority. The authors state that there were no differences of opinion domestically as regards the presumed 'global opportunities' to be gained, and that these two factors made the 'penetration' of global discourses in Korea easier than it otherwise would have been.

In the context of the present discussion and proposed research, Moon and Koo's (2011) point of view is interesting because the authors do not appear to find much that is wrong with Korea's wholesale acceptance of global discourses. On the whole, they seem to view the evolution of official discourse concerning global citizenship as a path from a more parochial to a more global conception of citizenship, some of the elements of their description of Korea's modern historical context perhaps reflecting a kind of 'inferiority complex' that Schattle (2015) suggests Korea used to have in relation to more developed countries in the past, but that is no longer to be found in official global citizenship discourse. It could also be that Korea has been totally accepting of neoliberal economic discourse, within which education too has arguably been subsumed. Moon and Koo (2011) are quoted here at length:

The South Korean case differs from other East Asian cases that have incorporated global citizenship education, such as Taiwan and Hong Kong. Unlike Taiwan and Hong Kong, South Korea in the 1990s was not faced with a situation in which establishing a national identity was a priority. Another key difference is that grassroots organizations in Taiwan and Hong Kong advocated the preservation of local identities, while South Korean NGOs focused primarily on the adoption of a global educational model. Furthermore, while there was little contention between local groups and government leaders in South Korea in their goals and methods to take advantage of global opportunities, political leaders in Hong Kong and Taiwan faced internal opposition and pressure from local constituencies to place greater emphasis on national rather than global concerns (Law 2004). This lack of contention among different actors was a key factor that made it easier for global discourses to penetrate South Korean society (Moon and Koo, 2011: 595).

### **Civic Education in Finland and Russia**

Piattoeva (2009) aims to determine the extent to which citizenship education has become more Europeanized in Finland, due to the nation's continued involvement in European integration, and whether citizenship education in Russia has become more nationalist since the break up of the Soviet Union. Piattoeva's (2009) and Engel and Ortloff's (2009) paper are similar in that the main source of data for the researcher is policy documents. Also, in both cases, there is an assumption that there will not necessarily be a match between official policy and actual implementation in the classroom, the latter falling outside the scope the researchers' studies. In the case of Piattoeva's (2009) paper, however, no interview data is collected. As regards the latter's case selection or comparative choice, the author explains that Finland and Russia have both undergone dramatic geopolitical transformations "that have put into question the very foundation of their statehood" (Piattoeva, 2009:729), and that the very different ways of addressing these issues are reflected in their citizen education

policies. The author analyzes macro-social units in statements in policy documents to understand official “perceptions of state, nation, nationality, and citizenship in the Russian and Finnish political contexts” (Piattoeva, 2009:730).

In sum, the relevant literature with regard to the main themes pertaining to the research questions have been examined in this chapter. Specifically, the preceding discussion focused what the study terms ‘corporate GCED’, which refers to transnational GCED publications of which the OECD documents and the UNESCO documents are representative, and the potential for a bottom up form of GCED. Documents of the former type were found to be influenced by human capital theory while documents of the latter type were found to be influenced by cosmopolitan theory. What the two types of documents were found to have in common are the fact they are representative of top-down GCED, in the sense that a global policy field that aims to influence all nations on the basis of the competition made necessary by economic globalization is created in the case of the former, while a transnationally produced explicitly normative set of GCED directives intended for any or all educational contexts is created in the case of the latter. With reference to the central research question of the present study, this implies that the missions and goals of transnational GCED are to universalize certain global citizenship values that fit with neoliberal assumptions concerning what types of actions and behaviors are required to promote success with regard to education, while at the same time aiming to promote a kind of voluntarism in the form of ‘active citizenship ‘ that in some cases may result in the exploitation of young people, while the discourse also reflects a political rationality that places responsibility for resolving global issues on regular citizens, a concept which, again, is consistent with neoliberal values.

With regard to the possibility of a bottom up form of GCED, the examination of relevant literature relating to social movements revealed that the question of the domestication of transnational issues, which involves, “the playing out on domestic territory of conflicts that have their origin externally” (Porter & Tarrow: 2004:2) can result in the agendas of domestic governments and social activities are often misaligned. On one hand, an individual state may reach out to the international community to solve a domestic problem, while on the other hand, as in the case of the Standing Sioux in Dakota, a local community might reach out to a global network of activists to solve a problem its *own* government. The examination of the literature revealed that Deleuze and Guattari’s concept of ‘striated’ and ‘smooth’ space and Lefebvre’s equivalent concept of ‘abstract’ and ‘differential’ space captured the tension of this ongoing struggle and the way in which deterritorialization and reterritorialization can occur. The relevance of this to the present study is that despite the universalizing tendency of the transnational discourse described above, domestically produced GCED might be conceived in terms of an individual state’s effort to create striated or abstract space, in other words, maintain control of development efforts, for example, based on its own political and economic agenda. On the other hand, the review of the relevant literature showed that the expansion of the non-market sector made possible through digital technology might reveal the potential not only for a bottom up form of GCED that is by and for citizens but may also indicate the necessity for a reform of the current education system.

Finally, the examination of the relevant literature in this chapter suggested that a critical form of bottom up GCED may be possible. In this context, it was stated that Adorno’s theory of mediation might provide a strong theoretical foundation to inform an approach to education through the tackling of transnational issues on the part of

young learners in their local communities. Crucially, in the context of the present study, the emphasis on experiential learning outside of the classroom would entail a qualitative change in the subject that would go some way toward addressing the issue of the patriarchal attitude in development that is still prevalent in both the contexts examined and can therefore hardly promote the core values of GCED that were described in the preceding discussion. While there is no suggestion here that classroom learning is in any way detrimental, the examination of the literature relating to Adorno revealed that learning in this context often involves *addition* to existing knowledge that does not lead to a change in the quality of consciousness of the learner, since this manner of learning does not necessarily present the learner with a situation in which the learner experiences a mismatch or non-correspondence between the subject's concept of the object, leading to a qualitative change in the subject. This notion of change taking place within the subject is also consistent with transformative theories of education, such as that of Bohlin, who argues for a type of learning that promotes, "a conception of self-cultivation as a process of transforming one's own perspective in encounters with others" (Bohlin, 2013: 391-2).

## Chapter 3: Methodology

With regard to the present study, the aim was to use the analytical tools of CDA that were previously described to examine the British, Korean, and transnational GCED documents that are of interest in this discussion to address the research questions already stated in conjunction with the analysis of data from semi-structured interviews. While, as stated previously, numerous perspectives on global citizenship have been articulated, in the present study it is argued that the two main theories that correspond to the two main strands of thinking in GCED discourse, namely ‘cultural empathy’ and ‘intercultural competence’, are cosmopolitan theory and human capital theory respectively, although these are both sometimes implicit in the discourse (especially human capital theory). As stated previously, in the present study ‘cultural empathy’ is defined as one’s capacity to have ‘empathic knowledge’ (Agosta, 2010) of others a) in one’s home nation; i.e, among people with whom one co-exists in a heterogeneous society, and b) globally, i.e, with people that are of different cultural heritages, but who are nonetheless interconnected to a great extent in the contemporary era for numerous reasons that have already been discussed. The second of the two core values of GCED, ‘intercultural competence’, I define as one’s capacity to coordinate one’s actions with another person who is of a different cultural heritage to oneself. As mentioned previously, while this second term is linked to hard skills. it is still obviously connected also to the notion of empathy because coordinating one’s actions with others will also require empathic knowledge of those others, whose cultural heritage may be different to one’s own.

As noted previously, while cultural empathy and intercultural competence are by no means mutually exclusive concepts, there are nonetheless certain tensions or

contradictions in terms of the way in which the authors of official GCED discourse articulate the educational aims of GCED. This state of affairs is summed up best by Torres (2002), who points out the difficulty involved in trying to reconcile what he sees as two competing desires that are expressed in GCED discourse, namely, the desire for global competition and the desire for global solidarity. As suggested previously, if there is perceived to be an essential tension between *only two* aspects of contemporary life, namely, *solidarity* (which we could pair with a related term, reciprocal altruism) and *competition*, then the conceptual problem actually may be that these are wrongly presented as a zero sum game in the relevant discourse. The implication of Torres seems to be that in terms of the educational aims of GCED it may not be possible to achieve both of these desired outcomes because they are antithetical. In the present study it is argued that it is the fact that many of the key presuppositions that are discernible in GCED are *implicit*, rather than explicit, that hampers the ability of GCED scholars and practitioners to develop a form of GCED discourse that is more likely to foster the capacities that are deemed desirable. Therefore, in the present study, CDA was considered to be the ideal method of analysis. In what follows, I list the documents that were chosen for analysis using CDA and state my reasons for selecting them.

### **Critical Discourse Analysis of Documents Relating to GCED**

As previously stated, in the present study Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA hereafter) was the method used to analyze the GCED discourse in three categories, namely, British, transnational, and Korean. The term ‘transnational’ because the

OECD and UNESCO documents are representative of a type of GCED discourse that is produced by committee by representatives of numerous member states of the organizations just mentioned, whereas the British and Korean GCED documents were published in the two nations that are the main focus of the study.

As stated earlier in this dissertation, the philosophical foundation of CDA is Michel Foucault's theory of discourse (Fairclough, 2003). The focus of this Foucault's theory of discourse was the way in which discourses produce subjectivities (Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1983). In other words, the meanings- whether explicit or implicit- that are articulated in the discourse and the types of language and terminology used in it constitute a symbolic field that to a large extent determines the way in which individual subjects can discuss topics within the discourse concerned. The orientation of CDA is critical in that researchers in the field analyze linguistic and visual features (and sometimes a combination thereof) to determine whether there are meanings that are implicit in discourse that should be explicit. CDA researchers would be interested, for example, in determining whether there is a type of political rationality that is implicit in a particular discourse and that may have an impact on citizens, which is why the linguistic features of certain elements of phenomena that are addressed in discourse, such as particular actions of agents that can be backgrounded or foregrounded in texts, for example, are analyzed. The implication of this for policy analysis is that researchers must pay close attention to the specific linguistic features of official discourse, so as to make explicit those messages that were previously implicit with the practical aim of producing findings that might influence future policy in a particular domain.

As Machin & Mayr (2012) point out, CDA, whose predecessor was 'critical linguistics', a field that was developed in the late 1970s by British scholars at the

University of East Anglia, has developed over time into a method that is useful for analyzing written texts, spoken language, and also visual images. The set of tools in CDA that are used to analyze the linguistic features of texts were developed from the ‘functional grammar’ of Michael Halliday (2002), whereas the resources for the analysis of visual images used in multimodal discourse analysis were developed from the work of Roland Barthes in semiotics (Machin & Mayr, 2012).

Furthermore, as Rogers (2011) notes, educational research and CDA have a natural affinity. Since education is a communicative practice, educational researchers consider CDA to be suitable for “analyzing the ways in which the texts, talk, and other semiotic interactions that learning comprises are constructed across time and contexts” (Rogers, 2011:1). CDA and educational research are also both ‘socially committed paradigms’. CDA recognizes that ‘meanings are motivated,’ meaning that in any discourse, e.g., discourse relating to education, “when people call on representational systems- images, gestures, or words- they intend to accomplish something- build relationships, knowledge, identities, and worldviews” (Rogers, 2011:5). In fact, discourse also produces claims that can ground political action (Fairclough & Fairclough, 2012). Finally, as Fairclough (2003) points out, CDA can reveal the ‘promotional’ nature of a document. A ‘promoting message’ represents and advocates at the same time through statements that evoke values that can be explicit or implicit (Fairclough, 2003). This promotional dimension of discourse is no less prevalent in educational discourse, partly because it is a type of discourse with which almost all citizens are concerned, and is therefore politically sensitive. From the government’s point of view, educational policies must be perceived positively by citizens, because the political consequences of a policy having a negative reception from the general public can be severe, and can last a long time (Brundrett, 2012).

Van Leeuwen (2008) is another CDA researcher whose work the present study draws upon to analyze the GCED documents examined in the research. Van Leeuwen utilizes all the tools for CDA mentioned previously, although there are certain concepts that are more central in his work than is the case with other researchers. One of these concepts is ‘recontextualization’, which refers to the semantic shifts that occur in discourse with regard to knowledge or the representation of social practices. These semantic shifts take place in “the move from the context in which knowledge is produced to the pedagogic context in which it is reproduced and disseminated” (Van Leeuwen, 2008). It is clear, based on the foregoing discussion, how the ‘semantic shifts’ to which the concept of recontextualization in CDA refers relates to the concept of ‘the domestication of global issues’. Recontextualization, Van Leeuwen explains, was first used by Bernstein, who states that the semantic shifts to which it refers take place ‘according to recontextualizing principles which selectively appropriate, relocate, refocus and relate to other discourses *to constitute it’s own order and bearings*’ (Bernstein, 1990: 184, cited in Van Leeuwen, 2008, emphasis added). In the present study, the purpose of utilizing this category for analysis is that it enables researchers to determine whether a specific instance of educational discourse is a recontextualization of neoliberal economic discourse, as in OECD/PISA (2015), or whether the discourse at hand represents a ‘domestication’, or recontextualization of corporate GCED discourse, as in APCEIU/UNESCO (2015).

The importance of such considerations, as Van Leeuwen notes, is that in many spheres of social life, e.g., commercial global media, while there is plenty of diversity in terms of content at the local level, the actual formats and genres within which discourse is often produced is often more homogenized. This is a tendency that Van Leeuwen (2008) also sees in higher education, wherein regardless of the diversity of

the subjects that are to be taught, “there are increasingly many rules to specify how all of these subjects should be taught, and these are increasingly ‘one size fits all’ rules that do not respect the differences between different subjects and that must be adhered to in the same way by architects and astrologers, nurses and nuclear physicists” (Van Leeuwen, 2008). Van Leeuwen infers that this is a worldwide trend in universities worldwide. However, in at least one respect, there seems to be homogenization of this sort taking place at Korean universities due to the fact that universities’ rankings are now linked to the percentage of university graduates that are successful in securing employment. This has resulted in departments having to rethink their courses and other activities such that they will produce candidates that are more attractive to prospective corporate employers, hence, also the government gives more funding to engineering and science oriented departments than to humanities departments. This also has given rise to ‘semantic shifts’ in the discourse of tertiary education so that individual departments give out the right signals to stakeholders. In sum, in the words of Van Leeuwen (2008), “everywhere there are fewer (and more powerful) procedures and formats and templates, and more (but less powerful) discourses. Everywhere there is generic homogeneity and discursive heterogeneity”.

Another of the aspects of Van Leeuwen’s (2008) methods that is relevant and applicable to the present study is his concern with legitimation, which refers to the different ways in which social practices are legitimized through recontextualization. In this context, Van Leeuwen defines social practices as the ways in which actors (plus their identities and roles) and their actions are represented in discourse. One of the author’s points concerning recontextualized discourse is that it has to be legitimized in a *specific* context. Furthermore, it is meant to provide implicit answers “to the spoken or unspoken questions ‘why should we do this?’ or ‘why should we do

this in this way?” (Van Leeuwen, 2008). As mentioned previously, since there are no stable objective social facts that can serve as a foundation for political action (Marttila, 2015), the legitimation of every system of authority has to be cultivated and constantly maintained through discourse (Van Leeuwen, 2008). There are several different types of legitimation used in discourse, according to Van Leeuwen. I refer here only to the four types of legitimation that are used by the authors of the documents analyzed in the present study. The first of these is ‘role model authority’. The theory that corresponds to this conception of legitimacy is symbolic interactionism, which focused on the way in which people take on the attitudes of ‘significant others’ that are prominent members of the group to which they belong; these are people “in their immediate and their broader cultural environment” (Van Leeuwen, 2008). The second form of legitimation to which I refer in the present study is ‘impersonal authority’, which is not based on the appeal of specific personalities or exemplary figures but is based on laws, or rules and regulations. In this case, in the words of Van Leeuwen (2008), “the answer to the unspoken ‘why’ question is then not ‘because I say so’ or ‘because Dr. Juan says so’ [...] but ‘because the laws (the rules, the policies, the guidelines) say so’” (Van Leeuwen, 2008). The third form of legitimation that is examined is ‘the authority of tradition’, in the case of which, “the answer to the ‘why’ question is not ‘because it is compulsory,’ but ‘because this is what we always do’ or ‘because this is what we have always done’” (Van Leeuwen, 2008). The fourth and final form of legitimation to which I refer in this study is ‘the authority of conformity’. In this case, “the answer to the ‘why’ question is [...] everybody else is doing it, and so should you’ or ‘most people are doing it, and so should you.’ No further argument” (Van Leeuwen, 2008). It should be noted here that I did in fact utilize Van Leeuwen’s four types of legitimation to a small extent to

analyze the interview data as well as the GCED documents. For example, I referred to former UN General Secretary Ban Kimoon in promoting GCED as an instance of role model authority (which does not refer to the interviewees' own specific orientation to Ban Kimoon, but what they objectively told me they thought his role was in the context of the launching of GCED in Korea). In sum, with the exception of Van Leeuwen's four types of legitimation, I used only the analytical tools of CDA to analyze the documents and I used only the coding I utilized to analyze the interview data, in accordance with the general inductive approach of Thomas (2006) to analyze the interview data.

In what follows a brief overview is provided of the content in the documents relating to GCED that were chosen for analysis. They are in three categories: British, transnational, and Korean. The British documents were published in the UK. These are the *Crick Report* (QCA, 1998), which was produced by a committee led by Bernard Crick for the New Labor government that was in power in the UK at that time, and a document entitled *Putting the World into World-Class Education* published by what was at the time called the Department for Education and Skills. The *Crick Report* outlines the then-government's plans for citizenship education in the UK, which was to become a mandatory subject in the national curriculum in 2002. It is of interest in the context of the present study because it reveals not only how the British government at that time conceived citizenship, but also how it conceived the global dimension for education in the citizenship curriculum. *Putting the World into World-Class Education* promotes the quality of the UK's own education system and the British government's success in creating successful development partnerships. The documents therefore focus on the situation for education domestically and Britain's aims with regard to developing nations.

The second category of documents are classed as ‘transnational’ due to the fact that they were produced by representatives of the member states of the organizations concerned, the OECD/PISA and UNESCO, rather than by any one nation. They are of interest in the context of the present study due to the fact that in different ways that are analyzed in what follows they are representative of GCED discourse whose content is meant to be influential in terms of educational policy in any particular context. The first document in this category, *Beyond PISA 2015: Longer term strategy of PISA*, was published by the OECD/PISA, and is representative of the type of educational discourse described previously that is influenced by human capital theory. The second document, *Global Citizenship Education: Preparing Learners for the Challenges of the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*, was published by UNESCO, and is representative of the type of discourse mentioned previously that is influenced by cosmopolitan theory, among others.

The third category of GCED discourse, Korean discourse, was written by Korean authors and translated into English for analysis in the present study. Five documents were selected for analysis in this category, three more than there are in each of the other categories, due to the relative lack of literature involving analysis of such documents that has been published in English. The authors of these documents consider GCED both in relation to Korea’s domestic situation regarding education and GCED at the global scale, including its role in development. The first document in this category, *Global Citizenship Education and Korea*, explicitly refers to the aims of GCED in Korea as regards domestic education and globally. It is a contribution to document that was published by Korea’s Ministry of Education called *Education 2030: Implementation Plans and Consultation for the Establishment of a National Coordinating System*. The second document is a news release by Korea’s Ministry of

Education in conjunction with APCEIU. Its title is *2015 Global Citizenship Education Leading Educators Opening Ceremony: An Opening Ceremony for the Leading Teachers responsible for Korea's inner educational setting in connection with GCED*. The document explains the process whereby selected teachers are trained to become GCED 'leading educators' and then train several thousand more Korean teachers to also become GCED instructors. The third document is a transcription of former-president Park Geun-hye's speech about the role of education in Korea's modern history as a nation that was formerly an aid recipient but that is now an aid provider, and about the Korean government's aims with regard to education overseas. The fourth document was published by APCEIU in conjunction with UNESCO. It is of interest in the present study because the authors of the document specifically state that it is a 'domesticated' version of UNESCO's GCED directives. In other words, the document's authors seek to adapt the objectives concerning GCED that are articulated in the most recent GCED documents produced by UNESCO to make them more suitable for the Korean educational context. The final article in this category is entitled *Global Citizenship, the Education Reform of the 31<sup>st</sup> of May and the Principle of Korean Educational Ideology*, and published as part of the same booklet as document two. It is of interest in the present study in that, as the title suggests, it links the concept of global citizenship with the uniquely Korean concept 'hong-ik-ingan', which means 'benefitting all of humanity'. The author links this idea to East Asian business culture, which he says is perfectly suited to service trade, which he believes may now be the most important factor in the world economy. On this basis, the author states, the Korean concept, 'hong-ik-ingan' is both a good match with regard to the values-oriented approach to GCED, but is also a suitable value for the world economy,

given the concept's close connection to the 'win-win' idea that the author says is characteristic of East Asian business culture.

## **Qualitative Semi-structured Interviews**

As stated previously, in addition to analyzing documents that focus on GCED, qualitative semi-structured interviews were conducted with four graduate students who have experience of teaching or designing GCED curricula and a semi-structured interview with a Korean professor who is an expert on GCED. Discourse analysts (e.g., Cruikshank, 2012; Gee, 2014), sometimes incorporate data from qualitative interviews into their research in addition to that which is collected through analysis of policy documents. In the words of Cruikshank, "when a research project is brought into existence, the main interest lies in studying language used in the arenas where the construction takes place- where society is being made" (Cruikshank, 2012: 42), and, as Gee (2014) points out, a discourse can only continue to exist for as long as subjects "actively use spoken and written language to create or build the world of activities [...] identities [...] and institutions" (Gee, 2014: 91). Furthermore, subjects can start discursively rebuilding and modifying activities, identities, and institutions. As graduate students who will very likely go on to have careers in development education, interviewing them and analyzing the collected data using a discourse-theoretical approach therefore seemed appropriate.

Since it was not known in advance what kind of interview data would be produced, an inductive approach to the qualitative data rather than a deductive approach was required. However, as Thomas (2006) points out, many studies use a

combination of inductive and deductive, since they will often involve both in vivo coding and coding based on the evaluative aims of the given study. That was the case in the present study, as is described in what follows. The method that therefore suited the requirements of the present research was Thomas' (2006) general inductive approach for analysis of qualitative data. According to Thomas (2006), the purposes for using this approach are as follows:

- a) "condense raw textual data into a brief, summary format;
- b) establish clear links between the evaluation or research objectives and the summary findings derived from the raw data; and
- c) develop a framework of the underlying structure of experiences or processes that are evident in the raw data" (Thomas, 2006: 237).

With regard to the analytic strategies in Thomas' (2006) model, the first step is compatible with discourse analysis, since "although the findings are influenced by the evaluation objectives or questions outlined by the researcher, the findings arise directly from the analysis of the raw data, not from a priori expectations or models" (Thomas, 2006: 239). The second step involves "the development of categories from the raw data into a model or framework. This model contains key themes and processes identified and constructed by the evaluator during the coding process" (Thomas, 2006: 240). Steps three and four are skipped here, since they involve other evaluators, and there was only one evaluator of data for this study. The next step in Thomas' (2006) method involves forming categories resulting from the coding, which

will possess the following five features: “category label [...] category description [...] text or data associated with the category [...] links [...] and the type of model in which the category is embedded” (Thomas, 2006: 240).

### **The Creation of Categories for Interview Data**

The three categories that were created in order to analyze the interview data were based on ‘in vivo’ coding of the transcribed interviews. In the words of Given (2008), “in vivo coding is the practice of assigning a label to a section of data, such as an interview transcript, using a word or short phrase taken from that section of the data” (p.472). According to Given (2008), in vivo coding enables the researcher to stay as close as possible to the wording used by participants in interviews. While Thomas (2006) suggests that more general categories are usually to be derived from the evaluation aims of the research and more specific categories are to be derived from the in vivo coding, in the case of all three categories the evaluative aims of the research corresponded sufficiently well with the in vivo coding that they could be combined.

Based on my close reading of the interview data, the following three categories were created:

1. ‘One-size-fits-all’
2. ‘Domestication of Global Issues’: the ‘Relative Global’

### 3. 'Domestication of Global Issues: the 'Local Absolute'/GCED as Critical

It should be noted that 'GCED as Critical' was in fact a separate category until it was determined that the critical orientation of GCED is closely linked to- if not constitutive of- the concept of GCED as the 'local absolute' or 'from the vantage of the local' (Bogue, 2005). While the meanings of the three categories above can probably be inferred from the foregoing discussion, each of the terms is defined in relation to the analysis of the interview data at the beginning of each of the four corresponding sections of what follows in the findings section of the present study.

In the research, writing up analysis of the interview data, Potter and Hepburn's (2005) recommendations were followed in order that the quality of data obtained from conducting qualitative interviews in the research could be maximized. Since Potter and Hepburn are scholars that utilize discourse analysis among other research methods, they emphasize the importance of recognizing the *interactional* nature of interviews. Both the utterances of the interviewee and any interjections by the interviewer must therefore be taken into account and presented within the research where necessary, partly because of "the close dependence of what the interviewee says on the interviewer's question (and vice versa)" (Potter & Hepburn, 2005:6). To minimize the possibility of misrepresentation of participants' words, full transcriptions of all relevant passages were therefore produced as part of the research, including interactional features where appropriate. In the words of Potter and Hepburn (2005), "The interview extracts should be transcribed to a level that allows interactional features to be appreciated even if interactional features are not the topic of study" (2005: 8). In sum, the aim of Potter and Hepburn's (2005) approach is to present specific elements of the interaction between interviewer and interviewee as

well as broad themes that emerge in the interview process, which is what was done in the study with regard to the writing up of the analysis of the interview data.

With regard to the specifics of the recruitment procedure for interviewees, the graduate students at Seoul National University were contacted individually by phone to ask them if they were willing to participate in the interviews. They were then sent an informed consent form via an email explaining the purpose of the interviews. The interviews were conducted in a coffee shop on campus at a university in Seoul, and the duration of each was approximately 30-40 minutes. The interview questions that were asked on the day of the interview all related to my central research questions, namely, what are the missions and goals of GCED in Korea, and are there currently forms of GCED that could be considered to be ‘grassroots’ or ‘bottom up’? The questions that were asked were intended to elicit responses from participants relating to their views concerning GCED, and included the following: who did they think are the main stakeholders of GCED in Korea?; what did they think are Korean middle/high school/university students’ perceptions of GCE; Which institutions/theories are most influential with regard to GCED in Korea; whether/to what extent the Korean government views GCED as beneficial given the increasing number of migrants to Korea; whether there is such a thing as ‘grassroots’ or ‘bottom up’ GCE, and whether there is any connection between GCED and social reform?. The interview questions for the qualitative interviews with the graduate students whose field is GCED and the Korean professor who is an expert on GCE were identical. The interviews were recorded according to the proper regulations, as stated on Seoul National University’s IRB Informed Consent Form.

## **The Participants**

P is a professor at one of Korea's top universities and an expert on GCED. He is of Korean heritage but is an American citizen and lived in the USA for 43 years before returning to Korea four years ago, which was not long before Korea proposed GCED as its educational agenda for the World Education Forum in Incheon, South Korea. He has been involved in global education and development in various forms as a practitioner since his graduate studies in the US, and has created an ICT platform designed for development, and has developed a curriculum for Global Cultural Education, and so on. He is currently a doctoral advisor to several graduate students whose main focus is development and/or GCED.

GS1 recently completed a Master of Arts degree at one of South Korea's top universities in a program whose focus is education in the context of development. The topic of her dissertation was GCED. Specifically, her focus was the different interpretations of GCED among Korean NPOs (Non-Profit Organizations). Her experiences so far involving GCED include working as a researcher on the global citizenship education team at the Korean National Commission for UNESCO, among other related duties.

GS2 is currently studying for a Masters of Arts degree in the same program as GS1. Apart from attending numerous lectures on GCED as part of her MA studies, she first became interested in GCE while working for the INGO (International Non-Governmental Organization) Good Neighbors.

GS3 recently completed her Masters of Arts in the same program as GS1 and GS2. The topic of her thesis was GCED, specifically, its suitability for the children of people who had defected from North Korea and are now living in South Korea. She also worked as a global citizenship education lecturer for the INGO World Vision.

GS4 is currently studying for a Master of Arts degree in a development-oriented program at one of South Korea's top universities. Her experiences so far involving GCED include working as an intern on a global citizenship education program at an American university, but she is currently still very interested in GCED and transnational issues in relation to development, the latter being the focus of her MA dissertation.

## **Chapter 4: Findings and Discussion**

The findings and discussion relating to the present study are presented below. As stated previously, through a combination of Critical Discourse Analysis of GCED documents published in transnational, British, and Korean contexts and an inductive approach to the analysis of the semi-structured interviews, three themes- or dimensions of GCED discourse- emerged. The three themes were ‘one-size-fits-all’/universalization; ‘domestication of global issues’ as the ‘relative global’, and ‘domestication of global issues’/critical GCED as the ‘local absolute’. These related themes correspond to the current state of affairs concerning GCED discourse and practice, within which the second of the three dimensions of GCED described in the present study, the relative global, is manifested partly due to the characteristics of the first approach, one-size-fits-all, while the third, GCED as the ‘local absolute’, is the dimension of GCED that emerged as the most seemingly desirable on the basis of the analysis, and which is as yet pursued by few practitioners in any of the three contexts discussed in what follows.

### **‘One-size-fits-all’/ Universalization**

This category refers to the tendency toward universalization with regard to GCED discourse. While, as P points out, each nation has its own interpretation and its own agenda in terms of GCED, most official GCED documents such as those produced by UNESCO (2015) are meant to serve as a kind of handbook or manual for the practice of the teaching of values and skills relating to GCED and therefore reflect

a ‘one-size-fits-all’ approach that is not suitable for many of the specific contexts within which GCED is taught and learned. This lack of suitability of relevant GCED materials is in part to do with a disregard for the important issue of cultural specificity, culture being the fourth of the “Four Pillars of Sustainability” named by the United Nations around 25 years ago, but which is nonetheless ignored in both the conceptualization of GCED and its practice (P). Therefore, there is a disconnect between official GCED, that is, documents such as those produced by UNESCO (2015) and the practice of GCED in terms of the aims of the individual governments that promote it. However, these aims are often implicit. The purpose of the present study, therefore, is precisely to make explicit the aims of governments with regard to GCED in the contexts of both the Republic of Korea and the UK, and on the basis of analysis of transnational documents, such as those produced by specialized agencies like the OECD and UNESCO. With respect to the interview data, however, the focus is only on Korea. In what follows, two documents are analyzed using CDA: *Beyond PISA 2015: Longer Term Strategy of PISA* and UNESCO’s (2014) *Global Citizenship Education: Preparing Learners for the Challenges of the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*. These documents are representative of the two types of universalization that were analyzed previously, namely, discourse influenced by human capital theory and discourse influenced by cosmopolitan theory. The analysis of the interview data that follows then reveals the ways in which the concerns of the participants in the present study with regard to GCED discourse and practice correspond to these theoretical considerations and their implications for GCED conceptualization and practice.

## **Beyond PISA 2015: Longer term strategy of PISA**

According to Nilsson (2015), OECD discourse relating to ‘global competence’ reflects the tension or antagonistic relationship between the notions of global competition and global solidarity in GCED that was mentioned previously. Using a discourse analytic method informed by the work of Laclau & Mouffe, Nilsson (2015) analyzes an OECD document, ‘Beyond PISA 2015: Longer term strategy of PISA’ (OECD, 2015). The article was written in the wake of PISA’s (the Program for International Student Assessment) decision to begin measuring some of the organization’s learning outcomes in terms of global competencies. In what follows, a different method, CDA, is utilized in the analysis of the same text.

The article begins by explaining the reason for the establishment of PISA:

Launched in 1997, PISA responds to the need for cross-national comparisons on student performance. It aims to provide reliable information on how well education systems prepare students for further study, careers and life. PISA also provides a basis for international collaboration in order to define and implement effective educational policies (OECD, 2015).

The text reflects a ‘one size fits all’ approach to worldwide educational improvement, in that any factors that are determined as conducive to high academic achievement in one nation based on PISA’s assessment methods would also be assumed to be conducive in any other potential context in the world. In terms of CDA, the notion that PISA ‘responds to the need’ for cross-national comparisons is a presupposition; it refers to “kinds of meanings [that] are assumed as given in a text” (Machin & Mayer, 2012:153). In this case, the presupposition is that each nation’s human capital is to be maximized through education for global competence, and that

to accomplish this the success of nations relative to other nations must be evaluated, and that those nations must be ranked through ‘cross-national comparisons’.

In discussing the policy-orientation of PISA, the authors state the following:

By linking data on students’ learning outcomes with data on key factors that shape learning in and out of school, PISA highlights differences in performance patterns and identifies features common to high-performing students, schools and education systems (OECD, 2015).

When the authors mention differences in this excerpt they are clearly referring to differences in terms of students’ academic performance among OECD nations, and when they refer to common features it is the features common to the highest performing students worldwide that they focus on. This approach is normative in the sense that factors ‘in and out of school’ that are identified as being conducive to high academic achievement, i.e, ‘good’, by PISA are inevitably copied in countries where they might not be appropriate, given both the cultural differences between countries and the fact that PISA sometimes misinterprets data. For example, Korean students’ academic achievement, which has been ranked extremely highly in numerous PISA tests, is known to be in large part the result of Korean citizens’ huge investment in private education, while PISA results are meant to reflect the quality of nations’ public education systems. This problem was compounded by a related misinterpretation of the Korean case on the part of PISA, which was that Korean students’ high academic achievement occurred despite relatively low investment in public education by the Korean government, on account of which PISA praised the Korean government (Callahan, 2015). Furthermore, the social cost in terms of the anxiety over education in general that is experienced by Korean parents and children

was also not taken into account by PISA (Callahan, 2015). I therefore claim that the lack of sensitivity to cultural specificity in PISA's assessments is one of the features that it shares with the UNESCO (2014) document and that makes it difficult for official GCED discourse to help reconcile global competence with intercultural empathy.

In the following section of the article (entitled *The economic and societal developments shaping the future demand for skills*), the linguistic features of the text create the impression that the current state of affairs is developing as if naturally and independently of the actions of agents<sup>1</sup>. One can find this by looking for instances of nominalization, a term that refers to the replacement of verb processes by noun constructions. For example, 'rapid globalization and modernization' are presented as givens demanding a response from individuals and societies, and that is the pattern of the excerpt as a whole. In the excerpt, the only instances in which action by agents is not deleted through nominalization are in the phrases 'people compete for jobs' and 'highly-paid workers [...] are competing directly', and these are characterized as causal effects of two nominalizations that are presented as agentless, 'this globalized world' and 'this integrated worldwide labor market'. When 'this' is used to modify a noun, it is an adjective suggesting that the noun in question is near in place, time, or thought, in other words, familiar and taken as given, as opposed to the definite article 'the', which does not have this effect:

Rapid globalisation and modernisation are posing new and demanding challenges to individuals and societies alike. Increasingly diverse and interconnected populations, rapid technological change in the workplace and in everyday life, and the instantaneous availability of vast amounts of information are just a few of the factors contributing to these new demands. In this globalised world, people compete for jobs not just locally but internationally. In this integrated worldwide labour market, there are many occupations in which highly-paid workers in wealthier countries are

competing directly with people with much the same skills in lower-wage countries. The same is true for people with low skills. Competition among countries now revolves around the quality of their human capital (OECD, 2015).

The first nominalization is ‘rapid globalization and modernization’. In CDA terms, the ‘head’ (Machin & Mayr, 2012) of this nominal group, ‘globalization and modernization’, is qualified by the prior word in the nominal group, ‘rapid’, which conveys a sense of urgency (Nilsson, 2015), as does the determiner ‘demanding’ in the complement clause of the sentence. The actions implied in the subject of the clause, ‘rapid globalization and modernization’, are ‘objectivated actions’, which are actions that are treated as though they were entities rather than processes involving agents (Van Leeuwen, 2008). The “globalized world” is presented here as natural and taken for granted state of affairs rather than a process within which people and institutions can potentially change the course of action. This is followed by a ‘material process’, which describes a process of doing, and unlike the case of nominalization, has the two missing key elements the ‘actor’ and the ‘goal’ (Machin & Mayr, 2012), in other words, agents are not deleted: ‘people compete for jobs not just locally but internationally’. However, the grammatical positioning of these phrases in the subordinate clause after the nominalization ‘this globalized world’ justifies a state of affairs that the authors know might be unacceptable to readers (Grek, 2009). As Machin and Mayr (2012) point out, such content, which authors know might be perceived as negative, is often found in the subordinate clause to soften its impact.

The following passage is also of interest:

It is also worth taking into account the reflections and developments that have come out of the global financial and economic crisis. New sources of growth are necessary to put economies at a strong, inclusive and sustainable growth path to support the wellbeing of populations (OECD,

2015).

In this instance, the language used serves to delete agency. The text states that “reflections and developments [...] have come out of the global financial and economic crises”. However, neither the causes of the crisis nor the agents who are engaged in ‘reflections and developments’ are named. It is made clear in this passage and elsewhere in the article that individuals need to be competitive to survive in ‘this globalized world’, however, the authors do not state precisely what kind of “new sources of growth are necessary to put economies at a strong, inclusive and sustainable growth path to support the wellbeing of populations”. Since these ‘new sources of growth’ are not named, it seems that the use of the phrase ‘new sources of growth’ is meant to implicitly convey the idea that an alternative source of growth to the deregulated activities of the investment banks that caused the global economic crises needs to be found, although if the authors were to state this explicitly they would essentially be implicating the governments that they ultimately serve.

The text is also of interest with regard to the authors’ characterization of the desired global competencies of young learners, and the broader goals that young learners who have acquired such competencies are meant to help achieve. With regard to global competencies, the authors state the following:

Competencies of individuals are important not only because of their contribution to economic growth, employment and innovation, but also because of their importance in other domains. Outside the domains of economics and work, the competencies of individuals contribute to increasing participation in democratic institutions, and to strengthening social cohesion, human rights and autonomy as counterweights to increasing global inequality of opportunities and increasing individual marginalization (OECD, 2015).

In terms of PISA’s purpose in promoting global competence, although it is

implicit in the text, the text's structure indicates the goals that are considered by PISA to be of primary importance and those that are of secondary importance through the use of the correlative conjunction 'not only...but also...': "Competencies of individuals are important *not only* because of their contribution to economic growth, employment and innovation, *but also* because of their importance in other domains" (OECD, 2015, emphasis added). Those 'other domains' are not specified by the authors until the final sentence, and the authors separate the domains of economics and work ('*outside* the domains of economics and work') from other domains of social practice, suggesting there is little or no association between them. In the final sentence, however, the authors contrast what they see as the positive outcomes of the PISA's assessment of global competence that will act as a counterweight to the negatives: The positives are

"increasing participation in democratic institutions, and to strengthening social cohesion, human rights and autonomy", while the negatives against which these are to provide a 'counterweight' are "increasing global inequality of opportunities and increasing individual marginalization" (OECD, 2015).

Given the structure of the authors' sentence, it appears these negatives are to be understood as phenomena that occur in a social domain that is *outside or separate from* the contemporary economic regime. Furthermore, it is difficult to conceive 'autonomy' as a counterweight to 'individual marginalization' because of the way in which the notion of autonomy is constructed in the OECD discourse in this document and in general. In the words of Nilsson (2015), "being autonomous and independent is constructed in terms of behavior on the labor market, not as aspects of democratic citizenship" (p.27), which is why the authors' stated aim of 'strengthening social cohesion' (OECD, 2015) is undermined.

## **UNESCO: Global Citizenship Education**

### UNESCO, 2014. Global Citizenship Education: Preparing Learners for the Challenges of the 21<sup>st</sup> Century

Like the preceding OECD (2015) article, the document published by UNESCO (2014), ‘Global Citizenship Education: Preparing Learners for the Challenges of the 21<sup>st</sup> Century’, is representative of official GCED discourse as it is described in this study. However, while OECD documents like the preceding one emphasize competence over values, in the case of UNESCO GCED documents it is the other way round; values are given more weight.

In this document, it is clear that the aim of ‘empowering learners’ (p.15) through GCE is to prepare them to resolve global issues. Over the course of the document, the word *resolve* appears seven times in total in relation to education and learning:

1) “The international community is urging an education that will help *resolve* the existing and emerging global challenges menacing our planet” (UNESCO, 2014:5, emphasis added).

2) “It 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).

3) “There has been a shift in education discourse and practice. This shift recognizes the relevance of education and learning in understanding and *resolving* global issues in social, political, cultural, economic and environmental areas” (UNESCO, 2014:11).

4) “In an increasingly interconnected and interdependent world, there is a need for transformative pedagogy that enables learners to *resolve* persistent challenges related to sustainable development and peace that concern all humanity” (UNESCO, 2014:11, emphasis added).

5) “GCE aims to empower learners to engage and assume active roles, both locally and globally, to face and *resolve* global challenges and ultimately to become proactive contributors to a more just, peaceful, tolerant, inclusive, secure and sustainable world” UNESCO, 2014:15, emphasis added).

6) “As a catalyst of the transformative process, global citizenship education promotes the use of a wide range of active and participatory learning methods that engage the learner in critical thinking about complex global issues, and in developing skills such as communication, co- operation and conflict resolution to *resolve* these issues” (UNESCO, 2015:20, emphasis added).

7) “The starting point of GCE is to recognize that education helps people understand and *resolve* complex global issues” (UNESCO, 2015:45).

It is clear, therefore, that while this lexis is meant to communicate the idea that young learners themselves are supposed to resolve complex global issues, the authors at the same time acknowledge that neither the meaning nor the goals of GCE have been firmly established. This is due to the lack of cultural specificity that is characteristic of such GCED discourse, but also the lack of any legal status

corresponding to the concept of global citizenship (as P points out). In the statements just cited the authors express a high degree of commitment or certainty in all of these statements concerning the resolution of complex global issues on the part of learners; for instance, they do not use ‘hedging’ expressions or modal verbs, such as ‘may’ or ‘could’ that would “dilute the force of [...] statements and therefore reduce the chances of any unwelcome responses” (Machin & Mayr, 2012). However, the authors nonetheless admit that there is not yet a consensus as to what global citizenship *means*, and therefore what it should *promote*:

Although GCE is well recognized as a key dimension of education for dealing with the challenges and opportunities posed by globalization, consensus about what global citizenship means, and consequently what GCE should promote, is yet to be reached (p.5).

The grammatical positioning of the key words ‘means’ and ‘promote’ is significant here. Those words appear in subordinate clauses, or, in CDA terms, within the ‘circumstance’ part of the sentence (Machin & Mayr, 2012). The effect of the sentence from the reader’s perspective would have been quite different if the wording had been: ‘There is not yet a consensus on what global citizenship means, and consequently what GCE should promote’. This linguistic feature (the positioning of the relevant information in the subordinate clause) served to soften the potential negative effect of this admission from the perspective of the reader.

On the whole, therefore, it seems there is a consensus among member states of UNESCO that it is learners who are to resolve global issues in every dimension of life; they are meant to be “resolving global issues in their social, political, cultural, economic, and environmental dimensions” (UNESCO, 2014:9) through GCE, and it is

*that* notion that is being promoted. Furthermore, with regard to the idea of resolving problems in the political dimension through GCE, according to P it is the ‘common space’ discursively constructed in GCED discourse that is more relevant than the specific action of learners of global citizenship values. This phenomenon is analyzed and discussed in detail below.

In the executive summary, the authors state that “while GCE can take different forms, it has some common elements, which include fostering in learners an attitude supported by an understanding of multiple levels of identity, and the potential for a ‘collective identity’ which transcends individual cultural, religious, ethnic, or other differences” (p.9). The notion of ‘multiple levels of identity’ refers mostly to heterogeneous societies (Marshall, 2011). For example, if a Korean citizen has spent considerable time in both Korea and the USA, it is highly likely that they will identify with certain aspects of social life in both cultural contexts simultaneously, but this is a far more common feature of everyday social life for a large proportion of the populace in the USA, where the demographic situation is more similar to that of the UK and other European countries and the US. This may be one way in which the UNESCO GCE document seems ‘lost in translation’ (to use P’s expression) in the Korean context, and in which the approach to GCE in general reflects a ‘one-size-fits all’ approach (P).

In this document, the notion of global citizenship is linked with ‘global wellbeing’:

The notion of ‘citizenship’ has been broadened as a multiple-perspective concept. It is linked with growing interdependency and interconnectedness between countries in economic, cultural, and social areas, through increased international trade, migration, and communication. It is also

linked with our concerns for global wellbeing beyond national boundaries, and on the basis of the understanding that global wellbeing also influences national and local well-being (UNESCO, 2014:14).

On the other hand, as pointed out previously, there is no legal status that corresponds to the concept of global citizenship. It does, however, represent a ‘common space’ (P) “that links the local to the global and the national to the international” (p.14):

Despite differences in interpretation, there is a common understanding that global citizenship does not imply a legal status. It refers more to a space of belonging to a broader community and common humanity, promoting a ‘global gaze’ that links the local to the global and the national to the international (UNESCO, 2014:14).

This relates to the connection P made between the lack of legal status and what he called the ‘common space’ that has been created in terms of UNESCO declarations linking global citizenship values, global justice, and development. In discursive terms, official GCED discourse, of which this UNESCO document is representative, creates what P calls a ‘common space’ that allows member states to declare their shared moral principles or ideals with regard to the notion of global citizenship, while at the same time giving individual member states considerable leeway in terms of the way in which they pursue their particular political and economic goals. I relate this to the principle of ‘subsidiarity’ in the European Union in what follows. In the following excerpt, the authors describe the function of education as regards the formation of global citizenship:

Global citizenship education (GCE) ‘highlights essential functions of education related to the formation of citizenship (in relation) with globalization. It is a concern with the relevance of knowledge, skills and values for the participation of citizens in, and their contribution to,

dimensions of societal development which are linked at local and global levels (p.15).

In what follows, the UNESCO (2014) document names three ‘ongoing conceptual tensions within global citizenship education’. The first relates to the tension between promoting universality while respecting singularity, and corresponds to P’s statement with regard to GCED that ‘one size does not fit all’:

There are ongoing conceptual tensions within global citizenship education which are not irreconcilable, but cannot be ignored [...] While these tensions vary, they all point to the fundamental question of how to promote universality (e.g., common and collective identity, interest, participation, duty) while respecting singularity (e.g., individual rights, self-improvement) (p.18).

In P’s view, it is not possible to promote universality while respecting difference if, with regard to GCED, this means a one-size-fits-all framework that is to serve as a sort of manual for education for global citizenship that is to be applied in any particular cultural context.

The second type of conceptual tension in GCED discourse named by the authors is the tension between conventional and unconventional approaches. The authors promote ‘holistic approaches’ to GCED, the idea being that GCED involves not only learning in the classroom but also in the form of extracurricular activities.

“Holistic approaches to GCE demand formal and informal approaches, curricular and extracurricular interventions and conventional and unconventional pathways to participation” (UNESCO, 2014:10).

The words ‘demand’ and ‘interventions’ in the excerpt above seem to imply that some form of activism is urgently needed, although the forms these interventions

might take are not specified. It is nonetheless implied in the following excerpt that these approaches are both ‘traditional’ and ‘effective’. The authors name digital technologies including social media as being among the ‘unconventional pathways to participation’ in GCED in the following:

Some less traditional but at least as effective, pathways for GCE have included the following: the use of information and communication technologies and social media, sports competitions, and the use of art and music, and youth-led initiatives employing a wide variety of approaches (p.10).

The third ongoing conceptual tension in GCED that is named by the authors is the tension between solidarity and competitiveness:

Some would argue that solidarity and competitiveness are essentially antagonistic, and that educational programs have traditionally aimed to build human capital at an individual level to engage in the job market and in society, not social capital for mutual success (p.19).

In this case the authors employ ‘anonymization’ (Machin & Mayr, 2012) using the phrase ‘some would argue’. The use of the indefinite pronoun ‘some’, rather than the name of anyone specific, is a case of ‘indetermination’, “[which] occurs when social actors are represented as unspecified, ‘anonymous’ individuals or groups” (Van Leeuwen, 2008). This indicates limited commitment to the content of the statement on the part of the authors, especially with the modal verb ‘would’ (the past form of ‘will’; an example of hedging) added to it. As Machin and Mayr (2012) put it, the lack of specification of anonymization allows us to “conveniently summon arguments that are then easy to dismiss” (Machin & Mayr, 2012:83), as in what follows:

An alternative perspective is that GCE instills competitiveness and solidarity as critical elements of global citizenship. Proponents of this perspective argue that if competitiveness is encouraged as a trait of global citizenship, it will inspire innovation, creativity and drive the search for solutions to the interconnected challenges of our present world. This is a new vision of competition that promotes building the capacity of learners to survive, thrive, and improve the world we live in (p.19).

This clearly indicates the underlying linkage between the aims of global competence that are set out in the OECD (2015) document and the more values-oriented UNESCO (2014) document that ultimately is the soft and therapeutic face of the OECD/PISA perspective. The purpose that these serve in combination is to engender an awareness in learners that citizens in richer nations are in all out competition with one another, while they also have a paternalistic responsibility people in poorer nations, as this study shows. As regards the notion of a possible reconciliation of global competition with global solidarity, the authors cite ‘the principles embodied in the model of the European Union’ as a guide, specifically, competition, cooperation, and solidarity:

One speaker at the UNESCO Global Citizenship Education Forum suggested that the principles embodied in the model of the European Union (EU) illustrate this view of GCE. Salvatore Nigro, Director of Education for Employment, explained: ‘competition that stimulates, cooperation that strengthens, and solidarity that unites. If you take these three values and bring them together at the individual level you have global citizenship education (p.19).

As stated previously, the Four Pillars of the EU essentially relate to economic freedoms: the free movement of goods, services, capital, and labor. It is therefore difficult to see how the EU promotes solidarity, except to the extent that states view being part of a regional bloc as in their economic interests. With regard to P’s concept, the ‘domestication of global issues’ or ‘the relative global’, however, EU’s principle

of subsidiarity gives individual states considerable freedom to set their own policies to the extent that it is feasible without any intervention by the European Community (Van Den Burgh, 1996). In other words, while EU states are integrated according to the principles of neoliberalism, states are still ‘in the driver seat’ in many ways. There is a link here between this principle of subsidiarity and P’s conception of the domestication of global issues through the ‘common space’ created by GCED discourse. Furthermore, as Tiessen (2011) points out, since GCED is such a fluid and contested concept, it is susceptible to becoming a marketing tool for almost any transnational activity, including sports events. In what follows, analysis of interview data provides more information about the one-size-fits-all approach to GCED, and what its consequences are from the perspective of the Korean practitioners who were participants in the present study.

The following quote from P’s interview defines his notion of ‘one-size-fits all’ and is representative of his critique of GCED in general, the central issue being a lack of cultural specificity in standard GCED frameworks, such as that of UNESCO. In other words, P’s view is that one size does *not* fit all. This was his response to the question, ‘What are the Korean government’s specific aims with respect to the international community as a whole in relation to GCE?’:

*P: The answer to this question will vary from one organization to another based on how the organization is tied to the Korean government. One can only speculate, because action differs from what has been proposed. Not sure if Korean government has expected any particular outcome from GCE. If so, I have yet to understand the government’s stance on GCE. However, the government and organizations in Korea in general have promoted GCED as critical education based on the definition of UNESCO - “aims to empower learners to assume active roles to face and resolve global challenges and*

*to become proactive contributors to a more peaceful, tolerant, inclusive and secure world (P, p.10).*

*This concerns me: that GCED activities are approached with the notion of a one-size-fit-all assumption. If one reviews the mainstream development policies, they are often still based on a one-size-fits-all philosophy that fails to adequately acknowledge the context and a one-size-fits-all assumption remains in the GCED curriculum framework today. I have been continuously arguing that “one size does not fit all”. Growing recognition of culture’s role worldwide led to important initiatives and research that aimed to capture and measure the links and relationships between culture and development in the last decade.*

*Unfortunately, if one reviews MDG, culture was left out of the MDGs and their indicators, largely due to difficulties in concretely measuring and demonstrating culture’s impact on development. And such can be found in GCED practice today. The irony here is that GCED practitioners should be able to recognize this, but they don’t, and they continue to advocate GCED as it is. This brings a question of credibility of the practitioner of their understanding of GCED to begin with. It is my strong belief that GCED without the inclusion of cultural education, such as music and the other arts, is making the mistake of omitting one of the SDG’s pillars that was established as important about 25 years ago, namely, culture: “The Fourth Pillar of Sustainability”. And this is what I am seeing with GCE in relation to the international and local community (P, p.10).*

GS1 provided a lot of information about the relationships between the various institutions that are involved with the production of GCED material and the advocacy of GCED in Korea. She stated that KNCU (the Korean National Commission for UNESCO) and APCEIU (the Asia-Pacific Center of Education for International Understanding), also a UNESCO institution, are the two main institutions in Korea with regard to the production and dissemination of GCED discourse. As GS1 pointed out, the inclusion of GCE as part of the United Nations’ Millennium Development Goal 4 and UNESCO’s Education 2030 agenda was the initial reason why APCEIU and KNCU began contributing to GCED discourse. However, there was a second reason, which will be discussed in the following section in detail, namely, that the

Korean government had decided to choose GCED as the agenda or initiative for the 2015 World Education Forum, which was to be hosted in Incheon, Korea.

With regard to the practice of GCED in Korea and its status in public schools, GS1 stated that while the global dimension is currently in the national curriculum, mostly as part of ethics education, “it is not highlighted among the regular contents of the curriculum” (p.3). If school heads or teachers want GCED classes to be offered to their students, teachers at the schools are generally unfamiliar with GCED according to GS1, so they usually invite some GCED instructors/lecturers that are sent by NGOs or NPOs. In GS1’s words, “it can be a onetime thing, or several times, but it is not a regular course or a regular subject, but it is a kind of special lecture for students” (p.3). GS1 stated that the GCED lessons that are offered are usually ‘activity-centered’, and classes are generally well received by students, partly for that reason (GS1, p.3).

GS1 reiterated that although the initial impetus for Korea’s decision to choose GCED as its agenda for the World Forum was UNESCO/the SDGs, in practice Korea’s Ministry of Education has been somewhat reliant on KNCU and APCEIU with regard to GCED:

*GS1: So, when the Korean government tries to promote GCE, they rely on UNESCO’s vision, or the SDGs [Sustainable Development Goals], but the perspective of the Korean government or Ministry of Education is rather fostering global citizens who have global competence or competency and have some moral responsibility to the global community. So, originally, the Korean government was reliant on UNESCO and the UN’s vision, but they actually don’t know about GCE. (p.4).*

*I: Who don't?*

*GS1: The Ministry of Education because they are not experts of GCE or the global education agenda, so they grew some experts like APCEIU and the Korean National Commission for UNESCO, but APCEIU has the initiative for GCE, globally or in the context of Korea, so their role and their perspective will be major in Korea (p.4).*

GS1 then compared the situation in Korea as regards GCED with that of nations such as the UK and the US, which as she noted, are both societies that are a lot more culturally diverse, and stated that this provided motivation for GCED in those nations. However, there are now approximately one million people who were born overseas living in Korea, and while this is not many in relation to most other OECD nations except Japan, as GS1 and all of the other GSs also mentioned, there is now a lot of investment in multicultural education by the Korean government. The differences that were identified by all of the GSs between the characteristics of GCED and multicultural education in Korea are of interest, and are discussed in detail in what follows. GS1 here identifies the main themes in the Korean context in terms of GCED: the multicultural aspect, moral responsibility for people in poorer nations, and ‘global competence’, which is intended to enable Korean youth to be competitive in the global jobs market :

*GS1: So, we started to pay attention to multicultural, and education for multicultural. So, I think it is a combination of multicultural education to understand other cultures’ history and get along with foreigners and children of immigrants, so it has a multicultural education aspect. And also it emphasizes moral responsibility for the global community, like children in developing countries; we need to help them because they are in hunger or they are struggling because of poverty. We have some moral responsibility for them. So, GCE in Korea emphasizes the moral aspect of GCE. And thirdly, I think it means global competence, you know, like ‘you are in the era of globalization, and you need to have competence, like Korean language, for example, English, and Chinese, and you need to know foreign languages and foreign cultures’. It is not for understanding multicultures, but to have your competitiveness in the global competitive market, or community (p.5).*

At this point in the interview, GS1 revealed skepticism concerning the nature of the Korean government’s commitment to GCED, which was also shared by GS2 and GS3, and of course, P.

*GS1: Actually, I thought GCE was like a fashion in 2015 around the World Education Forum because ...*

*I: Do you still think that?*

*GS1: Yes.*

*I: [laughter] Why?*

*GS1: Because it was already there in Korea- global citizenship education- but only a few people in Korea paid attention to global citizenship education, but suddenly the government started to promote that by designating leader teachers for GCE in public schools and supporting some NGOs for the promotion of global citizenship education because, again, they wanted to have some [laughter] initiative for the World Education Forum with a new agenda, and they think global citizenship education is really fancy in the globalization era.*

*I: In what way 'fancy'?*

*GS1: Erm, fancy means global citizenship education for all, like..*

*I: You mean prestigious or bold, like a grand statement, or something like that?*

*GS1: Or...catchy? [laughter] (p.5)*

In this excerpt GS1 stated that she suspected GCED was a 'fashion' with respect to its promotion by the Korean government, also saying that she thinks it is considered 'fancy' or 'catchy', a point that was also made by P with regard to a trend in Korean

education that he finds troubling, namely, the tendency for a certain form of education, e.g., GCED, to become a buzzword for a few years until another educational buzzword takes its place:

*One of the major concerns I have based on my stay in Korea is that the order of importance given to topics is based on the keywords of “that” particular decade, such as GCE, Big Data, MOOC, IoT, Nano technology, STEAM education, Coding Education, the 4<sup>th</sup> industrial revolution, and so on, and it quickly fades away until the next surge of keywords arrive at the dock (P, p.9).*

*This is why I say the state of GCE worldwide is “lost in transition” and if people are not careful, GCE can only be a domesticating global moment. It will just be another faddish and flash education movement until the next faddish education topic comes along and says “this will save you, try it and trust me” (P, p.4).*

Furthermore, in the view of P, “these key words also tend to set government agenda and priorities and direct public interests through many layers of media commotion” (P, p.9), a state of affairs that he states creates an ‘augmented reality’ among members of the general public:

*These key words also tend to set government agenda and priorities and direct public interests through many layers of media commotion. I see that the uses of media here in Korea work like an ‘echo chamber’ where group of advocates generate hype to steer the public interest and opinion and to swindle the economy all together. The big concern I have here is that the uses of these key words to steer the economy and cosmetically fabricate the society will only augment reality to create false expectation until the public realizes that there is nothing to gain at the end but sitting on a debt (P, p.9).*

P notes, however, that this approach to GCED by the government epitomizes an approach that has actually served Korea well in the context of its astonishing and sustained rate of development from the Korean War onwards: A solution to a

particular problem is decided upon and then there is total commitment to it in terms of resources and effort, although it is discarded if it is proven not to have worked:

*Going back to your original question, GCE here is partly a key word to steer people's interest, however, this is also two sides of coin – there are pros and cons: 1) to engage in the topic directly by pouring all resources into it so its either a hit or a miss and 2) try the product and see if it fits with our needs and if not, throw it away. I think this has unique value ... and in many ways this type of attitude had pushed Korea economy rapidly further than any other nation in the world. However, it's now the time to go back and evaluate all this (P, p.9).*

In this context, P states that “Korea may be the biggest testing laboratory in history” (P, p.9), in the sense that, for now at least, the commitment of various institutions and practitioners is total, while at the same time, the apparent mismatch between *official* GCED frameworks and how GCED is actually being pursued in Korea means that GCED in this context is in a sense emergent, and continues to remain an open and contested concept. In the words of P, “the concept is being formed and modified as days pass and its being evolved to a new form each year” (P, p.9).

GS1 then mentioned that most or maybe all of the GCED programs run by NGOs or NPOs tend to have a component that has human rights as its focus. On the whole, GS1, like the other GSs except GS2, feels relatively positive about the human rights component of GCED in Korea.

GS1 identified three main types of GCED that are currently being provided in Korea: GCED instructors being sent to schools for one-off lessons; NPOs such as KNCU inviting students to go to their site for one-off lessons; and camp. The third

type, camp is interesting in that it is performative; students participate in an imitation of a UNESCO conference at which they pretend to be delegates. This seems to echo the opinions of GS3 and GS4 that the emphasis in the Korean context is often ‘global leadership’, rather than global citizenship:

*I: First, they have instructor training programs, so they train some people as GCE trainers and dispatch them to the schools, and the second type of programs was inviting students to their organizations to give lectures, and the lectures consist of some activities with themes of UNESCO’s vision, like human rights, peace, sustainable development, and many other lectures or classes or activity centered work or projects. And third is camp (p.7)*

*GS1: OK, what happens in the camp?*

*I: They gather some students and go to a place and they hold a model UN conference or a UNESCO conference and students pretend they are delegates of each country, and they also discuss sustainable development and global citizenship education (p.8)*

In the case of GS2, the impression that she first had of GCED in general was positive, but she stated that she then began to have reservations about GCED for a number of reasons:

*GS2: The term itself is very interesting, and I think it contains something valuable. It is valuable, and things must be done in global education, and the education and cooperation area ... That was my first impression, but that impression has been changed.*

*I: What’s your impression now?*

*GS2: because I could find a lot of restrictions or limits that GCE has [...]Because it has kind of Western hegemony, you know. And also, it is usually produced by Western, or Northern or Eastern countries. So, does it really improve inequality, or make students or candidates look at the*

*global system or globalization critically? I don't think it makes the students think that way. It is just explaining what globalization is, and is showing just abstract things, the good part (p.1).*

In this excerpt GS2 links the adoption of GCED discourse produced by the nations in the West and the notion that such material is not conducive to fostering critical thinking on the part of the students. For P it is the very fact that such material has been adopted uncritically in the first place that makes this so:

*Even today, GCE in Korea struggles to find theories or frameworks, better yet, make any return on its investment at all. Therefore, they are searching for a direction and outcomes for the investment the government has made. The framework used in Korea has been largely adopted from the West without careful review of exactly what they are adopting (P, p.8).*

Part of the reason for GS2's skepticism concerning GCED relates to the second of the themes of GCED in the Korean discourse identified by GS1, namely, moral responsibility for people in poorer nations. Like GS1, GS2 stated that she thought sympathy, rather than empathy, was currently the predominant sentiment in GCED in the context of this second theme. In her view, GCED practitioners lack empathy.

*I: Why do you think that has such importance right now? Is it the case that there was more empathy, and now there's less, or is it just in general, or...? If people need to be more empathetic, what is wrong that causes them to be not empathetic enough?*

*GS2: Oh [...] The reason I think empathy is important is that the UN and GCE's ultimate goal is definitely a better world. Every nation should sustain their own nation and their own culture; at the same time they should know how to live together. But, I told you that GCE usually has some kind of fixed agenda and sometimes they push other nations to follow the Westernized something, but that is one of the things researchers of GCE criticize because it sometimes makes many other nations lose their nationality and culture or something.*

*GS2: [...] when we put importance on empathy, empathy is ...do you know the term 'injeong hada'? It means you are also important, as much as me.*

*I: You mean 'equality'?*

*GS2: Yeah, that is very important because 'sympathy' is like, 'you're poor, so I will help you, but 'empathy' is, 'I can be you; I can put myself in your shoes, so I can understand your condition'. That is the most important thing if we want a real globalized world (p.4).*

P pointed out an important fact with regard to the demographics of immigration in Korea. He stated that the current trend that is likely to continue, namely, that the majority of immigrants are from less developed nations and they are in Korea to do unskilled or semi-skilled but physically demanding work. This pattern may not be conducive to producing more empathy on the part of Korean citizens, in the view of P. When asked about the way in which GCE could potentially be beneficial with regard to Korea's gradually increasing homogeneity, he stated the following:

*Although one can easily find a link between GCE and the nation becoming a more multicultural society, in my opinion, Korean society becoming more heterogeneous in the future is not coming from a general immigration standpoint but is more likely to be from migrating workers from developing countries or countries in transition. Korea pays relatively high wages compared to any neighboring countries in the Far East and certainly this will be the motivation to attract migrant workers for temporary employment (P, p.12).*

The potential danger is then that immigrants are perceived as being generally of a lower status in Korean society. This means that while xenophobia is a problem domestically (P), there is an attitude of sympathy, as opposed to empathy (GS2), with regard to people perceived to be in need of help in poorer nations, who are the target of Korean development projects. At the same time, Koreans' orientation to the

Western world is different, according to P. As GS2 and P both stated, there is a danger that this could lead to a partial loss of cultural identity. In P's words:

*If one observes the focus of current Korean education, it's about Koreans being included in the Western developed countries and not about embracing foreign people from lesser economically developed nations. It's about one being prepared to become more functional and acceptable in the Western world by talking and behaving like them. While this is taking place at the national level, people in Korea are forgetting that these youth are losing their cultural identity. This is evident from summer programs around the college campuses nationwide (P, p.12).*

As regards GCED discourse, GS2 states that while human rights is very often emphasized in GCED in the Korean context, she does not feel that this form of education has produced positive outcomes:

*I: Do you think Korean GCE discourse emphasizes human rights a lot, or not?*

*GS2: Oh, they are emphasizing human rights a lot, but...the content doesn't mean the result. I don't know about the result, I am critical of the result but in the curriculum or the content itself, yes there is (p.4).*

She also has certain reservations about the human rights paradigm itself, as the following excerpt indicates:

*GS2: It is important, but we should think, 'What is human rights itself?' because I have read some very interesting research that said human rights education contains human beings, which includes women, the disabled, and children, but does not contain indigenous people.*

*I: Doesn't contain indigenous people?*

*GS2: Yeah, they do not want it to contain the rights of indigenous people, I heard that, I mean like the Navaho in America (p.5).*

As mentioned previously, GS3 was a lecturer for the INGO World Vision, which entailed delivering one-off lectures at schools, and sometimes running extra-curricular GCED classes for which students receive credits; in the case of the latter, lessons could be once or twice per week and would run for an entire a semester. GS3 expressed concern about the ‘fragmented’ one-off classes in particular:

*GS3: Because I was in an NGO I was dispatched to different schools as a GCE lecturer. It was really fragmented, I guess, because it was a one time lecture for these students. For me I go to different schools and meet different students. For me it was continuous, but for these students they only have this lecture once or twice a semester or a year even, so for these students it's like an experience, rather than learning or education (p.1)*

GS3 was also concerned about the fact that GCED lecturers have only a very brief training course before being dispatched to schools:

*GS3: Well, the official aim would of course be ‘let students know about the issues, and let these students really learn about these issues’, but I don't think it's working the way they aim for, because the way they train the lecturer is also problematic because they announce that they will hire these lecturers for a certain amount of time, and all these people apply for lectureship and then the way they train these lecturers is just a two to three day workshop (p.1)*

Furthermore, GS3 stated that GCED lecturers at the INGO World Vision (which was running the program she referenced) are not allowed to deviate from the material provided by the INGO.

*I: So, from your perspective, what are the consequences of having to deliver exactly those materials and not being able to communicate your own messages?*

*GS3: Like I mentioned, it's just an experience for students (p.2).*

In terms of the main theoretical framework and institutions that influenced the Korean conception of GCED, GS3 stated the following:

*GS3: Maybe UNESCO's documents, and I think a large chunk comes from ethics education. Because the way I saw global citizenship education in Korea was kind of geared towards ethics education or moral education.*

GS3 explained that the components of GCED in current UNESCO documents are similar to existing content in the ethics education curriculum in Korean schools; in other words there is a lot of overlap. According to GS2, a lot of work is being done to bring more in terms of the global dimension into ethics education.

GS3 expressed doubt as to the prospects for GCED practitioners to pursue social reform:

*I: Is there any way in which people involved in GCE can pursue social reform, either domestically, or beyond their nation's borders?*

*GS3: No [laughter].*

*I: Why do you say no?*

*GS3: Well, I can't say no, but if GCE is sustained at this level, it's a no.*

*I: What do you mean, 'at this level'? Do you mean at this level of quality, or this level of intensity, or this level of ...*

*GS3: [laughter] All that too, actually.*

*I: Oh, really?*

*GS3: Yeah, because like I said, I find the way global citizenship education provided is problematic. Erm, in order to actually make a social reform, students would need more than just one kind of experience. So, if it was to be sustained at this level, it's a no, but it still has room to change, because I've seen some students and teachers who are genuinely interested in these issues (p.7).*

This reference to 'students and teachers who are genuinely interested in these issues' and similar comments by GS3 and the other GSs are discussed in more detail in a later section of what follows.

GS4 was the only participant that made a reference to neoliberalism, which was not referred to in any of the interview questions. In the following excerpt the interviewer tries to get clarification from GS4 about a previous statement that suggested that she thought neoliberal values should be engendered in GCED practice:

*I: Yeah, it's interesting to me that you mentioned neoliberal values before, but I wasn't quite clear on the connection you were making. Were you saying they should be adopted or they shouldn't be adopted? I wasn't sure.*

*GS4: I'm not sure if it's good or not bad but I think some of the values from neoliberalism they need to take.*

*I: Oh, you do think so?*

*GS4: But they need to digest it well, so not to depend on those ideas. (p.4).*

GS4 mostly emphasized the second and third of the themes GS1 identified as being prevalent in the Korean context in relation to GCED, namely moral responsibility to people in poorer nations, and global competitiveness. With regard to

the latter she stated that in advocating GCED the Korean government's aim for learners was:

*GS4: partly, to be more competitive, more equipped Koreans, global citizens. I think now the government is concerned for our citizens to be competent in the global field. (p.4).*

GS4 stated that she thought social reform could be pursued both domestically and internationally by practitioners of GCED, and could help to 'make more sustainable societies or nations':

*I: Is there any way in which people involved in GCE can pursue social reform, either domestically or beyond their nation's borders?*

*GS4: I think it can be both domestic and international.*

*I: OK, and in what ways do you think GCE can facilitate that or enable that or contribute to that?*

*GS4: I think there will be more reform in domestic and also international organizations with people who got to learn more about GCE, so when they are aware of GCE and globalization and how we are all connected, then I think there will be more reform. There will be more needs from the citizens to reform this and that to make more sustainable societies or nations (p.5-6).*

In two or three instances, GS4 suggested that it is through comparison of the situation of citizens in other countries to the situation of Korean citizens that learning and therefore positive change can take place. For example, in relation to the emphasis on human rights in GCED she stated that South Korean young learners, having learned about human rights, could identify violations of human rights in North Korea, for example, and then be able to reflect on the extent to which human rights are

respected in South Korea. She also stated that she thought GCED practice should take place outside of the classroom, and cited her own experience of working as a member of the INGO Habitat as being beneficial in that seeing and experiencing could bring about a change in the individual:

*GS4: I think it should be off-campus or out of the classroom because when I went to India, for example, to build houses or to Nicaragua to help the children I got to learn more because even with group work you can learn a lot, but when you go outside and actually experience and see a situation, what is happening out there, and you feel, I think they learn insights deeply. And that's the point where they want to do something to solve that (p.6).*

In the view of P, the Post-2015 agenda “provided a common space for the acknowledgment of the importance of connecting GCED and global justice” (P, p.7). P’s interpretation of this situation is that the ostensible purpose for the creation of this ‘common space’ is the “general consensus worldwide in favor of broadening the public’s participation in international development and focusing on global justice issues through global education” (P, p.7). In this scenario, the rationale for GCED is that the regular citizen must come to understand the interrelatedness of global issues, a difficult task given their complexity. Therefore, in the view of P, the assumption is that “someone, or an organization, needs to domesticate global issues for the average Dick and Jane to understand them and where they stand” (P, p.7). The purpose of this in the view of P, and this reflects a Western school of thought with regard to governance- which some have linked to the concept of governmentality (e.g., Mannion *et al*, year), is “domesticating global management and domesticating the world without the direct involvement from any government to intervene in another nation’s political issues” (P, p.7). In the other words, ultimately, and this one of the important aspects of GCED that P believes it is vital to understand, *the state* is

ultimately 'still in the driver seat'. At the same time, in the view of P, the framework and intent of the GCED documents of organizations such as UNESCO are 'lost in translation':

*Why was it necessary to create this common space? There is a general consensus worldwide in favor of broadening the public's participation in international development and focusing on global justice issues through global education. Yet there is limited understanding of the complex and interrelated issues between development, global justice and global citizenship education in terms of finding opportunities for citizens to participate. So, what does this mean? Someone, or an organization, needs to domesticate global issues for the average Dick and Jane to understand them and where they stand. But why is this necessary? The answer is simple: to domesticate international obligations, therefore to domesticate international commitments and link national and international decision-making through the voice of the people. Is this good, or what? It seems like an ambitious and glorifying statement, but it's not as simple and honorable as it sounds... It's about domesticating global management and domesticating the world without the direct involvement from any government to intervene in another nation's political issues... ah ha! There is the catch! Many of the civil actors in NGOs, are involved through the provision of government funds, such as KOICA for example. I say GCED's current practice worldwide can be summarized as "lost in transition"; that's because the government is still in the driver seat to dictate and select the type of projects among thousands of proposals being submitted by various non-profit organizations that align with their agenda each year ... Most institutions being funded are the government-affiliated NGOs and national universities in Korea. Isn't there irony here? If people are not careful, GCED can only be a side-show for a domesticating global moment serving political purposes... and it will quickly fade away as soon as the government agenda and role changes or the funding ceases (P, p.7-8).*

Furthermore, in the view of P, on one hand, if GCED really is intended as a social technology of the kind he describes it is in any case 'very naive', at least from the perspective of nations such as China, Russia, and India, whose governments have opted out of GCED altogether. On the other hand, the educational value of GCED is still unproven in that there are no empirical results suggesting that GCED is effective. P states that while much of the work by practitioners is 'widely innovative

and interesting’, the results of empirical research are ambiguous, and not necessarily replicable in other contexts:

*Last year I attended the 66th United Nations Department of Public Information (UN/DPI)/Non-Governmental Organization (NGO) Conference that took place in Gyungju, Korea. Throughout the conference the stories of GCED’s resounding success was the main theme. However, my take on this is that much of the enthusiasm for GCED to take part in contributing to the world order remains unproven as of today. Many made claims, in conference presentations, concerning the potential and promise of GCED, but much of this was based on anecdotal evidence to promote the need for more funding in the field. While the commotion surrounding GCED has been trumpeted across the board (this includes commotion of GCED at the national level in Korea through media and higher education and NGOs’ involvement in GCED), much of the claimed outcomes remain unproven or untested; therefore limited measurable outcomes from GCED activities were not convincing or even difficult to replicate in attendees regions. Case studies presented in the conference have been widely innovative and interesting while empirical research, as represented through the conference presentations, remains ambiguous. Therefore, many of the assumed projected successes of GCED may seem to anticipate unrealistic outcomes at the local level and beyond nations’ borders due to limited considerations for the measurement of realistic outcomes based on specific cultural needs (P, p.13).*

P is cited twice more in this section to illustrate what he sees as an inappropriate ‘one size fits all’ approach to GCED that does not serve any particular context especially well. First, he states that GCED is widely perceived in Korea as a ‘gateway’ through which Korean youth can enter ‘rapidly globalizing society, and not so much on learning to take action related to global issues and trying to make the society more just’ (P):

*In the States today, GCE is mainly focused on multicultural education issues, whereas Korea sees GCE as a gateway for youth to ride the rapidly globalizing society, and not so much on learning to take action related to global issues and trying to make the society more just. Simply,*

*GCE is being used as another tool for an intellectual tour guide and to seek to muscle into Western practices and way of life (at least based on what I have seen so far) (P, 2-3).*

Second, P sees the uncritical reception and implementation of UNESCO's version of GCED as problematic, not just in Korea, but in any particular cultural setting. To illustrate this, P emailed me a quote from UNESCO (2015) that more or less states that it is intended as a manual, that has been "developed in response to the needs of Member States for overall guidance on integrating global citizenship education in their education systems" (UNESCO, 2015):

*Much of Korea's GCE framework is based on translated documents produced from UNESCO and major non-government organizations such as Oxfam. However, simply following the documented material with the notion of a one-size-fit-all assumption and without critically examining the material and planning how one would implement GCE in one's own cultural setting has not been taking place in Korea. Korea as a nation moves very effectively and quickly on catching up or copying the products of others; but seldom do we see the originality in their product. I see this as common practice with regard to GCE as well as all sectors in Korea. Many nations who had been implementing GCE in their local settings have faced a similar GCE implementation pattern in their education systems. Therefore, UNESCO, in 2015 had written this statement in one of their material (P, p.4):*

*Global Citizenship Education: Topics and Learning Objectives (UNESCO, 2015) where "... this document has been developed in response to the needs of Member States for overall guidance on integrating global citizenship education in their education systems. It presents suggestions for translating global citizenship education concepts into practical and age-specific topics and learning objectives in a way that allows for adaptation to local contexts. It is intended as a resource for educators, curriculum developers, trainers as well as policy-makers, but it will also be useful for other education stakeholders working in non-formal and informal settings.*

## **‘Domestication of Global Issues’ as the ‘relative global’**

This category refers primarily to action *by the state*. The ‘relative global’ is a term used by Deleuze and Guatarri (Bogue, 2005) that relates to the negative manifestation of what P calls ‘the domestication of global issues’. In the view of P, the member states of UNESCO, for example, sign a declaration committing them to providing GCED to young learners in a way that is consistent with the stated values and goals of the document in question. In practice however, partly because the meaning of such documents is in any case ‘lost in translation’ due to the cultural non-specificity and therefore inappropriateness of current GCED discourse, and partly because individual governments have their own political agendas, what actually happens with respect to declarations of this kind is that a universal agenda is agreed upon that nonetheless gives individual states the freedom to pursue their GCED however they wish. It is in this respect that the negative manifestation of what P calls ‘the global domestication of global issues’ is the top down implementation of the government’s agenda through control of GCED. It is also in this respect that I think it is appropriate to call this dimension of the practice of GCED- GCED by and for the state- the dimension of the ‘relative global’, which in terms of Deleuze and Guattari has the characteristics of the ‘society of control’, and involves the creation of ‘striated space’, that is, the creation of rules and the regulation of society that make the running of the contemporary capitalist system possible.

There now follows an analysis of two documents that are representative of the global dimension of education in the British context, and one that is representative of GCED in the Korean context. A presentation of the analysis of the interview data then offers relevant information concerning GCED discourse in the dimension of the

‘relative global’ from the perspective of the Korean participants in the present study. Their observations are interwoven with discourse analysis of documents focusing on GCED that were published recently in Korea and which pertain to the ‘domestication of global issues’ as an instance of the ‘relative global’.

### **QCA, 1998: ‘The Crick Report’**

As mentioned previously, at the time of its publication, the ‘Crick Report’ (QCA, 1998) reflected the British government’s agenda under the New Labor party. According to Pykett (2007), the three main strands of citizenship that the Crick Report recommends are “(a) social and moral responsibility; (b) community involvement; and (c) political literacy” (p.306). One of the stated aims of citizenship education is to address the ‘apathy’ and ‘cynicism’ (QCA, 1998) on the part of young people in Britain toward its political institutions. However, the way in which the paper presents the notion of ‘active citizenship’, whose importance is emphasized throughout, and the advocacy of involvement on the part of young people in civil society groups, is actually more suggestive of a potential ‘depoliticization’ of public discourse (Pykett, 2007; Fairclough, 2003). In other words, as was suggested previously, while the government sought to secure the legitimacy of the democratic system through the education of young people with regard to political institutions, there was simultaneously an effort to have them engage in work in their communities in a non-political or ‘non-partisan’ manner under the banner of ‘active citizenship’. This fits with the government’s intention to reduce social services that were formerly provided by the state as part of the neoliberal agenda that was initially enacted in the UK by the Conservative government of Margaret Thatcher and continued under the New Labor

government of Tony Blair. In what follows, Critical Discourse Analysis is used to make explicit the meanings reflecting the political rationality just described, and which are often only implicit in the text.

Part One of the Crick Report is the introduction, in which the perceived needs and aims of citizenship are stated. In it we find the following statement:

There are worrying levels of apathy, ignorance, and cynicism about public life. These, unless tackled at every level, could well diminish the hoped-for benefits both of constitutional reform and of the changing nature of the welfare state (QCA, p.8).

It is noticeable in the first sentence above that no agents are mentioned as regards who exactly is perceived as apathetic or ignorant. This is a means of ‘impersonalization’ through abstraction, “which occurs when social actors are represented by means of a quality assigned to them by and in the representation” (Van Leeuwen, 2008). This prepares the way for the ‘structural opposition’ (Machin & Mayr, 2012) that is then established between Britain’s youth (who are perceived to be cynical and apathetic) and the authors, who have the authority to determine a remedy for this. In terms of CDA, the construction in the first sentence above is called an ‘existential process’, which is “usually preceded by ‘There is’ or ‘There are’ [and] may have the effect of obscuring agency and responsibility” (Machin & Mayr, 2012:110). We are simply presented with a negative state of affairs with regard to Britain’s youth that is shorn of any historical or social context, as if it were in a vacuum. Thus, any responsibility for the situation described that the British government might bear is not suggested by the authors. In the words of Van Leeuwen, “in the case of *existentialization*, an action or reaction is represented as something that

‘simply exists’” (Van Leeuwen, 2008, emphasis in the original). What follows in the text is an instance of ‘nominalization’: ‘hoped-for benefits’ is a nominal group, ‘hoped-for’ functioning as a positive evaluation of what is being done while, again, agency is obscured. We can compare the following sentence to illustrate the effect of this: a) ‘agent + hope for benefits’ (active), b) ‘benefits are hoped for’ (passive), c) ‘hoped-for benefits’ (nominalization). The reason for the nominalization appears to be that the authors do not want to make explicit the fact that it is the government that hopes for benefits with regard to ‘constitutional reform’ (which in this context means a reduction in the number of social services formerly provided by the government) and the ‘changing nature of the welfare state’, another nominal group in which the gerund ‘changing’ is followed by the lexical choice ‘nature’, which connotes something occurring almost of its own accord. Later in Part One we find the following:

We firmly believe that volunteering and community involvement are necessary conditions of civil society and democracy. Preparation for these, at the very least, should be an explicit part of education. This is especially important at a time when government is attempting a shift of emphasis between, on the one hand, state welfare provision and responsibility and, on the other, community and individual responsibility (QCA, 1998:10).

It is here that the authors state the political rationale for ‘active citizenship’- a reduction in state provision- is more explicitly stated (‘the government is attempting’), although what the ‘shift of emphasis’ that the government intends actually consists of, i.e, a reduction in state provision of services- remains implicit in the excerpt.

However, what is foregrounded in the document is the delinquent- if not criminal- behavior of British youth. The subject of the second sentence is a list of crimes rather than an agent; thus, these ‘indicators of youth alienation’ are presented

as essential qualities rather than potentially observable phenomena in dynamic situations. In CDA terms, this is another ‘existential process’, as opposed to a ‘material process,’ which ‘describes processes of doing’ and involves participants, processes and circumstances (Machin & Mayr, 2012):

Such are some measures of alienation and cynicism. Truancy, vandalism, random violence, premeditated crime and habitual drug-taking can be other indicators of youth alienation (p.15).

Contextualizing ‘active citizenship’ in this way implicitly suggests that it might be seen as a form of moral rehabilitation for British youth. Furthermore, the previously mentioned implicit structural opposition of ‘them’ and ‘us’ is evident in the phrase ‘pride in being outside and against the mainstream’ in the following:

Trust in society’s core institutions has been falling steadily [...] About a third of young people take pride in being outside and against the mainstream, identifying only with their own sub-cultures. The authors argue that ‘the potentially explosive alienation we have uncovered requires a different approach to politics – new style of leadership, new languages and new mechanisms (from a *Demos* pamphlet cited by the authors, p.16).

Such statements do not suggest a commitment to the educational aim of ‘political literacy’ mentioned earlier. They suggest, instead, that active citizenship implies a kind of ‘community service’ for delinquents.

The following excerpt relates once again to the notion of active citizenship:

“*While* we say that voluntary and community activity cannot be the full meaning of active citizenship, we also recognize that freedom and full citizenship in the political arena itself depends on a society with a rich variety of *non-political associations* and voluntary groups- what some have called civil society” (QCA, 1998:11, emphasis added).

The use of the conjunction ‘while’ at the beginning of a sentence generally denotes a *contrast* with an idea in the second clause. However, in this case, in the second clause there is a reference to ‘non-political associations and voluntary groups’, which are said to be the basis for ‘freedom and full citizenship in the political arena’, which in the context of the discussion overall means simply voting in elections, i.e., civil society is defined here as non-political. Thus, voluntary groups are to do work in the community that is non-political, while participation in democracy, meaning strictly voting, is a separate practice.

The following relates to another aim of citizenship education described in the Crick Report, namely, community involvement:

Secondly, learning about and becoming helpfully involved in the life and concerns of their communities, including learning through community involvement and service to the community. This, of course, like the other two branches of citizenship, is by no means limited to children’s time in school. *Even if* pupils and students perceive many of the voluntary groups as non-political, the clearer meaning is probably to say ‘*non-partisan*’: for voluntary bodies when exercising persuasion, interacting with public authorities, publicizing, fund-raising, recruiting members and then trying to activate (or placate) them, all such bodies are plainly using and needing political skills (p.12, emphasis added).

Here the authors voluntary groups are to be conceived as ‘non-partisan’, the authors then make clear that it is in such non-political groups that ‘political skills’ are to be practiced in ‘exercising persuasion’ and ‘fund-raising’. In other words, it is only in the service of this agenda that the authors propose that political skills are to be practiced. The function of the phrase ‘even if’ is to emphasize that a particular situation will remain the same no matter what happens; the reader would therefore expect that the author would go on to say that a voluntary group *is* in fact political, the

rhetorical sleight of hand here being that the author actually uses ‘even if’ to direct the reader’s attention to the authors’ preferred term for ‘non-political’, which is ‘non-partisan’.

Some scholars regard the conception of citizenship that is applied to ‘majorities’ and ‘minorities’ in the Crick Report as dubious because in the case of ‘minorities’ the authors imply that there is some kind of deficit. As Pykett (2007) points out, with regard to minorities, “it is as if they must change their behavior in order to be more British, and as if their entitlement to citizenship requires more work” (p.306):

Majorities must respect, understand, and tolerate minorities and minorities must learn and respect the laws, codes and conventions as much as the majority- not because it is useful to do so, but because this process helps foster common citizenship (p.17-18).

I claim that references to ‘tolerance’ are problematic because they seem to imply a two-tier conception of citizenship, majorities being represented as the upper tier.

Authors state that there is a National Record of Achievement process through which “pupils should be encouraged to record learning from community activity and service learning” (QCA, 1998: 26). Furthermore, the students should learn citizenship values through “the ethos, organization, structures, and daily practices of schools” (p.26). It is clear that the authors’ conception of citizenship education involves a fairly tightly structured set of activities that take place both in school and in the local community. As Pykett (2007) points out, the Crick Report reflects the view of David Blunkett, then Secretary of State for Education and Employment that “the state ought to be ‘embodied’ by the individual” (p.305). This is an instance of the ‘relative global’,

in terms of the previous discussion of Deleuze and Guattari and of P's concept, the 'domestication of global issues'.

In Part Three of the Crick Report, the authors set out the learning outcomes that are to be achieved by students participating in the citizenship education curriculum for Key Stages 1 and 2, which includes a global dimension, as mentioned previously. The authors state that there is a need for students to know about the similarities and differences between communities around the world. However, the following excerpts shows that in determining that students should "know about the world as a global community" the authors of the curriculum imply that there is a particular relationship between richer nations and poorer nations that, again, promotes or reinforces a 'two tier' notion of citizenship:

### **The Learning Outcomes of Key Stages 1 and 2**

By the end of Key Stage 2, students should [...] know about the world as a global community, and that people around the world live in communities as we do; understand that there are similarities and differences between communities in terms of social, economic, cultural, political and environmental circumstances; also understand the meanings of terms of social, economic, cultural, political and environmental circumstances; also understand the meaning of terms such as *poverty, famine, disease, charity, aid, human rights* (p.48, emphasis in the original).

The words in italics create a 'lexical field' which functions as a map, or a symbolic territory (Machin & Mayr, 2012). The Crick Report is primarily aimed at teachers. It specifically states that teachers are to have considerable leeway with regard to how they are to enable students to come to an understanding of these concepts. With regard to CDA, "the point is that 'the meaning and structure of the map are not governed by the physical characteristics of the landscape, but by the structural

conventions appropriate to figuring the territory for a specific social purpose” (Fowler, 1991:82, cited in Machin & Mayr, 2012:31). The learning outcomes for Key Stage 2 have this characteristic; readers- in this case mostly teachers- are likely to connect the terms ‘poverty’, ‘famine’, and ‘disease’ with poorer nations (as issues to be solved) and ‘charity’, ‘aid’, and ‘human rights’ with richer nations (as those who will take action) because that is what they are accustomed to seeing in development discourse. In other words, the lexical field presented here is suggestive of a paternalistic relationship between richer and poorer nations, due to the fact that it belongs to a discourse which, as a whole, generally reflects such as attitudes, as the reader can see also in the case of learning outcomes for Key Stage 4.

The learning outcomes for Key Stage 4 are lexis belonging to the same type of discourse. The intended learning outcome *interdependence* is referenced, but the reader is likely to associate *stewardship*, i.e, supervising or taking care of something, with the work of the UN and major NGOs, since they are presented as being engaged in work, while ‘heavily indebted countries’ are listed among the ‘issues’ of the global community. This is not suggestive of an egalitarian attitude to development partnerships:

“By the end of Key Stage 4, pupils should [...]” (QCA, 1998:51)

understand the world as a global community, including issues such as sustainable development, economic interdependence, heavily indebted countries, and the work of United Nations organizations and major non-governmental organizations; understanding the meaning of such terms as *stewardship*, *interdependence*, *ethical trading*, *peace-making*, and *peacekeeping* (QCA, 1998:52).

This represents a recontextualization (Van Leeuwen, 2008), in other words, a reproduction of the attitudes implicit in development discourse in pedagogic discourse. The reason why the ‘semantic shifts’ associated with recontextualization are not dramatic in this case is that these attitudes are implicit in development discourse also. Significantly, however, as Van Leeuwen points out, discourses do not only involve ‘a field of objects’; they also legitimize the social practices represented in those discourses. In the words of Van Leeuwen (2008), “[discourses] not only represent what is going on, they also evaluate it, ascribe purposes to it, justify it, and so on”.

In sum, the activities associated with ‘active citizenship’, whose importance is emphasized throughout the Crick Report, are tightly structured and involve learning both in schools- which are meant to develop an ethos that reflects the citizenship values described- and in the community. Furthermore, the activities are to be recorded through the process of the National Record of Achievement, based on which having accumulated some experience of working in the local community they can receive career guidance (QCA, 1998). The Crick Report conveys a ‘two tier’ understanding of citizenship both in terms of the domestic level as regards the relationship between ‘majorities’ and ‘minorities’ and the ‘global community’, within which on the whole there is an implication that richer nations will take the role of ‘stewardship’, which indicates the asymmetrical ‘interdependence’ that pervades development partnerships between richer and poorer nations.

However, the final portion of the Crick Report is most representative of the political rationality of ‘active citizenship’ in the UK in this discourse, which is mostly implicit. It is in Crick’s quotation of the Lord Chancellor’s address to the Citizenship Foundation of the Law Society, 27 January, 1998):

A healthy society is made up of people who care about the future. People who willingly contribute to its development for the common good. People who reject the ‘don’t care’ culture, who are not always asking, ‘What’s in it for me?’ People who want to be practicing citizens [...] Young people often display a spiritual and material generosity towards others which can disappear by the time adulthood is reached. One of the challenges facing us is how to encourage children to retain that giving instinct and *how to help them put it to best use* (QCA, 1998:61, emphasis added).

#### **DfES, 2004: Putting the World into World-Class Education**

The document that is analyzed in the next section, Putting the World into World-Class Education (Department for Education and Skills, 2004), promotes the UK’s own education system and what the UK can offer other developing countries, including those that are reforming their education systems (DfES, 2004). In this section, before analyzing the text, multi-modal discourse analysis, which involves the analysis of images as well as text (Machin & Mayr, 2012), is used to examine the image below, which is on the title page of the document examined.

# Putting the World into World-Class Education

An international strategy for education, skills and children's services



According to Machin & Mayr (2012), in the semiotic theory of Roland Barthes, there is a distinction between what images *connote* and what they *denote*, and for Barthes these are the appropriate two levels of analysis of an image. On one level an image is a document showing particular events, people, places, or things; in semiotic terms, it *denotes* Machin & Mayr (2012). However, an image can also “depict concrete people, places, things and events to get general or abstract *ideas* across” Machin & Mayr (2012:49). In other words, they can also connote ideas and

concepts. On this basis, the question that is asked in multi-modal discourse analysis is the following: “What ideas and values are communicated through what is represented, and through the way in which it is represented?” Machin & Mayr (2012:50). There follows an analysis of the image on the title page of the DfES document using two relevant concepts in multi-modal discourse analysis, namely, ‘gaze’ and ‘pose.’ Using these categories it is possible to assess representations of people in images in terms of how these representations implicitly encourage us to evaluate them (Machin & Mayr, 2012).

According to Machin & Mayr (2012), in multi-modal discourse analysis, images are viewed as representations of interactions between the person in the image and the viewer. Gaze refers to the gaze of the person depicted in an image, for example, whether or not they appear to be looking at the viewer, and whether the person in the image is looking upwards or downwards at the viewer. The relationship between the person represented in the image and the viewer is conceived in a way that is similar to a verbal social transaction. Of all the possible functions of verbal transactions, there are two that correspond to the functions of the interaction between the person represented in the image and the viewer, namely, ‘offer’ and ‘demand’. In the case of a ‘demand image’ something is asked of the viewer in an imaginary relationship. In other words, it is a form of visual address in which the viewer feels acknowledged, as they would in the case of a social interaction during which the other person is making eye contact with them while talking.

With regard to ‘posture’, the type of demand- or ‘mood of address’ (Machin & Mayr, 2012)- perceived in the case of the demand image depends on a number of factors, such as the facial expression of the person represented, whether they have a posture that is welcoming, such as standing with arms outstretched, for example. The

viewer's perception also depends on whether the person in the image is close or at a distance because it implies social distance, or whether the person is looking up or down at the viewer, which implies the person's status relative to the viewer. Metaphorical associations are made all the time by human beings both in verbal interactions and via images (Lakoff & Johnson, 2003). Hence, relative distance between the person in the image and the viewer implies social distance, for example. The words 'up' and 'down' also have strong metaphorical associations. Therefore, in the words of Machin & Mayr (2012), "We say 'I am feeling down' or that 'things are looking up'" and "we have upper and lower classes and people with higher status are often seated higher than those with lower status" (M&M, 2012:72). Therefore, if the person represented in an image is looking up at the viewer the metaphorical association that the viewer makes is such that they are perceived to be of lower status.

If, on the other hand, the person in the image does not look at the viewer, no demand is made and therefore (as would be the case if two people were standing close to each other and there was no eye contact) no response is expected (Machin & Mayr, 2012). Therefore, if the person in the image does not look at the viewer the image is called an 'offer image'. In this case, "the viewer is offered the image as information available for scrutiny and consideration" (Machin & Mayr, 2012:71), but the person in the image does not look at the viewer, so it is not a demand image. Now that the concepts 'gaze' and 'pose' in the context of multi-modal discourse analysis have been described, they can be used to analyze the image on the title page of the 2004 Department for Education and Skills document on the previous page.

The image is a composite of five separate photographs. The age range of the people represented in the pictures is approximately 5 to 21. The youngest of these is a boy of African heritage, and he is the focal point of the image as a whole; he is

situated in the center and his image is larger than that of other participants. However, he is the youngest of the people represented. He is holding a container full of sand and is holding a small implement in his right hand. In terms of gaze, he is the only person represented who is looking up at the viewer, so in terms of multi-modal discourse analysis his image is a 'demand image'. In terms of the 'mood of address', the boy's facial expression conveys a degree of uncertainty; his lips are compressed in a way that is neither a smile nor a frown. With regard to the other four images, there is a girl with blond hair; she is the person who is closest to boy in the center in terms of age. Like the people represented in the images either side of the boy, she is not looking at the viewer, so this is an 'offer' image. The viewer is invited to scrutinize the person represented in the image but there is no demand. The girl is involved in a learning activity of some kind using a computer and a set of headphones. She is smiling as if reacting to something someone has said or done. The picture of the two Muslim girls wearing hijabs is also an 'offer image'. They are both smiling and are engaged in an activity in what appears to be chemistry class. The boy on the right is involved in an activity in what appears to be woodwork class. He is interacting with a teacher in what seems to be a European setting, probably the UK. This too is an 'offer image.' They are both engaged in what they are doing; neither participant looks at the viewer. In the case of the image in the bottom right hand corner, there are three students that seem to be of university age. They are all white. They are in what appears to be a library and they are looking at a book together and smiling. In the case of each of the five images except the central one, the participants are approximately at eye level with the viewer; the viewer is looking neither up at them nor down at them. In sum, the focal point of the image as a whole (due to its centrality and the fact that it is the largest of the images), is the youngest one, a boy who is doing an indeterminate form

of activity. It is a 'demand image', whereas the other images are 'offer images.' He is looking directly up at the viewer, whereas all the other participants are at eye level with the viewer. His facial expression conveys uncertainty, whereas all the other participants are either engaged in a specific activity and/or smiling. The image of the boy is used again separately in the document on the page introducing a section entitled 'International Partnerships', which explains one of the DfES's priorities: "to share expertise and resources to contribute to the improvement of education and children's services in the developing world, particularly Africa" (DfES, 2004:11). The image of the three white university students is used again in a section entitled 'Contributing to Trade and Investment', one of the key goals of which being "equipping our children, young people and adults for life in a global society and work in a global economy" (DfES, 2004: 16). All of the aforementioned is suggestive of the persisting paternalistic attitude of Western nations toward poorer nations in the context of the development, while at the same time the choice of the people represented in the image on the title page of this document is clearly intended to promote cultural diversity.

With regard to the text itself, as mentioned previously, there is emphasis on the British government's desire to be a 'global partner' and the 'tremendous reputation' of the UK's education system overseas. In the words of Charles Clarke, who was then the UK's Secretary of State, and who wrote the foreword for this document: "We have much to be proud of, and much we can offer other countries developing and reforming their own education systems" (DfES, 2004:1). One of the interesting features of this document is that it is clearly intended for both a domestic and an international audience. In general, it projects optimism with regard to the future of Britain's education system, educational products, educational training

programs, and research both domestically and overseas, and also both in the public sector and in the private sector. As is often the case in documents of this kind, interconnectedness or interdependence is emphasized: “We live in one world. What we do affects others, and what others do affects us, as never before” (DfES, 2004:3). At the same time, the UK’s unique position in the world and power relative to other nations and organizations is stressed:

The UK occupies a unique position in this world: at the heart of the European Union and of the Commonwealth, deeply linked by language and other ties to the USA, a core member of the UN and of its constituency agencies, and an active participant in many other international bodies (DfES, 2004: 6).

The document states that “all who live in a global society need an understanding of [...] eight key concepts” (DfES, 2004:6), of which concept 5 is ‘Values and Perceptions’. Specifically (and ironically), this reflects concerns about negative stereotyping with regard to ‘images of other parts of the world’. The ‘Values and Perceptions’ concept is defined as “developing a critical evaluation of images of other parts of the world and an appreciation of the effects these have on people’s attitudes and values” (DfES, 2004:6).

The year in which this document was published was also the year in which the British government was bidding to host the 2012 Olympic games in London. As is often the case (Tiessen, 2011), in this document sport is linked with the global citizenship agenda:

Sport is naturally conducive to international activities, and specialist sports colleges are at the forefront of developing international school-to-school partnerships, increasingly also involving other schools. We are committed to embedding the **Olympic ideals** of sporting excellence, combined with a spirit of fair play, community cohesion and global

exchange in our educational and sporting policies and practice at all levels, underpinning the global citizenship agenda. That is one of the key drivers behind our committed support for the bid for London to host the Olympics in 2012 (DfES, 2004, bold print in the original document).

According to Tiessen (2011) Sport for Development and Peace has been established for some time as a development tool. She argues “that SDP narratives have the potential to reinforce the ‘Othering’ of community members in developing countries and may contribute to paternalistic conceptions of development assistance” (Tiessen, 2011:571). One of the problems of the link that is often made between sport and global citizenship, as Tiessen sees it, is that global citizenship is such a broad and fluid concept that it is susceptible to being interpreted and indeed marketed in any number of ways. This is what makes possible the type of contradictions that we were noted earlier between the use of language in the DfES (2004) document and the image on its title page. Global citizenship, and in fact, development work in general, is often *marketed to people in richer nations*, such as the UK and now Korea. International NGOs require a constant stream of interns (as P pointed out), and from the perspective of young Western people, for example, the appeal of sport in conjunction with global citizenship or development is easy to see: it involves both having fun and ‘making a difference’. One of the striking similarities in terms of GCED in the contexts of the UK and the Korea is the impact made by marketing campaigns both by their respective governments and the media in general. P identified this as a serious issue, and the analysis of the DfES (2004) document reveals it to have been a serious issue in the UK as well. The concept ‘compassion fatigue’ (Moeller, 1999) reflects the way in which the general public in richer nations are often manipulated by the media, sometimes with beneficial effects on people living in poorer nations, sometimes with negative effects. If the type of action (and indeed non-action) on the part of citizens in

terms of transnational issues is mostly determined by the media, it seems unlikely that positive outcomes will be achieved and sustained.

Another interesting feature of this document is as a snapshot of a particular period in recent British history in the context of trade and the prevalent attitude to development at the time. Despite the evident optimism of the British government under New Labor with regard to the UK's standing relative to other nations, international organizations and 'at the heart of the European Union' (DfES, 2004), there were already signs of trouble. On one hand, there is a statement that shows strong to commitment to economic success, not just for the UK, but for the region as a whole. Specifically, the intention was "to work with our European partners to realize the Lisbon goal that the EU should become 'the most competitive and dynamic knowledge-based economy in the world'" (DfES, 2004: 3). However, such commitments were being made at a time when the neoliberal economic regime was hardly even questioned. The following statement reflects issues relating to 'market pressures' and goes some way to explaining the UK's motivation for focusing more of its efforts overseas at the time:

"Market pressures, combined with the impact of new technology and constraints on capacity in the UK, point towards more courses being delivered overseas, either on UK offshore campuses or through partnership arrangements. This has the added benefit of building capacity within the countries concerned and creating scope for long-term strategic partnerships between institutions here and abroad".

In sum, analysis of this document has revealed that it is on the basis of the concerns just mentioned that the UK has sought to establish partnerships with other nations that are of mutual benefit, while global citizenship and the values associated with it can serve as a marketing tool for the government's development projects, since,

if marketed properly, this suggests both having fun and making a difference to young people from richer nations that might consider being involved in development projects. It is in this respect that I think P's conception of global citizenship as a 'postmodern lifestyle choice' (as participation in activities that one can easily opt out of), is often so apt. In what follows, the study turns to the Korean context for GCED, again within the dimension of the 'relative global'. In this context, the study first offers an analysis of Lee's (2016) text focusing on Global Citizenship Education and Korea's role in it, which contains certain key features that are similar to those of the DfES (2004) document previously discussed. There follows a presentation of the analysis of the interview data that were collected for the present study, also in the context of GCED in the dimension of the 'relative global'.

### **Global Citizenship Education and Korea**

**Lee, S.J., 2016. Global Citizenship Education and Korea. Ministry of Education, *교육2030 의제 실행계획 및 국가적 조정체계 구축에 대한 유관기관 협의회의.***

This article, 'Global Citizenship Education and Korea', was written by Lee Sangjin, the President of Korea National University of Welfare. It is a contribution to a document produced by Korea's Ministry of Education entitled "Education 2030 Implementation Plans and Consultation for the Establishment of a National Coordinating System". Lee states that he served as the ambassador of the Korean Representative Committee for UNESCO from 2012 to 2015. This period was crucial as regards GCED in Korea, the beginning of his tenure marking the point at which

Ban Kimoon- at the time he was UN General Secretary- set GCED as one the three objectives for his Global Education First Initiative. In the words of Lee (2016):

*“A true impetus for gaining momentum of the movement came when Secretary General of UN, honorable Ban Ki Moon, trumpeted the Global Education First Initiative in September of 2012. He set out three objectives: 1. Expansion of Educational Opportunities; 2. Enhancing the Quality of Education; 3. Cultivation of Awareness through Global Citizenship”.*

In this context, he cites Ban, who in relation to GCED stated that ‘education must fully assume its central role in helping people to forge more just, peaceful and tolerant societies’.

Lee (2016) makes it clear that the impetus for the Korean government’s support for the promotion of GCED was Ban’s advocacy of it, as GS1 and P stated:

*Upon Secretary-General Ban's proclamation of GEFI, Korea has been supportive of his vision by assisting international meetings and forums for GCED since 2013. As a result, GCED was selected as one of the UN's Sustainable Development Goals in the area of Education after the World Education Forum in Incheon in May, 2015 and last autumn's UN general meeting.*

The conception of GCED that Lee articulates reflects just how a broad a concept GCED is, and the importance of the role it is thought to play as part of the UN’s agenda:

*Hence, GCED is not only going beyond the eradication of illiteracy and expanding educational opportunities, but also allowing the world community to concentrate more on educational contents and the means for their materialization (Lee, 2016).*

Lee emphasizes the importance of the role played by Korea in the UN and UNESCO, and that Korea has become a ‘bench-marking nation’ from the perspective of other Asian countries and for African countries. He also specifically states that the role played by Korea as regards the promotion of GCED is increasingly significant:

*Korea has now emerged as one of the most important contributors for UN and UNESCO in various ways; in terms of education, Korea has become a bench-marking nation, as other Asian and African countries have requested support. One of the most significant roles as a participant in UN and UNESCO in relation to its diplomacy is to take charge of certain agenda. In terms of the GECD issue, it is noted that the level of significance has gone up greatly for Korea during the SDG processing selection. It was an enormous achievement under the leadership of Secretary-General Ban, as Korea has played a leading role in global education (Lee, 2016).*

According to Lee (2016), GCED ‘could be seen as a fundamental method through which global conflicts and terrorism could be resolved’, and refers to former president Park Keun-hye’s statement about ‘the importance of GCED and the role played by APCEIU in relation to their critical role in solving the problem of radical terrorism’:

*Furthermore, the timing could not have been any better as GECD could be seen as the fundamental method through which global conflicts and terrorism could be resolved as the United States and other developed nations have increased their interest in the issue. Furthermore, the status of APCEIU also has been enhanced due to its contributions to supporting the UNESCO executive office in the assigning and establishing of the UNESCO Clearinghouse on GCED. As such, president Park Keun-hye mentioned the importance of GCED and the role played by APCEIU in relation to their critical role in solving the problem of radical terrorism at the World Education Forum in Incheon last year (Lee, 2016).*

Lee (2016) emphasizes that despite the universal values promoted in UNESCO GCED documents, ‘GCED has to be operated within the context of each

nation's cultural and social values'. In other words, each nation should be free to 'domesticate' UNESCO's GCED directives:

*Despite its universal values, abetted and promoted by the UN and UNESCO, GCED has to be operated within the context of each nation's cultural and social values, the actual implementation therefore would require judicious planning and execution (Lee, 2016).*

Lee then gives examples of what the nature of Korea's involvement would be in other nations in developmental terms, with regard to the building of technological infrastructure, and facilitating cooperation between all pertinent groups:

*One such area would be global communication based on Information Technology, as GCED is heavily relied on. For that reason, Korea needs to constantly and systematically cooperate with every pertinent group, i.e., academia, research entities, and various organizations including APCEIU (Lee, 2016).*

Lee next turns to the ways in which GCED can be of benefit in the context of Korean society's current domestic issues, such as 'its problems accepting multiculturalism, improving rights for the handicapped, and so on.' In this respect Lee states that 'the principles of GCED have become a major catalyst for this nation'. :

*Due to the comprehensive nature of GCED, it is not easy for Korea to implement some of its core issues. However, the principles of GCED have become a major catalyst for this nation, whose social gaps between different segments have been widening enormously for some time as Korea is facing its problems accepting multiculturalism, improving rights for the handicapped and so on. In fact, the level of understanding and perception towards many immigrants, foreign workers, ethnic Korean-Chinese, the group formerly known as Korean-Soviets and North Korean refugees requires a major paradigm shift in terms of accepting their presence during this period of multiculturalism and diversity. Still appropriated by the traditional view of pure jus sanguinis (blood-line), Koreans are lacking in sensitivity and understanding towards others who are different from them. Hence, in addition to both a systematic and institutional*

*concerned effort on the part of the central government, each school, teacher, municipal city as well as provincial area is required to support those (who) have re-planted their lives in this country. This also applies to individuals with disabilities. Though progress has been made over the years, this is the area where much improvement is needed. In some cases, establishing facilities for people with disabilities often encounters vehement protest and opposition from local residents (Lee, 2016).*

Interestingly, Lee (2016) equates internationalization- rather than globalization- with Korea's advancement. Internationalization is arguably a term more closely associated with trade and commerce than globalization (which also refers to other processes such as the global spread of culture in addition to economic processes) and Lee here equates internationalization with 'open-mindedness and a progressive spirit':

*It is clear from my experience and global context while serving as the ambassador for Korea's Representative Committee for UNESCO that open-mindedness and a progressive spirit directly connects to Korea's own advancement, hence the equation, 'internationalization equals advancement' (Lee, 2016).*

He then states that the attitude of open-mindedness should apply not only to Korea's internationalization efforts, but also toward 'the most vulnerable social groups and under-privileged':

*The principle phrases of GCED--openness, diversity, and tolerance--should be extended to the most vulnerable social groups and the under-privileged. And such equation directly links to Korea's advancement and development. In the end, GCED is the converging point and central topic of Korea's fate in the coming age of globalization and advancement (Lee, 2016).*

One can see here, as is the case with the other documents examined in the present study, the difficulty with which participants in GCED discourse attempt to

weld the desire for individual nations' competitiveness onto more altruistic statements concerning poorer countries in a way that sounds in any way egalitarian. This last quote typifies the dual purpose that stakeholders have for GCED. As previously stated, on one hand GCED is meant to equip Koreans for 'internationalization'. On the other hand, GCED is meant to help 'the most vulnerable social groups and the under-privileged'. The addressees of such messages are themselves presumed to be in a position of relative strength both in comparison to vulnerable groups, such as immigrants at home, and people in poorer nations overseas. This implies an ethics of one-sided action that involves global citizens, defined as being in a position of strength, targeting the problems of people that are pre-defined as being incapable. In the words of Jefferess (2013), "global citizenship seems to mark an attitude of being in the world, and a transnational or universal identity, but as an ethics of action the global citizen is defined as one who helps an unfortunate Other". Furthermore, those targeted will continue to be constructed as 'unfortunate Others' for as long as they are so defined in GCED discourses, and this is a matter of concern to the extent that discourses produce subjectivities, as Foucault's theory of discourse suggests (Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1983). In other words, there is a danger that GCED practitioners will come to hold such assumptions themselves, in part because of the way in which development work is framed in documents such as these.

As mentioned previously, this category refers primarily to action *by the state*. The 'relative global' is a term used by Deleuze and Guatarri (Bogue, 2005) that relates to the negative manifestation of what P calls 'the domestication of global issues'. In the view of P, the member states of UNESCO, for example, sign a declaration committing them to providing GCED to young learners in a way that is consistent with the stated values and goals of the document in question. In practice

however, partly because the meaning of such documents is in any case ‘lost in translation’ due to the cultural non-specificity and therefore inappropriateness of GCED, and partly because individual governments have their own political agendas, what actually happens with respect to declarations of this kind is that a universal agenda is agreed upon that nonetheless gives individual states the freedom to pursue their GCED however they wish. It is in this respect that the negative manifestation of what P calls ‘the global domestication of global issues’ is the top down implementation of the government’s agenda through control of GCED. It is also in this respect that it is appropriate to call this dimension of the practice of GCED-GCED by and for the state- the dimension of the ‘relative global’, which in terms of Deleuze and Guattari has the characteristics of the ‘society of control’, and involves the creation of ‘striated space’, that is, the creation of rules and the regulation of society that make the running of the contemporary capitalist system possible.

GS1 stated that she regards the major stakeholder in GCED as being the Korean government, while “in terms of the practice aspect [...] the main stakeholders in GCE in Korea are Non-Profit Organizations or Non-Governmental Organizations” (p.1). The Korean government set GCED as the agenda for the 2015 World Education Forum held in Korea, but KNCU and APCEIU are given a lot of responsibility for GCED. However, as P also emphasized, the Korean government maintains a great deal of influence. In the words of GS1, NGOs are ‘encouraged,’ ‘influenced’ or perhaps even ‘kind of pushed’ by the government:

*GS1: So, Korean NPOs think that GCE is a new kind of education that can be used in youth education in Korea. They are affected by the government, they are kind of pushed...*

*I: Affected in what way?*

*GS1: Not 'affected'.*

*I: Influenced?*

*GS1: Not affected; influenced or encouraged will be correct.*

*I: OK, good*

*GS1: ...encouraged by the government; not the government directly, but through the platform of the Korean National Commission for UNESCO or KOICA or APCEIU (p.1-2)*

GS1 reiterated that fact that that KNCU and APCEIU are both UNESCO institutions (KNCU being a category 1, APCEIU being a category 2 UNESCO institution). While they are UNESCO institutions however, the government still has influence over them, as indicated by the following:

*GS1: The National Commission for UNESCO is a non-profit organization, it does not belong to the government, but still it is influenced by the Korean government. So, the Korean National Commission for UNESCO and APCEUI of course as a steering committee or the host center of GCE promotion. They really contributed to promotion of global citizenship education in Korea (p.2)*

GS1 also states that a major factor in terms of the Korean government's decision to choose GCED as the international agenda for its 2015 World Education for Education was the fact that Ban Kimoon was the General Secretary of the United Nations at that time. She informed me that she interviewed one of the managers of KNU partly to determine why GCED had been picked as its international agenda for the World Education Forum, and Ban Kimoon was the main reason given.

## **Key Note Speech at the 2015 World Education Forum**

The following excerpt contains more information about this and also supports GS4's statement that a feature of Korea's approach to GCED and development in general is that Korea's own past in terms of development is often invoked. This characteristic of Korea's conception of GCED is evident in former-President Park Geun-hye's address at the 2015 World Education Forum, a brief analysis of which follows:

### **Park, G.H., 2015. Key Note Speech at the 2015 World Education Forum, Incheon, Republic of Korea**

This is an excerpt from a translated transcription of former Korean President Park Geun-hye's key note speech at the 2015 World Education Forum in Incheon, South Korea. This was an international forum attended by representatives of various education-oriented international organizations, members of UNESCO, NGOs, and scholars. Irina Bokova, the Director-General of UNESCO, was also in attendance. In the context of her review of the results of UNESCO's 'Education for All' initiative, Park emphasizes the central role played by education in Korea's own development:

*It is my utmost honor to host such a meaningful forum here in Korea, where educational values are highly regarded, and on which the recent respectable economic surge is based.*

*Distinguished guests,*

*Education is the root of individual growth and national development.*

*Korea's economic upsurge, the 'Miracle on the Han' was based on educational values.*

*Having almost no natural resources, monetary support or support in general after the war, Korea invested mostly on education to produce highly capable human currency.*

*As a result, Korea has one of the lowest illiteracy rates in the world and the highest graduation rate, and has benefited from a universal higher educational system. In return, our rapid economic growth has benefited from education in general (Park, 2015).*

Park then links the international support that is integral to efforts to accomplish the goal of 'Education for All' and links this to Korea's own experience in terms of development, as Ban also frequently did when he was UN General Secretary, as GS1 pointed out:

*In fact, international support was a dominant force during the developmental stage of Korean education.*

*60 years ago, when the entire nation was devastated due to war, at that time, UNESCO came to assist in the making of Korean elementary textbooks, and the students were able to receive education and to nurture their dreams and hopes.*

*Korea has never forgotten such support from the international community, and we are doing the best we can to reciprocate (Park, 2015).*

After emphasizing that the Korean government is committed to the expansion of GCED through its support of APCEIU, Park states that the Korean government is a leader as regards the development of ICT in the context of education, and is willing to

share the relevant technology with schools overseas to help reduce the gap between richer and poorer nations in terms of the quality of education. GS1 reiterates that Ban Kimoon's status as UN General Secretary at the time and the narrative of Korea's own development have played a big part in promoting GCED on the world stage so far:

*GS1: I actually asked one of the managers of the Korean National Commission for UNESCO about this issue and they actually don't know the exact reason why the Korean government just liked GCE, but guess the former secretary general of the UN, a Korean man [Ban Kimoon]; he included GCE in GEFI, the Global Education First Initiative, so as he mentioned global citizenship education and he supported GCE. That's why I guess the Korean government chose GCE as the proposed new agenda [...] As UNESCO people explain it, it is the Korean National Commission of UNESCO's opinion, but Ban Kimoon promoted Korean education. When, after the Korean War, a lot of foreign aid was given to Korean education, and Ban Kimoon promoted that 'I was the recipient of foreign aid for education, so I could get some education, and now I am the general secretary of the UN, so you can see that Korea developed thanks to education and foreign aid', that's why...*

*I: I see. So, Ban Kimoon has symbolic value- his actual own story, and then...*

*GS1: So, Ban Kimoon emphasized the role of education, but in the global case maybe it will be education for global citizenship- I don't know- maybe because he's secretary general of the UN...just guessing.*

P also believes Ban Kimoon's position as UN General Secretary was a major reason why GCED was chosen as the educational agenda for Korea's World Education Forum, and implied that this may have also converged with the agenda of 'a certain political group' that at the time may have expected Ban to be their leader as president of Korea after his resignation as Secretary General. It is in this sense that P thinks the Korean government's conception of GCED has not been influenced by *any* institution or framework. In other words, the government have political aims of their own in mind, and UNESCO's vision for GCED was as a vehicle to help realize those

goals. It is for the same reason that P *does not* consider the Korean government to be a stakeholder in GCED:

*Anyway, I don't see or will ever see any evidence that institutions/theories/frameworks have influenced the Korean government's conception of GCE. I have to say that all this commotion in Korea had been mainly due to Ban Gi Moon's appointment at the UN and a certain political group promoting this opportunity to gain their political position. This was evident from Ban Gi Moon's running for the presidency this year, right after his resignation from his position as general secretary position at the UN (P, p.8).*

When asked about the values of GCED that are emphasized in the Korean context, GS1 again stated that there is a focus on 'moral responsibility for the global community'. In this context, the distinction between 'sympathy' and 'empathy' was made again:

*GS1: With respect to values, GCE in Korea is focusing on moral responsibility for the global community and sense of belonging to the global community and intercultural understanding, and kind of sympathy toward disadvantaged people in the global community.*

*I: Sympathy or empathy?*

*GS1: Sympathy, actually... Sympathy, actually.*

*I: [laughter] OK.*

In terms of the skills- as opposed to the values- emphasized in GCED in the Korean context, GS1 mentioned communicative skills, and especially proficiency in foreign

languages. There is often an emphasis on the message that young Koreans are global citizens, and as such they can travel around the world.

*GS1: Those kinds of things that are emphasized with respect to values, and skills are the communication skills- in many cases foreign languages for global competence, and to the specific, like “you can go around the world because you are a free traveler in the global community as a global citizen”, so like, traveling (p.5-6).*

This phenomenon will be discussed in what follows in the context of P’s statement that GCED could in fact be viewed as a ‘postmodern lifestyle choice’, especially in reference to people of younger generations.

In terms of the practice of GCED in Korea, there was consensus among GSs that NGOs, especially KNU and APECEIU, were the most active and influential organizations. GS2 stated that there is a lack of clarity in terms of learning outcomes and appropriate teaching methods as regards the GCED programs currently being provided by the institutions concerned, however. The following excerpt indicates that GS2 believes GCED’s emphasis in the Korean context on developing countries reflects a conception of GCED in Korea that creates a strong linkage between GCED and aid, but also an attitude to less developed nations that she does not regard as ideal. In the words of GS2, ‘the ones who are doing GCE work do not think Korea is the one that has to be improved’:

*I: “Is there any way in which people involved in GCE can pursue social reform, either domestically and/or beyond the nations borders?”*

*GS2: So research, or other activities?*

*I: Oh, good question- that's a good point. I mean either, actually.*

*GS2: So, what they are doing for the improvement of society? Er, I think the people who are involved in GCE are interested in social reform too, but not in Korea; we are thinking about the other nations that are less developed or underdeveloped (p.6) [...] Because I think the ones who are doing GCE work do not think Korea is the one that has to be improved (p.7) [...] I think they think that way, so I think the Korean government and institutions are thinking about GCE as linkage between GCE and aid. That's why I don't think it affects Korean social reform that much, yeah" (p.7).*

GS2 stated that classes in Korean schooling in general are often quite didactic, although there is a big effort underway to make classes more learner-centered to the extent that this is possible, given the heavy test focus that is still prevalent in the Korean educational context:

*GS2: "Korean schools are always trying to do learner-centered education and trying to change the evaluation systems too. Education is being changed, but not because of GCE. But, I told you we are trying to change but we have not changed yet, and we need to kind of talk about a peaceful world or the UN, but we just take a lecture; there is no discussion time, no questioning and answering, there's nothing" (p.7).*

Given that human capital is so important to Korea due to the nation's relative lack of natural resources, education and credentials are strongly emphasized. According to P, it is the test-based and college entrance- driven education system of Korea itself that is one of the biggest barriers to the fostering of global citizenship values. This could result in a bleak future for GCED, which would remain nothing more than a 'side show':

*"Especially if Korea continues to be a "test-based" and "college entrance"-driven society, GCE will only be a side show until the budget dries. Then it will be crossed off the priority list" (P, p.13).*

In fact, according to P, most students' schedules in terms of public school education and private classes are so busy that a restructuring of the education system is necessary 'if the government really wants to take the lead on GCE':

*"There is a saying in Korea: "if its not going to be on the test, then don't waste your time learning it." Most Korean students attend school from 8AM to 11PM, which includes studying in a hakwon [private academy] after school. Also, I read somewhere that 48% of junior high school students and 75% of high school students attend hakwons on weekends. Honestly speaking, Korean students don't have time to participate in GCED activities based on this rigorous academic regime that runs 24/7. If the government really wants to take the lead on GCE, then in my opinion, the government should restructure Korea's college entrance-focused school system as soon as possible" (P, 6-7).*

P emphasizes that Korea's rigorous, time-consuming, and test-centered education system (which involves studying both in the public and the private sector), does not allow room for the development of the capacities that the UNESCO (2015) document cited by P recommends should be developed; that is because of Korea's *own* one-size-fits-all education system, in the view of P. Furthermore, there are also no evaluative tools under the current regime that can measure learning outcomes with regard to those capacities :

*"My point here is this... maybe it's not possible to measure the success and the outcome of GCED in Korea based on the framework of Korea's education system. Korean education is based on a one-size-fits-all and heavily test-driven approach. However, UNESCO recommends that the approach to GCED should be:*

- **Holistic:** addressing learning content and outcomes, pedagogy and the learning environment in formal, non-formal and informal learning settings
- **Transformative:** enabling learners to transform themselves and society

- *Value based: promoting universally shared values such as non-discrimination, equality, respect and dialogue*
- *Part of a larger commitment to support the quality and relevance of education.*

*This approach, which is meant to be holistic, transformative, value based, and part of larger commitments –and relates to all procedural education practice - cannot be measured under the evaluation tools of the current education system in Korea” (P, p.6).*

GS3’s statements indicate that GCED is run in a top down manner throughout the educational sector. It seems that head teachers will often tell teachers to organize GCED lessons for students which, as mentioned previously, are usually delivered by a GCED lecturer from one of the NGOs visiting the school or given by GCED lecturers at one of the NGOs visited by students. This sometimes results in a lack of engagement on the part of the students, unless they gain credits for attending, in other words, the lesson is an extra-curricular activity. GS3 referenced an experience that she had as a visiting GCED lecturer delivering a one-off lesson at a vocational high school:

*GS3: And on top of that, I was an outside lecturer, right? I was not their teacher. I was just a lecturer from outside, so they were even asking for my number [laughter] So, they were not interested in the topic at all. It’s just the teacher who was in charge of that class asked me to deliver this class on global citizenship education, but the students were not interested at all. So, it was the teacher’s interest, or the principle probably ordered the teacher to [laughter] (p.2).*

GS3 commented that the training course that she attended was relatively brief, and that there was little room for input in terms of what GCED lecturers were permitted to contribute as regards content for the lessons and the way in which the material was to be delivered by lecturers. This top-down approach to the teaching of GCED is also

reflected in the following analysis of the Ministry of Education’s News Release focusing on the training and subsequent activities of ‘Global Citizenship Education Leading Educators’.

### **Global Citizenship Education Leading Educators Opening Ceremony**

**Ministry of Education News Release, 2015. 2015 Global Citizenship Education Leading Educators Opening Ceremony: An Opening Ceremony for the Leading Teachers responsible for Korea's inner educational setting in connection with GCED.**

This document, a Ministry of Education News Release published in 2015, explains the Ministry’s plans with regard to ‘Global Citizenship Education Leading Educators’ (MoE, 2015). According to the document, the Ministry of Education in conjunction with APCEIU appointed 35 educators who would be “responsible for Korea’s inner educational setting in connection with GCED” (MoE, 2015). The authors state that the appointment of the GCE Leading Educators:

*is part of an effort to expand and implement the principles of GCED. GCED is a globally pursued educational principle as well as the praxis of attaining knowledge and (internalizing) skills to foster peace, human rights, and diversity around the world (MoE, 2015).*

According to the document, approximately four educators were selected from each province in South Korea. Each of them had “successfully completed the 1<sup>st</sup> GCED program conducted in January [2015]. They have been exposed to, learned,

and exerted themselves in attaining the principles of GCED, Diversity Education, as well as Global Interpretive Education” (MoE, 2015).

With regards to NGOs or NPOs, GS1 and GS3 stated that the Korean major NPOs such as KNU and APCEIU send GCED lecturers to give one-off lessons or invite students to come to their offices. This document makes clear that the MoE in conjunction with APCEIU is also involved in this type of activity in the context of global citizenship education. Specifically, the MoE’s goal in relation to GCE Leading Educators’ is that they will “play the most pivotal role in expanding the principles of GCED in the school setting” (MoE, 2015). One of the main tasks of these Leading Educators is training large numbers of teachers to teach GCED. Specifically, “they are responsible for training [approximately 400] other city and provincial educators [...] until the end of March, and will then be asked to train approximately 4000 educators from each municipal city and province around the nation until the 20<sup>th</sup> of April” (MoE, 2015).

The authors emphasize that the Leading Educators “are expected to be the forerunners in establishing an exemplary case for the world” (MoE, 2015). As such they “will participate in the regional educator research committee of GCED and offer their expertise through counseling and developing creative educational models and practices” (MoE, 2015).

The document reflects the GCE Leading Educators’ enthusiasm surrounding the forthcoming 2015 World Education Forum that was to be held in Incheon, South Korea:

*One particular selected educator shared that it would be a great opportunity for us to share with the world the positive direction of the Korean education system and its advancement, given that the 2015 World Education Forum is being held in Incheon (MoE, 2015).*

The document gives a brief explanation of the three distinct levels of competency that are learned and taught by GCE Leading Educators. These are cognitive competency, social-emotive competency, and praxis competency. The second of these, social-emotive competency is described thus:

*Social-Emotive Competency: respecting diversity, sympathizing as a member of the global community and feeling solidarity with others and sharing common values and responsibilities (MoE, 2015).*

In terms of the Praxis Methodology of GCED described, GCED is described as a process wherein creative cognition enables learners to discuss global issues, the aim being that they ‘internalize universal values to find solutions to those problems’:

*Praxis Methodology of GCED:*

*GCED is a process based on creative cognition to discuss the current problems the world is facing at the moment and internalize universal values to find solutions to those problems (MoE, 2015).*

In sum, the emphasis in the praxis methodology of GCED is on learning and internalizing universal values. Having identified and discussed the problems that the world is currently facing, GCE Leader Educators work to resolve those problems with their newly acquired knowledge.

One of the issues with one-off GCED lectures, according to GS3, is that the lecture format results in an emphasis on abstract values (however, it should be emphasized that all of the three NPO GCED programs that GS1 observed were activity-based, not lecture based, so there is difference of opinion here with regard to the current situation in terms of the delivery of GCED by NPOs):

*GS3: I think values are more emphasized because as I mentioned, as far as I know, most of the GCE classes and lectures are given one time, so they really don't have that much time or space to really talk about skills. It's more abstract values, I think.*

GS3 suggests that many or most students require extrinsic motivation to take GCED lessons in this context. Specifically, students are given credit for fulfilling a certain number of hours of voluntary work, and attending GCED classes counts as voluntary work for students:

*GS3: I think it's typical among NGOs, at least among NGOs, it's typical. As far as I know, they get lecturers and they dispatch to different schools and they give one time lectures, and that's all. Oh, but I was in charge of this after-school club at a middle school, and that wasn't a one time lecture, that was a semester long (p.2).*

*I: And, it was a more positive experience?*

*GS3: Slightly, yes, because some of the students were really interested in this topic. They were really interested in development, in global issues and all that, so I think that part was positive. But at the same time, the reason why the students joined this school club is that they earn credits because in middle and high schools they have to fulfill a certain amount of hours of voluntary work...*

*I: And this counts as voluntary work?*

*GS3: Exactly [laughter] That's why the students had an interest in joining this club, but still, some students were interested, but most of the students were there because they need credits (p.2-3).*

P also sees this concern for gaining credits among students as the chief motivation for attending GCE classes in those instances when they do so. Furthermore, in these circumstances, it is difficult to see how this type of activity is in fact voluntary:

*Most high school students who are attending GCED gatherings are doing so purely based on the extracurricular credits they are required to earn. Therefore, any follow up activities by youth that are related to GC after the workshops rarely exist in Korea. Well, sometimes, students might join an NGO that may be involved with GCED as interns, but other than that I have yet to see voluntary movement from the youth group with regard to global issues (P, p.7).*

GS3 stated that the government is the biggest stakeholder in GCED in Korea, and feels that NGOs' efforts as regards GCED are a response to this, given the incentives involved:

*I: The next question is, who are the main stakeholders in GCE in Korea? Who have the most interest in advocating GCE, doing GCE?*

*GS3: First, it was government I think [laughter], and because the government gave subsidies and financial support, NGOs were into it...I think (p.3).*

As regards other stakeholders, GS3's comments suggest that from the perspective of parents, GCED is mostly about the notion of global competitiveness, hence, 'global leadership' is emphasized more by them than global citizenship as such:

*GS3: Well, I can't really generalize, but I think some teachers are interested in it, but I don't know about parents. I really don't think that*

*parents would think about global citizenship education for their children. I think they are into the term 'global,' but I think it's added to 'global leaders,' rather than 'global citizens.' They would rather want their children to be global leaders than global citizens [laughter] (p.3)*

When asked about the Korean government's specific aims in terms of GCED with regard to the international community as a whole, GS3 stated that part of the aim was "to throw this active voice in the global level as an advocate of global citizenship education [...] First I think just being an active supporter of voicing out internationally was their first aim" (p.4). As stated earlier, this is also in the context of the tenure of Ban Kimoon, who at the time was an advocate of GCED, as General Secretary of the United Nations:

*I: What are the Korean government's specific aims in terms of GCE with regard to the international community as a whole?*

*GS3: Hmmmm. Am I being too negative? [laughter]*

*I: I don't know, what are you going to say?*

*GS3: [laughter] Well, first, in Korea global citizenship education became huge around 2014/15, something like that, right? When they held the World Education Forum, and the Korean government wanted to throw this active voice in the global level as an advocate of global citizenship education. Erm, first I think just being an active supporter, or voicing out internationally was their first aim I think [laughter]. But, as far as I know they still provide some support, or they still want to continue global citizenship education at the ministry of education, at the ministry level, and at local and regional education offices. (p.4-5)*

With regard to the latter portion of the quote above, GS2 made a connection between GCED and democratic/citizenship education. If a nation places democracy at the forefront in terms of GCED it places itself in contrast with other

nations that do not. As GS2 mentioned, that is one of the reasons why democracy is emphasized in Hong Kong and Taiwan as a contrast with China, which, as P states, like India and Russia has no interest in GCED at all. GCED, therefore, represents a form of commitment to democracy on the part of the nation concerned.

Like the other GSs, GS4 saw the NGOs as drivers in terms of conveying messages to the Korean public about GCED. This includes the theme of moral responsibility toward people in poorer nations in this context, and references to Korea's own past with regard to development, both characteristics of GCED in Korea that were pointed out by GS1:

*GS4: I think NGOs are promoting the idea of GCE and how Koreans should become more responsible for globalization and our society; not only our society, but also different developing countries and underdeveloped countries (p.1).*

*I: I see. It's so interesting that you say responsibility. It sounds like Korea's responsibility as a more developed country now, or individual responsibility?*

*GS4: I guess Korea is in the middle, kind of in the middle zone because we were very poor not too long ago, and we got a lot of development funds and aid from the developed countries, so now I feel we need to be more responsible and more concerned about different issues, not within our country but in the global world (p.1).*

This supports GS2's view that GCED in Korea is increasingly being linked to aid/development. When asked about theories or frameworks that have influenced GCED in Korea, like GS1 and GS3, GS4 mentioned the UN SDGs and UNESCO. However, she emphasized that the promotion and marketing done by KNU and APCEIU is a big influencer of opinion in Korea in terms of GCED and its goals in this context. Interestingly, GS4 notes that it is generally not made clear 'which path to

take' with regard to GCE beyond the fact that people 'are interested in global leadership and how we can go abroad and how it can influence in the global field" (p.2-3). When asked about the frameworks that may have influenced GCED she cited the UN's Sustainable Development Goals, but also mentioned that KNU and other such organizations are involved in the promoting and marketing of GCED:

*GS4: Obviously, the UN SDGs. Also, Busan had a big forum, I think, aid effectiveness. And also UNESCO Korea is doing a lot of promotions and marketing to spread the word, but...*

*I: And, what do you think? When you see that marketing, what's your impression? It's interesting that you use that word.*

*GS4: [laughter] They're communicating with Koreans in Korea well, but I think they should provide more education to raise the awareness of GCE, because they know GCE and they are interested in global leadership and how we can go abroad and how it can influence in the global field, but they are not so sure which way, which path to take...(p.2-3).*

GS4 was the only one of the participants to mention *saemaul undong* (New Village Movement), which is a uniquely Korean concept, in the context of Korean development projects overseas (Korean Rural Economic Institute, 2009). The New Village Movement was a domestic development drive that took place in Korea under the leadership of Park Chunhui that encouraged people at the local community level in rural areas to embark on infrastructure projects in the attempt to achieve parity between the level of wealth in urban and rural areas:

*I: I see, yeah. Would you say that the saemaul undong concept is compatible with the UNESCO version of GCE? It's difficult for me to see any connection or compatibility there; what's your own feeling?*

GS4: I guess I see it mostly from the development perspective, but I think if Koreans emphasize the Koreanized development framework too much or our own concept of GCE or how Koreans can become global leaders or bring impact to the rest of the world, it can be misused a little bit. So, we need to kind of balance off our own values, our traditional values with the- not so much Western- but the neoliberal values (p.3).

GS4 states here that the New Village Movement model has some merits. She also states, however, that it may not be beneficial for a Korean model of development to be implemented in rural areas of African nations, such as the Democratic Republic of Congo (KREI, 2009), for example, if the model is insufficiently localized. She also states that, in terms of the Korean approach to development, ‘we need to kind of balance off our own values, our traditional values with the- not so much Western- but the neoliberal values’ (GS4, p.3). It is precisely the implicit understanding of GCED as being the ‘other side of the coin’, in other words, the therapeutic answer to global competitiveness or neoliberalism, that is reflected in GS4’s comments here. GS4 states that on the part of richer nations it is necessary to balance one’s own cultural values with neoliberal values. However, this balance is more easily achieved on the part of richer nations than those they aim to form development partnerships with.

### **The Making of the Korean Version of the Directives by UNESCO**

In what follows, I present my analysis of two further documents whose content supports the view that GCED discourse can be seen as a form of the ‘domestication of global issues’. The first document states explicitly that APCEIU has aimed to create a domesticated version of the UNESCO GCED directives, while the second document presents the Korean philosophical concept, ‘hong-ik-in-gan’, in the context of his

discussion concerning Korea's ability to take a lead with regard to the conception and practice of GCED.

**APCEIU/UNESCO, 2015. The Making of the Korean Version of the Directives by UNESCO. *Global Citizenship Education: Topics and Learning Objectives***

The authors of this document, 'The Making of the Korean Version of the Directives by UNESCO', specifically refer to it as a 'domesticated' version of the UNESCO Directives in relation to GCED. As the authors state, there is no focus here on the informal or less conventional forms of GCED education and activities that are mentioned in the UNESCO (2014) document for example. Instead, this version "is organized to emphasize the educational inculcation in institutions and government entities" (APCEIU/UNESCO, 2015):

*Unlike the Directives of UNESCO which expects results from its pedagogical umbrella covering not only the areas of formal education but also informal and non-formal education, the current version is organized to emphasize the educational inculcation in institutions and governmental entities (APCEIU/UNESCO, 2015).*

The authors state that a wide range of Korean experts in the field of Global Citizenship Education/International Education, including professors, elementary, middle, and high school teachers and also graduate students were involved in this process (APCEIU/UNESCO, 2015).

As previously mentioned, the aim of this process was to devise a "domesticated" version of the first draft of the UNESCO Directives:

*The current research project had no intention of producing an explanatory version of the Directives. Initially, the aim of the project was to analyze, modify and eventually devise a "domesticated" version of an education curriculum based on the first draft, then, of the Directives of UNESCO (APCEIU/UNESCO, 2015).*

The rationale for this is of interest in the context of the present study. The authors describe the gap between the Directives in the UNESCO (2015) document and the current education system in Korea as ‘enormous’, hence, they could not be grafted onto Korea’s education system. According to the authors,

*there is an enormous gap between the Directives, which is the end result of global discussions and the current educational system in Korea; hence, it would be difficult to graft the principles of the Directives to Korean situations in relation to devising curricula, modification, writing of the texts, developing educational programs, and organizing a program for the instructors (APCEIU/UNESCO, 2015).*

In other words, the first draft of the UNESCO Directives was not deemed to be a good fit for the Korean context; hence, the priority in the process described by the authors was ‘catering to the need of Korean contexts’ (APCEIU/UNESCO, 2015).

Second, the language of the first draft of the Directives is deemed by the authors to be too abstract and general:

*Because the Directives were formed not specifically for Korea but for all members of UNESCO, the contained language is abstract and general, hence, there is hardly any specific case applicable to particular cases. Therefore, a mere translation of the Directives only engenders confusion (APCEIU/UNESCO, 2015).*

Furthermore, it is clear that during the process of reviewing Korea’s 2015 educational curricula, the authors were committed to including the ‘domesticated’

version of the components of the UNESCO directives as regards GCE, which were ‘to be grafted to the Korean pedagogical system’ (APCEIU/UNESCO, 2015). The authors’ legitimize their discourse partially through ‘impersonal authority’ (Van Leeuwen, 2008). It is stated that the committee made a decision, but no reason is given as regards why that decision was made. It is simply the case that a decision was made by people with authority and the decision will be acted upon:

*When the Directives were published in 2015, the Korean educational system was in the process of reviewing the 2015 educational curricula, and the committee decided that it was appropriate for the Directives to be grafted to the Korean pedagogical system. Therefore, the committee decided to provide an explanatory version of the Directives to assist readers to better understand the basic principles [of the Directives] (APCEIU/UNESCO, 2015).*

### **Global Citizenship and the Principle of Korean Educational Ideology**

**Jeong, G.O., 2016. Global Citizenship, the Education Reform of the 31st of May and the Principle of Korean Educational Ideology. Ministry of Education, 교육 2030 의제 실행계획 및 국가적 조정체계 구축에 대한 유관기관 협의회의.**

This article by Jeong (2016) is unlike the other documents examined in that it considers the notion of global citizenship from a philosophical and historical perspective in the Korean context. In what follows, I will summarize the key points in Jeong’s article before examining each of them in more detail. Specifically, Jeong links the concept of global citizenship with the nation’s founding philosophy, *hong-ik-in-gan*, which can be translated as ‘extensively benefitting all of humanity’, and which has its origins in both Buddhism and Confucianism, according to the author. In the second part of the article Jeong (2016) focuses on one element of the idea of ‘hong-ik-in-gan’, namely ‘ik’, which means ‘benefit’, and is a much more everyday word in

Korean vocabulary. He uses it as a way of linking the notion of ‘hong-ik-in-gan’ to the ‘win-win’ concept of mutual reciprocity that he states is characteristic of Far East Asian business practices. Hence, he links the idea of ‘extensively benefitting all of humanity’ with Korea’s win-win conception of business and development in terms of service trade, which he sees as the main characteristic of the contemporary global economy (Jeong, 2016). Ultimately in his argument, therefore, Jeong (2016) states that “the closest contemporary concept corresponding to *hong-ik-in-gan* would be the concept of ‘for the benefit of clients’”.

The author mentions the 31<sup>st</sup> of May in the article’s title because it is the date in 1995 when South Korea’s 4<sup>th</sup> Educational reform was proposed under the administration of President Kim Young-sam. At that time, according to Jeong (2016), the main idea of the reform was ‘to promote the idea of open-mindedness and cultural consciousness, thinking and acting from the perspectives of global citizenship’. It was also intended to strengthen democracy at a time in Korea’s modern history when the nation was about to join the OECD (in 1996) and when it was undergoing economic liberalization to a greater extent than ever before:

*In the preface of the Guideline for the Educational Reform published on the 31st of May in 1995, the main theme is to promote the idea of open-mindedness and cultural consciousness, thinking and acting from the perspectives of global citizenship. At the same time, it also emphasizes the humanitas education (character-cultivation) primarily on praxis, which was already implemented as a specific pedagogical methodology in high schools. Having taken the Guideline, the 4th Educational Reform Proposal by the Kim Young-sam administration prioritized the Guideline to enhance it further, submitting a new proposal-Supplementation of Education for the Establishment of Global Citizenship-as the stepping stone towards the Education for (making of) Democratic Citizens (Jeong, 2016).*

In the second part of his article, Jeong (2016) refers to the origins of the term *hong-ik-in-gan*, which he states is the nation’s founding philosophy. It is on this basis

that one can ‘understand Korea’s leading role in promoting Global Citizenship Education at an early stage’, in the view of Jeong:

*To understand Korea's leading role in promoting Global Citizenship Education at an early stage, one needs to observe the Principle adopted by the Ministry of Education from the Nation's founding philosophy, 弘益人間 (Hong-ik-in-gan), which literally means, "extensively benefiting all of humanity" simply because all citizens of the world can be included in the term described (Jeong, 2016).*

Jeong (2016) notes that the Chancellor of UNESCO, Irina Bokova, linked the concept of *hong-ik-in-gan* to UNESCO’s vision for global citizenship education in her speech at the 2010 Anniversary of UNESCO-Korea, and further notes that Korean scholars also often invoke *hong-ik-in-gan* in their efforts to work toward unification of the two Koreas:

*As such, the Chancellor of UNESCO, Irina Bokova cited the term to correlate it with the ideal pursued by UNESCO's Global Citizenship Education at the 60th Anniversary of UNESCO-Korea. The most recent scholars, whose object is to promote the image of Korea in keeping up with the current trend of the globalized world, furthermore, make positive contributions to the Unification Process of the two Koreas focusing on the idea of Hong-ik-in-gan (Lee, 2006).*

At this point in his article Jeong (2016) points out a distinction between the notion of freedom in Western and East Asian nations in relation to the term *hong-ik*. He notes that in Western terms the concept of freedom can be understood as referring to ‘individualistic personal progress’ without infringement on other individuals’ ability or capacity to pursue their individualistic progress. However, he suggests that in East Asian contexts, while that notion of freedom has been influential, *hong-ik-in-gan* suggests a conception of freedom that ‘goes beyond the notion of ‘not-infringe-

upon' the freedom of others, and is a radical idea that promotes the view 'benefitting others':

*Having selected character-development as one of three fundamental principles of the purpose of education in Korea, the terminology is based on the historical progress of the concept in the West. In this sense, even though the idea of hong-ik-in-gan is based on individual freedom and character developed over the years in the West, from the perspectives of ideological spectrum, the concept goes beyond the notion of "not-infringe-upon" the freedom of others, and is a radical idea that promotes the view, "benefitting others." (Jeong, 2016).*

However, Jeong (2016) also points out the dynamic nature of the term *hong-ik-in-gan*. This is a matter of extensively benefitting others 'as nature directs', or *hong-ik-in-gan-yi*. There is an acknowledgement of change and dynamism and a kind of 'letting be' at the same time. He quotes the *Book of Changes* directly, saying this understanding of *ik* leads to 'an increase without restriction of place. Everything in the method of this increase proceeds according to the requirements of time' (<http://ctext.org/book-of-changes/yi1-used> Legge's translation, cited in Jeong, 2016).

It is here that Jeong makes a link between the concept of *hong-ik-in-gan* and the contemporary global economy, which he states 'is now revolving around the idea of Service Trade'. In this context, he suggests that in contemporary times, the concept that now corresponds closest to the term 'hong-ik-in-gan'- benefitting all humanity- is 'for the benefit of clients'. On this basis, he concludes that "*hong-ik-in-gan* is a postmodern ideal that coincides with the notion of the modern service industry concept to lead Global Citizenship Education" (Jeong, 2016):

It also is important to discover the value of *hong-ik-in-gan* as the world's economy is now revolving around the idea of Service Trade. Maximal satisfaction through mutual

exchange has been one of the most important methods in maintaining societies and developing economies. In what circumstances is the mutual benefit among people possible based on the idea of *hong-ik*? In modern times, this idea of mutual benefit is known as a win-win game. This is to maximize happiness for everyone through mutual exchange (benefiting others). This is the way of business for many Korean traditional business people. Therefore, the idea of *hong-ik-in-gan* is not a political philosophy of objectifying the other, but a pragmatic philosophy of benefiting others. The closest contemporary concept corresponding to *hong-ik-in-gan* would be the concept of "for the benefit of clients." This notion has gone through a progressive development through the medieval period in the areas of medical, legal and religious services. Currently this concept is used as the ethical basis for service economy in dealing with clients (Nigel, 2008). In this sense, *hong-ik-in-gan* is a post-modern ideal that coincides with the notion of the modern service industry concept to lead Global Citizenship Education (Jeong, 2016).

In sum, the author recontextualizes (Van Leeuwen, 2008) the notion of ‘hong-ik-in-gan’, placing it within the discourse of service trade by linking the two concepts via the Korean word ‘ik’, which means ‘benefit’. While ‘hong-ik-in-gan’ suggests an attitude of good will toward all other human beings and the intention to benefit them, service trade refers to transactions between producers and consumers that result in the delivery of an intangible product, that is, a service, for profit. In this case, the discursive construction of legitimation is achieved through ‘the authority of tradition’. The author names ‘hong-ik-in-gan’ as the founding philosophy of the Korean nation and states that there are historical links between this philosophy and what he characterizes as a specifically East Asian business culture, which he says reflects a ‘win-win’ mentality. Finally, in this context the author argues that since the concept of ‘hong-ik-gan’ corresponds to the attitude that is appropriate to service trade, and that the global economy now revolves around the service sector, Korea is well placed to be a leading nation as regards GCED. Once again, this article reflects the difficulty involved in attempting to reconcile global competition and global competition (Torres, 2002) through GCED discourse.

Ultimately, as suggested previously, these findings point to the necessity of an emphasis on development projects focusing on transnational issues ‘from the vantage of the local’ (Bogue, 2005), which do not require the enormous resources possessed only by the state and corporations. Furthermore, these findings suggest that the quality of GCED discourse and practice could be improved if there was a degree of emphasis on creative problem-solving within the non-market sector and possibly even non-market strategies that would enable citizens to exert political pressure via their networks in an attempt to address social injustices. This would require a quite major shift in emphasis from the present state of affairs as regards GCED, which is essentially characterized by complete acceptance of all-out competition in every domain of human life including education, and a conception of ethical action within which participants are constructed either as ‘global citizens’ (meaning cosmopolitan people from richer nations) who help, or ‘unfortunate Others’ (Jefferess, 2013) who are to be helped.

### **‘Domestication of Global Issues’ as the ‘local absolute’/GCED as Critical**

This category refers to action *by and for citizens*, and is the positive manifestation of the ‘domestication of global issues’. It refers to the perspective of the ‘local absolute’, or global issues ‘from the vantage point of the local’ (Bogue, 2005), and refers to any instance in which a local problem is solved through a combination of the action of people belonging to a local community and groups from elsewhere, and will almost always be facilitated by digital media, in which case the conception of human beings forming a network or ‘rhizome’ (Bogue, 2005) is also appropriate. It therefore

also refers to any instance of the conception and practice of GCED that actually realizes or has the potential to realize the core values of GCED, namely, cultural empathy and intercultural competence, in practice. While the latter may imply hard skills such as foreign language proficiency, for example, the ideal primary aim is not to acquire skills so as to be able to compete with others but so as to be able to cooperate and collaborate with them, forms of action which are also consistent with the contemporary shift in social transformations toward ‘networked individualism’, which involves a move toward networks from hierarchies to a larger extent than ever before, as stated previously. Furthermore, it is assumed in the present study, the inevitability of an expansion of the non-market sector of the regular economy, also called the ‘sharing economy’ (Mason, 2015) also suggests a need for the realization of GC values in practice. In sum, if the values of GCED can be engendered, this should be a form of GCED that is by and for citizens, and will possibly not involve the state at all. It cannot possibly be top down. It is for this reason that, unlike any of the GSs (or myself for that matter), P did *not* regard the Korean government as *a* stakeholder-let alone *the* main stakeholder- of GCED, because he thinks its actual aims and political agenda bear no relation to the stated aims of official GCED discourse, the core of which being cultural empathy and intercultural competence. This category also refers to the critical orientation of citizens towards global or transnational issues. In what follows, there is a presentation of the interview data that pertains to this category, but not an analysis of documents. That is because, among the documents that my Korean colleagues advised me were representative of the main various types of GCED discourse published in Korea, none could really be considered to belong in this category. This does not mean there is no such literature, but only that there is no

such literature to my knowledge. (That is also the case with regard to official GCED discourse published in the British context).

GS1 stated that, since GCED's aims are peace, equality, and cooperation it has the potential to be of educational value and have a beneficial effect with regard to contemporary domestic societal issues, such as hatred and prejudice; 'hatred toward women, or hatred toward foreigners and related crimes and related conflicts will be reduced, I guess':

*GS1: First, GCE might contribute to promoting understanding between Koreans and immigrants and foreigners and the children of immigrants, and laborers from foreign countries, not only at the school level, but in society as a whole because many problems and cultural conflict appear from misunderstanding of other cultures and stereotypes of certain cultures, so GCE would contribute to the understanding of each other among Koreans and immigrants or foreigners. And, originally GCE aims at peace and equality and cooperation. So, if each Korean can have some values and attitudes of GCE, which GCE appreciate, many societal problems like hatred; hatred toward women or hatred toward foreigners and related crimes and related conflicts will be reduced, I guess (p.6).*

GS1, like GS2 and GS3, identified differences between the characteristics and roles of multicultural education and GCED in Korea, seeing them, however, as 'complementary concepts'. GS1 stated that "multicultural education is just in Korea, so coming to understand foreign cultures and helping others, but global citizenship education, for them, is a concept that Koreans and immigrants can get harmony in Korea because global citizenship education emphasizes the importance of, you know, cooperation and harmony" (p.6). It seems that the main purpose of multicultural education is dealing with the immediate difficulties of accommodating foreign-born children into the Korean education system, in other words, helping others, whereas GCED, as a 'broader concept' (GS2) is potentially beneficial in terms of the necessary

conceptual- as opposed to purely practical- dimension to this, that is, with regard to the aim for ‘cooperation and harmony’ in this context:

*GSI: I don't know at the governmental level, but at the NPO level they think global citizenship education can be a complimentary concept to multicultural education because multicultural education is just in Korea, so coming to understand foreign cultures and helping others, but global citizenship education, for them, is a concept that Koreans and immigrants can get harmony in Korea because global citizenship education emphasizes the importance of, you know, cooperation and harmony, but I'm not sure of the governmental level because I haven't seem any national report or their policies, but global citizenship education can be understood as a complementary concept to multicultural education in Korea, I think (p.6).*

However, P was less optimistic with regard to the prospects for GCED making Korea a more immigration-friendly nation, seeing GCED as ‘more of an image of making an effort than anything else that one could hope for’ (P, p.11):

*My experience of Korea is that it has not been an immigration ‘friendly’ nation. It does not have a good track record of accommodating and embracing people with the citizenship of foreign born people...Unless I have overlooked something or have been misinformed, I have only witnessed the advocacy and promotion of GCED as more of an image making effort than anything else that one can hope for (P, p.11).*

Furthermore, he sees the lack of involvement of foreign faculty on university campuses- even in workshops and activities relating to GCED- as a systemic problem that is a barrier to making progress with GCED’s core activities:

*In fact, even at university level, within which I have attended many meetings that are related to GCED, I have yet to witness the inclusion of foreign-born faculty in the planning of GCED workshops or activities. I think it's more of systemic problem here, and they need to deal with it before they can fully act on GCED's core activities (P, p.11-12).*

When asked whether there are currently any forms of GCED that she thought could be considered to be ‘grassroots’ or ‘bottom-up’, GS1 thought that the GCED oriented work of NGOs and NPOs *can* be considered to be in this category, but not if this was “influenced by SDGs or the global agenda”, or ‘if the government just pushed them to do something’:

*GS1: The activity of NGOs and NPOs will be kind of grassroots activity, as long as they are not influenced by government or SDGs. Because I think grassroots is really a voluntary thing, so I’m not sure whether they started GCE influenced by SDGs or the global education agenda, whether it is grassroots or not. It will be GCE is they chose to start GCE because GCE is a proper and advantageous and valuable kind of education and decided to contribute their work to GCE, that can be grassroots activity. But if the government just pushed them to do something, it is not grassroots, so I think the activity of NGOs and NPOs can be grassroots activity (p.7).*

GS1 stated that she thinks GCED has the potential to become a citizenship movement because of its potential to touch the perceptions and attitudes of individuals not just at the global, but at the local level. When asked about the potential for GCED practitioners to pursue social reform she stated that GCED had the potential to cause people “to think differently and to take action for change or transformation”:

*GS1: I think a citizens’ movement, again, can be the foundation for social reform. Since global citizenship education can encourage people to think differently and to take action for change or transformation that can lead to a citizens movement, and then can move to social reform (p.7).*

GS1 pointed out that GCED lessons “provide a chance for students to practice cooperation and sharing, which they cannot do much during their regular classes”. Furthermore, GS1 stated that she had observed GCED lessons whose aim was to enable students to identify- and make a video clip about- an issue in their local

community, a project which also required them to cooperate with members of that community who had directly experienced the issue concerned:

*GS1: I think one of the advantages of GCE in Korea is that it provides a chance for students to practice cooperation and sharing, which they cannot do much during their regular classes.*

*For example, when I observed one of the NPOs, students participated in an activity to make video clips...*

*I: They made video clips?*

*GS1: Yeah. They found one social issue in Korea, in their local community, and then they developed their story to show people that it is a social problem in Korea or their local community. So, in the course of making the film, the students cooperated with each other, and students and local people cooperated to make the film, so it can be an example of cooperation.*

GS2's comments concerning components of GCED that are emphasized in the Korean context again reflect the link or complementarity of GCED and multicultural education. However, with regard to GCED she stated that there is serious confusion among practitioners concerning the aims of GCED in terms of the concept itself, the content, the curriculum, the capacities the learner should achieve. Again, she emphasized the importance of *empathy* as a capacity, for which there is currently no method of assessment:

*GS2: I think one thing is respect for cultural diversity. I don't exactly about this, but I heard at a conference ...A major problem, they said, was there's no set curriculum, there's no fixed curriculum, there's no fixed concept; that's why there's no fixed capacity that the learner should achieve. Why? That's because Korean GCE is not stable yet. That's why we need more research about the content, or the goal, or the capacity that learners should achieve. Erm, so I don't know what the government*

*or the institutions are pushing the learner to achieve, but for me the most important thing is empathetic ability- there are two types; I think sympathy and empathy are different. I think empathy is quite an important capacity.*

With regard to multicultural education, GS2 stated that multicultural is spreading far more in Korea than GCED, which she said was ‘a baby’ in comparison. She also mentioned specific activities in terms of multicultural education which are intended to address the challenges of increasing numbers of foreign-born children and those entering higher education that are now in the Korean system in a practical manner. GS2 stated that Korean university students can volunteer to assist university students from China, for example, by signing up for mentoring programs. As stated previously, both GS1 and GS2 drew distinctions between the emphasis and purpose of GCED and multicultural education, the latter being more to do with the problem of systemizing the provision of practical assistance and guidance for foreign-born students, while GCED is seen as being more beneficial with regard to fostering the values required for a more heterogeneous education sector:

*I: Do you think GCE can solve domestic societal problems in Korea?*

*GS2: I think it can because multicultural students show lower achievement in their learning, and at the same time they cannot hang around with other students. It is a very big problem in the schools because there are a lot of immigrants from foreign countries and the number has increased, so maybe GCE can help solve that kind of problem because it requires us to have an open mind to other cultures and other people (p.5).*

*I: So, based on your experience, do you think multicultural education or GCED has more potential to help with that problem?*

*GS2: Maybe, if I only consider those problems I just mentioned then multicultural education might be more useful, but there are a lot of other*

*problems too, so, for them GCE is a broader concept I think, so it can solve the other problems that multicultural education cannot solve. (p.6)*

When asked whether there is any form of GCED that could be called ‘grassroots’ or ‘bottom up’, the answer she gave was “activity by an individual”. Given that GS2 emphasized the importance of empathy on three occasions during her interview, it seems that her experience overseas in various countries and cultures that are different from her own may have increased her own capacity for empathy. This possibility of an individualistic form of GCED may be linked to the sociological concept, ‘networked individualism’, given the connection GS2 makes between offline activities of individuals, such as physically travelling and interacting with others, and blogging and SMS activity. This may be typical of young people in that they are operating as individuals managing personal networks:

*I: Do you think there is evidence of some form of GCE that you might call grassroots or bottom up?*

*GS2: ...Maybe this kind of activity by an individual can be bottom up activity because the reason why I have interest in GCE and global culture and globalization is I have experienced a lot of other nations and I have experienced their culture and I have enjoyed it, so one who has traveled to a lot of countries usually has a similar open mind to global citizenship education or global culture. They have interest in culture itself, too. That’s why they are doing some kind of SMS activity or they are doing some kind of blogging, so that could be one kind of grassroots activity.*

GS3 provided more information about the connection between ethics education and GCED. She stated that the components of GCED and ethics education are so similar that when she interviewed some Korean teachers that were completely unfamiliar with GCED, she found that the components of UNESCO’s framework for GCED- which she did not mention as being from UNESCO’s framework at all- were

interpreted by them as ethics education. Furthermore, when GS3 was expanding the concept to the global dimension during her interactions with the teachers, they connected the components to which GS3 referred to the global dimension by linking it to democracy, via the concept of *minju shimin* (the ‘democratic citizen’).

*GS3: I've interviewed some teachers as well in Korea; they were not in regular schools, they were in alternative schools for North Korean students, and they were not familiar with global citizenship education. That's why in the interviews I didn't use the term 'global citizenship education'. I just took UNESCO's framework and explained the components of global citizenship education as addressed by UNESCO, so that's how I conducted the interview. I didn't even use the term GCE, because they were not familiar with it. And they immediately perceived this as ethics education or moral education, just expanding it to the global level. So, I think that's why some of them brought out the term 'democratic citizen', like democratic citizenship education, minju simin. So there's a conception of a democratic citizen, or being a good citizen, and then expanding it to the global level.*

*I: Oh, I see. It sounds like you're saying that that's the linkage to the global, the democratic.*

*GS3: Yeah, Yeah- exactly. This is kind of linked (p.4).*

The following quote is of particular interest with respect to the linkage that is now being made between GCED and aid/development, at least in the view of GS2. When asked whether GCED has the potential to address domestic societal issues in Korea, GS3 stated that the teachers at a special school for children of North Korean defectors said the issues that parents of these children face were primarily related to a lack of financial security and other problems, meaning that while the human rights component in GCED would perhaps be of more relevance to those children than South Korean children, ironically they had more urgent and practical matters to deal with:

*I: Do you think GCE can help solve domestic societal problems of some kind, in other words, GCE but kind of inward-looking as well?*

*GS3: That's what I was hoping for [laughter]. That's why I was hoping that global citizenship education would be able to deal with North Korean defector students in Korean society. So, that's what I was hoping...*

*I: You mean, you didn't think that it helped.*

*GS3: But, the focus was a little different though, because my point was more that North Korean defector students also need global citizenship, and the teachers agreed as well, but they thought that there were other priorities, such as financial stability, and because their situation is not good they probably would agree with most of the issues because they've experienced poverty or human rights issues, and all that, but before overcoming their emergent issues (p.6)*

However, when asked whether GS3 thought there were currently any forms of GCED that could be considered 'bottom up', she referred to certain elementary school teachers that she had met that she said were extremely committed practitioners of GCED. While emphasizing that the initiation of GCED in Korea has been top down, she reported that the teachers in question were exceedingly self-motivated and by no means reliant "on the government approach or government handed down materials or outside materials" (p.6):

*GS3: Overall, I think the initiation was not grassroots or bottom up, but I've met some teachers who were really into global citizenship education, and were active enough to really integrate global citizenship education into their curriculum, regardless of subjects. So, for those teachers it's not a one-time lecture, or getting lectures from outside and letting students experience it once. It's more like these teachers want these students to be exposed to global citizenship education in all subjects.*

*I: Which level? Elementary, middle school, or high school teachers?*

*GS3: They were elementary school teachers.*

*I: How fascinating- you're describing government workers as doing bottom-up GCE, even though they're government workers.*

*GS3: Yeah. So, I think the very starting point was government because they had an interest in the World Education Forum [laughter] or, at least, voicing out their activeness in Korean education at the international level, but regardless of how these teachers were exposed to global citizenship education, whether it's from government or not, I think for these teachers they were not relying on the government approach or government handed down materials or outside materials. They were active enough to observe what their students needed. If they felt that their students were not being exposed enough to these global issues, they wanted to include these issues, and they were actually researching how to include them, methods, or something like that, yeah (p.6).*

Interestingly, GS3 is here describing the activity of government workers as a form of bottom up GCED. This is a feature of all of the interviewees' views concerning what constitutes bottom up GCED: they see bottom up GCED activity as being conducted by anyone whose practices actually reflect GC values, e.g., intercultural empathy, while there is a lot of diversity in terms of who they currently think those people actually (or potentially) are in contemporary Korean society: *networked individuals* (GS2); *NGO members* -albeit with certain caveats- (GS1 and GS4); *teachers in public schools* (GS3), and *citizens* that are acting independently of any hierarchical organization (GS1 and P). In other words, here there is a suggestion that GCED activity is conducted *by and for citizens*.

GS4 stated that there is a generational difference with regard to the reception of GCED in Korea. Specifically, she reported that young people are 'more open to global education', whereas older people are more concerned with domestic issues. She suggested that this perceived difference is probably due to education, although she refers to learning more broadly in the form of information shared on social media, which is accessed much more by young people in this manner than old people:

*GS4: I think now the young generation are more open to global education, and they want to experience multiculturalism as well. But they are more proactive in such movements, but I'm not sure about the older generation of Koreans because they are so concerned about our country and ourselves, so they are not so concerned and they are not so interested in GCE, I think.*

*I: So, what has created that generational difference, do you think?*

*GS4: Probably education.*

*I: OK. You mean they're more educated, or the style of education?*

*GS4: Yeah, the style of education and how we are more exposed to the media and also the internet, so we can see what is happening out there, and the older generation are not so familiar with such stuff, but they can get news from the media (p.2).*

Again, this relates to P's question as to whether GCED might be considered to be a 'postmodern lifestyle choice': young people are perceived by GS4 as being 'more open to global education' and 'want to experience multiculturalism'. As P notes, young GCED practitioners can step out of GCED any time, while the collectivism of older people- on whose labor Korea's economic status is now based- was an essential component of the survival and then success of local communities and more broadly, the nation as a whole; there was no perception that citizens could opt out, nor was there a desire to do so on the whole. On the other hand, there may also be a question here as to whether the social transformation we are now seeing relates to the concept of networked individualism, which has both merits and demerits, through a shift toward an increase in 'bridging ties' and a decrease in 'bonding ties' (Rainie &

Wellman, 2012). Furthermore, networks can be formed quickly but can also cease to exist within a short time frame, whereas before the ‘Triple Revolution’ social relations were far more stable because they were essentially maintained at the local level only, meaning that bonding ties were of greater importance and that a great deal less was practically achieved on the basis of bridging ties than is the case at the present time.

When asked about the merits or demerits of the human rights framework in the context of GCED, GS4 stated that this is a means of comparing Korea’s situation with regard to respect for and violation of human rights with the situations of other countries, for example:

*I: Do you think human rights is a useful framework or a good way of approaching GCE?*

*GS4: Yes, I think when they hear about human rights they’re thinking that it’s normal and it’s natural for human beings to take those rights, but if they’re violated they will question why; what kinds of problems are in those countries, like North Korea with a dictatorship, so they see these issues very clearly with human rights (p.4).*

P’s stance with regard to the learning of human rights is that it is useful only if it is appropriate to the specific cultural context. If the content and teaching of material relating to human rights is too ‘abstract’ (to use GS3’s term), it will not yield tangible results. In other words, South Korean citizens are clearly better off than North Korean citizens with regard to respect for their human rights by the government, but that does not mean that critical issues do not exist, even in the democratic societies of East Asia. Specifically, P sees the following three critical issues as those that need to be confronted: ageism, sexism, and xenophobia with respect to human rights education:

*The three critical issues here in Korea today and historically have been the following: ageism, sexism, and xenophobia. These issues have existed throughout Korean history, in fact much of Asian history. Without overcoming these issues, GCED will be in vain. Certainly, GCED programs here emphasize leadership and character building workshops that end after one or two sessions... however, I have yet to see any GCED programs that are offered in Korea on human rights topics starting with confronting the key issues: ageism, sexism, and xenophobia. Without improvements with regard to these issues, your next question will be impacted (P, p.11).*

Furthermore, in the context of human rights education, P states that it requires a lot of time and investment in the necessary educational infrastructure for citizens to get to the point where they ‘actually feel it under their skin’:

*Understanding human rights issues takes an awful lot of time for the youth, or in fact for everyone. Furthermore, it takes an awful lot of time and investment for one society to digest. It takes a change of cultural practices on the part of ‘that’ society at a minimum, and this is very challenging to do in Asia. For human rights issues to be embedded at the national level and for people to actually feel it under their skin, the social structure of that society has to be structured to support it. This includes extensive investment in education, policies, and laws related to human rights, plus functional human resources on every campus and in corporations, and so on... It’s an enormous infrastructure-building process. However, many nations don’t see the value of this simply because there is no direct return on investment. Korea has had long-term improvement in this area but Korea still has a long way to go before any of us witness such infrastructure being created systematically (P, p.11).*

GS4’s conception of learning via a comparison of Korea’s situation with that of other countries emerged again with reference to the idea of GCED as contributing to solutions to domestic issues. In the words of GS4, “I think in time when they see the world, at the same time they see themselves”:

*I: Do you think GCE can solve particular domestic societal issues in Korea? Because when people think of 'global' they often think very outward looking, so that was the purpose of my question.*

*GS4: Yes, I'm a little bit concerned because if people only look outside and only focus on transnational issues in developing countries, then Korea will be left out, but then I think in time when they see the world, at the same time they see themselves. So, I think that's one way to correct the development issues with our nation, like political- wise or even human rights (p.4).*

When asked about what forms of GCED GS4 thought might be considered to be a form of grassroots or bottom-up GCED, she named NGOs, which, since they are more representative of 'citizens, ordinary people's voice', might serve as a 'check and balance' as regards the government's more political or national-interest oriented aims. However, she also emphasized that GCED must involve a combination of both top-down and bottom-up approaches, given the large amount of material resources that are required for GCED and which only the state can provide, and because of the cooperation between institutions that is required:

*I: Do you think there is anything in Korea, or anywhere actually, that could kind of be called grassroots GCE, or bottom-up GCE? Because GCE is often criticized for being too top down in it's conception and in various ways. But do you think it's possible to talk about grassroots or bottom-up GCE that's offline or online, or a combination of both, in your opinion?*

*GS4: I think it should be a combination because we also need top-down because it's a huge size, like if you want to spread the word about GCE and educate people then you need finance, you need power, you need those institutions to work together. But at the same time, like a check and balance, you need grassroots and NGOs to...*

*I: So you would characterize NGOs as bottom up?*

*GS4: Umm, hmm- I would.*

*I: So, how does this check and balance work in the case of NGOs. What do you think, in the case of GCE, is the nature of the relationship between NGOs and the government?*

*GS4: I think their directions might be a little bit different, how they pursue GCE. In my opinion, NGOs can better represent citizens', ordinary people's voice, and their opinion. So, their framework or their thinking of GCE might be different to the way the government of public sectors pursue it. So, in that way they can kind of check and balance, if the government does something different, offpoint.*

*I: I see. It sounds to me like you're saying the government's conception of GCE is more national-interest oriented. Is that correct?*

*GS4: Yes (p.5).*

One of the distinctive and unique aspects of P's conception of GCED is the fact that he actually *evaluates* GCED as a form of social technology, rather than simply condemning it. As mentioned previously, P's position is that GCED is inevitably a concept that is 'lost in translation', and that this is due to differences between Western schools of thought, which are based on assumptions concerning notions such as 'freedom' that reflect an essentially individualistic philosophy, and East Asian schools of thought, which in contrast are based on a more holistic philosophy within which the resolution of conflicts, for example, would be seen as striving for the universe's natural state, which is one of balance and harmonization. Thus, P's position is that GCED is 'lost in translation', and consequently represents 'an indirect clash of cultural perspectives with regard to GC' (P, p.2).

However, he also sees a political dimension to this Western conception of GCED, specifically, that it is a social technology that links "national with international decision-making through allowing citizens to express their political

preferences: Simply leading the public to monitor the world and take a position through civic movements” (P, p.2). In P’s view, “this is not a bad approach to take democracy to the next level. After all, human rights are better protected in democratic countries” (P, p.2):

*If I ought to state the current status of GCE in Korea, much of the meaning of GCE has been lost in translation - I am not referring to the literal translation of English to Korean but the concept and process of understanding of GC. I am referring to the interpretative translation of GC from Western to Eastern schools of thoughts. I claim that Western schools of thought observe GC differently than Eastern school of thoughts. Therefore, I argue that we are currently experiencing an indirect clash of cultural perspectives with regard to GC.*

*What do I mean by ‘lost in translation’ and ‘clash of cultural perspective?’ The way I see it is the following: Western schools of thought presume that GCE relates to the domestication of global issues; the domestication of international commitments, and the linking of national and international decision-making through allowing citizens to express their political preferences: Simply leading the public to monitor the world and take a position through civic movements. This is not a bad approach to take democracy to the next level. After all, human rights are better protected in democratic countries.*

*On the other hand, Eastern school of thoughts embrace global citizenship as part of whole system in which one is to be included as part of a unifying universe, towards a holistic approach.. solving issues through harmonization. Confucius had suggested this ... calling people ‘citizens of the universe’ (I think this is what he called it ... maybe world citizen or something like it) (p.2).*

On this basis, it is safe to say that GCED is an open and contested concept. As has already been stated, UNESCO’s conception is essentially Western, and as such it is not a good match for the cultural context of Far East Asia, which it is why it is to some extent officially endorsed while at the same time somewhat left by the wayside in practice. That is because, in the words of P, “Korea is introducing GC as a whole new concept that was never planned the Koreans themselves” (P, 9). On this basis P states “Korea may be the biggest testing laboratory for GCE in history” (P, p.9):

*What I am stating here is this: Korea is introducing GC as a whole new concept that was never planned by the Koreans themselves. The concept is being formed and modified as day passes and its being evolved to a new form each year... However, as a scholar, we must see that no concept is trouble-free; no idea goes uncontested, and that's what is taking place now through voices like ours (you, me and I am sure there are a handful of people who may feel similarly about GC). For better or for worse, the ideology of global citizenship in Korea will undoubtedly provoke disagreements that reflect larger social movements and generate academic debates. We all know that there is plenty of skepticism about global citizenship in Korea or, better yet, out there in the world.*

As mentioned previously, one of the original aspects of P's position with regard to GCED is that while he regards GCED as a (Western) social technology that he says is unsuitable for the Korean context, he also *evaluates* it on its own terms:

*China and India, two of the largest nations in the world do not embrace GC, period. They see this as nonsense... GC is about global governance systems through the action of average Dick and Jane. Well, that is very naïve approach to looking at the world that is being formed more complex day by day (P, p.9).*

Nonetheless, there is a good deal of literature that sees GCED precisely as part of a mechanism of global governance that has been called a form of governmentality (Mannion *et al* 2011). On the whole, with reference to P's interview data, I think the notion of GCED as a form of governmentality or social technology *that works* at the level of global governance could be called into question, even if that is what it is intended to be. However, there is a connection at the national level with governmentality and Foucault's theory of discourse, which states that discourses produce subjectivities, in the case of both South Korea and the UK in terms of the marketing and promotion of the development industry through GCED and global citizenship discourse in general. In any case, the problem of the inappropriate

universalization of GCED discourse and materials from a cultural perspective (P; GS2) is definitely an ongoing problem that is far from resolved.

With regard to GCED in the dimension of the ‘local absolute’ or ‘vantage of the local’ (Bogue, 2005), P states that, historically, all grassroots movements have been about citizens versus the government or an organized institution. He points to the example of the ongoing protests conducted by the Standing Sioux tribe in conjunction with activists and environmental groups. Significantly, he notes that very few citizens from states other than Dakota (which is where the protests took place) were involved in the protests ‘because it does not affect their livelihoods in their states’ (P, p.14). I think this clearly shows the linkage between the concept of the ‘local absolute’ (GCED/the tackling of transnational issues from the vantage of the local) and the concept of networked individualism. Specifically, what was made possible via the formation of networks using social media was a powerful temporary coalition that could solve a real concrete problem at the local level relating to social injustice. What I mean to suggest is that while it is very difficult to predict the outcome of GCED being taught in the abstract in the school setting as regards the achievement of results with regard to domestic social issues, an explicit focus on the types of activity described by P and, better yet *participation* in such activity, would represent a genuine step forward in terms of the conceptualization and practice of GCED in general; it could *define* GCED, a problem which, as previously mentioned, has been described as an issue even by UNESCO (2014) itself. What follows is the relevant quote from P:

*Yes, there is a ‘grassroots’ form of GCE when a group of people who are involved in issues that may be related to global issues that are of*

*their interest, but they are domesticated to a local level. What do I mean by this? For example, there is a case now in the States in which an oil pipeline is to pass through a state (I don't remember which state) and locals are protesting with the support of environmental organizations. Certainly, this activity is going against the newly elected president D. Trump. People are protesting to protect their interest but using the environment as a cause to claim their 'rights'. The US has 50 states, but only a handful of groups are actively participating in this particular activity. You don't see any others taking part on this organized protest simply because it does not affect their livelihoods in their states (P, p.14).*

Finally, P emphasizes that global citizenship 'is not given by birth' and that 'people come to consider themselves as global citizens through different formative experiences', which once again implies that there cannot be one conception of global citizenship because the conception will differ based on the specific needs of collectivities at the local level:

*Furthermore, we have to understand that no matter how much one emphasizes the importance of being- and the values of- a global citizen, being a global citizen is not given by birth, but it's an individual choice as well as a choice of the way one wants to see the world and approach it; the way he / she wants to approach the world and act. This is why if we should compare the ideology of global citizenship with others, such as the ideology of GC in Hong Kong, Japan, or the US, for example. These people come to consider themselves as global citizens through different formative life experiences, therefore, there are wide differences in interpretations of what GC means to each of them. For example, China, India, and Russia currently don't really care about GC. So going back to grassroots movements, it really differs from one town to another as well as what the movement is all about; it is what people will gain from the movement that will determine their definition of a so-called grassroots movement (P, p.15).*

In general, and especially with regard to the way in which the interviewees viewed the critical orientation of GCED (although references were implicit in the case

of some of them), all of the interviewees expressed a degree of optimism with regard to what GCED might become. In this regard, however, only GS1 saw a critical form of GCED as being the key to pursuing the type of social transformation that official GCED discourse is meant to achieve, although GS2 also implicitly suggested this, stating that the current manifestation of official GCED does not engender a critical attitude in learners. In the interview data two conceptions of critical GCED were identified: the first was the possibility of *critical GCED in the setting of formal education* (GS1 and implicitly in GS2). This would entail identification of structural inequalities within the global system, and would relate therefore to economic inequality, race, gender, and social class. The second conception of critical GCED identified in the study was *the critical orientation and action of citizens independent from formal institutions as the foundation for social reform* (GS1 and P). P, for example, voiced concern about the fact that there is currently no legal status that corresponds to the concept ‘global citizen’, which makes the notion of an individual getting involved in response to what s/he sees as a transnational injustice taking place far too dangerous. In other words, P’s conception of GCED in its ideal form is GCED by and for citizens, as mentioned previously, and suggests a form of GCED that is implicitly critical in its orientation, and which is experiential, that is, concerned with active involvement in tackling transnational issues in some capacity rather than learning ‘about’ GCED in a classroom setting. Since self-awareness is the foundation for seeing global citizenship as a process rather than a product (P), Adorno’s theory of experience suggests a way of conceptualizing the critical orientation inherent in the process of increasing self-awareness and empathy toward others.

The notion that there is a need for a *critical* component of GCED was raised explicitly by GS1, and implicitly by P and GS2, although it was not among the pre-

determined interview questions. GS1 stated that the reason for her optimism with regard to GCED was that there was still the potential for the development of a *critical* form of GCED. She found in her own research that in this context the main two emphases in the Korean context for GCED are currently the moral emphasis, which relates primarily to the perceived moral responsibility Korea now has to help people in poorer nations, and the global competence emphasis, which is more concerned with fostering the values and skills necessary for Koreans to be competitive in the global jobs market. However, GS1 sees the need for an as yet under-emphasized third approach to GCED, namely, a critical form of GCED. By this, GS1 means a form of GCED that entails an examination of the structural inequalities in the global system with regard to relations of power (including between nations), and focuses on issues such as race, gender, and social class:

*I: It sounds like you are quite optimistic about GCE in general, or in certain ways.*

*GS1: In certain ways, and ideologically, ideally, because it is anyway about citizenship, and not only does citizenship mean morality or competency, but it can be critical, I guess. And when I researched global citizenship education, there were three major perspectives on global citizenship education, so one was the global competency aspect of global citizenship education, and the second one was the moral aspect of global citizenship education, and the last thing was critical global citizenship education. So, the meaning of critical global citizenship education is they take action, but before taking action they recognize this global structure and that the power system of the global community is not equal, and it is oppressive. And when they actually realize that situation they can do something, they can take action. So, even though global citizenship education is generally practiced from the perspective of global competency or moral responsibility, I think there is the possibility of a critical aspect of global citizenship education, and when critical global citizenship education prevails or is dominant, social reform is possible, I guess (p.8).*

With regard to the views of P concerning GCED, the state of affairs described by GS1 is not possible if the government has complete control over GCED because in the context of the present discussion, he does not view the Korean government as being a stakeholder. However, in the words of P, 'if we are to talk about the main stakeholders of GCE, then it should be the people and not any organized institution or the government. The purpose of GCE is to monitor global justice through the eyes of the public and not by any organized institution':

*The purpose of GCE in Korea is yet to be determined in my opinion. The reason is that there were no stakeholders of this education movement from the beginning. It seemed they created a soft budget for this movement without careful and thorough planning. In other words, the government may have made unrealistic or poorly planned goals. However, if we are to talk about the main stakeholders of GCE, then it should be the people and not any organized institution or the government. The purpose of GCE is to monitor global justice through the eyes of the public and not by any organized institution. However, monitoring and taking action through a citizens' movement has its limits and issues. As a global citizen technically you have no legal protection, as you would if you were a citizen of a particular nation. For example, if you take actions that you believe to be justified that are taking place outside of your country, there is no law to protect you. But this talk is for some other time (P, p.5).*

However, P identifies certain features of contemporary Korean society that might represent challenges with regard to the realization of this conception of GCED. These relate to the generational differences between those currently practicing GCED in Korea and previous generations. Focusing on generations Y and Z, P states that the motivation for some participants in GCED 'is largely based on mere curiosity and something to take for granted to learn how to be included in the Western-based and led curriculum'. Again, this relates to the problems associated with a one-size-fits-all GCED curriculum that is received and implemented uncritically, but also the fact that the education system currently provides mostly extrinsic motivation for participating

in GCED, which comes in the form of credits that are earned mandatorily, as mentioned previously:

*In the world of the “Me Myself and I” generation, one’s hardly likely to find a “true” “genuine” grassroots movement without incentives from elsewhere. Let’s examine who the young people are that GCE is trying to educate... the groups who are involved in GCED are usually Y and Z generations. More specifically, members of the Y generation are the ones that usually teach GCED, and Z generation’s participation is largely based on mere curiosity and something to take for granted to learn how to be included in the Western-based and led curriculum... I especially emphasize curiosity here.*

*Many Gen Zs grew up being the only child in their family, therefore, they have both helicopter fathers and tiger moms, especially in East Asia. Therefore, for them to self-trigger to be interested in GCED to attend the workshop or class simply to actively be involved in civic service is highly unlikely (P, p.14).*

The study will now focus on two final points concerning GCED that were made by P. The first concerns the positive manifestation of what he calls the domestication of global issues. In the words of P, ‘GCED is about domesticating global issues and it’s about new approaches to creating future education on how to look at the connected world, and most importantly it’s about what it means to domesticate international law and why it is important for human rights’ (P, p.15).

*P: In order to ensure that a social movement can take place, there has to be a law to protect the people who are instigating the social reform movement. However, there is no law that protects the status of individual as a global citizen. Therefore, the risk is too high for anyone to instigate any social movement under GC status. Therefore, technically GCED really doesn’t have any given authority to create social reform but it can be used as a tool to provide common ground for people to come together and ... I guess that’s about it. However, as I mentioned earlier, GCED is about domesticating global issues and it’s about new approaches to creating future education on how to look at the connected world, and most importantly it’s about what it means to domesticate international law and why it is important for human rights” (P, p.15).*

Finally, I would like to focus on the emphasis that P places on self-awareness in the context of GCED and the link between self-awareness and empathy. In P's words, 'self-awareness will increase [learners'] identification with fellow beings and their sense of responsibility towards them'. P points out that involvement in music and arts is an excellent means of cultivating these qualities, but these are under-valued as school subjects in most of the world's education systems:

*"I don't believe that just because one happened to be born on this planet one therefore becomes or has the right to be a citizen of the world; technically maybe, but realistically, it doesn't happen that way. It's something that the person needs to be guided to and cultivated to and educated to become one. To do this, it's about educating the student to be acknowledging with self-awareness. Self-awareness also enables students to identify with the universalities of the human experience and this is critical at many levels... self-awareness will increase their identification with fellow human beings and their sense of responsibility toward them. One of the best approaches to this type of educational experience is through music and arts education. Unfortunately, these subjects are the least important in today's society (P, p.16).*

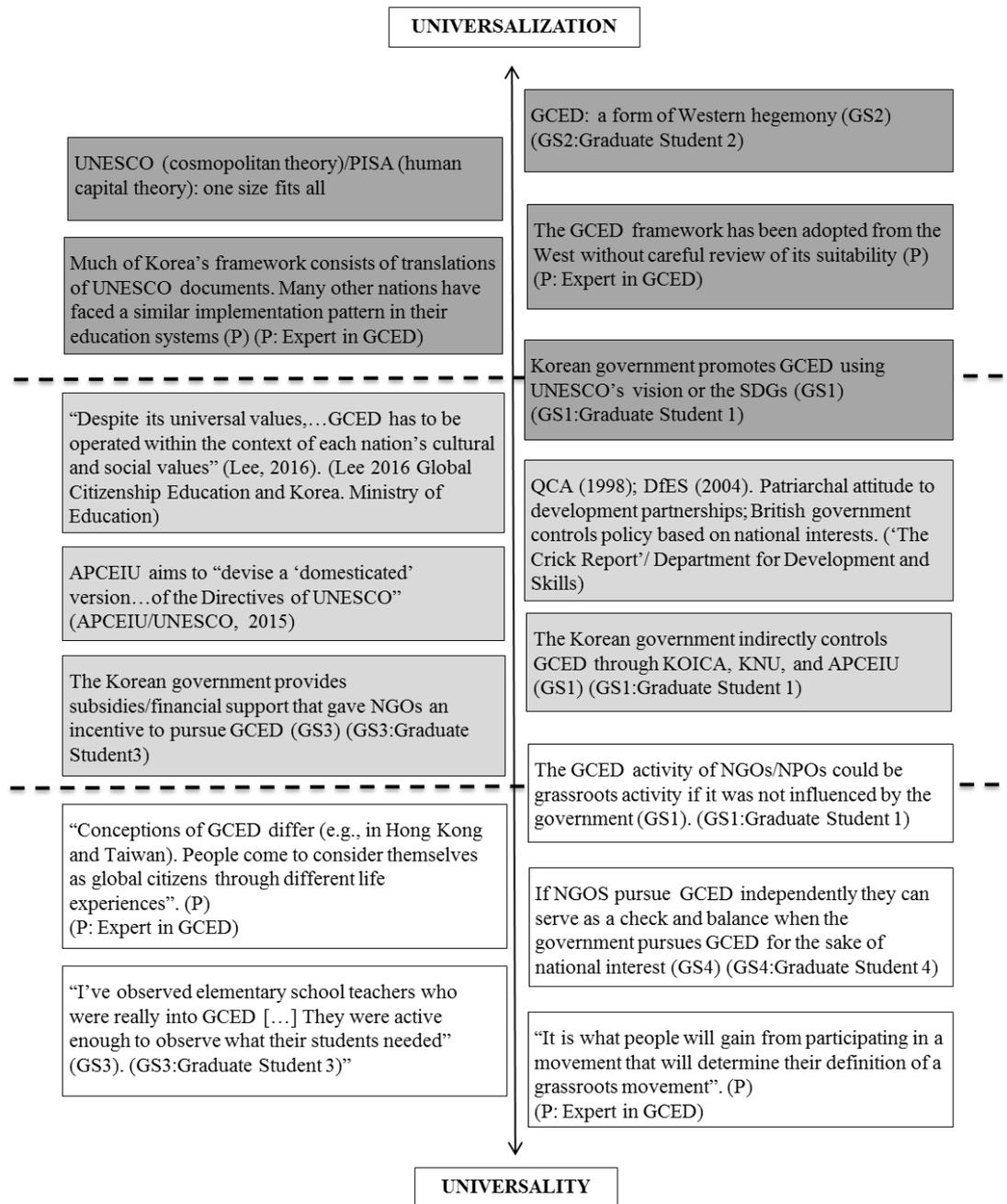
Table 1 below shows the research findings based on the analysis of the documents and of the interview data. On this continuum, universalization and universality represent opposite poles. Representative excerpts from documents and quotes from interviewees are arranged on the continuum according to their relationship to one another within the three dimensions of GCED that were identified in the present study. Those items that are nearest to the universalization pole are the ones that most clearly reveal a universalizing tendency, that is, values that are partial and particular being presented and promoted as universal values (Dill, 2013). Those items that are nearest to the universality pole are the ones that most clearly reveal a tendency to strive for universality, that is, the identification and promotion of values based on the desire for the wellbeing of the human community in general, in other

words, realization of the core values of GCED. The findings obviously represent a combination of content from official discourse (that is, the documents) and interview data. The purpose served by the interview data is that the participants made explicit many of the theoretical perspectives, political rationalities, and contingencies that remain implicit in the discourse itself. While the participants' opinions were subjective, the views each of them expressed were both consistent with other participants and with the relevant literature on GCED curricula, policy, and practice.

The item that reflected the notion of universalization most explicitly was GS2's comment that GCED is a form of Western hegemony. There is a comment concerning the pattern of universalization of the implementation of GCED faced in various nations half way down the spectrum, leading to an item that overlaps one size fits all and the relative global: "The government promotes GCED using UNESCO's vision or the SDGs" (GS1). This is the point at which the adoption of 'Western' GCED discourse becomes a matter of ambiguity. As P points out, having officially created a 'common discursive space', nations are then free to pursue their own development policies based on their own political and economic agendas. However, the item that is placed on the continuum after references to Korean GCED discourse that explicitly endorses the domestication of GCED discourse, and which overlaps the relative global and global absolute concerns the role of NGOs and the potential they have to pursue GCED in a manner that is more independent from the state than it is at present. Furthermore, items that are even closer to the universality pole reveal the possibility of GCED that is not just defined negatively, that is, as not being affiliated with official GCED discourse produced by the government, but as a form of GCED that is by and for citizens, in other words, fulfilling the potential of GCED to be a grassroots movement.

**Table 1: The Findings of the Research (Three Dimensions of GCED)**

- GCED as Universalization (one-size-fits-all)
- ▒ GCED as the Domestication of Global Issues (the relative global)
- GCED as the Domestication of Global Issues (the local absolute)



## **Chapter 5: Conclusion**

The results of this study revealed that there are three dimensions of GCED: (1) ‘universalization’, or ‘one-size-fits-all’; (2) the negative manifestation of domestication of global issues, or the ‘relative global’; and (3) the positive manifestation of the domestication of global issues, which refers to the universality from the vantage of the local, or the ‘local absolute’/critical GCED. To conclude the study will address first, the three sub-questions and then the central research question in light of the findings of the present study based on the analysis of the GCED documents and the semi-structured interviews.

### **The Research Questions**

The first sub-question sought to determine the purpose or political rationality of GCED or the global dimension of education that is formed by a committee consisting of representatives of numerous nations, that is intended as a form of prescription or as directives for education for global citizenship, and to determine what these findings imply as regards the future direction of GCED discourse and the activities of practitioners. Both the global competence and intercultural empathy discourse reflect a one size fits all educational approach, in other words, they reflect the impetus toward universalization. Even though both types of discourse entail a process within which representatives of member states have a say, the end product is normative, in other words, it is a type of discourse consisting of directives that are more or less prescriptive. This means the end product is not appropriate to any

*specific* context (and nor is it conducive to genuinely critical thinking on the part of learners).

The first dimension of GCED, ‘one-size-fits-all, refers mostly to international organizations such as UNESCO that produce corporate GCED discourse. In this case, a committee agrees upon directives relating to GCED. The document itself represents a commitment on the part of member states to particular educational values and practices. The GCED directives are meant to be a kind of manual that can foster particular attitudes on the part of the learner and also skills relating to GCED, regardless of the specific cultural context for learning. The directives are meant to prepare learners for a competitive global jobs market but also to promote respect for diversity and learners’ understanding of human beings’ interconnectedness and its implications. The political rationality of such documents seems to be to universalization, in other words, the extension of the area and range of shared values, ultimately, for the sake of human security. GCED discourse may therefore be a means of inculcating the values thought to be necessary to enable individuals to survive and for states to achieve social cohesion in the current neoliberal phase of capitalism.

The so-called ‘four freedoms’ that member states of the European Union must adhere to as the condition for having access to the single market are a case in point, in that they obviously correspond to *economic* freedoms: these are the freedom of goods, capital, services, and labor. It would be quite legitimate for GCED discourse to take a critical orientation to *this*, but on the whole, it does not, with rare exceptions (Torres & Nunos, year not on document). On the contrary, it lauds the European Union, suggesting it is an institution that has resolved the problem posed by Torres (2002), namely, the problem of how we are to reconcile the conflicting aims of global competition and global solidarity (UNESCO, 2015). This appears to be one of the

difficulties associated with a top down approach to GCED, which presents transnational issues from the perspective of governments rather than citizens, as the present study reveals. It is useful to compare the four freedoms of the EU with the four freedoms articulated by Franklin D. Roosevelt shortly after the U.S. entered World War II: The freedom of speech, the freedom of worship, the freedom from want, and the freedom from fear (Roosevelt, 1941). Roosevelt's speech was a defense of democracy and American national security at a time when it seemed that democracy itself was in jeopardy, but it was also a precursor to the 'human security' paradigm (Paris, 2001) that led to concrete action worldwide in the form of the Marshall Plan. Even so, the human security paradigm has been judged by some to be too vague to be effective (Paris, 2001). Critics were quick to point out that the US government's own actions did not always adhere to these tenets, the internment of people of Japanese heritage during the war being a case in point (Tateishi, 1999). However, the new paradigm marked a shift from a conventional (that is, military) approach to human security to a development-oriented approach (Paris, 2001), and corporate GCED is part of this legacy.

The second research sub-question sought to determine the way(s) in which discourse relating to GCED or the global dimension of education that is produced by and for individual nations reflects the missions and goals of the nations concerned, that is, to determine what those goals are and what the implications of this might be for the future of GCED discourse and for the activities of practitioners. Partly as a consequence of the situation just described, 'one-size-fits-all' GCED discourse creates a discursive common space wherein universal goals are stated but also within which individual governments are free to pursue whatever course of action they wish based on their particular political and economic goals. The second dimension of GCED, the

negative manifestation of global issues, or the ‘relative global’, refers to P’s insight that despite the universalization with regard to GCED that was just described, the individual state is nonetheless still free to pursue its political aims and development projects however it wishes. In this context GCED is conceived and implemented in a top down manner. This was shown to be the case in the UK in the present study through the analysis of the DfES (2004) document, and in the evolving interpretation of aid on the part of Britain’s Department for International Development, which nowadays often leads to the privatization of agriculture to the detriment of members of local communities, for instance (Williams, 2017). The Korean government can also be in the driver’s seat to a great extent with regard to GCED, given the amount of resources that are required to pursue the scale of development projects that they conduct overseas, and the fact that GCE and development have been much more closely linked since the UN announced its post-2015 agenda, as stated previously. With regard to GCED, in the language of Deleuze & Guattari, the situation described above regarding both contexts, the UK and Korea, is an instance of the ‘relative global’, or the negative manifestation of the ‘domestication of global issues’, as P calls it. This refers to the domestication of global issues on the part of the state, in the sense that it is a top down approach to GCED that is not by and for citizens. However, as stated previously, the state only needs to be understood as being completely in control of development if development is only ever conceived as something that is on takes place *overseas*.

The third sub-question sought to determine whether there are any forms of GCED that could be described as grassroots or bottom up and, if so, what the implications of this might be for GCED discourse and practitioners. The findings of the present study suggest that the core ideals of education for global citizenship that

are common to the plurality of GCED discourses are actually best realized by individuals and groups acting independently of governments and their affiliated groups and tackling transnational issues from the vantage of the local. The findings also suggest that this notion of GCED as an approach that involves tackling transnational issues from the vantage of the local. In other words, the third and final dimension of GCED, the positive manifestation of the domestication of global issues, or the 'local absolute', refers to GCED by and for citizens. In this case, GCED aims at the resolution of transnational or global issues 'from the vantage of the local' (Bogue, 2005). A concrete example of this given by P was the oil pipeline protest on the part of the Standing Sioux tribe in conjunction with activists and environmental groups. This mode of GCED could also refer to teachers that decide of their own volition to pursue their own research and produce their own teaching materials for GCED, having identified a need for it on the part of their students (GS3). GCED from the vantage of the local has been made increasingly possible due to the expansion of the non-market sector enabled by digital technology and the ever-increasing volume of social interaction between citizens through networks-as opposed to hierarchies. Critical GCED I see as constitutive of the notion of GCED as universality from the vantage of the local. This term refers to critical reflection on the part of the learner in tackling transnational issues from the vantage of the local. A close examination of the documents and the history of GCED has persuaded me that there is a disconnect between values and practice in both the UK and Korea, the main common element between GCED in the two contexts being a particular emphasis on the moral responsibility of rich countries for people in poor countries, a characterization which, according to participants in the present study, seems to elicit sympathy rather than empathy from GCED practitioners (Cook, 2012; Jefferess, 2012). Ultimately,

therefore, there is some evidence that even active involvement in GCED discourse and practice concerning the key goals of cultural empathy and intercultural competence (P, p.1) does not always lead to an increase in self-awareness (P, p.16). Based on the previous analysis of ‘mediation’, the key term in Adorno’s theory of experience, an increase in the degree of one’s self-awareness or self-consciousness entails a qualitative change in the subject, due to the subject’s awareness of a mismatch or non-correspondence between the concept that the subject has of the object and the object itself. On this basis, one’s degree of self-awareness experienced as the interrelationship or mutual reciprocity of subject and object in the structure of experience (O’Connor, 2004) will partially determine the extent to which one will be empathetic, rather than sympathetic toward others. In other words, it involves a meaningful change in perspective, and is thus consistent with transformative theories of education, such as that of Bohlin (2013:392), who states that such an approach should challenge, “the largely implicit presuppositions, or suppressed premises, underlying one’s habitual ways of thinking, feeling and acting”. In terms of GCED, based on the results of the present study, this can be achieved through a *critical* conception of GCED, bearing in mind that Adorno’s theory of experience actually formed the philosophical basis for his critical theory, the aim which being to ‘do justice to the object’ (O’Connor). However, this critical orientation should not necessarily take the form of classroom learning, but should be critical in the sense that a critical orientation on the part of the learner entails her engagement in collaborative problem solving with regard to transnational issues in the local community.

The present study shows that corporate GCED in general has become extremely development oriented, which reflects the biggest recent shift in terms of GCED discourse and practice, since, as P and GS4 pointed out in their interviews, the

state currently possesses and controls the resources of development projects in the context of GCED's current top-down form. On this basis, the 'D' in the context of GCED is therefore an under-theorized component of GCED in the literature. The greater emphasis on development in GCED may cause practitioners to be more action oriented, but possibly in a way that does not always move learners forward in terms of their capacity for cultural empathy and intercultural competence. However, the results of the present study suggest that the affordances of digital media; the expansion of the non-market sector; and the increasing importance of the *dynamics*- as opposed to the *accumulation*- of knowledge (Lundvall & Johnson, 1994) will force a transformation in formal education. On this basis, it seems inevitable that project oriented collaboration with a view to making tangible improvements in local communities (in other words, not just peripheral 'extra-curricular activities') will become more common in the near future. However, this will present enormous challenges in terms of how such activity is to be assessed by learning institutions.

The findings of the present study and their implications have so far been summarized based on three dimensions of GCED, or possibilities for GCED, with regard to its current conceptualization and implementation in the UK and Korea. Through the analysis of GCED documents and interview data it was possible to determine what the missions and goals of GCED in the UK and Korea are or have been until the present time. Those missions and goals are often far from explicit, which is why CDA was found to be the appropriate form of analysis for the purposes of the present study. Table 2 below shows the three dimensions of GCED discourse and practice just described, as well as the theoretical perspectives that are relevant to each of them, and the implications of these findings. The relation between discourse and practice in the first column is that the participants in the present study often made

explicit those aspects of the representative forms of discourse that in the documents concerned were implicit, except in certain cases, for example when references to the ‘domestication’ of global issues were straightforward and clear. On the other hand, the political rationality of GCED discourse, which was stated or implied by participants, was by no means explicit in most of the documents, which is why the research involved the piecing together of the two types of available evidence. The information contained in the second column, ‘relevant theoretical perspectives’, represents the results of this ‘piecing together’. Each of the perspectives is ultimately a form of political rationality. The human capital theory and cosmopolitanism might be described as the means of achieving economic growth both worldwide and domestically (in the case of human capital theory), while cosmopolitan theory might be understood as a means of achieving the maintenance of the status quo in the context of the current phase of global capitalism. The relative global refers to the efforts by the state to create striated space, thus fulfilling its role as facilitator of global capitalism while at the same time serving national interests to the greatest extent possible. It is in this respect that the relative global, which describes the activities of the individual state as regards GCED, is ambiguous, since the state fully endorses the GCED directives of UNESCO, but clearly does not intend to follow them in practice, which again reveals why the distinction between GCED discourse and practice are important in the context of the present study. Finally, the positive manifestation of GCED as the domestication of global values, that is, smooth space, or the rhizomatic conception of GCED, represents a kind of ideal position, not yet realized on a large scale, but which is nonetheless being pursued independently by some educators in the Korean context, according to the participants in the present study.

**Table 2: The Three Dimensions of GCED Discourse and Practice**

| <b>Dimensions of GCED Discourse and Practice</b>  | <b>Relevant theoretical perspectives</b>   | <b>Implications</b>   |
|---|--|---|
| 'One-size-fits-all':<br>GCED as Universalization  | Human capital theory,<br>Cosmopolitan theory   | Contradictory,<br>Two competing desires that are irreconcilable in transnational GCED discourse (Torres, 2002)  |
| Domestication of Global Issues (negative manifestation):<br>GCED as the Relative Global | The relative global: striated space/society of control                                   | The state is in control with regard to the promotion, production, and practice of GCED discourse and development (when conceived solely as <i>overseas</i> development) |
| Domestication of Global Issues (positive manifestation):<br>GCED as the Local Absolute  | The local absolute: smooth space/rhizomatic,<br>Adorno's theory of conceptual experience | Tackling transnational issues from the vantage of the local, GCED <i>by</i> and <i>for</i> citizens.  |

## **Theory Implications**

The present study contributes an advancement with regard to theory in that it has revealed that the two prevalent theories that inform GCED discourse, human capital theory and cosmopolitan theory, cause problematic contradictions. In the case of the former, qualities of human beings are quantified or 'commensurated' (Sellar and Lingard, 2014) in a speculative manner. In other words, organizations such as PISA are constantly looking to identify qualities in students and their environments worldwide that might be conducive to achieving academic excellence and turning them into educational metrics. As a result of this, the educational policies that are formed by individual nations in response to their students' performance in those tests potentially close down possibilities in terms of those students' possibilities for learning and personal growth, especially given the heavy emphasis on competition among students worldwide in such discourse (Feher, 2009). On the other hand, cosmopolitanism, which is the dominant or representative theory in the UNESCO type of GCED discourse, is often elitist, in that the idea of universal values that

transcend borders is presented as an ideal realized only by a small number of scholars, while those currently experiencing ‘banal cosmopolitanism’ (Beck, 2004) must wait for the appropriate global institutions to be established so that those values can be legislated for. Although this is not explicit in the GCED discourse, it may be one of the reasons for the seemingly common assumption that it is governments that must lead GCED, and when that is the case it is almost always conducted in a top-down manner, as the present study reveals.

Also, in terms of theory, the present study has revealed an important difference between two existing conceptions of critical thinking, *normative* and *experiential*. The former refers to the type of curriculum in which there is a danger that students are led to pre-determined conclusions; the latter refers to a form of critical thinking that occurs as part of students’ experience of tackling transnational problems from the vantage of the local, and would quite often involve experiences that take place outside of the classroom in the local community and/or online. In this regard, there is no suggestion that learning in the classroom in some way does not constitute an experience in itself, but it is meant to emphasize that the type of change desired refers to the way in which a new experience changes the structure of the learner’s thoughts, rather than merely the acquisition of new knowledge. In the case of the latter, the experience is not transformative. For example, one of the implications of the present study’s findings is that an individual can learn about human rights in a classroom setting, but this will not necessarily make a dramatic difference to the way in which that individual continues to think about their own situation and the community in which they live.

## **Limitations of the Study and Future Paths for Research**

A limitation of the present study is that only interviewees who were practitioners of GCED were included. Therefore, the analysis of interview data could obviously only yield information concerning the views of people whose experience of GCED was as students, and/or lecturers, and/or academics, and/or researchers, etc. Future research might also seek to obtain data concerning the point of view of those involved in policy-making, that is, the collaborative work of actually writing the GCED directives of UNESCO, for example. Equally interesting, in terms of future research, would be data from participants such as students who have been recipients of GCED courses. In data from the present study, it was clear, for example, that in the Korean context at least, the activities of students seem to reflect the conception of GCED held by their parents, which would make interviews with both students and parents worthwhile in research terms. One example of this given in the data was the ‘performative’ global citizenship described by GS1 in the form of a camp at which students held a mock UN conference, which seems to be consistent with the discursive construction of ‘global leadership’ that is prevalent in Korea. Similarly, GS3 mentioned that students in Korea receive credits when they attend GCED classes, since they are often a form of extra-curricula activity. On that basis, future research focusing on the extent to which students’ motivations for participating in GCED courses are intrinsic or extrinsic and the reasons for this would be a valuable avenue to explore.

From a theoretical point of view, the study critiques the universalizing tendency of transnational GCED discourse and the top down nature of domestic or national GCED discourse, and offers a theory of conceptual experience that could serve as a

foundation for the development of critical thinking skills on the part of young learners participating in projects that tackle transnational issues from the vantage of the local. However, with regard to the limitations of the study and how it might guide further research in the field for the author of the present study and others, the following could be addressed: the question of whether there could be a bottom up approach to GCED that could be pursued with the *support* of the state; whether a normative version of GCED would be a) desirable or b) possible, and whether an alternative, such as an approach to GCED based on the insights of developmental psychology, for example, might be used as a foundation for curricula design for *classroom* teaching of GCED, a matter that the present study does not discuss. In what follows these possibilities for future research are addressed.

### **Basis for Potential ‘Bottom up’ form of GCED: Ecological Civilization**

In the present study, the possibility of bottom up GCED is considered in terms of the of digital technology, and social media platforms in particular, to enable communication and the spread of knowledge such that transnational issues can be tackled by citizens in their local communities and perhaps in conjunction with concerned parties overseas. However, as mentioned above, it does not offer a theory of bottom up GCED. What follows will therefore focus on a concept known as ecological civilization (Magdoff, 2012), which suggests a way forward as a path for research into a potential bottom up form of GCED, and its complement, ‘constructive postmodernism’ (Wang *et al*, 2014).

Magdoff (2012) states that an economic system based on the accumulation of capital holds no prospect of achieving the harmonious form of society that, for example, mainstream GCED discourse, promotes. For Moore (2011), this state of affairs was caused by a ‘metabolic rift’ created by the capitalist system with regard to the basic metabolism of life, i.e., in terms of the rupture in the harmony that previously existed (despite the chronic inequality of the political systems that preceded capitalism in the West) between nature and society. An ecological civilization would therefore be based on the pillars that also undergird strong ecosystems, namely, “diversity; efficient natural cycles through closely linked metabolic relationships; self- sufficiency; self-regulation; and resiliency through self-renewal” (Magdoff, 2012: 8). For Magdoff, a move toward a more harmonious (i.e., ecological) civilization would involve the promotion of values in the citizenry that he believes the present phase of capitalism generally does not produce, specifically, traits such as cooperation, empathy, and reciprocity. Given that Magdoff is a Marxian ecologist, it is clear that when he speaks of ‘self-sufficiency’ he implies some form of socialist government on the part of regular citizens. However, one of the prime movers with respect to the concept of ecological civilization and its usefulness as a guiding philosophy for policy formation and implementation is the Chinese state (Gare, 2012), whose system of government can hardly be called socialism in a strict sense, although it has been called a form of ‘market socialism’ (Hsu, 2007)

As Wang *et al* (2014) point out, China has experienced severe environmental problems, or externalities, as they are called in economics, as a result of the measures that were taken in achieving the nation’s tremendous sustained economic growth. Such externalities, or negative effects of capitalist enterprise, include the pollution of air, groundwater, and soil (Lan *et al*, 2012). The economic consequences of this for

China are that a loss of productivity and an increase in medical costs have to be covered by a significant proportion of the money that China's rapid economic growth has generated (Kahn & Yardley, 2007). There are three factors that have caused China's environmental crisis, according to Wang *et al* (2014): "(1) seriously underestimating the power of interest groups and the harmful consequence of capital; (2) the worship of growth or development; (3) an anthropocentric worldview" (p.39). Since the third of these, the anthropocentric worldview, is of direct relevance to the argument put forward in the present study, it will be briefly examined in what follows.

The shift towards anthropocentrism, that is, the view that natural things have value in as much as they have instrumental value for human beings, was characteristic of China throughout much of the twentieth century, first under Chairman Mao, and then during the period of reform under Deng (Duara, 1991). However, there has been a profound transformation in the way that development and environmental issues are now conceived in Chinese political discourse. This shift in perspective can be viewed as a consequence of the powerful influence of 'ecological Marxism', which was first coined by the American scholar Ben Agger in the late 1970s (O'Connor, 1988). It is a movement that has gained momentum in China due in part to the environmental degradation mentioned previously (O'Connor, 1988). Consequently, the idea of ecological Marxism has made a big enough impression on China's leadership that it now influences discourse and informs policy (Wang *et al* (2010).

In addition to the concept of ecological civilization, Yang (2014) points that a complementary movement called 'constructive postmodernism' has also had enormous influence in China. Constructive postmodernism is based on the philosophy of scholars such as Arthur North Whitehead and William James (Griffin, 1993). It contains familiar postmodern concepts that are very important in GCED discourse,

such as anti-essentialism (Griffin, 2007), which are essential in the context of multiculturalism (Awad, 2011). However, constructive postmodernism differs from the deconstructive postmodernism of scholars such as Derrida in that it aims at an *integrative* type of thinking, worldview, and practice that conceptualizes both the cognitive and affective dimensions of human experience (Griffin, 2007). With regard to the utilization of a constructive postmodern approach in an educational context, Littledyke (2008) points out that the equal emphasis placed on the cognitive and affective dimensions in constructive postmodernism in addition to its emphasis on conceptual integration can promote biophilic behavior on the part of learners in the context of environmental science, for example, where it can be used “to demonstrate complex environmental effects, including the environmental consequences of human behavior” (Littledyke, 2008:1).

### **Future GCED Curriculum Development: Cognitive-Affective Developmental Psychology**

Also with regard to limitations, the present study offers a critique of the human capital theory used in GCED documents that are oriented to education as a means of promoting economic growth and the cosmopolitan theory of documents that are more values oriented. What the dissertation contributes is a theory of conceptual experience that can support the development of the critical thinking faculty of young people engaging in learning (mostly) outside of the classroom. In other words, however, while attention is given to the potential of initiating a form of learning in the context of GCED that is outside the classroom, little attention has been given to the type of learning in the context of GCED that might take place *inside* the classroom. That is

because the analysis used in the present study revealed that the prescriptive or normative approach to GCED whereby UNESCO establishes directives which- and this is explicit in the documents analyzed- are intended as a kind of manual explaining how GCED is to be approached is currently ineffective because of the lack of cultural specificity of such discourse. Therefore, in what follows, I outline a potential way of approaching of GCED that could yield a stronger form of GCED discourse and curriculum design to which the critical thinking component described in the present study would serve as a complement. Based on analysis of the literature relating to development in the context of GCED, there seems to be one possibility concerning human development that has been completely neglected, and which arguably offers such an approach, namely, the possibility of developing GCED curricula based on the insights associated with developmental psychology (Wilber, 2011). The reason why this literature must be taken into account is that it offers theories of human development that can be applied not just at an individual level but also at a collective or macro level in specific sociocultural contexts, as the work of Clare Graves demonstrates, particularly through the concept known as spiral dynamics (Wilber, 2011). On this basis, the foundations for these theories of human development at the individual and at the collective level are briefly explained below.

### **Robert Kegan: The Evolving Self**

Robert Kegan's (1982) theory of human development synthesizes and builds on the developmental models of scholars such as Laurence Kohlberg, whose work was inspired by Piaget. His model describes the evolution of any individual consciousness,

or stages of constitution of the self. Unfortunately, there is not space in the present study to explore these in great detail, but it may suffice to say that there are five stages, each representing a particular equilibrium in terms of subject-object relations in the consciousness of the individual. The five stages (each referring to a particular ‘balance’ as regards subjectivity or the individual consciousness) are: the impulsive balance (stage 1); the imperial balance (stage 2); the interpersonal balance (stage 3); the institutional balance (stage 4), and the interindividual balance (stage 5). At each new stage of consciousness, it becomes possible to make the preceding stage the *object* of consciousness, instead of it being merely an unreflexive mode of one’s being in the world. What is distinctive and essential about the work of Kegan is that his theory places equal importance on cognitive *and* affective development. In most developmental literature, the two are mostly treated as separate academic concerns (Kegan, 1982), the cognitive dimension being mostly the domain of traditional Piagetian scholars, while the affective is mostly the domain of psychoanalytic theory based on the work of Jacques Lacan (e.g., Fink: 1996). The affective dimension is important given the fact that there is often or perhaps always a degree of distress involved in the evolution from one level of consciousness to another due to the fact that at each stage the preceding stage of consciousness becomes an object for the consciousness at the stage that follows, a state of affairs that causes psychological unease at the very least. The particular appeal of Kegan’s cognitive-affective developmental model, therefore, is that it deals with the cognitive and affective dimensions simultaneously, so it has the potential to present a developmental model to learners the empirical features of which they can recognize in their own life experience.

## **Clare Graves: Spiral Dynamics**

The work of the psychologist Clare Graves is also significant in that it can be used to analyze human development at a more macro scale, i.e., to consider development in socio cultural terms, but still at the level of consciousness. What is significant about this theory and others like it, such as Kegan's, is that it is inclusive. It acknowledges that while there are indeed levels of consciousness that involve a process in which the self evolves through different stages (each being an 'evolutionary truce' in the language of Kegan), it is also acknowledged that all healthy human beings have in common their initial stages of consciousness (Gardiner, 2017) and the fact that, as human organisms, they fundamentally experience the same environmental challenges. This concept of development is indicative of a 'holarchy', as opposed to a hierarchy (Wilber, 2011). This term, holarchy, is used in developmental literature that builds on the work of Arthur Koestler. Koestler employs the term 'holon', which in natural science refers to any whole living organism or group (Koestler, 1982). What is particularly valuable about this approach is the fact that it encourages an understanding of development that it is inclusive; it does not see each level achieved as better than the previous one. They are all based on actual and potential levels of consciousness achievable by any individual and group. It is, therefore, an inclusive conceptualization of development.

Graves' concept, 'spiral dynamics', was co-developed by his colleague, Don Beck, and has been called 'dynamic developmentalism' (Wilber, 2011). The spiral dynamics concept identifies eight stages of development ranging from 'instinctive' to 'global-holistic'. Again, the relevance to the present study in terms of the way in which it points to future research in terms of GCED discourse and curriculum

development is clear. The crucial difference between Graves's approach and the approach reflected in current GCED discourse is that, in the words of Don Beck, 'the focus is not on types *of* people but types *in* people' (cited in Wilber, 2011). This is in contrast with mainstream GCED discourse, which tries on one hand to promote pluralistic relativist values while at the same time establishing *directives* that are meant to prescribe the global citizenship values that are meant to be fostered in any particular context, as the present study shows. In contrast, the developmental perspective described instead provides a picture of development which in terms of content is absolutely teachable to young adult learners, and which views development at both the individual and the group- that is, sociocultural- level, and which is based on solid empirical research (Gardiner, 2017). Perhaps surprisingly, none of the concepts mentioned here are to be found in any mainstream development literature in the context of GCED discourse.

In sum, the implications of this for future research are that, based on the evidence, it would be possible to create a GCED curriculum that has both a classroom component and an extra-curricular critical thinking component. The classroom component would consist of an approach to fostering the valid core aims of GCED already stated, namely, cultural empathy and intercultural competence, through a curriculum whose theoretical foundation would essentially be cognitive-affective developmental psychology. On this basis, I intend to design a one-year GCED curriculum for university aged students that would present content based on the cognitive affective developmental theory of Robert Kegan in the first semester and the developmental theory of Clare Graves, i.e., spiral dynamics, in the second semester. This would mean that young adult learners could acquire both explicit knowledge of development that would be useful to them in their future lives with regard to their

*personal* development, while at the same time they would be able to learn how these concepts can be applied in such a way that they can also understand themselves in terms of the development of a *collective*. Furthermore, pedagogy based on the theory of conceptual experience that has been proposed would enable young learners to participate in extra-curricular activities with guidance from a teacher or instructor in such a way that promotes ‘moral empathy’ as distinct from merely ‘epistemological empathy’ in the language of Agosta (2010).

In sum, based on the foregoing discussion, it is possible to reflect on the potential for curricula development based on the content just described. The suggestion here is that a GCED curriculum could be developed which presents Robert Kegan’s theory of development in semester 1 and Clare Graves’ concept of spiral dynamics. These are compatible theories of development through which the stated core values of GCED discourse can be explored. At the same time, it is hoped that the present study has offered a sufficient theoretical foundation for an approach to learning related to GCED in the local community that involves and may foster critical thinking on the part of young learners.

### **Final Thoughts**

With regard to the way in which the present study might enhance our view of the world, I go back to my original purpose in choosing nations as historically and culturally different as the UK and South Korea as the educational contexts for this comparative study. My original assumption was that, given that the two nations are obviously so different in all kinds of ways, it would be very interesting to see if it

were possible to determine the extent to which GCED discourse, whose stated aim is to some extent to identify universal, in other words, global citizenship, values, and GCED practice, whose stated aim is to engender those values in young learners such that they become ideal global citizens were actually found by current GCED practitioners and researchers to be succeeding in this endeavor. What the present study reveals is that despite the considerable shortcomings identified by the participants in the study, there is still a large reservoir of optimism with regard to what GCED could become. On a related note, in the wake of the Brexit referendum we learned, on one hand, that approximately 52% of Britons judged that the UK's interests were best served outside of the European Union, while on the other hand, approximately 78% of people between the ages of 18 and 25 saw the situation quite differently. While I tried to show in the present study that a large proportion of the social issues being experienced in the EU and the UK are actually caused by still prevalent neoliberal economic policies (a state of affairs that will inevitably exacerbate latent xenophobia) I think the present study also makes clear that young people on the whole increasingly see themselves as belonging to networks of virtually unlimited scope rather than just bounded communities, and that education might soon need to involve a project-based form of learning that can enable learners to tackle transnational issues from the vantage of the local. In this regard there is every chance that Korea will be leading the way in terms of GCED discourse and practice, as the relevant Korean literature suggests, given the huge amount of commitment that Korean educators and funding that the Korean government now contribute to GCED, which is why Korea is now 'the world's biggest laboratory for GCED' (Auh, 2017) and, given the region's unique cultural histories and philosophies, is also why GCED will continue to be a (rightly) contested concept.

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# Appendices

## Appendix A: English Translations of Korean Documents

### Document 1: Global Citizenship Education and Korea

Lee, S.J., 2016. Global Citizenship Education and Korea. Ministry of Education, *교육 2030 의제 실행계획 및 국가적 조정체계 구축에 대한 유관기관 협의회의*.

#### *Global Citizenship Education and Korea*

Korea National University of Welfare

President Lee, Sangjin

I was privileged to serve as the ambassador of the Korean Representative Committee for UNESCO from September of 2012 to March of 2015. During that period, I was either directly or indirectly involved in implementing, then a widely generated international agenda, Global Citizenship Education, hence I thoroughly cherish the podium on which I address the issue. Obviously it is not new to discuss GCED. From the inception, UNESCO, in addition to the charter adopted, promoted the idea of "Global Interpretive Education" based on the Education of Peace, Human Rights and Democracy. Having established the Asia-Pacific Center of Education for International Understanding under the auspices of UNESCO as a Category II center, Korea has been supporting the idea of GIE since August of 2008. A true impetus for gaining momentum of the movement came when Secretary General of UN, honorable Ban Ki Moon, trumpeted the Global Education First Initiative in September of 2012. He set out three objectives: 1. Expansion of Educational Opportunities; 2. Enhancing the Quality of Education; 3. Cultivation of Awareness through Global Citizenship.

“Third, we must foster global citizenship. Education is about more than literacy and numeracy— it is also about citizenry. Education must fully assume its central role in helping people to forge more just, peaceful and tolerant societies.”

In fact, the expression "more just, peaceful and tolerant societies" to encourage the cultivation of awareness of global citizenship contains, in fact, more comprehensive universal values such as Peace, Human Rights, Non-Violence, Gender Equality, Intercultural Dialogues and Multi-cultural Diversity along with Inter-religious Dialogues that both UNESCO and UN advocate. In this sense, the idea of GCED could be taken as an updated version of Global Interpretive Education. Upon Secretary-General Ban's proclamation of GEFI, Korea has been supportive of his vision by assisting international meetings and forums for GCED since 2013. As a result, GCED was selected as one of the UN's Sustainable Development Goals in the area of Education after the World Education Forum in Incheon in May, 2015 and last autumn's UN general meeting. Hence, GCED is not only going beyond the eradication of illiteracy and expanding educational opportunities, but also allowing the world community to concentrate more on educational contents and the means for their materialization.

Korea has now emerged as one of the most important contributors for UN and UNESCO in various ways; in terms of education, Korea has become a bench-marking nation, as other Asian and African countries have requested support. One of the most significant roles as a participant in UN and UNESCO in relation to its diplomacy is to take charge of certain agenda. In terms of the GECD issue, it is noted that the level of significance has gone up greatly for Korea during the SDG processing selection. It was an enormous achievement under the leadership of Secretary-General Ban, as Korea has played a leading role in global education. Furthermore, the timing could not have been any better as GECD could be seen as the fundamental method through which global conflicts and terrorism could be resolved as the United States and other developed nations have increased their interest in the issue.

Furthermore, the status of APCEIU also has been enhanced due to its contributions to supporting the UNESCO executive office in the assigning and establishing of the UNESCO Clearinghouse on GCED. As such, president Park Keun-hye mentioned the importance of GCED and the role played by APCEIU in relation to their critical role in solving the problem of radical terrorism at the World Education Forum in Incheon last year.

As GCED had been selected as one of the 2015-2030 SDG goals, it is certain that the global community will be discussing/debating Educational Contents and subsequent efforts will be carried out. Despite its universal values, abetted and promoted by the UN and UNESCO, GCED has to be operated within the context of each nation's cultural and social values, the actual implementation therefore would require judicious planning and execution. One such area would be global communication based on Information Technology, as GCED is heavily relied on. For that reason, Korea needs to constantly and systematically cooperate with every pertinent group, meaning academia, research entities, and various organizations including APCEIU.

Due to the comprehensive nature of GCED, it is not easy for Korea to implement some of its core issues. However, the principles of GCED have become a major catalyst for this nation, whose social gaps between different segments have been widening enormously for some time as Korea is facing its problems accepting multiculturalism, improving rights for the handicapped and so on. In fact, the level of understanding and perception towards many immigrants, foreign workers, ethnic Korean-Chinese, the group formerly known as Korean-Soviets and North Korean refugees requires a major paradigm shift in terms of accepting their presence during this period of multiculturalism and diversity. Still appropriated by the traditional view of pure *jus sanguinis* (blood-line), Koreans are lacking in sensitivity and understanding towards others who are different from them. Hence, in addition to both a systematic and institutional concerned effort on the part of the central government, each school, teacher, municipal city as well as provincial area is required to support those (who)

have re-planted their lives in this country. This also applies to individuals with disabilities. Though progress has been made over the years, this is the area where much improvement is needed. In some cases, establishing facilities for people with disabilities often encounters vehement protest and opposition from local residents.

It is clear from my experience and global context while serving as the ambassador for Korea's Representative Committee for UNESCO that open-mindedness and a progressive spirit directly connects to Korea's own advancement, hence the equation, "internationalization equals advancement." The principle phrases of GCED--openness, diversity, and toleration--should be extended to the most vulnerable social groups and under-privileged. And such equation directly links to Korea's advancement and development. In the end, GCED is the converging point and central topic of Korea's fate in the coming age of globalization and advancement.

## Document 2: Global Citizenship Education Leading Educators

Ministry of Education, 2015. 2015 *세계시민교육 중앙선도교사 발대식*.

March 20th (Fri) Revolutionary Economy: The Ministry of Education News Release

Request Materials to: The Preparatory Team for the Global Education Forum: Team leader, Yu, Heeseung; Researcher: Kwon Hyukho

UNESCO Asia-Pacific Global Interpretative Education Institute Education Training Team Leader: Lee, Yangsook

2015 Global Citizenship Education Leading Educators Opening Ceremony: An Opening Ceremony for the Leading Teachers responsible for Korea's inner educational setting in connection with GCED

1. The Ministry of Education and APCEIU (President: Jung, Wootak) hosted the opening ceremony for GCED Leading Educators and appointed 35 educators affiliated with 17 different municipal cities and provincial education systems to be the First GCED Leading Educators.
2. This appointment is part of an effort to expand and implement the principles of GCED.

\*GCED is a globally pursuing education principle as well as praxis of attaining knowledge and (internalize) skills to foster peace, human rights, diversity around the world.

3. The educators are selected from each city and province composed of two each (elementary 1, middle school, the city of Incheon 4 of them (2 elementary, 2 middle school)). They have successfully completed the 1st GCED program conducted in January. They have been exposed to, learned and exerted themselves in attaining the principles of GCED, Diversity Education as well as Global Interpretive Education.

4. Their objective is to play the most pivotal role in expanding the principles of GCED in the school setting.

a. During the 2015 Global Education Forum (May 19~22, Incheon Songdo Convensia), they are required to introduce and share with others concerning their exemplary and successful narratives on education.

b. They are responsible for training other city and provincial educators (360, city-province 20, Incheon 40) till end of March, and will then be asked to train approximately 4000 educators from each municipal city and province around the nation until the 20th of April.

c. Also, they are expected to be the forerunners in establishing an exemplary case for the world. To be so, the selected educators will participate in the regional educator research committee of GCED and offer their expertise through counseling and developing creative educational models and practices.

d. One particular selected educator shared that it would be a great opportunity for us to share with the world the positive direction of the Korean Educational system and its advancement, given that the 2015 Global Education Forum is being held in Incheon.

### The Concept of GCED

GCED is a globally pursued educational principle as well as praxis of attaining knowledge and (internalizing) skills to foster peace, human rights, and diversity around the world.

### Different Levels of Competencies in GCED

1. Cognitive Competency: recognizing global concerns, mutual dependency and universal values to assess problems involved with perceptive, systematic and creative cognitive methodologies.
2. Social-Emotive Competency: respecting diversity, sympathizing as a member of the global community and feeling solidarity with others and sharing the common values and responsibilities.
3. Praxis Competency: cooperating with others in pursuit of more peaceful and just world at local and global levels.

## Praxis Methodology of GCED

a. GCED is a process based on creative cognition to discuss the current problems the world is facing at the moment and internalize universal values to find solutions to those problems.

### 2. UNESCO offers various methodologies in materializing GCED

- a. emphasizing transformative teaching methods and lifelong-learning
- b. promoting the method of learner's initiatives

| Educational Division      | Praxis  |
|---------------------------|---|
| Course of Study           | Study of ethics, society and interdisciplinary courses  |
| Information Tech          | Using ICT technology to connect with other students in different countries to be conscious of global problems |
| Arts and Physical Ed Link | Implement sports to understand and respect others, exchange of arts   |
| Empowering Educators      | Training educators, exchange programs, diversity education, understanding international education initiative  |
| Young adults Programs     | Young-adults to take charge of activities at local and international levels                                   |

### Document 3: Former President Park Geunhye's Speech

Park, G.H., 2015. Key Note Speech at the 2015 World Education Forum, Incheon, Republic of Korea <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aY2gB5hinV0>>

Secretary-General of UN Ban Ki Moon, Director-General of UNESCO Irina Bokova and distinguished guests, I applaud the opening of the 2015 Incheon Global Education Forum.

I also welcome all representatives from education-related international organizations, UNESCO members, NGOs and scholars to Korea.

The following forum is one of the biggest international education-related events in setting objectives for the next 15 years by reflecting, analyzing and examining the results of "Education for All" led by UNESCO thus far.

Last time we had our global education forum was in Dakar, Senegal in 2000, and it took 15 years to gather together here to make resolutions for the future of global education.

It is my utmost honor to host such a meaningful forum here in Korea, where educational values are highly regarded, and on which the recent respectable economic surge is based.

Distinguished guests,

Education is the root of individual growth and national development.

Korea's economic upsurge, the 'Miracle on the Han' was based on educational values.

Having almost no natural resources, monetary support or support in general after the war, Korea invested mostly on education to produce highly capable human currency.

As a result, Korea is ranked one of the lowest in terms of illiteracy rate in the world and the highest graduation rate, and has benefited from a universal higher educational system. In return, our rapid economic growth has benefited from education in general.

Even now our effort to improve education for the next generation of students is an on-going process, and it is one of the most important assignments this nation needs to deal with.

Distinguished guests,

For the betterment of education, not only each nation, but the entire global community needs to come together to exert a concerted effort to improve education in general.

I believe the catch phrase 'Education for All' and all its activities by UNESCO and other education- related activities are probably the results of global minded view, as described.

What you have all done to promote and improve the rights of all human beings to receive an education is of great importance.

In fact, international support was a dominant force during the developmental stage of Korean education.

60 years ago, when the entire nation was devastated due to war, at that time, UNESCO came to assist in the making of Korean elementary textbooks, and the students were able to receive education and to nurture their dreams and hopes.

Korea has never forgotten such support from the international community, and we are doing the best we can to reciprocate.

Korea is now pursuing various cooperative projects in education, and actively participated in different programs such as 'Global Partnership Education' and 'Global Education First Initiative' last year.

In addition, we will support as much as we can to expand and settle any future objectives to be etched into the Global Education Charter as the host of the 2015 Global Education Forum.

Thus far, Korea has been supporting the expansion of GCED and International Education through Comprehension through APCEIU, and we will continue to support it as the center for GCED.

Also, Korea would like to implement ICT to increase the quality of education and narrow the gap between educational levels.

The ICT technology can be used in a ubiquitous fashion around the world to support education, and also it can improve the quality of education level by way of creative and revolutionary teaching-learning methods.

For a while, Korea has been a leader in grafting IT technology with education, applied various digital contents to learning and devising future classrooms.

Based on this experience, Korea has cooperated with many other nations, and this year, we will be cooperating with UNESCO to initiate support for several African nations using ICT.

If so desired, Korea is willing to share its educational ICT technological infrastructure and software with any nation. We will help with erecting model ICT classrooms and relevant training to effectively implement the technological support so that the level of education gap could be reduced.

Distinguished guests,

This forum's theme is the 'Transformation of Life through Education.'

As the theme indicated, I hope this forum will be the driving force for achieving world peace and development as well as transforming individuals' lives to be more

positive and optimistic as it prepares to adopt a new education resolution for the next 15 years.

As we gather all our strength to pursue the goal, this future vision will be realized in our time.

The Republic of Korea will journey with the international community to make this dream of achieving world peace and educational development.

I urge every one of you here to join the journey.

Again, I welcome all of you and hope the forum will be informative and instructive for all.

Thank you very much....

## Document 4: The Korean Version of UNESCO Directives

APCEIU/UNESCO, 2015. *The Making of the Korean Version of the Directives by UNESCO. Global Citizenship Education: Topics and Learning Objectives*

### ***The Making of the Korean Version of the Directives by UNESCO***

The following manuscript is a Korean Version with additional explanatory remarks about Global Citizenship Education, Teaching and Learning published by UNESCO in 2015, implementing the current educational contexts and circumstances in Korea to better inform the reader of the overall contour of the situations involved. Unlike the Directives of UNESCO which expects results from its pedagogical umbrella covering not only the areas of formal education but also informal and non-formal education, the current version is organized to emphasize the educational inculcation in institutions and governmental entities. To make this version possible, many experts in the field of Global Citizenship Education/International Education through Comprehension, composed of professors, educators of past and present at all levels (elementary, middle and high school) participated along with graduate students.

The current research project had no intention of producing an explanatory version of the Directives. Initially, the aim of the project was to analyze, modify and eventually devise a "domesticated" version of an education curriculum based on the first draft, then, of the Directives of UNESCO. At the initial stage, however, having gone through an advisory board evaluation process, producing a Korean version by going through important concepts and terms catering to the need of Korean contexts was the priority for the following reasons: first, since there is an enormous gap between the Directives, which is the end result of global discussions and the current educational system in Korea; hence, it would be difficult to graft the principles of the Directives to Korean situations in relation to devising curricula,

modification, writing of the texts, developing educational programs, and organizing a program for the instructors. As a result, the priority was given to the making of the Korean version; second, because the Directives were formed not specifically for Korea but for all members of UNESCO, the contained language is abstract and general, hence, there is hardly any specific case applicable to particular cases. Therefore, a mere translation of the Directives only engenders confusion; Third, when the Directives were published in 2015, the Korean educational system was in the process of reviewing the 2015 educational curricula, and the committee decided that it was appropriate for the Directives to be grafted to the Korean pedagogical system. Therefore, the committee decided to provide an explanatory version of the Directives to assist readers to better understand the basic principles [of the Directives].

[As for the contents], based on the Directives, the first chapter elaborates on the conceptual and theoretical aspects of global citizenship education and global citizenship along with background information on educational discussions. The second chapter includes the exact diagrams the Directives provided with supplementary explanations in terms to better understand the content in it. The third chapter deals with some of the conditions where successful grafting of the Global Citizenship Education Directives to Korean contexts could be established by looking at some exemplary cases in other countries.

## Document 5: Global Citizenship Based on Korean Educational Ideology

Jeong, G.O., 2016. Global Citizenship, the Education Reform of the 31st of May and the Principle of Korean Educational Ideology. Ministry of Education, *교육 2030 의제 실행계획 및 국가적 조정체계 구축에 대한 유관기관 협의회의*

### ***Global Citizenship, the Education Reform of the 31st of May and the Principle of Korean Educational Ideology***

In the preface of the Guideline for the Educational Reform published on the 31st of May in 1995, the main theme is to promote the idea of open-mindedness and cultural consciousness, thinking and acting from the perspectives of global citizenship. At the same time, it also emphasizes the *humanitas* education (character-cultivation) primarily on praxis, which was already implemented as a specific pedagogical methodology in high schools. Having taken the Guideline, the 4th Educational Reform Proposal by the Kim Young-sam administration prioritized the Guideline to enhance it further, submitting a new proposal-Supplementation of Education for the Establishment of Global Citizenship-as the stepping stone towards the Education for (making of) Democratic Citizens. Henceforth, the subsequent educational system in Korea has branded the Global Citizenship Education as part of Regular Educational Curriculum. To understand Korea's leading role in promoting the Global Citizenship Education at an early stage, one needs to observe the Principle adopted by the Ministry of Education from the Nation's founding philosophy, 弘益人間 (*Hong-ik-in-gan*), which literally means, "extensively benefiting all of humanity" simply because all citizens of the world can be included in the term described.

Many debates concerning the origin of the term have traced the term to Buddhism, as the term was included in some of the Buddhist texts, i.e., *Songs of Emperors* and *Kings of the Three Kingdoms*, written and compiled during the Goryeo Dynasty. Also, the term has been associated with the concept of benevolence, the central idea in Confucianism (Cho, 2005). Elsewhere, the cabinet members of the Government in Exile (in Shanghai) had already inserted the principle term prior to Independence from the Japanese Annexation and wanted to retain it after gaining Independence, but the attempt was in vain. Instead, the newly established government decided to include it in the First Article of Educational Principle not as a ruling concept but as a human relational concept. As such, the Chancellor of UNESCO, Irina Bokova cited the term to correlate it with the ideal pursued by UNESCO's Global Citizenship Education at the 60th Anniversary of UNESCO-Korea. The most recent scholars, whose object is to promote the image of Korea in keeping up with the current trend of the globalized world, furthermore, make positive contributions to the Unification Process of the two Koreas focusing on the idea of *Hong-ik-in-gan* (Lee, 2006).

There are several points to be considered in connecting the *Hong-ik* ideal as defined by the Ministry of Education with Global Citizenship. First, the political characteristic of the term should not be conflated with its image of conservative humanity. Through the process of long education history, the idea of "free-person" has gradually developed and progressed. In fact, before forming the modern understanding of the "free-person" since the time of the Greek democracy, the idea has taken the longest time to develop in the history of human kind. Unlike the politically motivated opinion of the term, "free-person" the Greek concept of the free-person revolved around the

idea of the individualistic personal progress of each as part of Ideal-human being as a free-person. Such perception of human being has been modified by the modern educational theories and has become the ideal model for character-developing education. Having selected character-development as one of three fundamental principles of the purpose of education in Korea, the terminology is based on the historical progress of the concept in the West. In this sense, even though the idea of *hong-ik-in-gan* is based on individual freedom and character developed over the years in the West, from the perspectives of ideological spectrum, the concept goes beyond the notion of "not-infringe-upon" the freedom of others, but a radical idea that promotes the view, "benefiting others."

Second, it is important to understand the dynamic nature of the term. In this recent article by Lee H (2006), the author points out that it would be difficult to approach the globalized world through the idea of "Dynamic Korea." Instead, he proposes the idea of *hong-ik-in-gan-yi-hwa-sae-gye* (弘益人間-理化世界, extensively benefiting others as nature directs). In the *Book of Changes*, among the four terminologies conveying the dynamic nature of *hong-ik-in-gan*, the term, *ik* (益, benefit) represents the core meaning:

That 'it will be advantageous (even) to cross the great stream' appears from the action of wood (shown in the figure). Yi is made up of (the trigrams expressive of) movement and docility, (through which) there is daily advancement to an unlimited extent. We have (also) in it heaven dispensing and earth producing, leading to an increase without restriction of place. Everything in

the method of this increase proceeds according to the requirements of the time (<http://ctext.org/book-of-changes/yil>-used Legge's translation).

Looking at the interpreted meaning of *ik* (益), the term is strikingly similar to the traditional (story of the founding mythology of Korea) concept of *hong-ik-in-gan*; that is, Hwan-ung's (the son of heaven) descent, (pursuing) the happiness of the people and pursuing righteousness in the middle (中正). It is not difficult to assume that the timing of the forming of the concept coincided with the writing of the *Book of Changes*. Hence, it is natural to deduce that the divination sign of *ik* (益) relates to the devising of Korea's foundational ideal concept. Up to this point, the *Book of Changes* represents the dialectical idea of the East. In it, the divination sign of *ik* (益) has wind (風) and thunder (雷) on top and bottom respectively. The ascending and descending movements of (wind and thunder) are the central notion of the Middle Way (中庸-The Doctrine of Mean, one's effort to perfect oneself) from which the dynamic nature of happiness can emerge. It is believed that the modern concept of dynamic Korea's prototype came from this divination *ik*, which is the principle idea of *hong-ik-in-gan*.

It also is important to discover the value of *hong-ik-in-gan* as the world's economy is now revolving around the idea of Service Trade. Maximal satisfaction through mutual exchange has been one of the most important methods in maintaining societies and developing economies. In what circumstances is the mutual benefit among people possible based on the idea of *hong-ik*? In modern times, this idea of mutual benefit is known as a win-win game. This is to maximize happiness for everyone through mutual exchange (benefiting others). This is the way of business for many Korean

traditional business people. Therefore, the idea of *hong-ik-in-gan* is not a political philosophy of objectifying the other, but a pragmatic philosophy of benefiting others. The closest contemporary concept corresponding to *hong-ik-in-gan* would be the concept of "for the benefit of clients." This notion has gone through a progressive development through the medieval period in the areas of medical, legal and religious services. Currently this concept is used as the ethical basis for service economy in dealing with clients (Nigel, 2008). In this sense, *hong-ik-in-gan* is a post-modern ideal that coincides with the notion of the modern service industry concept to lead the Global Citizenship Education.

## **Appendix B: Interview Questions**

### **Interview Questions for Semi-Structured Qualitative Interviews with Korean Graduate Students and with a Professor at a Korean University**

- Please could you let me know what kind of experience you have had relating to Global Citizenship Education (GCE), e.g., as a university student/teacher/designer of a curriculum, etc.?
- Who, in your opinion, are the main stakeholders in the launching of GCE in Korea, and what is the purpose of GCE, in the view of those stakeholders?
- How do you think Korean students (e.g., at middle school/ high school/university level) currently perceive GCE/the global dimension of education, and in what ways do they/their parents/other stakeholders think it might benefit them?
- What institutions/theories/frameworks do you think have had an influence on the Korean government's conception of GCE?
- What aspects of the Korean conception of GCE do you think make it unique or distinguish it from the conception of GCE in other nations?
- What are the Korean government's specific aims with respect to the international community as a whole in relation to GCE?
- To what extent are values and skills in GCE discourse/curricula emphasized in the Korean context?
- Do you think that a lot of Korean GCE discourse emphasizes human rights? (If so, why? If not, why not?)
- To what extent does the issue of increasing immigration levels in Korea seem to be a motivation for/reason for the Korean government's focus on GCE?

- Given that Korean society is likely to become more homogenous in the future, do you think GCE will prove beneficial in Korea? (If so, in what ways? If not, why not?)
- Do you think GCE can help solve particular domestic societal problems in Korea? (If so, in what ways? If not, why not?)
- Is there such thing as a ‘grassroots’ form of GCE (a form of GCE that is not associated with the government or formal learning institution, and which may involve offline or online activities or a combination of both)? If so, please could you give me an example?
- Is there any connection between GCE and citizens’ movements (*siminundong*)? If so, what is the connection?
- Is there any way in which people involved in GCE can pursue social reform, either domestically, or beyond their nations’ borders?
- How important is it for GCE to enable students to collaborate with others to create something or produce something? If you know some examples of this kind of activity, please could you let me know?

## **Appendix C: Informed consent form (English)**

### **INFORMED CONSENT FORM**

#### **A Comparative Study of the Missions and Goals of Global Citizenship Education in the UK and Korea**

Hello, my name is Mark Lloyd. I am a PhD student in the Global Education and Cooperation program at Seoul National University. This study will explore the missions and goals of GCE in the UK and Korea will try to determine whether GCE could be considered to be a form of governmentality in the context of global governance, and whether there are forms of GCE that could be said to be grassroots or bottom-up.

In order to look at this issue, you are being invited to take part in a semi-structured interview. Before you decide, however, it is important for you to understand why the study is being done and what it will involve. I would greatly appreciate your permission for an interview. I greatly value your expertise and opinions on this matter. If you choose to permit it, the interview will be recorded.

Please understand that your participation in the interview is voluntary, and if you choose to participate, you can stop the interview at any time. I will respect your decision and will not hold it against you.

The interview and observation notes and recording will remain confidential at all times. When reported, data from this interview will be combined with data from other interviews and no names will be used. It will be impossible to tell who said what when I write and share my final report. The research firmly guarantees anonymity.

The voice records of the interviews and signed consent forms for the interviews will be kept for 3 years, and the transcribed files for the interviews will be kept for 5 years according to 'The Seoul National University Research Ethical Guidelines' and 'Law on Life Ethics and Safety'. Moreover, the signed consent forms for the interviews will be kept in my laptop as scanned files after every interview in a password protected file. However, if you stop participating in this research, all data will be discarded immediately.

Please ask if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information. If you have additional questions, I may be contacted through:

**Mark Lloyd**  
**E-mail: [lloydmark50@gmail.com](mailto:lloydmark50@gmail.com)**  
**Mobile phone: 010-7210 1464**

Thank you very much for your consideration,  
Mark Lloyd

I wish to participate in this study. I understand the purpose of the study and the interview process. I understand I may withdraw at any time. I have been given the chance to ask any questions I may have, and understand that I can continue to do so during and after the interview.

Name/Signature \_\_\_\_\_ Date: \_\_\_\_\_

I certify that I have read out the above research description to the participant, and answered all questions.

Name/Signature Mark Lloyd Date: \_\_\_\_\_

## **PARTICIPANT INFORMATION TABLE**

This study will explore the missions and goals of GCE in the UK and Korea will try to determine whether GCE could be considered to be a form of governmentality in the context of global governance, and whether there are forms of GCE that could be said to be grassroots or bottom-up.

In order to look at this issue, you are being invited to take part in a semi-structured interview. Before you decide, however, it is important for you to understand why the study is being done and what it will involve. I would greatly appreciate your permission for an interview. I greatly value your expertise and opinions on this matter. If you choose to permit it, the interview will be recorded.

### **Who will participate in the study?**

For the study purpose, I expect to interview four participants who are graduate students in the education department of a Korean university, and whose research interests include Global Citizenship Education. I will also interview one other participant, who is a professor at a Korean university whose main research interest is Global Citizenship Education.

### **What will happen to me if I take part?**

I would be grateful if you could give me your time to speak with me. I will ask your opinions about various aspects of Global Citizenship Education. I am also interested in your opinions concerning the main goals/objectives of GCE in Korea, your opinions about the content of curricula, and about whether there are 'grassroots' or alternative forms of global citizenship, in your opinion.

### **What are the possible disadvantages and risks of taking part?**

You might need to spend time for interviews. I hope you will understand if the interview takes longer than necessary, or if an additional interview is requested to gain a better understanding of your opinions. However, we can negotiate this issue flexibly.

### **What will happen to the results of the research study?**

I will write a dissertation for my doctoral degree in the Department of Education at Seoul National University

## Appendix D: Informed consent form (Korean)

IRB No. 1703/003-019

유효기간: 2018년 3월 26일

### 연구참여자용 설명서 및 동의서

**연구 과제명 :** 세계시민교육의 형태로서의 통치성: 글로벌 교육 거버넌스의 맥락에서 영국과 한국에서의 세계시민교육의 사명과 목표의 비교연구  
**연구 책임자명 :** 마크로이드 (Mark Lloyd) 서울대학교 사범대학 교육학과 글로벌교육협력전공 박사과정생

이 연구의 목적은 한국과 영국의 세계 시민 교육 담론을 조사하고 비교한 후 이것이 '통치성'의 한 형태로서 간주 될 수 있는지 여부와 이러한 맥락에서 grassroots 혹은 bottom-up 형태의 세계시민교육이 존재하는지 여부를 결정하는 것입니다. 귀하는 세계시민교육 교육자 및 관련 분야 대학원생으로서, 귀하의 경험과 통찰력이 본 연구에 큰 도움이 될 것입니다.

서울대학교 박사과정 학생인 마크 로이드 (Mark Lloyd)가 본 연구를 수행할 것이며 이 연구는 자발적으로 참여 의사를 밝히신 분에 한하여 진행 됩니다. 참여의사를 결정하기에 앞서 본연구가 왜 수행되는지 그리고 연구의 내용이 무엇과 관련 있는지에 대해 설명해드리고자 합니다.

다음 내용을 신중히 읽어 보신 후 연구에 참여 의사를 밝혀 주시기를 바라며 궁금한 점은 담당 연구원이 자세히 설명해드릴 것입니다.

#### 1. 연구의 배경과 목적

서울 대학교의 박사 학위 논문으로 사용될 예정인 본 연구는 세계 시민 교육 (Global Citizenship Education, GCE)이 '통치성'의 한 형태로서 간주 될 수 있는지, 즉 세계의 교육 커리큘럼을 통해 세계 시민 형성을 통한 시민 행동을 통제하는 수단인지에 대해 여부를 알아내고자 합니다. 교육적 글로벌 거버넌스의 맥락, 그리고 grassroots나 bottom-up 형태의 GCE가 있는지 여부 등이 포함됩니다. 이 연구의 첫 번째 부분은 GCE와 관련된 공식 문서 분석으로 구성되며 두 번째 부분은 GCE 전문가인 교수와 대학원생과의 인터뷰에서 정성 분석 데이터로 구성됩니다. 본 연구는 GCE에 대한 현재의 문헌에 유용한 기여할 것을 기대합니다.

#### 2. 연구 참여 대상

세계시민교육에 관심이 있고 경험이 있는 4명의 대학원생과 GCE 전문가인 교수와 인터뷰를 진행하며 각 참가자는 약 30 ~ 40분 동안 인터뷰에 참여하게 됩니다.

#### 3. 진행방법과 과정

만일 귀하가 참여의사를 밝혀 주시면 다음과 같은 과정이 진행될 것입니다. 본 연구는 실질적 면담과 심도 있는 인터뷰 운용을 통해서 진행될 것이며 면담 질문의 답변에 대해서 정확한 이해를 위해 추가 설명이 필요하거나 보완해야 할 부분이 더 필요한 경우, 면접을 한 번 더 요청될 것입니다. 귀하의 통찰력과 소중한 시간은 크게 감사드리며 이 연구에 많은 도움이 될 것입니다. 면담에 참여하는 데 어려움이 있거나 본 연구에 대해서 질문이 있는 경우 전자 메일 또는 SNS를 통해

해 의견을 요청하고 싶습니다.

참여 의사가 있음을 알려 주시면 인터뷰 자료의 완전성을 고려하기 위해, 인터뷰의 전 과정을 녹음하는 방식을 취할 것이며, '서울대학교 연구 윤리 가이드라인'에 따라 녹음 내용은 3년, 전사 내용은 5년간 보관 후 완전히 폐기될 것입니다. 연구 도중에 참여를 포기하실 경우에는 모든 보관 자료를 즉시 폐기 할 것입니다. 인터뷰에 참여자의 기본 자료와 녹음한 자료에 대해서는 연구자가 익명화 비밀 원칙을 준수하여 자료의 분석이나 연구 보고서를 작성함에 있어 모두 익명 방식을 취할 것이며, 인터뷰에 참여자의 기본 자료나 개인 자료는 어떠한 것이라도 절대로 유출해서 는 안 되면, 인터뷰에 참여하는 사람의 권익을 확실하게 보장합니다.

#### 4. 연구 참여 기간

면담은 2017년 4월에 요청 예정이며, 30~40분 정도 소요될 것입니다. 면담 이전에 이메일이나 SNS를 통해 사전에 연락을 드리겠습니다.

#### 5. 연구 참여 중도포기

귀하는 언제든지 어떠한 불이익 없이 참여하지 않기로 결정할 수 있습니다. 만일 귀하가 연구에 참여하는 것을 그만두고 싶다면 연구 책임자에게 즉시 말씀해 주십시오.

#### 6. 부작용이나 위험요소

귀하께서는 인터뷰를 위해 면담시간 외에 지정된 장소로 이동에 필요한 시간을 할애하셔야 합니다. 세계시민교육과 관련된 소중한 통찰력과 마찬가지로 귀하의 시간과 노력에 진심으로 감사 말씀 드립니다. 인터뷰를 통해 어떤 이유로든 불편한 감정을 느끼는 경우 언제든지 인터뷰를 중단 할 수 있습니다. 또한 이 연구와 관련하여 발생할 수 있는 위험 요소에 대해 질문이 있으면 즉시 담당 연구원에게 문의하십시오.

#### 7. 연구 참여에 따른 이익

귀하가 이 연구에 참여하는데 있어서 직접적인 이득은 없습니다. 그러나 귀하가 제공하는 정보는 세계시민교육에 대한 학계 공동체의 이해에 기여할 수 있습니다.

#### 8. 연구에 참여하지 않을 시 불이익

귀하는 본 연구에 참여하지 않을 자유가 있습니다. 또한, 귀하가 본 연구에 참여하지 않아도 어떠한 불이익도 없음을 알려드립니다.

#### 9. 개인 정보와 비밀보장

이 연구의 개인 정보 관리자는 마크로이드(Mark Lloyd) (lloydmark50@gmail.com, 010-7210-1464)이며 연구 책임자는 린이런 (Lynn Ilon) 교수 (lynnilon@snu.ac.kr, 010-4517-0985)입니다. 본 연구를 통해 얻은 모든 개인 정보의 비밀 보장합니다. 이 연구에서 얻은 정보가 학회나 학회에 공개 될 때, 귀하의 이름과 다른 개인 정보는 일체 사용되지 않을 것입니다. 그러나 부득이 하게 이와 같은 사항이 위법일 경우나 만일 법이 요구하면 귀하의 개인 정보가 제공 될 수 있습니다.



니다. 또한 모니터 요원, 점검요원, 생명윤리심의위원회는 연구참여자의 개인 정보에 대한 비밀 보장을 침해하지 않고 관련규정이 정하는 범위 안에서 본 연구의 실시 절차와 자료의 신뢰성을 검증하기 위해 연구 결과를 직접 열람할 수 있습니다. 본 동의서에 서명함으로써 위의 사항에 대하여 검토했고 이에 동의하였음을 증명합니다.

10. 이 연구에 참가하면 댓가가 지급됩니까?  
최소합니다만 본 연구에 참가하는데 있어서 연구 참여자에게 금전적인 보상은 없습니다. 그러나 면담 시 필요한 교통비 및 음료 등의 비용을 연구책임자가 지불할 것입니다.

11. 연구에 대한 문의는 어떻게 해야 됩니까?  
본 연구에 대해 질문이 있거나 연구 중간에 문제가 생길 시 다음 연구 담당자에게 연락하십시오.

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만일 어느 때라도 연구참여자로서 귀하의 권리에 대한 질문이 있다면 다음의 서울대학교 생명윤리심의위원회에 연락하십시오.  
서울대학교 생명윤리심의위원회 (SNUIRB) 전화번호: 02-880-5153



### 동 의 서

1. 나는 본 연구의 설명문을 읽었으며 담당 연구원과 이에 대하여 의논하였습니다.
2. 나는 위험과 이득에 관하여 들었으며 나의 질문에 만족할 만한 답변을 얻었습니다.
3. 나는 연구 진행 중 녹음이나 기록에 대한 설명을 숙지하였으며, 이에 동의합니다.
4. 나는 이 연구에 참여하는 것에 대하여 자발적으로 동의합니다.
5. 나는 이 연구에서 얻어진 나에 대한 정보를 현행 법률과 연구윤리심의위원회 규정이 허용하는 범위 내에서 연구자가 수집하고 처리하는데 동의합니다.
6. 나는 담당 연구자나 위임 받은 대리인이 연구를 진행하거나 결과 관리를 하는 경우와 보건 당국, 학교 당국 및 서울대학교 생명윤리심의위원회가 실태 조사를 하는 경우에는 비밀로 유지되는 나의 개인 신상 정보를 직접적으로 열람하는 것에 동의합니다.
7. 나는 언제라도 이 연구의 참여를 철회할 수 있고 이러한 결정이 나에게 어떠한 해도 되지 않을 것이라는 것을 압니다.
8. 나의 서명은 이 동의서의 사본을 받았다는 것을 뜻하며 연구 참여가 끝날 때까지 사본을 보관하겠습니다.

|          |     |            |
|----------|-----|------------|
| 연구참여자 성명 | 서 명 | 날짜 (년/월/일) |
| 연구책임자 성명 | 서 명 | 날짜 (년/월/일) |



## Appendix E: 국문 초록

### 국문 초록

이 논문은 다음 연구 질문으로부터 시작되었다: 영국과 한국의 ‘발전을 위한 세계시민교육’ Global Citizenship Education for Development (GCED)의 임무와 목표가 미래 GCED 담론의 발전에 국내적으로 그리고 초국가적으로 미치는 영향이 무엇인가? 이러한 맥락에서 연구를 위해 다음 하위 연구 질문들을 설정하였다: (1) GCED 담론의 목적 또는 논리적 근거는 무엇인가? (2) 각각의 국가에 의해, 그리고 각각의 국가를 위해 생산된 GCED 담론의 영향은 무엇인가? 그리고 (3) 세계적 또는 국가적 GCED 담론이 풀뿌리 또는 상향식 활동에서 도출된 종류의 것들에 의해 정보를 제공 받고 있는가? 본 연구 질문을 설명하는 데이터를 얻기 위해 사용된 방법 중의 하나는 비평적 담화분석이다. 이 연구 방법은 세 가지 종류의 문서를 검토하기 위해 사용되었다: 첫 번째 문서는 영국에서 생산된 GCED 담론의 대표작들이고; 두 번째는 ‘초국가적’ GCED 담론들로 구성되어 있고, 그리고 세 번째 문서는 한국에서 생산된 GCED 담론들로 구성되어 있다. 이와 더불어, 다양한 지위에서 GCED 분야의 경험을 쌓은 다섯 명의 한국인 대학원 학생과 반구조적 면담을 진행하였고, 한국계 GCED 분야의 전문가 한 명을 Thomas (2006)의 일반 귀납적 접근 방식을 이용하여 면담하였다. 연구 결과, 기업적인 GCED 담론과 교육과정은 ‘두루 적용되는 해결책 (one-size-fits-all)’ 접근 방법을 드러내고 있으며, 이 방식은 문화적 특수성에 대한 고려가 결여되었기 때문에 적절하지 못하다는 결론에 도달하였다. 동시에, 이 연구는 이러한 담론이 다양한 국가들로 하여금 공유된 목적에 동의하도록 하는 공동의 산만한 공간을 창출한다는 것을 보여주는 한편, 이들 국가들이 그럼에도 불구하고 그들 자신의 정치적 안전을 추구하는 데 있어서는 실제적으로는 자유롭게 행동한다는 것을 보여준다. 연구를 통해 발견된 내용이 가지는 함의는 만약 연구자들과 교육자들이 한국과 영국의 공식적 GCED 담론이 양국과 기타 다른 정부가 추진하는 개발 사업의 마케팅 도구로 전락하는 것을 방지하고자 한다면, 그리고 대신 GCED가 시민에게 권한을 이양하게 하는 핵심적 도구가 되게 하고자 한다면, 좀 더 비평 지향적 형태의 GCED가 요구된다는 것이다. 이 목적을 이루기 위해, 대상을 인지하는 데 있어 ‘중재’ 또는 질적 변화 (O’Connor, 2004)를 통해 공감을 증진시킬 수 있는 Adorno의 개념적 경험 이론에 기초한 접근 방법이 GCED에 사용될 것이 제안되고 있다.

**주요어:** 발전을 위한 세계시민교육, 풀뿌리, 비평적 담화분석, 중재, 개념적 경험 이론

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