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Editorial: Citizenship and Civic Education for Refugees and Migrants.

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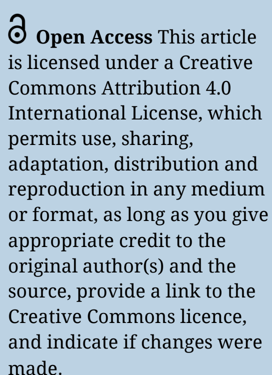
In this special issue of JSSE we explore refugees and migrant's issues from the angle of citizenship and civic education. Forced migration always has been an issue that makes many people displaced from their home and it is mostly caused by war, religion, ethnicity, and political conflicts, and climate change. Refugees generally experience terrible transfer conditions, with the risk of survival and after they arrive at their "new home" they encounter many difficulties, besides the financial ones, such as language barrier and cultural adaptation. Host countries have been trying to ease these difficulties and issues. Nonetheless, one of the unnoticed, but very important issues is that providing proper education to the refugees and migrants, who are of school age, which is expected to help them to understand and grasp common civic values of the host country. Therefore, in this issue we are presenting articles that discuss the philosophical and theoretical aspects of citizenship education regarding migrants in general terms and paying attention to how they are adapted to the national identity of the host country as well. We also have one piece that shows examples of good practices for teaching about migration. Finally, we have one article from outside Europe, Bangladesh, that discuss how this hosting country deals with the educational needs of a refugee group.

The first article is "Global Citizenship Education for Non-Citizen?" by Eirik Julius Risberg. The author in this article investigates whether Global Citizenship Education is also applied to non-citizens, such as migrants and refugees. Risberg introduces national and postcolonial conceptions of global citizenship education and highlights how these conceptions are unable to address non-citizens, leaving large segments of the world's population excluded from becoming global citizens. According to Risberg, although Global Citizenship Education concepts evolve and outgrow in time, it still seems incapable of addressing non-citizens in any substantial sense. He claims the extensive talks about migrant and refugees within this approach is merely superficial and does not go beyond including these groups into the conversation but only as exemplars of the 'other'.



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Therefore, Risberg concludes that “a critical and transformative dimension to Global Citizenship Education is certainly needed in our day and age” (p.21) and argues that values and attitudes based on Human Rights ought to play a central role in fostering inclusionary global citizens for non-citizens, such as migrants and refugees. Otherwise, they will remain global non-citizens.

While Risberg’s contribution criticizes the current conceptions and applications of Global Citizenship Education, Eva Harðardóttir and Ólafur Páll Jónsson try to address this criticism by proposing a teaching model in the article entitled “Visiting the forced visitors – Critical and decentred approach to Global Citizenship Education as an inclusive educational response to forced youth migration”. This article focuses on developing a Global Citizenship Education (GCE) model for including refugee and migrant youths in national educational settings in Europe. First, the authors discuss how different GCE approaches have varying implications for refugee youth. Then, they propose a critical and decentred approach to GCE to support inclusive educational response to refugee youth within national educational settings. They also present selected educational practices regarding refugee youth, inclusive education, and citizenship based on a teacher guideline developed within a comparative research project in Iceland, Norway, and the UK. At the end of the article Harðardóttir and Jónsson highlight the importance of hearing the stories of forced youth visitors in educational settings and suggest that teachers should become visitors in the life of the other through critical and decentring pedagogies.

The focus of the next study, unlike the former ones, is more on the national aspects of civic education and the sense of national belonging of migrants to the hosting country. The article by Beatriz Matafora, Katrin Hahn-Laudenberg, and Herman J. Abs deals with the difficult question of “Assessing the national identity and sense of belonging of students in Germany with immigration backgrounds.” The authors analyze the data of the International Civic and Citizenship Study - 2016 regarding the national identification and sense of belonging of Secondary school students with and without immigration backgrounds. Students with immigration backgrounds tend to present statistically lower scores for the scale ‘attitudes toward country of residence’ in 20 out of 24 participating countries. In an international comparison, German students with and without immigration backgrounds score relatively low on all five items of the scale. Despite achieving significantly lower scores for national identification over 90% of German students with immigration backgrounds feel a sense of belonging to Germany. This paper also assesses whether the research instruments used are suitable for the German context and suggests that while research instruments measuring national identity, which will be used in large- scale international studies, must be based on transnational perspective, and they also must consider countries’ historical and social contexts.

The following article presents examples of good practices for teaching about migration, which is entitled as “Teaching about migration-Teachers’ didactical choices when connecting specialized knowledge to pupils’ previous knowledge.” The article of

Sara Blanck deals with teaching migration to upper Primary school students in Sweden by examining teachers' didactical choices concerning specialized knowledge and pupils' previous knowledge. It is a practice-based research where meetings and development circles with teachers, and focus group interviews with ten-to twelve-year-old pupils are performed and analyzed in relation to educational practice and exemplary teaching. Teachers, in this study, expanded concept of migration through discussions of specialized knowledge and collaborative platforms could contribute to a more qualified education about migration. We believe this article is a good example of providing ideas and ways of how to teach migration to youths. Sara Blanck concludes that migration could be taught as a perspective in the subject-specific course or in a thematic interdisciplinary project and, either way, migration biographies as well as cases, stories, pictures, could be used to let the abstract concepts and experiences become more concrete for students.

The last article of this special issue is a country's report from Bangladesh that presents an example of how refugee hosting countries may struggle to deal with the educational needs of refugees. The article is entitled "Preparedness for education to Rohingya refugee children in Bangladesh: Potentials and challenges to citizenship education" by A. N. M. Zakir Hossain. This article describes the current situation of Rohingya refugees and discusses challenges of giving proper citizenship education to the refugee youth, while there are more than fifty percent who are out of formal education. Nonetheless, the author stresses that they "need education as their rights and means of future livelihoods that can contribute to both the refugee and host society in the future" (p.103). The study concludes that limited initiative has been taken by the host country for educating Rohingya refugee children and other supporting regional and global non-state actors' efforts are not enough. Hossain suggests that the number of education centers need to be increased immediately for the Rohingya youth to integrate them into the formal educational system of Bangladesh, and support them for a better future.

There is also one more article in the open call section entitled as "Who wants a political classroom? Attitudes toward teaching controversial political issues in school" by Shahar Gindi, Rachel Sagee, and Itzhak Gilat. The article is from Israel where there have been many controversies for years. It is a quantitative based study conducted on different groups of participants (Adults n: 501; Students n: 201 and Teachers n: 70) and it tells us what types of controversial issues the participants of the study are willing to discuss with others. Among them there are very hot topics such as 'Israeli- Arab Conflict', 'same sex marriage', and 'gender separated academic studies'. However, the study shows that while the majority of respondents, including the teachers themselves, had little confidence in teachers' ability to conduct controversial political issues discussions in classrooms, students supported these discussions more than adults (including teachers). These findings might be considered as optimistic to face some of the controversial issues in the future as the younger generation of Israeli community seems to be more open minded.

Finally, we present one book review for this special issue: Refugee Education: Theorising Practice in Schools by Joanna McIntyre and Fran Abrams. The review is written by Ian Thompson from the University of Oxford.

We hope this special issue will provide insight for the audience and start discussions on civic education for refugees and migrants among the educators to improve and disseminate the practice of this field.

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Article

Global Citizenship Education for Non-Citizens?

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Keywords: global citizenship education, cosmopolitanism, citizenship, postcolonial theory, human rights

- Global Citizenship Education is one of the fastest-growing educational reform movements in educational research and policy development.
- Recent theoretical development, however, has given rise to a plethora of different conceptions of what Global Citizenship Education is, and to whom it is directed.
- Conceptions of Global Citizenship Education that construe it as an extension of Citizenship Education end up excluding non-citizens, such as migrants and refugees.
- Despite the importance of fostering an awareness of existing social injustice, Global Citizenship Education must therefore take the form of a moral cosmopolitanism.

Purpose: This article seeks to examine whether Global Citizenship Education is able to address non-citizens, such as migrants and refugees. While conceptions of Global Citizenship Education differ, the popular conception of Global Citizenship Education as an extension of Citizenship Education has left the role of non-citizens precarious and in need of explanation.

Approach: Through a theoretical analysis of the dominant approaches to Global Citizenship Education, the articles seeks to expose a lacuna in the postcolonial conception of Global Citizenship Education.

Findings: Acknowledging that postcolonial theory has provided a necessary corrective to naïve forms of cosmopolitanism, I argue that a moral or cosmopolitan approach to Global Citizenship Education is more accommodating to non-citizens by allowing them to take part in the conversation. In increasingly diverse societies it is paramount that Global Citizenship Education is able to speak to citizens and non-citizens alike in seeking to foster future global citizens.

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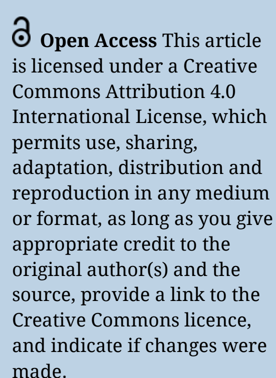

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1 INTRODUCTION

In a world reeling in the grip of a number of interrelated global challenges, frequent high-profile calls are made for the need to foster global citizens (Obama, 2008; Ki-moon, 2012; Guterres, 2019). Facing the highest numbers of refugees ever recorded (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees [UNHCR], 2020), an expected increase in refugees and migrants (International Organization for Migration [IOM], 2019), declining support for democracy (Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance [IDEA], 2019), growing populist tendencies (The Foundation for European Progressive Studies [FEPS], 2020), and impending environmental catastrophe (Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change [IPCC], 2019), it seems imperative that we adopt a global outlook and encourage cooperation across national borders. The web of interconnected communication and trade relations – as the recent and ongoing Covid-19 pandemic has made evidently clear – has made us all perilously dependent on each other, and only through concerted action do we stand a chance to address the barrage of global challenges confronting us.

The urgency of these problems is evident, but beyond immediate and concerted action a more fundamental change in mindset is thus required. In envisaging a more long-term solution to the glaring demand for action, repeated calls have therefore been made by politicians, researchers and educators alike to implement educational programs to foster global citizens. Education, it is believed, holds a key role in addressing these challenges and has been invoked as instrumental for reaching the UN Sustainable Development Goals (Guterres, 2019). However, while the debate on Global Citizenship Education (GCE) is rich and growing, the place of non-citizens in Global Citizenship Education – most prominently refugees and immigrants – has not been adequately addressed. Lacking citizenship, how do non-citizens fit into the scheme of fostering global citizens? Are non-citizens (potential) global citizens, or is global citizenship for citizens only? And what *kind* of Global Citizenship Education would be best suited to accommodate non-citizens, such as immigrants and refugees, in shaping the global citizen of the 21st Century?

The worry may at first glance seem puzzling, and it is tempting to assume that it relies on a misunderstanding. Talk of ‘global citizenship’, it may be argued, is not meant to imply *political* or *national* citizenship transposed to the global level, and so the purpose of Global Citizenship Education is not to prepare students for social and political participation in a future ‘world state’. Rather, global citizenship, we are told, is set of values, skills, dispositions and attitudes – a global *orientation* – and the task of Global Citizenship Education is to foster what is often referred to as a global *stance* or *mindset* appropriate for inhabitant of an increasingly interconnected and interdependent world, which we may refer to as members of a ‘global community’, or, more metaphorically, as ‘global citizens’. This would be a form of *cultural* (Banks, 2009) or *felt* citizenship (Osler & Starkey, 2005), and given that non-citizens, such as refugees and migrants, are just as much global citizens or potential global citizens in this sense as anyone else, their

existence should not require special explanation or somehow be seen to pose a problem for Global Citizenship Education.

However, while this characterization may seem to be in line with the idea of global citizenship as it is expressed in the policy documents by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO, 2013, 2015, 2018) and to capture the tenor of the many high-profile calls to foster global citizens, the worry arises when we consider the role of *education* in cultivating future global citizens. As theorists in education likes to remind us, education has traditionally taken place within a national context and against a historical and political background; the skills, values and attitudes to be fostered have traditionally been determined by the needs and particular situation of the nation-state, and the role of education has traditionally seen to be to prepare students for future social and political participation in the state (Schugurensky & Myers, 2003; Banks & Nguyen, 2008; Banks, 2009; Starkey, 2017). As we can no longer ignore the global nature of the challenges facing us however, Citizenship Education (CE) cannot be limited to issues pertaining to the nation-state. Our actions have repercussions far beyond our borders and we are so enmeshed technologically, economically and environmentally that a Citizenship Education that is limited to the needs and interest of a single state seems outmoded and must be extended to include global issues and to foster a global perspective. Conceived as an attempt to amend or extend traditional Citizenship Education beyond the boundaries of the nation-state however, Global Citizenship Education remains a form of *Citizenship* Education; a deliberate attempt at crafting or remodelling citizens of a nation-state into globally oriented citizens. Expanding Citizenship Education into Global Citizenship Education thus still takes the *citizen* as its starting-point – leaving it unclear how the educational framework can be said to also pertain to non-citizens.

While immediately appealing, hinting at a universal ideal, upon further reflection therefore, there seems to be a conundrum at the heart of Global Citizenship Education. Moreover, as all of the component concepts – ‘global’, ‘citizen’, and ‘education’ – are themselves highly contested, and with scholars positioning themselves along multiple axes in these debates, it would be surprising if that complexity did not pass over into the discussion on Global Citizenship Education. As a consequence, scholars have identified multiple diverging conceptions of Global Citizenship Education in the literature, exposing a rich plethora of views on how to understand global citizenship and Global Citizenship Education. However, while a number of lines of contention have been identified (Oxley & Morris, 2013; Veugelers, 2011), the notion of *citizenship* seems to stand out as a particularly important demarcation line in the literature (Wintersteiner *et al.*, 2015; Tarozzi & Torres, 2016). Thus, whereas some see citizenship as a political concept, which, through a critical or postcolonial critique of social injustice and the colonial Western perspective can give rise to a form of *global* citizenship, and thereby conceive of Global Citizenship Education an extension of traditional Citizenship Education, others see citizenship as a moral status, and Global Citizenship Education as

aiming at fostering global citizens through cultivating a set of cosmopolitan skills, attitudes, and values. Either way, it seems one's conception of Global Citizenship Education is inextricably linked to one's notion of a global *citizen*.

In the following, I seek to explore these two main conceptions of Global Citizenship Education in the context of an age of mass migration and the possible implications adopting one or the other may have for fostering global citizens in populations containing a high number of migrants and refugees. I begin, in section one, by tracing the historical roots of the notion of Global Citizenship Education and discuss the two main directions of Global Citizenship Education identified in the literature. In the second section of the paper, I address recent postcolonial criticism of what is arguably the most prevalent conception of global citizenship and Global Citizenship Education: a form of moral cosmopolitanism. While acknowledging some of the important contributions by postcolonial thinkers to the debate, I argue that a critical-political conception of global citizenship risks reifying the distinction between citizens and non-citizens, and thus effectively exclude non-citizens from participating in Global Citizenship Education. Despite the valuable contribution of postcolonial theory to Global Citizenship Education, it does not address itself to non-citizens and has thus little to offer the non-citizen in terms of becoming a global citizen. In the third section, I briefly point towards a moral cosmopolitanism which places human rights at the heart of Global Citizenship Education as the best way to foster global citizens in populations consisting of both citizens and non-citizens. While this is not to deny the importance of a transformative Global Citizenship Education, it seems paramount that a Global Citizenship Education worthy of its name must be able to accommodate citizens and non-citizens alike.

2 THE IDEA OF A GLOBAL CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION

While the notion of global citizens or global citizenship boasts an ancient legacy, the related idea of a Global Citizenship Education has emerged gradually in international discourse over the past decades (Schattle, 2008; Wintersteiner *et al.*, 2015; Davies, 2008; Gaudelli & Schmidt, 2018). As a more specific educational framework however, the origin of Global Citizenship Education can be traced to the UN Secretary-General's Global Education First Initiative (GEFI) from 2012 (Tarozzi & Torres, 2016; Wintersteiner *et. al.*, 2015). Arguing that "[e]ducation is a major driving force for human development" the then UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon identified fostering global citizenship as one of the three objectives of Global Education (GE), emphasising that "[e]ducation policies should promote peace, mutual respect and environmental care" (Ki-moon, 2012). In the intervening years, similar policy documents have been developed by national and international organizations (Council of Europe, 2012; OECD, 2018; Oxfam, 2015) and the idea of and perceived need for a Global Citizenship Education has steadily gained momentum in educational circles, making it, as Jeffrey Dill (2012, p.541) notes, "one of the fastest growing educational reform movements today."

A concern for a global approach to Citizenship Education however, is of course not new or without precedent in the theory and philosophy of education. On the contrary, global issues, as well as promoting values, skills and a global outlook in future citizens have been a central part of a more general social science education for a long time (Sant *et al*., 2020), and predecessors to the pedagogical construct that has been labelled Global Citizenship Education can be found in a range of pedagogies, from Human Rights and Peace Education to Intercultural and Multicultural Education (Davies, 2006; Wintersteiner *et al*., 2015; Tarozzi & Torres, 2016). Many of these implicitly or explicitly invoked the need to foster a global perspective on social or political rights or address the (global) causes of war and conflict (Andreopoulos & Claude, 1997).

However, while seeking to cover much of the same ground the new concept, it is often argued, does not make these older pedagogies superfluous, but “combines them or some of their essential components and thereby gives them a new and unique focus” (Wintersteiner *et al*., 2015, p.3). At first sight, it might not be evident what constitutes the ‘new and unique focus’ offered by Global Citizenship Education. Global Citizenship Education is roundly said to aim to “instil in learners of all ages a commitment to peace, human rights and sustainable development,” and “to empower learners of all ages to become active promoters of more peaceful, tolerant, inclusive, secure and sustainable societies” (UNESCO, 2015). Whereas the first seems to correspond to the objectives of Human Rights Education and Peace Education, the latter is central in variants of Multicultural and Intercultural Education. Is the concept redundant or, worse, simply vacuous and, as Davies (2006) asks, an abstraction?

Upon closer scrutiny however, the particular addition afforded by Global Citizenship Education to the plethora of kindred concepts seems to be its approach to these issues through a focus on *citizenship*. Global Citizenship Education, Tarozzi and Torres argue, addresses key themes in Global Education, such as peace, a sustainable future and human rights, “by reading them through the meaningful lenses of citizenships as the key educational goal” (2016, p.4). As a consequence, different conceptions of Global Citizenship Education can therefore be distinguished, at least partly, with respect to how they conceive of citizenship. Having grown into a rich and complex field with an array of difference conceptions of Global Citizenship Education, as Winersteiner *et al.* chimes in, “[i]t is always the divergent interpretations of the citizenship term that make up the dividing line between them” (Wintersteiner *et al*., 2015, p.10).

Approached from the notion of citizenship, Global Citizenship Education can be distinguished into two main strands. On the one hand, there are those conceptions of citizenship that interpret global citizenship as an ideal, construing the notion of global citizenship as a *moral* concept and thus Global Citizenship as a form of moral education. On the other, there are those who take a political or structural approach to global citizenship and see Global Citizenship Education primarily as a form of social justice education. Whereas the first, according to Wintersteiner *et al.* “focuses on the individual, who should develop the human qualities of a cosmopolitan (“individual

cosmopolitanism")" (Wintersteiner *et. al.*, 2015, p.10), the latter, which Wintersteiner *et al.* dubs "structural cosmopolitanism," focuses on societal structures that need to be changed if global citizenship is to be more than an ideal.

While there are notational differences in how the different contributors to the debate label the two approaches, there seems to be an agreement that the relevant distinction is between these two strands – "the humanitarian and the political approach" (Wintersteiner *et al.* 2015, p.10). Thus, Park, Slobuski, and Durkee (2016) argues that "[t]here are two main frameworks for GCE: liberalist, cosmopolitan, and humanist; and critical and postcolonial"; Oxley and Morris (2013) distinguish broadly between "cosmopolitan" and "advocacy" types of Global Citizenship Education, where the former embrace one or another form of cosmopolitan or world community (political, moral, economic and cultural), while the latter is united by taking an advocacy approach to citizenship along one or another dimension (social, critical, environmental and spiritual); and Vanessa de Oliveira Andreotti distinguish between 'soft' and 'critical' Global Citizenship Education "in terms of basic assumptions and implications for citizenship education", where the grounds for action are "Humanitarian/moral (based on normative principles for thought and action), [and] Political/ethical (based normative principles for relationships)" (Andreotti, 2014, p.27-28).

The cosmopolitan conception of citizenship – that we are all citizens of the world, or '*kosmopolitēs*' – which is often understood as the idea that all human beings belong to a "*single moral community* based on the idea of freedom" (Peters *et al.* 2008, p.3) can be traced back to antiquity. Both Socrates and Diogenes of Sinope are said to have proclaimed themselves to be citizens of the world (Schattle, 2009; Gaudelli, 2016). The latter, when asked where he was from, is famously reported to have replied that he was "a citizen of the world" and thus, "by identifying himself not as a citizen of Sinope but as a citizen of the world, Diogenes apparently refused to agree that he owed special service to Sinope and the Sinopeans" (Kleingeld & Brown 2019). In drawing the moral boundary wider than the nation-state, cosmopolitanism champions the idea that "the inherent dignity and well-being of each human person warrants equal respect and concern" (Schattle, 2009, p.3).

The cosmopolitan approach to Global Citizenship Education reverberates through the UNESCO formulations. It is emphasised that global citizenship is not a political citizenship, but a global 'gaze' or 'mindset' (UNESCO, 2015). The objective of Global Citizenship Education, as stated in the first UNESCO document on the topic, is to foster "knowledge, skills, values and attitudes learners need for securing a world which is more just, peaceful, tolerant, inclusive, secure and sustainable" (UNESCO, 2015, p.9). Although the conference leading up to the formulation of the founding document on Global Citizenship Education revealed significant disagreement on the notion of a Global Citizenship Education (UNESCO 2013), the final conception of Global Citizenship Education in the UNESCO documents seems clearly to be moral rather than political.

Despite the strong cosmopolitan current in Global Citizenship Education, there is also a notable political or critical streak to more recent contributions to the literature on Global Citizenship Education. Drawing on critical or social justice pedagogy, a number of scholars have understood Global Citizenship Education to be a branch of transformative pedagogy whose primary aim it is to educate citizens to become globally aware, impressing upon them “a duty to consider the global dimension in all their decisions” (Wintersteiner *et al.*, 2015, p.12). The grounding idea seems to be that Global Citizenship Education is an expansion of traditional Citizenship Education, by which national citizenship is extended or broadened into *global* citizenship (Pashby, 2011, 2012). Tapping into a rich source of critical pedagogy, these scholars thus connect the new pedagogical construct to older pedagogies of global justice, arguing that “justice is a better ground for thinking as it is political and prompts fairer and more equal relations” (Andreotti, 2014 p.23) than soft and squishy cosmopolitan values, and that the global citizen comes about by “‘expanding’ or ‘extending’ or ‘adding’ [learners’] sense of responsibility and obligation to others through the local to national to global community” (Pashby, 2011, p.430).

The political or critical conception of Global Citizenship Education has been taken up and furthered by a number of postcolonial theorists, which sees Global Citizenship Education as an opportunity to “move beyond an exclusively national perspective of world affairs and seek to avoid a social-studies approach that tends to tokenize and exoticize foreign places and peoples” (Pashby, 2012, p.9). However, while acknowledging an indebtedness to critical pedagogy, postcolonial theorists have at times been less impressed with how the former has applied its own main insights, finding shortcomings in many of the classic texts and approaches of critical pedagogy. Thus, “[a]lthough Freirean theory and critical pedagogy foreground social inequalities, oppression, and reflection and action as pathways to social change,” as Michael Zembylas notes, “it is argued that they have ignored the White settler colonial imperatives behind the use and performance of the language and tools of critical pedagogy” (Zembylas, 2018, p.404). By pointing out colonial biases in traditional Global Citizenship Education and by broadening the range of questions and issues under discussion, postcolonial theory has enriched the literature on Global Citizenship Education, revealing the complexity of educating global citizens and the range of issues and perspectives that needs to be taken into account in a Global Citizenship Education.

3 Criticism of Global Citizenship Education from Postcolonial Theory

While Global Citizenship Education, as noted, has become something of a buzzword in educational circles, the richness and ambiguity of the concept has also laid it open to considerable debate. Multiple and competing conceptions of ‘globalization’ and the ‘global’, a renewed interest in the notion of ‘citizenship’ and the need for new

pedagogies to address the problems of the 21st Century have contributed to generating a fertile and vibrant scholarly interest in Global Education, and Global Citizenship Education in particular (Tarozzi & Torres, 2016; Burbules & Torres, 2000; Kymlicka, 2005). As the debate has begun to mature however, different approaches, theoretical assumptions and concerns have been identified, giving rise to some in-house criticism between proponents identifying with one or the other conception of Global Citizenship Education. Fissures have begun to appear, in particular between those who take a moral-cosmopolitan approach and those who take a critical-political approach to Global Citizenship Education. While on the face of it running the same errand (of fostering global citizenship), the two approaches to Global Citizenship Education seem at times fundamentally opposed.

A particularly pungent criticism of moral-cosmopolitan versions of Global Citizenship Education has come from postcolonial theory. Drawing on the work of political scientist Andrew Dobson and cultural theorist Gayatri Spivak, Andreotti (2011, 2014) has attacked what she sees as the perils of a complacent cosmopolitanism. Distinguishing, as we have seen, between what she dubs a 'soft' and a 'critical' version of Global Citizenship Education, Andreotti notes that "[i]n order to understand global issues, a complex web of cultural and material local/global processes and contexts needs to be examined and unpacked" (2014, p.22). It is not simply enough to cultivate liberal values if we remain blind to our own hand in perpetuating power-relations that keep people in poverty. If we fail to inculcate a critical reflection in our 'global gaze' "we may end up promoting a new 'civilising mission' as the slogan for a generation who take up the 'burden' of saving/educating/civilising the world" (Andreotti 2014, p.22). In a more recent book, Andreotti and de Sousa (2012, p.1) elaborate on this claim, arguing that:

> "despite claims of globality and inclusion, the lack of analyses of power relations and knowledge construction in this area often results in educational practices that unintentionally reproduce ethnocentric, ahistorical, depoliticized, paternalistic, salvationist and triumphalist approaches that tend to deficit theorize, pathologize or trivialize difference."

The postcolonial reception of a the idea to educate 'global citizens' – or at least to how it is currently practised – is scathing. As illustrated by the quote above, postcolonial theory seems to offer a comprehensive and near wholesale criticism of 'soft' Global Citizenship Education; from the unwarranted and self-acclaimed monopoly on 'knowledge' and 'truth' down to a lack of historical awareness. While scholars within the postcolonial tradition vary greatly in the flaws they find in the cosmopolitan approach to global citizenship, to some the ills of a cosmopolitan conception of Global Citizenship Education are virtually limitless, making the notion of a global citizen and Global Citizenship Education dubious or even incoherent. Thus, Dalene Swanton argues that "global citizenship is contradictory and less than innocent, and can be said to be at least partially caught up in the globalization project of neoliberal spread and capitalist

imperialism" (Swanton 2015, p.28). Taking a similar view, Colin Wright argues that, "[b]eing extremely polemical, then, one could argue that global citizenship education is the smiling face of human capital theory" (Wright 2012, p.50) – the view, roughly, that conceives of education as an 'investment' which will lead to a higher 'return' (Eide and Showalter, 2010). While sometimes deliberately polemical, the most critical of postcolonial theorists seem not only against a cosmopolitan conception of Global Citizenship Education therefore, but against the notion of a global citizen and Global Citizenship Education *tout court*.

A recurring and (slightly) less dismissive postcolonial critique of a cosmopolitan Global Citizenship Education however, emphasises the utter inadequacy of the well-meaning and naïve attempts to understand the 'Other'; the paternalistic, ethnocentric and self-gratifying gaze that sees needy victims everywhere. At presently, this gaze is experiencing a hey-day: We can hardly avoid the bombardment of images and newsflashes of suffering and poverty impinging on us in a constant and what seems like a never-ending cycle. While it is undoubtedly true that much of the emotional imagery surrounding us is more or less intentionally designed to trigger our emotional responses and thus of limited value in creating an understanding of complex geo-political issues without a good deal of historical and political contextualization, this kind of emotional engagement has also been interpreted as a necessary starting point for further action. As a consequence, repeated and influential calls for the need to empathize with those worse off have been made, and empathy has been construed as a fundamental skill for fostering future global citizens (UNESCO, 2015; Obama, 2006; Slote, 2013). Educationalists, similarly, have argued that empathy is a "necessary building block for multicultural and global consciousness" (Dolby, 2012, p.5), or more generally, that it constitutes "the building block of social life" (Demetriou, 2018) and that it is fundamental for the pursuit of social justice (Dolby, 2012) and the development of values (Cooper, 2011). This seemingly unimpeachable call to empathise with the less fortunate however, has not evaded the scorching criticism of postcolonial theory. As Carloyn Pedwell argues, the "act of 'choosing' to extend empathy can itself be a way to assert power" (Pedwell 2016, p.14) and thus, that "empathy may involve forms of projection and appropriation on the part of 'privileged subjects' which can reify existing social hierarchies and silence 'marginal subjects'" (Pedwell 2012, p.283).

These objections against the cosmopolitan conception of the global citizen may have significant implications for how we come to think of Global Citizenship Education. At its extreme, the sweeping criticism from postcolonial theory seems to kick the legs from underneath the cosmopolitan ambition of fostering global citizens through cultivating some kind of 'global mindset' or 'gaze'. Educating for global citizenship, on this conception, is more a matter of *un*learning old ways of thinking than acquiring new skills, attitudes and values. "[A]pproaches to difference," as Karen Pashby warns, "must recognize the extent to which those educational initiatives seeking to raise awareness about and learn about 'others' are implicated in power relations and colonial ways of

knowing" (2012, p.15). But is the only viable conception of Global Citizenship Education defined negatively, by the exposure of cultural biases and the critique of political and economic hegemonies? And *to whom* does such a Global Citizenship Education really apply?

4 GLOBAL CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION FOR WHOM?

It is hard to deny the validity of some of the objections offered by postcolonial theory. If Global Citizenship Education is to foster anything resembling a truly global citizenship – global citizens that can live up to the high hopes envisaged in the aspirational language of the international policy documents on Global Citizenship Education (UNESCO, 2013, 2015, 2018) – it needs to steer clear of a simplistic Western ethnocentrism. It needs to be historically informed and provide an awareness and understanding of the political and economic structures operating in international politics; it needs to be self-conscious, reflective and mindful of not perpetuating power-relations through well-intended but misguided acts of charity or failed attempts to empathize; and it needs to avoid blatant Eurocentric biases and triumphalism. To achieve this, it seems imperative that we work to unearth remnants of "neocolonial and imperialistic frameworks that are still prevalent in global citizenship education" (Andreotti & de Sousa, 2012, p.2), for despite its good intentions, it seems clear that a 'cosmopolitan missionizing' can be an obstacle to understanding, and thus an impediment to fostering the 'global gaze' needed to address the barrage of problems and challenges facing the world.

Pointing this out, postcolonial theory has clearly provide an important corrective and service to much naïve or 'soft' Global Citizenship Education. The resulting 'critical' Global Citizen Education, as Karen Pashby notes, "aims to empower individuals to think differently and to reflect critically on the legacies and processes of their own cultures and contexts so that they can imagine different futures and take responsibility for their actions and decisions" (Pashby, 2012, p.11). But herein however, lies also a problem for a postcolonial conception of Global Citizenship Education. These caveats and warnings, as well as the call to foster a more self-reflective and critical stance in Global Citizenship Education, are particularly apposite as a corrective to traditional Citizenship Education in the West 'gone global'; i.e. as warnings of facile attempts to move smoothly from a discussion of citizens' rights and responsibility, to a discussion of the legitimate rights claims of distant others and the responsibilities that we bear to those that fall outside our close circle of friends, family, and fellow compatriots. This, postcolonial theory objects, cannot be done without simultaneously scrutinizing one's own colonial perspective. However, in imploring the potential global citizen to confront her prejudices and colonial past as part of becoming a global citizen, the critical or political conception of Global Citizenship Education promoted by postcolonial theory seems to addresses itself exclusively to the citizen of the Global North. Built around labouring to overcome the

parochialism and Eurocentrism of the West, what can this conception of Global Citizenship Education offer to non-Westerner – and does it speak at all to non-citizens?

These objections are only gradually beginning to draw the attention they deserve, but have not yet been fully acknowledged and articulated in the literature. However, while scholars are hard at work trying to define and describe Global Citizenship Education, the relevant questions about global citizenship and Global Citizenship Education, it has come to seem, is not only *what* Global Citizenship Education is or how it should be understood, but *who* the global citizen is or *for whom* Global Citizenship Education is. As Karen Pashby notes, "a major challenge to the notion of global citizenship is the question of 'who is the global citizen if there is no global state/political structure?'" (Pashby, 2011, p.427). In lieu of a global state, 'global citizen' has often been considered a problematic concept in political science, but, as Pashby goes on to argue, the concept is more widely embraced in education, where "there *is* a particular structure: state-run schooling, and subject: student, so that the citizen-subject is student" (Pashby, 2011, p.427, my emphasis).

Seeking to explore these further questions about Global Citizenship Education, Pashby sets herself the task to "map out and elicit some of the assumptions around the citizen-subject in the literature and consider how a critique of GCE pushes for a careful theorising of subjectivities (the 'who' of citizenship education or the 'citizen-subject')" (Pashby, 2011, p.428). At first glance, this may seem like a deflection of the issue in question. Presumably, we are all *potential* global citizens, and so we are all fitting citizen-subjects of Global Citizen Education whose aim it is to transform us into global citizens. What we ought to be discussing, it seems, is what Global Citizenship Education is or ought to be, and how it can best serve the aim of educating us to become global citizens.

On a postcolonial conception of global citizenship and Global Citizenship Education however, things are less straight-forward and the question appears pertinent. For on a critical or postcolonial conception, a global citizen is quintessentially one who is able to adopt a critical or postcolonial perspective on his/her own past and current standing in the world – which obviously presumes *having* a certain status and colonial past to revisit. "The assumed citizen-subject, "as Pashby notes, "is a particular college student with particular traditions to acknowledge and critique; it is a normative view of a national citizen reaching out to and recognising the 'global Other" (Pashby, 2011, p.435). Or, as she says earlier in the same article:

> "Overall, the assumed subject of GCE pedagogy is the autonomous and European citizen of the liberal nation-state who [...] must work to encourage a liberal democratic notion of justice on a global scale by 'expanding' or 'extending' or 'adding' their sense of responsibility and obligation to others through the local to national to global community" (Pashby 2011: 430).

A consequence of this conception of Global Citizenship Education is that Global Citizenship Education is primarily or even exclusively directed at a privileged class of

members of the global community, that of *citizens*, or more specifically; citizens of the Global North. A further consequence however, is that only tangentially does the question of how non-Westerners and non-citizens fit into the scheme appear on the radar. Thus, while imploring the need for a postcolonial reformulation of global citizenship, traditionally understood as “starting from a critical national and extending to a notion of global citizenship”, we find her wondering “[t]o what extent is it also appropriate as a pedagogical theory in schools in non-Western contexts and/or in the Global South?” (Pashby, 2012, p.19). And, in the midst of a series of exploring questions about the ‘Other’, we find her alluding briefly to non-citizens, asking: “What about those ‘Others’ in the local/national context who do not identify with or are not identified with the citizen norm?” (Pashby, 2012, p.19).

At least dimly perceptive of the need to accommodate these ‘Others’ therefore, Pashby argues that there is a need to “work towards including models of global citizenship that account for those not subsumed within the targeted Western, national citizen-subject” (2011, p.437). Seeking to explore the prevalent conception of the ‘citizen-subject’ of Global Citizenship Education, Pashby thus questions whether citizenship can be “re-conceptualised or [whether] it is so entrenched in a nation-state framework that it can only be imagined in terms of extending towards ‘the global’ rather than being constituted within a notion of ‘the global’” (2011, p.439). However, apart from raising a number of questions that goes unanswered and a warning not to remain bound by the former, “so that an ‘add-on’, expansion style of citizenship education does not serve to retrench the very model of citizenship it aims to change” (Pashby, 2011, p.439), she does not explain *how* we can move beyond this conception of citizenship rooted in the nation-state in re-conceptualising a notion of citizenship more adequate to Global Citizenship Education.

This is hardly surprising however, given the starting-point of the postcolonial conception of global citizenship. In fact, the problem for a postcolonial conception of Global Citizenship Education to move beyond the Western national citizen-subject is self-inflicted and appears unavoidable on the ‘expansion-model’ of global citizenship invoked by Pashby, i.e. the conception of global citizenship as the final ‘layer’ added to national citizenship. While the cosmopolitan conception of the global citizen and of a Global Citizenship Education is grounded in the belief that all humans belong to a global moral community, in which we are all, in a sense, *already* global citizens and the ‘for whom’ of Global Citizenship Education is thus given, the postcolonial starting-point is the Western citizen whose conception of him/herself as a citizen (with rights and responsibilities) must be shed of its colonial biases and expanded or broadened into a global citizenship. The consequences of this for non-westerners and non-citizens, as pointed out, is that it is difficult to see how a Global Citizenship Education pertains to them; in what sense can this conception of Global Citizenship Education accommodate non-westerners and non-citizens in any meaningful way? In what sense does it speak to or address *them*?

Postcolonial scholars may attempt to respond to this objection by arguing that their conception of global citizenship explicitly seeks to avoid the Western universalism that “denies and denigrates differences” (Abdi, Shultz, & Pillay, 2015, p.1), and thus that we may and should insist on developing regional or local Global Citizenship *Educations*. However, while there is a sense in which we could conceive of a *plurality* of Global Citizenship Educations, thus making the notion able to accommodate non-Westerners, each of these would in fact be more adequately describes as local or regional Citizenship Educations adapted to different contexts. However, even closing our eyes to the oxymoron which the notion of a ‘local’ or ‘regional’ Global Citizenship Education seems to be, the failure to accommodate *non-citizens* however, cannot be done away with in the same way. The problem for the non-citizen on the postcolonial ‘expansion-model’ of global citizenship is precisely that there is nothing to expand; no citizenship on which to add another ‘global layer’.

5 Towards a reconceptualization of Global Citizenship Education

On a postcolonial conception, whose primary emphasis is on a critique of colonial and Eurocentric biases in traditional Western cosmopolitanism, Global Citizenship Education appears to be a project that is directed exclusively at citizens of the Global North; a corrective to simplistic conceptions of the ‘Other’ designed specifically to root out prejudices and misconceptions among affluent citizens in the West. While this task is certainly pertinent in the current day and age, and a Global Citizenship Education that contributed to perpetuating global injustice by upholding stale and derisive imagery from a colonial past would hardly be worth its name, a Global Citizenship Education seeking to foster global citizens for the 21st Century would have to offer more than criticism, and would have to be directed at and relevant to more than a small and exclusive global elite. Essentially, it seems, it would have to offer a program or route to *becoming a global citizen* that included non-westerners and non-citizens. But can we conceive of an alternative to, on the one hand, a critique of one’s historically blinkered conception of the ‘Other’, accompanied by a gradual expansion of citizenship beyond the confines of the nation-state, and, on the other, a peddling of a ‘soft’ or charitable cosmopolitanism to the world’s poor?

The need to reconceive Global Citizenship Education in a way which steers clear of both of these horns of the dilemma is gradually gaining traction among scholars, due, in no small part, to the rapid increase in global migration (Kymlicka, 2005, 2017; Banks, 2017; Osler & Starkey, 2005). While migration has always been a feature of human societies, never before in human history, as James Banks notes, “has the movement of diverse racial, cultural, ethnic, religious, and linguistic groups within and across nation-states been as large-scale and rapid or raised such complex and difficult questions about citizenship, human rights, democracy, and education” (Banks, 2017, p.xxvii). As the number of people migrating has increased dramatically, so it seems, has the way we

have come to think of migration and its impact on our societies. On the one hand, societies have become ‘superdiverse’ (Vertovec, 2007) through a proliferation of variables beyond that of ethnicity, while the distinction between clear-cut types of migrants are being challenged through improvements in transport and communication, leading some scholars to favour the term ‘mobility’ over ‘migration’ (Castles, 2017). On the other hand, the unprecedented scale of migration has provided an impetus to nationalistic and populistic tendencies, which have grown stronger and bolder over the past decade, hurling the multicultural society into a crisis.

These developments have obvious and clear implications for Citizenship Education. For “[w]hile global migration has increased diversity in nations across the world,” as Hugh Starkey has noted, “the school curriculum has often ignored or marginalized the perceptions and experiences of minoritized groups, who have to struggle for recognition as equal citizens” (Starkey, 2017, p.41). As our societies are rapidly becoming more multicultural, in the current political climate the “central task of citizenship education,” Kymlicka has argued, is therefore “to replace older, exclusionary ideas of nationhood with a more inclusive or multicultural conception of citizenship, which challenges i-nherited hierarchies of belonging and insists that society belongs to all its members, minority as much as majority” (Kymlicka, 2017, p.xix). A political minefield, the failure to adapt the notion of citizenship to the realities of an increasingly diverse and multicultural societies may have grave consequences. “[W]hen individuals who are born within the nation or who migrate to it and live within it for an extended period of time do not internalize the values and ethos of the nation-state, feel structurally excluded within it, and who have highly ambivalent [feelings] towards it” (Banks, 2017: 370) the result may be what Banks labels ‘failed citizenship’ (Banks 2017: 367).

Responding to this challenge, the emerging push to reconceptualize Citizenship Education seems to have taken one of two forms: While some have argued that we need to conceive citizenship more broadly than as a narrow political concept delimiting one’s relation to the nation-state, others have sought to circumvent the issue by avoiding or replacing the contested notion with an emphasis on human rights instead. According to Kymlicka, a combination of both of these approaches – of multicultural citizenship *and* cosmopolitan human rights – represent a “compelling ideal” (Kymlicka, 2017, p.xx) to many scholars. However, he notes that while the support for a cosmopolitan human rights education is, as he says, “virtually unanimous” (Kymlicka, 2017, p.xxi), there has been a growing scepticism against the possibility of broadening out the citizenship-term; a doubt about “whether national narratives of membership and belonging can ever be truly transformed in a multicultural direction” (Kymlicka, 2017, p.xix). Addressing the urgent need for a reconceptualization of *Citizenship* Education, whose primary aim may be said to be to foster inclusive and well-functioning societies however, can either or both of these suggestions also point us in the direction of a reconceptualization of a *Global* Citizenship Education?

Comparable to the first of these suggestions, the concept of citizenship, as a number of scholars have argued (Veugelers, 2011; Osler & Starkey, 2005; Banks, 2009, 2017), is currently both deepened, through connecting citizenship and identity, and broadened, through characterising it as “a way of being in the world” (Veugelers, 2011, p.473). Note however, that broadening or deepening the notion of citizenship in this way, is not the same as *extending* it. While expanding or extending the notion of citizenship, as the ideas is invoked on the postcolonial conception of Global Citizenship Education, is to ‘add layers’ to an already existing political citizenship, broadening it seems to be a move in the opposite direction: Rather than extending the obligations and responsibility inherent in citizenship beyond its traditional political confines, broadening the citizenship-term seeks to loosen it from its national or political anchorage. Deepening and/or broadening the concept of citizenship therefore, may provide the way for more inclusive multicultural societies, which extending citizenship does not. This approach may be – and is – applied in cosmopolitan variants of Global Citizenship Education, through the notion of a global citizen: one whose citizenship is *not* political, but felt (Osler & Starkey, 2005) or lived, as a way of being in the world; the global mindset or gaze invoked by the UNESCO framework on Global Citizenship Education. The worry as we have seen, is that the cosmopolitan global gaze is not in fact a global gaze, but rather a Eurocentric navel-gazing.

While I believe this parochialism may be overcome, the scepticism against the idea of broadening out the citizenship term, as noted by Kymlicka, has led some to embrace an alternative that seeks to do without the problematic concept in the first place. Arguing that traditional forms of Citizenship Education based on a conception of political or national citizenship have become obsolete, Osler and Starkey argues that:

> “In responding to super-diversity, teachers are increasingly recognising that traditional forms of citizenship learning which emphasise and privilege the nation-state and national citizenship are inappropriate and outdated (Osler 2011). Citizenship education founded in human rights offers an alternative approach, since all students, regardless of their nationality and migration status, are holders of human rights” (Osler & Starkey, 2018, p.35).

Seeking to move beyond citizenship by reverting to the idea of universal and inalienable human rights as the core of Citizenship Education, the second suggestion therefore attempts to approach the question from a less contentious angle. This suggestion is clearly compatible with and transferrable to a cosmopolitan conception of Global Citizenship Education. At the heart of a moral cosmopolitanism, as we saw, lies the idea that we all belong to the same moral community, one not delimited by the nation-state. This however, Osler and Starkey argue, does not make the approach ‘soft’:

> “At their core, human rights can be understood as “an expression of the human urge to resist oppression” (Osler 2016, 119). When human rights and human rights education is seen through this lens its universal power and relevance

> becomes apparent. It is necessarily about supporting students to name inequality, challenge injustice, make a difference and develop solidarities at local, national and global levels" (Osler & Starkey, 2018, p.38).

By effectively liberating the notion of Global Citizenship Education from, on the one hand, a metaphorical, and on the other, a constrained and conservative notion of citizenship, Global Citizenship Education is relieved of a concept which is chosen for its suggestive meaning, but which remains a stumbling block in the humanities and social sciences. Instead of placing the concept of citizenship at the core of the debate on Global Citizenship Education, thus making it the defining concept in the debate on Global Citizenship Education (Wintersteiner *et al.*, 2015; Torres & Tarozzi, 2016), it is circumvented or replaced by a set of values and rights we take to be defining of global citizenship, thus offering up an alternative suggestion for how to give content to the idea of global citizenship.

This however, does not mean that we need to give up the idea of a 'global citizen' or that the aspiration of Global Citizenship Education can simply be replaced by Human Rights Education. The backlash against the multicultural society has been staunch, but while currently experiencing considerable resistance, the multicultural society and a broader, more inclusive notion of citizenship is certainly worth fighting for. In addition to seeking to broaden this politically grounded term however, it may be worth considering how global citizenship can be more fruitfully understood and encouraged through a cosmopolitan conception; as the cultivation of values, skills, and attitudes befitting a cosmopolite or world-citizen. This, of course, cannot be done ahistorically, or without a critical understanding of global power-relations propping up status *quo*, but needs to remain critical and transformative, forcefully asserting the rights of exposed groups and individuals wherever they are being contested. Postcolonial theories seems to hold the edge in exposing colonial and parochial practices, but the inability to cater to the large and growing number of non-citizens in liberal democratic societies however, makes a postcolonial conception of Global Citizenship Education poorly adept at fostering global citizens. While it is beyond the scope of the present paper to provide a full-fledged alternative to a postcolonial conception of Global Citizenship Education, I believe therefore, that grounding a Global Citizenship Education in a human rights approach may set us down a path to developing a Global Citizenship Education that speaks to citizens and non-citizens alike, without compromising the critical or transformative dimension required of a Global Citizenship Education in the 21st Century.

6 CONCLUDING REMARKS

As an outgrowth of Citizenship Education seeking to 'expand' or 'extend' citizenship beyond the confines of the national, postcolonial conceptions of Global Citizenship Education seem incapable of addressing non-citizens in any substantial sense. Despite talking frequently *of* migrants and refugees, the approach seems curiously deaf to the

need to include these groups into the conversation – other than as exemplars of the 'Other'. The perspective assumed in postcolonial conceptions of Global Citizenship Education is consistently from the Global North and from one whose current privileges and entitlements as a citizen, and whose implication in a colonial and oppressive history, mandates a reflection upon his/her own entitlements in order to become a global citizen. While exposing the colonial conception of the 'Other' is, as noted, an important corrective to the parochialism and Eurocentrism of the West, the consequences of this way of conceiving of global citizenship is that the global 'gaze' is not one that everyone *can* adopt. Paradoxically therefore, the political or critical conception of citizenship at the root of a postcolonial conception of Global Citizenship Education leaves it mysterious how large swaths of the world's population can ever *become* global citizens. One is left wondering whether, in order to become a *global* citizen, one must not already be a *citizen*.

A critical and transformative dimension to Global Citizenship Education is certainly needed in our day and age. The West is complicit in maintaining power-relations globally, and not only politically and economically, but through a narrow Eurocentric conception of the 'Other'. However, while criticism is a necessary supplement, it cannot be the heart of Global Citizenship Education. What is the substantial content of Global Citizenship Education which will allow non-Westerners, and non-citizens to take part in the conversation, providing them with a route to becoming global citizens? Warning against the dangers of a soft citizenship education, Andreotti ends her seminal essay by a concession. She argues that "it is important to recognise that 'soft' global citizenship education is appropriate to certain contexts – and can already represent a major step" (Andreotti, 2014, p.30). Rather than an afterthought however, values and attitudes, I argue, ought to play a central role in fostering global citizens. Without an inclusionary approach based on human rights, non-citizens, such as migrants and refugees will remain global non-citizens.

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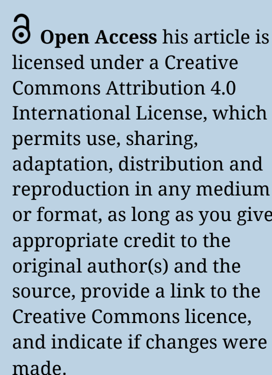

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Article

Visiting the forced visitors - Critical and decentered approach to Global Citizenship Education as an inclusive educational response to forced youth migration

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Keywords: global citizenship education, refugee youth, inclusive education, decentering

– Migrant and refugee youth face complex challenges pertaining to educational and social inclusion in Europe and international contexts.
– Global Citizenship Education (GCE) has gained increased prevalence as an educational response to globalizing processes such as forced migration and resulting cultural diversity.
– It is argued that a critical and decentered model of GCE can be applied as an inclusive educational response to refugee youth within national educational settings.
– Visual and participatory educational practices emphasizing the role of the teacher as a 'visitor' are presented and discussed.

Purpose: To explore the role and possibilities of Global Citizenship Education (GCE) in attending to neglected aspects of inclusive education when responding to forced youth migration in Europe.

Approach: We discuss different approaches to GCE within the literature, their implications for refugee students within national educational settings and give an example of how critical GCE can be practiced in education.

Finding: Drawing on theoretical work of John Dewey and Hannah Arendt, in conjunction with more recent theoretical work on global citizenship within education, we argue that a critical and decentered model of GCE is important to support processes of inclusion and citizenship for refugee youth within national educational settings.

Implications: We apply and discuss the suggested theoretical approach in relation to pedagogical practices developed as a part of an ongoing research project on irregular processes of inclusion and citizenship for migrant and refugee youth in Iceland, Norway, and the UK.

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1 INTRODUCTION

While the majority of refugees reside in host countries in the global south (Dryden-Peterson, 2016) young refugees are resettling in increasing numbers in northern European countries in the hope of seeking safety, building a future, and continuing their education. Formal education is considered key for all migrant children and youth to ensure their integration and inclusion into society (UNESCO, 2018). Despite most national education systems claiming to uphold inclusive educational policies, conflicting ideas and approaches impact inclusive school practices (Magnússon, 2019; Slee, 2011). This is especially true when it comes to inclusive responses to migration and refugee education (Ham, et al., 2020; MIPEX, 2020; UNHCR et al., 2019) where a major focus is generally placed on teaching specific skills, such as the majority language, as a vehicle for inclusion and participation. This often excludes equally important aspects of education, including civic, cultural, and social concerns (Crul et al., 2019; Harðardóttir et al., 2019; Herzog-Punzenberger et al., 2020). As a result, migration and education scholars have called for both policymakers and practitioners to make constructive links between globalizing processes such as forced migration and complex notions of citizenship when conceptualizing the basis of inclusive education policies (Arnot et al., 2016; Sant et al., 2018; Tarozzi & Torres, 2016).

In response to that call, we seek to understand the role and possibilities of the recent but increasingly notable framework of Global Citizenship Education (GCE) in attending to neglected aspects of inclusive education when responding to forced youth migration in Europe. This article is written within the context of a comparative research project focusing on Irregular Processes of Inclusion and Citizenship (I-PIC) as experienced by migrant and refugee youth in selected upper-secondary schools in Iceland, Norway, and the UK (I-PIC, 2020). We first draw attention to the status of migrant and refugee students within the context of the countries participating in the I-PIC project. We then explore the increased importance of global citizenship within education, discussing distinct yet interrelated approaches to GCE as presented in the literature. We conclude by outlining our own critical and decentered approach to GCE. Deepening our analysis, we draw on the conceptual thinking of John Dewey and Hannah Arendt when considering the implications of our proposed approach to GCE for refugee youth within national educational settings. Finally, we provide selected examples of educational practices developed from the perspective of GCE as both decentered and critical. Our paper contributes to the work of policymakers and practitioners and encourages a critical and decentered approach to GCE, emphasizing visual and participatory educational practices.

2 REFUGEE YOUTH AND EDUCATION WITHIN THE EUROPEAN CONTEXT

A recent joint policy briefing from UNHCR, UNICEF and IMO (2019) on the access and inclusion of education for refugee and migrant children and youth in Europe, highlights the complex challenges they face within national school settings. Even though figures regarding refugee students are hard to come by the report estimates that out of 83,272,636 school age (five-to nineteen-year-olds) children and adolescents in Europe, four percent are born outside of Europe. Refugee youth, arriving to Europe in the past few years, are considered a subset of this group. According to the report, children born outside of Europe make up between three to five percent of the school going population in northern Europe. This includes Iceland where it is estimated that three percent of the school age population is born outside of Europe. In comparison, the UK and Norway, who have a longer history of hosting refugees than Iceland, have estimated figures of four percent (UK) and six percent (Norway) of children and youth of school going age born outside of Europe.

Evidence suggests that migrant and refugee youth face multiple barriers when it comes to educational and social inclusion across European countries. Recent reports point to migrant students experiencing lower educational outcomes, higher drop-out rates, and lower sense of well-being within schools, compared to native born students (Commission/EACEA/Eurydice, 2019; OECD, 2015). Similarly, research findings within the context of Iceland indicate that migrant youth experience challenges in relation to academic retention and achievement (Blöndal, et al., 2011; Grunfelder et al., 2018), are less likely than native Icelandic youth to benefit from their own neighborhood and school contexts (Rúnarsdóttir & Vilhjálmsson, 2019) and find it difficult to engage with native born peers (Ottósdóttir & Loncar, 2018; Tran, 2015). In their comparative study on educational inclusion of Syrian refugees in five countries, including three European countries, Crul et al. (2019) point towards the many systemic barriers impacting refugees' educational pathways. Specifically, shortcomings around parallel school systems and segregated refugee classes. They also criticize the fact that in most countries educational inclusion rests fundamentally on refugee youth being able to speak the majority language – while at the same time the system fails to provide adequate language support to this group.

Although most European countries are positive towards supporting educational and social inclusion of refugee youth (UNHCR et al., 2019), their national education policies are still largely shaped by assimilative and normative notions of integration, where inclusion is viewed from the perspective and benefits of the host country as opposed to the migrant students themselves (ECRI, 2020; MIPEX, 2020; Tarozzi & Torres, 2016). Harðardóttir et al. (2019) provide evidence that teachers working with refugee youth in Icelandic schools found it difficult to move beyond an instrumental competency-based framework reflected in public policies when describing their work with refugee

students. In accordance with other studies such as Herzog-Punzenberger et al. (2020) and Crul et al. (2019) Icelandic teachers commonly drew on a deficit model of inclusion focusing heavily on students' ability or inability to speak the majority language rather than address other challenges to inclusion.

The Migrant Integration Policy Index (MIPEX, 2020) describes education policies in Iceland as halfway unfavorable to migrants. Receiving 45 points out of 100 in total, it is suggested that the policy is "insufficient to overcome language and social obstacles to equal opportunities in education". Iceland thus trails far behind countries such as Sweden and Finland who score 93 and 88 respectively but is doing better than for instance France and Greece who get 36 points. The UK gained 40 points for its education policies which are described as being slightly unfavorable especially for non-EU citizens. Norway, on the other hand, scored 71 points with slightly favorable education policies, mostly due to strong mother tongue support and for culturally diverse teaching staff (MIPEX, 2020). However, Osler (2016) examining citizenship, inclusion and belonging in Europe, argues that both Norway and the UK deploy national values and assimilation of minorities despite the urgent need for education policies and practices to be based on wider notions of inclusion.

Research on the facets of multiculturalism and citizenship within the Icelandic education system indicates constrained and nationalistic understanding of multiculturalism and citizenship (Halldórsdóttir et al., 2016; Jóhannesson, 2007). In Iceland, concepts of the Icelandic citizen have been cultivated since the initial struggle for independence (Jónsson, 2018). Thus, despite national policy documentation and aspirations for a socially inclusive and equitable education system (Bjarnason et al., 2016; Dýrfjörð et al., 2013; Jónsson & Sigurðardóttir, 2012) inclusion continues to be a contested concept amongst policy makers and practitioners alike in Iceland (Magnúsdóttir, 2016; Wolff et al., 2021). Historical narratives of the other, along with colonial and racialized ideologies, have found their way into public discourse in Iceland, including literature and curriculum material (Loftsdóttir, 2010). Similarly, Fylkesnes (2018) concludes, in her study on whiteness as expressed through teacher education policies in Norway, that even though national education policies are explicitly narrated within Norwegian society as promoters of social justice, they inadvertently express forms of racialized exclusion and othering by honoring the Norwegian identity as the superordinate citizen.

Concerns about division and racism within education are important in this respect. According to Loftsdóttir (2020, p. 2) "racism is not only about hateful acts but also about institutionalized praxis" including how national education policy and practices respond to and work with forced youth migration in relation to inclusion and citizenship. Current educational frameworks, within and outside of Europe, are also heavily influenced by neo-liberal discourse and developments (Ball, 2015) emphasizing individual responsibility, global competitiveness, and standardization (Blossing, Imsen, & Moos, 2014; Reay, 2016). As a result, global, and national education policies focus increasingly

on the divide between native and migrant students, often depicting the latter as low-performers or lacking in ability compared to native students (OECD, 2010; Torslev & Borsch, 2017). In Iceland, as in other countries, a marketized model of education, focusing on global competitiveness, has resulted in heightened inequalities in choice, access, and achievement for migrant families and students (Auðardóttir & Kosunen, 2020; Magnúsdóttir et al., 2020).

3 GLOBAL CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION AND REFUGEE YOUTH

Global migration has not only changed the demographics of school settings across national education systems but has also brought the concept of citizenship to the forefront of education policy and practice (Adalbjarnadottir, 2007; Osler & Starkey, 2008; Tarozzi & Torres, 2016; Yemini, 2016). In 2012, the former UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon, launched the Global Education First Initiative where fostering global citizenship was outlined as an equally important priority in education as providing access and ensuring quality. The initiative reflected a “shift in the role and purpose of education to that of forging more just, peaceful, tolerant and inclusive societies” (UNESCO, 2015, p. 5). The quest for a better world and the role of education in shaping that world is carefully laid out as a part of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDG) agenda which aims to ensure inclusive and equitable quality education for all by 2030, referring specifically to global citizenship and appreciation of cultural diversity as means to achieving that goal (UN, 2015).

The SDGs reflect a growing interest in Global Citizenship Education (GCE) generally understood as a value-based response to the many globalizing processes affecting people across the world (Bosio & Torres, 2019; Torres, 2017; UNESCO, 2015). There are distinct yet interrelated models of GCE being used to promote different conceptions of citizenship education in a global context. The various models and approaches to GCE reflect stakeholders’ different understanding and often competing agendas (Pashby et al., 2020; Sant et al., 2018; Yemini, 2017). Below we will discuss some of the more prominent approaches of GCE in addition to more complex and nuanced typologies. Drawing on these we then outline our own model of GCE, which we believe may be both theoretically clarifying and also practical in supporting inclusive responses to migrant youth within educational settings.

The first approach to GCE, commonly addressed within global and national education policies and practices, focuses on human rights and equality, emphasizing unity based on universally acclaimed values such as empathy and tolerance. It aligns with different fields of knowledge including liberal multiculturalism and humanitarianism, highlighting individual’s moral values and social responsibilities (Pashby et al., 2020; Yemini, 2017). This approach recognizes global issues such as poverty and forced migration as important aspects of GCE but often highlights lack of resources and skills or cites dissident culture as possible roots of these problems as opposed to critically

engaging with historical and social structures such as unequal power relations (Andreotti, 2006). At its best, it might spark students' interest in global issues and possible solutions while still running the risk of dissecting the student population according to backgrounds or abilities (Slee, 2011). Andreotti (2006) describes this as a divide between 'ordinary' individuals who form part of global solutions and other individuals who are a part of global problems. Today, when racism and otherness are no longer based on spatial or geographical distances but often produced and reproduced within local education (Loftsdóttir, 2020; Tarozzi & Torres, 2016, p. 25; UNHCR et al., 2019), it is important to critically consider all practices that could, even inadvertently, underpin such divisive notions between native and refugee students within national educational settings.

The second approach to global citizenship within education rests on neoliberal ideologies building on human capital theory where GCE is commonly arranged in relation to a set of skills or competences necessary to succeed in a global world (Pashby et al., 2020; Yemini, 2017). Neo-liberal ideologies shaping GCE often focus on curricula and educational activities from the perspective of global competitiveness and standardization. Such priorities reflect what Jónsson and Rodriquez (2019, p. 6) call "the market conception of democracy" in which schools strive to make people compete in a market of ideas. The role of the school is thus to prepare students for citizenship in a society they do not belong to but must adapt to. The neo-liberal approach also places rich emphasis on individual rights and responsibilities in terms of educational choices and achievement, paying little attention to structural inequalities to which most refugee youth are subjected in their everyday lives (UNHCR et al., 2019; WRC & UNHCR, 2016). Both above-mentioned approaches can be considered 'soft' versions of GCE (Andreotti, 2006) whereas neither one tackles the status quo nor considers it necessary to move beyond a pre-defined idea of citizenship and inclusion (Torres, 2017). While it is helpful to consider the most common approaches to GCE in terms of these two categories, reflecting a liberal/humanitarian approach on the one hand and neo-liberal/human capital approach on the other, more nuanced analysis is needed to understand the role and possibility of GCE in relation to educational responses to forced youth migration which is the aim of this article.

Oxley and Morris (2013) set out to distinguish the many different, and often overlapping, conceptions of global citizenship (GC) within education by developing a typology based on two general forms of GC: cosmopolitan and advocacy based. The two forms entail four distinct conceptions of global citizenship, a total of eight, each underpinning different details and interests. The authors maintain that the cosmopolitan form of global citizenship is generally associated with ideas of universality and human rights from the perspective of the individual, within which political, moral, economic, and cultural conceptions fall. The latter form, advocacy-based GC, comprises relativist and holistic ideas about global citizenship, including social, critical, environmental, and spiritual conceptions of GC. It is important to note that Oxley and Morris (2013) do not

see their typology as fixed or static but indeed recognize that many conceptions of GC exist or move between different categories in line with the wide range of interpretation and meaning associated with GC across different contexts.

We concur to this perspective and consider their analysis useful in understanding the often-ambiguous role of GCE within increasingly complex and diverse national educational settings. However, we find it less helpful to dissect the different theoretical underpinnings to global citizenship into the two forms of cosmopolitan (individual) and advocacy-based (anti-individual) approaches. Teaching and learning about global citizenship is less contrasted by cosmopolitan or advocacy-based forms than it is by the critical or non-critical approach used to address young peoples' citizenship and inclusion in relation to different dimensions (i.e. political, moral, economic, cultural, social, environmental, and spiritual). Moreover, GCE is impacted, perhaps more than any other educational concept, by relational factors such as time and space. This is especially true for refugee youth who traverse a myriad of formal and informal boundaries in their migration journeys, where different conceptions of global citizenship, shed very different lights on their individual and social circumstances.

Oxley and Morris (2013) define critical conception of citizenship as one of the advocacy-based categories of GC by referring to critical pedagogy authors such as Freire and Andreotti, who write from a post-colonial point of view, focusing on social inequalities and the emancipation role of education. However, we find the critical aspect of citizenship to be more useful as an analytical perspective than a distinct category. One could say that both Freire and Andreotti are indeed authors that address a range of different dimensions of GC in their work, concerning themselves with individual (i.e. moral and political) as well as social or holistic (i.e. social, spiritual) elements of citizenship, but always from a critical perspective. Hence, a critical conception of global citizenship within education, as we understand it, is much rather a matter of approach than a distinct theoretical category. The categories presented by Oxley and Morris (2013) are nevertheless important as they capture the wide range of elements of GC, policymakers and practitioners working with refugee youth should be able to address. Whether these different categories or dimensions are addressed critically or not, then becomes a key question. Pashby et al. (2020) reflect upon this question in their work while also discussing the complexities of critical approaches to GCE within policy and practice.

> First, critical can refer to any approach that raises the status quo as problematic, grouping together quite distinct approaches. Second, most critical approaches retain a strong interface with liberal orientations either explicitly or implicitly, including some with neoliberal-liberal interfaces (Pashby et al., 2020, p. 153).

Their analysis is a good reminder that any approach to GCE is likely to include elements of another approach or relate to more than one ideology. Pashby and colleagues aim to shift the focus from the various conceptions of GCE towards thinking

about how we approach these complexities and paradoxes. They suggest looking at GCE from different levels of interventions: methodological (the level of doing), epistemological (the level of thinking) and ontological (the level of being). At the methodological level of intervention, teaching and learning about GCE can aim for changes, progress, and solutions to global problems in an effort to make a better world, without necessarily thinking about what that means to different people at different scales. Intervening at the epistemological level is, on the other hand, a way to think more constructively about global issues by focusing on how different worldviews and ideas have been provided varying levels of power and legitimacy. "By applying such approach, the focus shifts from thinking only about the process of making a better world towards asking what such a world would look like from different perspectives" (Pashby et al., 2020, p. 158). The authors further point out that:

> Epistemological interventions, particularly critically-oriented responses, have been crucial in denaturalising both liberal and neoliberal approaches to global citizenship that reproduce universalising – and thus, structurally exclusionary and evolutionary – visions of the world (Pashby et al., 2020, p. 159).

The above quote highlights how important it is to approach the epistemological dimension of citizenship from a critical point of view to ensure that diverse and alternative perspectives are recognized and included as a part of the general discourse. Reading it in that way can make a difference for refugee youth, who have been historically disregarded within national and global policies and decision-making processes concerning them (Bastien & Hólmarsdóttir, 2015; WRC & UNHCR, 2016).

Andreotti (2015, p. 226) explains in her work that teaching and learning about GCE has to take place at the margins of political and existential levels, where we are able to "disarm and de-center ourselves". This means that we must be able to look at the many overlapping dimensions of citizenship that impact people's everyday lives while also considering and even questioning our own position, knowing and being. The act of decentering can also be described as *epistemic humility* where one is open to plural and unknown ways of interpreting the world and is thus able to interrupt the 'single story' of what represents valid worldview, knowledge, and experiences (Sant et al., 2018, p. 41). We understand the critical orientation of decentering as one of the most important aspects of GCE when considering its role for refugee youth within national educational settings. Especially as it relates to the act of *visiting* and constructing pedagogical spaces "where cultural diversity can be considered a meaningful key in re-interpreting contemporary society and school reform" (Torres, 2017, p. 77). We will discuss this connection later in the article building on the theoretical understanding of Dewey and Arendt.

To summarize the above discussion, we present our own model of GCE, which highlights eight different and overlapping dimensions of citizenship. Seven of the eight dimensions are the same as outlined by Oxley and Morris (2013). As we consider

criticality a matter of approach, important to address the different dimensions of GC, rather than one more dimension, we position it on the left side of the model along with the notion of decentering. The eighth dimension in our model is epistemological in the spirit of Pashby et al. (2020). This dimension concerns questions of whose knowledge is valued and why. We find it important to place epistemology as a dimension rather than approach as it is often overlooked or neglected in the context of citizenship, especially in the case of refugee youth who are frequently placed in the position of those who lack civic and social knowledge instead of being able to contribute and create it.

Figure 1: A model for critical and decentered GCE

		SCALE			
CRITICAL AND DECENTERED APPROACH	THEORETICAL DIMENSION	Personal	Local	National	Global
	Political				
	Moral				
	Economic				
	Cultural				
	Social				
	Environmental				
	Spiritual				
	Epistemological				

Apart from emphasizing a critical and decentered approach to the different and overlapping dimensions of global citizenship we also find it important for anyone addressing GCE within the context of national educational settings to address how all these dimensions impact the lives of young refugees differently at personal, local, national, and global scales. Understanding GCE from a relational perspective is important for refugee youth who often find themselves caught in an impasse between personal aspirations, global promises of human rights and excluding national or local realities (Dryden-Peterson, 2016). The different dimensions of the model (theoretical dimensions and scale) may also offer practical support in responding to controversial or polarized views within the classroom. The figure shows different theoretical dimensions from which such views might be responded to. This could be done for example, by responding to a politically provocative view, by drawing attention to other dimension such as epistemic, environmental, or spiritual. Likewise, one can approach it from the perspective of different scales, for example by asking what the implications of that view might be for ones personal life or local community. One might thus use the model as a didactic tool to critically engage with different and possibly opposing views in the classroom. In the following chapter we draw on the work of Dewey and Arendt to

explain the importance of applying a critical and decentered approach to CGE in order to support the inclusion and citizenship of refugee youth within national educational settings.

4 CRITICAL AND DECENTERED GLOBAL CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION FOR REFUGEE YOUTH

Forced global migration and its impact on young peoples' local realities clearly calls for a reconsideration of education policies and practices. In these unprecedented times, it is important not to lose sight of education as critical in responding to social challenges. We thus turn to Dewey who wrote passionately about the need to reconsider key concepts within education based on "a plan of operations proceeding from a level deeper and more inclusive than is represented by the practices and ideas of the contending parties" (Dewey, 1938, p. 2). A key dimension in Dewey's criticism of the conventional education system of his times was its lack of opportunities for young people to encounter different situations through modes of openness, reflection, and critical thinking.

> How many acquired special skills by means of automatic drill so that their power of judgement and capacity to act intelligently in new situations was limited? [...] How many found what they did learn so foreign to the situations of life outside the school as to give them no power of control over the latter? (Dewey, 1938, p. 9).

These are important considerations today when analyzing what kind of approach to GCE offers refugee youth opportunities of educational openness and inclusion. Dewey was concerned with education supporting young people to act intelligently, by which he meant providing the possibility of reflecting on one's past and current situation enabling one to envision a meaningful future. Refugee youth, who find themselves repeatedly in new situations rarely experience being in a safe space where they are able to reflect on and share their thoughts with others and subsequently gain control over their lives (UNHCR et al., 2019); let alone construct a stable vision of a meaningful future. Nayeri (2019) describes these sentiments of time, space, and sharing one's thoughts in the lives of refugees in her semi-autobiographical book *The ungrateful refugee*: *What immigrants never tell you.*

> The waiting began to take its toll. It's a terrifying place [...] The future brings anxiety because you don't belong and can't move forward. The past brings depression because you can't go home, your memories fade and everything you know is gone (Nayeri, 2019, pp. 207-208).
>
> [...] stories are everything. Everyone has one having just slipped out from the grip of a nightmare. Everyone is a stranger, in need of introduction. It wasn't just a past time. Our stories were drumming with power (Nayeri, 2019, p. 6).

Unfortunately, school systems usually disregard the powerful stories of refugee students, demanding them to wait until they have acquired the “right” set of competencies enabling them to align to either national or global standards (Harðardóttir & Magnúsdóttir, 2018; Herzog-Punzenberger et al., 2020). The question we must ask is how national education settings can promote inclusive spaces in the spirit of Dewey (1939) where refugee youth are included as important knowledge creators.

Biesta (2006, 2010) describes such a space where young people are free to ‘come into the presence’ and ‘create new beginnings’. Coming into presence, he explains, is not an individual act of showing off or forcing your point of view upon others. “It is about beginning in a world full of other beginners in such a way that the opportunities for others to begin are not obstructed” (Biesta, 2006, p. 49). Similarly, Sant et al. (2018) refer to the work of Ermine (2007) to describe the notion of an ethical space in which interaction between people is premised on plurality and cultural diversity. From an educational perspective, this is a space where both teachers and students acknowledge their own location and contribution and those of others, mindful of the fact that many different worldviews exist that contribute to knowledge. This is also outlined in Dewey’s contextual and social thinking about democracy and education where democracy is a personal way of life, sustained only through “amicable cooperation [...] in which both parties learn by giving the other a chance to express itself, instead of having one party conquer by forceful suppression of the other” (Dewey, 1939 p.342). An educational space where refugee youth can come into the world and present their new beginnings is only possible if educational settings allow for diversity and difference; not only to exist but also in the belief that it truly adds value and worth to the way we understand and respond to the world (Jónsson, 2011).

Andreotti, Biesta, and Ahenakew (2015) present a conceptual model of global mindedness based on a complex notion of encounters – one that takes into consideration situated contextual factors above and beyond individual capacities. They build on Hanna Arendt’s (1977) metaphors of *tourism, empathy* and *visiting* as three ways of engaging with diversity and difference. In short, *tourism* is understood as viewing others and different points of view from your own perspective. One encounters new places and people but always with a certain distance producing only a superficial impression or a fleeting memory. *Empathy* on the other hand is about seeing through the eyes of others. It is where one takes on the point of the other and sees things from their perspective – a kind of fusion of self and other (Andreotti et al., 2015). Empathy has been largely promoted as a key competence to facilitate social cohesion and cultural understanding. It has also been criticized for drawing on normative sameness (Dillabough, 2016) and reducing plurality (Biesta, 2010). While we consider it important to feel deeply for other people, empathy is an emotion that often overlooks the agency of the other and is therefore not likely to sustain empowering acts.

Visiting however, is where we see the possibility for empowerment. It is about having your own thoughts and feelings displaced, i.e. put in a context different from your own. Visiting is a metaphor used to reflect the act of placing your own perspective in a location, which not only is different from your customary location but is one where you don't feel at home. Engaging with diversity through visiting is thus not "to be or to feel like somebody else, nor of counting noses and joining a majority but of being and thinking in my own identity where actually I am not" (Arendt, 1977, p. 237). It is about decentering yourself, locating yourself in a story that may be very different from your own (Biesta, 2006).

Arendt's metaphors provide a useful context for educational reflection and responses to cultural diversity and difference; they also create an opportunity to transcend the static role of the outsider often forced upon refugee youth within national educational settings. If teachers can approach the different and intertwined dimensions of GCE from a critical and decentered approach, as presented in our model above, it opens the potential to create an educational space of new beginnings. A space where students are not only regarded as important knowledge-makers, able to develop and share their own perspectives, but also where teachers become visitors in their students' lives. By approaching CGE from a critical and decentered perspective, teachers shift their focus from the "right set" of knowledge and skills towards creating a range of "possibilities for action" (Andreotti et al., 2015, p. 253) at different scales (i.e. personal, local, national and global). The contextual and situated relationship between the personal and the social, the individual and the world, is also highlighted in Dewey's work:

> As an individual passes from one situation to another, his world, his environment, expands or contracts. He does not find himself living in another world but in a different part or aspect of one and the same world (Dewey, 1938, p. 18).

Here, Dewey and Arendt come together in focusing on how we ultimately share the same world but from many different perspectives and positions. Perhaps the most unique aspect of the act of visiting is that it creates a moment of dislocation. The visitor, whether he likes it or not, is momentarily out of his ordinary position and thus out of place which, according to Arendt (1977), is a fundamental condition for understanding how the world looks different to someone else. This positioning reflects the epistemological aspect of the visitor metaphor. Being dislocated enables us to develop representative thinking where one's opinion is determined by the position of the person being visited. For refugee and migrant youth who frequently experience being mis-represented or not represented at all within national education policies and practices these are not just theoretically important considerations but carry with them practical elements of freedom and hope.

> The ability to see the same thing from various standpoints, stays in the human world; it is simply the exchange of the standpoint given us by nature for that of

> someone else, with whom we share the same world, resulting in a true freedom of movement in our mental world, that parallels our freedom in the physical one (Arendt, 2005, p. 168).

A step in this direction would reflect what Arendt (2005) referred to as the 'promise of politics'. That is, ensuring educational policies and practices where diversity grows through the positions and perspectives of those who have been deemed other.

In the following chapter we attempt to bridge the gap between the academic discussion of critical approaches to GCE and practical implementation (Pashby et al., 2020; Yemini, 2017). We present selected examples of visual and participatory educational practices reflecting a critical and decentered approach to GCE. The practices presented are inspired by methods of photovoice (Latz, 2017; Wang & Burris, 1997) and developed in relation to a teachers guideline within the I-PIC project, which aims to support processes of inclusion and citizenship for refugee youth in upper secondary schools in Iceland, Norway, and the UK. While the guideline was designed specifically with migrant and refugee youth in mind to be used within formal educational settings, it can easily be adapted for non-formal educational settings, across academic fields and subjects, and to different age groups.

5 TEACHERS AS VISITORS

In the spirit of Sant et al. (2018) we recognize that GCE cannot be reduced to specific set of educational practices and that no manual can offer the right way of teaching global citizenship (Sant et al., 2018, p. 27). We understand the practices presented in the guideline as subject to continuous development and scrutinization where questions and considerations about power, participation, openness etc. are raised. The guideline is divided into five steps suggesting a set of activities inclusive of three components: 1) *Set-up*, 2) *activities* and 3) *reflections.* The set-up consists of teachers offering students motivations, explanations, or instructions in relation to the proposed activities. This includes asking questions about how we might think differently about key concepts and assumptions in relation to our historical, cultural, or socio-political understanding (Andreotti, 2014). To give an example, the first activity proposed in the guideline is about exploring images and spaces. The initial step taken by teachers would be to ask students to carefully look around the classroom or whatever space the group is in and consider questions such as:

- What can we read from this space? What is this space telling us?
- Is there anything that indicates the past or history of the space?
- Are there visible or invisible rules or restrictions (hierarchies) in the space?
- Where is the “best” and “worst” place to be within the space and why?

Looking critically at your immediate environment can be an important first step to engage with the world at large. The questions are meant to prepare students for a following activity, which is to take a picture of a public space where they 'belong'. The notion of belonging, as it is used in the guideline, relates to recognizing the experiences and connections of students in relation to their social settings. For students, who might be experiencing dislocation, there may still be places or spaces to which they connect. Recognition of this connection is important, as those are the spaces into which the teacher or other students can be invited to as visitors.

A second example of an activity where the relationship between the personal and the social is explored is an activity called *expedition*. After having set up with critical questions and considerations, teachers and students go for a walk along a route that has been pre-determined by the teachers. This can be any route at all but determining it before the activity takes place allows teachers to focus on a particular area, neighborhood, or other important places and spaces in the lives of students. During the walk, students are asked to take pictures of anything (except other people) that might evoke their feelings, positive and negative.

The activity requires teachers to listen carefully to students and make necessary pauses when either individuals or the group itself engages with the environment to take pictures. It explores how shared social settings affect the group and how certain spaces speak to us in different ways while also attending to the inter-personal relationship between teachers and students in the spirit of Dewey (1938). Harðarson (2018, p. 546) discusses how Dewey rejects the dualism between teachers and learners. In the same way, the guideline invites teachers to learn and learners to teach, encouraging teachers to continuously position themselves as visitors who have been invited to explore the experiences and perspectives shared by their students. The Deweyan (1938) vision of the teacher as a learner can be understood as a requirement to the decentering practice of visiting (Arendt, 1977) when applied within educational settings. Both Dewey and Arendt understand the importance of shifting agency and power, away from traditional authority and towards those that have been deemed powerless, for meaningful experiences and diversity to grow.

Building on methods of photovoice, the guideline suggests a range of different picture-taking activities focusing on different elements of photography and how photographs can be used to share personal perspectives or social positions. Using photographs in relation to educational activities calls for both ethical and legal considerations. These are discussed carefully in the guideline (see also Latz, 2017; Wang & Redwood-Jones, 2001). It is important to note that even though the guideline suggests activities that revolve around different kinds of photographic activities, the aim is not for students to take "beautiful" or aesthetically perfect photographs but rather, in the spirit of critical and decentered GCE, to capture and consider different points of view and new understanding regarding the things, places and spaces that appear in the pictures.

Photographs are considered an important alternative narrative for refugee and migrant youth to express their experiences and perspectives. Traditional learning activities rely heavily on students' ability to read and write the majority language, which is a major barrier, hindering young people with refugee background in responding to the educational opportunities they are provided with. Biesta (2006) claims that we cannot "approach language as a set of skills that students simply must acquire, but that we see it as a human practice in which students can participate and through which they can find new ways of expressing themselves" (Biesta, 2006, p. 139). Pictures become an alternative or additional medium of expression used to capture students' diverse experiences and perspectives. More importantly, they also become a tool with which the students can position themselves as knowledge creators, who are able to offer others the opportunity to visit their perspectives.

Allowing students to capture many images of what they consider to be important to their everyday lives as opposed to taking only one picture, aims at catching the range of situations young people pass through and the different worldly aspects they reflect in the spirit of Dewey (1938). Teachers play an important facilitation role, which is why the guideline encourages and supports them with critical and decentering questions and considerations. These include considerations about how to create meaningful links between personal and local everyday experiences of students and national and global issues where normative assumptions about global citizenship and inclusion are interrogated (see also Torres, 2017; Sant et al., 2018).

After each picture-taking activity, teachers and students collectively engage in an exercise of reflection where they study each other's pictures by using a list of analytical questions inspired by the photography-based research work of Latz (2017) and McIntyre (2003):

1. When was the photo taken?
2. Where was the photo taken?
3. What can you see in the photo?
4. Is there something in this photo that only you realize or understand?
5. Who or what belongs to this space or place?
6. Is there anything missing from this photo?
7. What is the most important thing about this photo?
8. What were you thinking when you took the photo?

The aim of proposing reflective questions after each picture-taking activity, over an extended period of time, is to create not just one but several opportunities for students to engage with a range of diverse experiences and perspectives. These opportunities consequently support their 'possibilities for action' (Andreotti et al., 2015) based on diverse knowledge, understanding and perspectives. Teachers are also continuously

encouraged to approach teaching and learning from a critical and decentered point of view because:

> …we have to engage with our own and other perspectives to learn and transform our views/identities/relationship… without telling learners what they should think or do by creating spaces where they are safe to analyze and experiment with other forms of seeing/thinking being/relating to one another (Andreotti, 2006, p. 48).

In relation to the GCE model we presented in Figure 1, this means that whatever dimensions or scales teachers are focusing on, the determinants for a productive action must be compatible with the work being critical and decentered. Such educational context provides teachers the possibility of being invited – as visitors – to explore the different standpoints their students have developed within a shared world (Arendt, 2005). By doing so, refugee students' experiences are allowed to grow in the Deweyan (1938) sense through the plurality of worldviews that people visit and revisit to form a learning community.

6 CONCLUSION

The increasing number of young people who have been forced to leave their countries of origin and who are now seeking safety in European countries, hoping to continue their education, is a matter of urgency as regards to the need to reconsider education policies and practices within national educational settings. The changing demographic landscape in many countries, including those that are regarded as egalitarian countries such as Iceland, Norway, and the UK, is nevertheless one of increased division and divide. Educational responses to refugees and migrant students in general have been designed based on normative multicultural policies focusing heavily on students learning the majority language as a means to assimilate and adapt to national or global standards. Global Citizenship Education has gained increased traction in policies and practices, reflected for example in the way in which education is presented in the UN Sustainable Development Goals.

In this article we have highlighted how different GCE approaches have varying implications for refugee youth. We have proposed a critical and decentered approach to GCE to support inclusive educational response to refugee youth within national educational settings. Drawing on the work of Arendt and Dewey, we have provided a deeper analysis of the pedagogical and political role of education for refugee youth, through the metaphor of teachers becoming visitors in their students' lives. Attempting to bridge between abstract critical theoretical discussions and actual implementation, we have presented selected educational practices from a teacher guideline developed within a comparative research project concerning refugee youth, inclusive education and citizenship in Iceland, Norway, and the UK. The presented practices are intended for policy makers and practitioners. They provide suggestions on how to create educational

settings where refugee youth play an important part in generating and sharing diverse world views and perspectives through their visual and narrative accounts.

The stories of the forced visitors are of critical importance to the process of educational inclusion and citizenship within national educational settings in Europe. It is equally important that the story of public education in affluent countries becomes one where those often-silenced stories are heard, and where the locals, be it teachers or students, become the visitors in the life of the other through critical and decentering pedagogies.

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Article

Assessing the national identity and sense of belonging of students in Germany with immigration backgrounds

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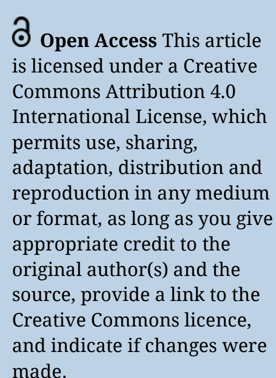
Keywords: national identity, integration, immigration background, transnationality

– Students in Germany score low on national identity when it is measured with national symbols
– Students with immigration backgrounds show lower national identity scores in 20 countries
– Over 90% of German students with immigration backgrounds feel a sense of belonging to Germany.
– Research instruments measuring national identity must consider transnationality and fluidity.

Purpose: This paper aims to analyse the data regarding the national identification and sense of belonging of secondary school students with and without immigration backgrounds collected through the International Civic and Citizenship Study 2016. It also assesses whether the research instruments used are suitable for the German context.

Method: Likert scale items measured national identification. Acculturation theory based categories were employed to measure the sense of belonging. Differences between students across and within countries were assessed using *t* tests.

Findings: Students with immigration backgrounds tend to present statistically lower scores for the scale 'attitudes toward country of residence' in 20 of 24 participating countries. In international comparison, German students with and without immigration backgrounds score relatively low on all five items of the scale. Despite achieving significantly lower scores for national identification, 90% of students in Germany with immigration backgrounds feel a sense of belonging to Germany.



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1 INTRODUCTION

Integration and migration are terms which frequently go hand in hand in political and media debates because integration is often presented as a goal that migrants must achieve, either on their own or with the support of the state and other civil society actors (Lingen-Ali & Mecheril, 2020). A systematic review of 42 peer-reviewed articles confirmed that the way in which students with immigration backgrounds change their behaviours and attitudes in an intercultural context (acculturation strategies) influences both their adjustment at school and their academic achievement (Makarova & Birman, 2015). Hence it is relevant to analyse the extent to which students with immigration backgrounds identify with their country of residence and the country of their parents. In the specific context of Germany, the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) 2009 study showed that 50% of the surveyed 15-year-old students felt a strong sense of belonging to Germany, while the remaining 50% did not (Edele et al., 2013). This paper aims to examine whether a picture of a widespread lack of national identification of students with immigration backgrounds in Germany (Edele et al., 2013; Ziemes et al., 2019) corresponds to the empirical (real) situation, or whether the primary problem lies in the research instruments and analytical methods used to assess concepts such as national identification and a sense of belonging. Furthermore, the paper intends to raise awareness of the issues of transnationality and the historically problematic German relationship with feelings of national identity, which are not addressed in the analysed research instruments. For all statistical analyses, this paper will draw on data collected by the International Civic and Citizenship Study 2016 (ICCS 2016), which allows for comparisons between the 24 participating educational systems.

2 THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

2.1 National and Transnational Identity

Identity is a form of social representation which conciliates the relationship between the individual and the social world (Chryssochoou, 2003). Chryssochoou (2003) argues that identity has three components: cognition ("what do I know about me?"), self-action ("claims I want to or can make about myself") and others ("actions that recognize me and allow me to make the claims I wish to make about myself"). With these aspects, it is then possible to answer the three main identity questions, which are: "Who am I?", "Who are they?" and "What is our relationship?" (Chryssochoou, 2003). Based on this assumption, for individuals to develop a sense of national identity, they must know that there is a national group, a national territory, national emblems, customs, and traditions; furthermore, they must have knowledge about the typical characteristics of members of the national group (‘stereotypes’), and they must be able to assess how similar they are to the national stereotype (Barrett, 2000). Studies show that five-year-old children are already able to talk about their membership of their own national group (Barrett, 2000).

However, there is also the theory that distinguishing and differentiating a nation from other nations plays an important role in the construction of a national identity. This, in turns, raises the question whether members of a nation become aware of their common features only as a means of differentiating themselves from others (Triandafyllidou, 1998). Such differentiation might be a challenge for migrants and people with immigrant backgrounds who often assume two or more national identities depending on the context (Clark, 2017). Migrants establish familial, economic, religious, and political relationships which cross geographical, cultural, and political borders, often to a larger extent than non-migrants do. They can be involved in both the home and the host society, and this dual involvement is a central element of transnationalism (Schiller et al., 1992). Behaviours and preferences which are related to the heritage culture may occur concurrently with the adoption of new behaviours that are aligned with the host culture (Lee et al., 2020). Studies show the complexity of the identity of transnational individuals, highlighting that their identity cannot be viewed from a standpoint that opposes 'them' and 'us'. A quantitative study with 166 secondary school students with Moroccan parents in Belgium concluded that the majority of subjects (72%) identified as Moroccan and not as Belgian. However, for these students, having Belgian friends and acquaintances was very important; their scores on this particular item were higher than average, showing that a lack of Belgian identification did not imply a lack of willingness to develop good relationships with Belgian people (Snauwaert et al., 2003). The researchers replicated this study with 124 subjects with Turkish parents living in Belgium and came to similar conclusions: those participants who identified themselves as Turkish and not as Belgian attached a lot of importance to participation in the Belgian society and to regular contacts with Belgian individuals (Snauwaert et al., 2003). This finding suggests that identifying more with the "home" society does not necessarily imply a separation from the "host" society (Snauwaert et al., 2003); however, other factors may influence how people with immigration background may identify themselves with the country they live in. A quantitative study with 141 Russian nationals of Finnish descent who immigrated to Finland showed a correlation between perceived discrimination and low national identification and negative attitudes towards the national majority. This shows that experiences of rejection, discrimination, and identities ascribed to immigrants by other members of the national group influence immigrants' identification with the country of residence (Jasinskaja-Lahti et al., 2012).

Qualitative studies provide a much deeper picture of the complexity of the identity of migrants. In a group discussion with six adult children of immigrants living in Finland, it became clear that even though the participants' parents were more attached to their culture of origin than the participants themselves and often longed to move back, their children saw themselves more as being part of a global network. Despite longing for some aspects of the culture of origin of their parents, the participants often mentioned that they felt too different from their parents' culture to be able to move there permanently. Participants discussed taking some aspects of Finnish culture and making

them part of their identity, a phenomenon which the researcher describes as a 'pick and mix of culture' (Nieminen, 2018). This highlights that it may be difficult to define one national identity for migrants because they adhere to transnational identities, mixing aspects of different cultures in their own identity. One participant of a similar study conducted in Sweden describes this duality:

> I see myself as a Syrian and as an immigrant. I do not feel Swedish. But at the same time, I love this country. And I have many Swedish qualities, values, and ways of thinking. But we have black hair. We are not Swedish. It's very difficult in Sweden because if you are an immigrant you cannot become Swedish. (Runfors, 2016)

Despite sharing many qualities and values with the members of the country of residence, the quote describes an example in which migrants feel that they cannot identify themselves as members of this country because they are not recognized as such due to aspects of the country's stereotypes which they do not share (in this case, citizenship and physical appearance).

A qualitative study with Indian migrants in the United States sheds light on how the identities of migrants are not only plural and deeply influenced by how migrants are being perceived by the society of the country of residence, but also fluid and unstable. In their interviews with four highly skilled migrants from India living in the United States, Bhatia and Ram (2009) observed that their collective identity changed drastically after the terrorist attacks of 9/11. The participants had previously considered themselves as integrated and had shared a comfortable sense of belonging; some even identified as American. After 9/11, they started to experience an uneasy state of being outsiders. Their cultural identity suddenly shifted to 'the zone of being different, of not belonging, of being the other' (Bhatia & Ram, 2009) due to their fear of being mistaken for a terrorist and their fear of experiencing discrimination and violence. Suddenly, all the characteristics which made them different from Americans were much more visible than the similarities they shared with them, and this also caused their cultural identity to shift. They started to perceive themselves as 'others' and no longer as 'American'.

These qualitative studies demonstrate that the idea of a mononational identity is insufficient when describing the collective identity of transnational individuals with immigration backgrounds because the plurality and fluidity of their cultural identities allows them to identify—and not to identify—with multiple nations at the same time. Hobsbawm (1996) affirms that identities depend on context and that individuals are also able to combine them instead of choosing one. This theory is highlighted especially in studies about European identity, which show the ability of individuals of identifying simultaneously with Europe and their country of residence. Analysis of data of Eurobarometer 89.1 from the year of 2018 with over 26000 respondents from 28 European Union Member States highlighted that almost two thirds of them identify themselves with Europe and their nation; higher levels of satisfaction with life and

democracy in country of residence are predictors for this multiple identification (Aker, 2019). Another study also drawing on data from Eurobarometer corroborates these findings, coming to the conclusion that the likelihood of holding multiple identities concurrently is increased by having positive feelings about politics, economy or society as a whole (Steenvoorden & Wright, 2019). For students, Ziemes et al. (2019)found a significant positive correlation between national and European identity in all EU-member countries participating in ICCS 2016. Guibernau (2004) considers national identity to be defined by the sense of belonging to a nation. This relationship between both concepts is especially important for this paper and its further understanding. Thus, the next sub-section will briefly define the concept of belonging and its position in a cosmopolitan and globalised world.

2.1.1 Sense of belonging

Sense of belonging can be defined as the experience of feeling personally involved in a system or environment to the point that people see themselves as an integral part of it (Hagerty et al., 1992). Belonging to a nation culminates in the intimate feeling of being at home (Antonsich, 2010). Hedetoft (2004) defines familiar places, human interaction and local knowledge as the necessary conditions for feelings of belonging and homeness. The sense of belonging derives from a positive identification with these necessary conditions. Hedetoft (2004) highlights, that sense of belonging needs to be conceptually distinguished from a nation-state dependent form of identity institutionalized by a "passport, citizenship, socialization agencies and official, ethno-national versions of historical memory" in which borders of sovereignty between 'us' and 'them' are drawn. This discussion will be relevant in the course of the article, in which two different research instruments will be compared: one measuring national identity through the lens of a nation-state dependent form of identity and one measuring sense of belonging through an emotional and mutual perspective.

The next section discusses acculturation strategies such as integration, which play a role in the formation of a sense of belonging of migrants and transnational individuals.

2.2 Acculturation strategies

The concept of acculturation refers to the cultural changes experienced by individuals who are adapting to new cultural contexts as a result from migration (Berry, 1997). Acculturation strategies encompass the changes in an individual in the process of acculturation, mostly members of non-dominant groups as a result of influence of the dominant society (Berry, 1992). This section discusses Berry’s acculturation strategies (1997) which provide an analytical framework within which it is possible to explore the different factors influencing acculturation experiences (Phillimore, 2011). Berry (1997) proposes four strategies, which can be adopted by individuals of the non-dominant groups. *Assimilation* takes place when individuals do not wish to keep their cultural

identity and would rather establish daily interaction with other cultures. *Separation* occurs when individuals avoid interaction with other cultures and hold on to their original culture. *Marginalization* describes situations where there is a lack of interest in interacting with other cultures (often due to exclusion or discrimination) combined with little possibility to maintain the original culture and little interest in doing so. Finally, *integration* takes place when individuals have an interest both in maintaining their original culture and in interacting with the dominant culture (Berry, 1997). Berry further emphasizes that integration is only possible in open societies which have positive views on cultural diversity. Integration requires mutual accommodation as both groups must accept that *all* groups have the right to live in culturally different ways. For integration to occur, the levels of prejudice, racism, and discrimination in society must be low so that immigrant individuals do not feel pressured to distance themselves from their original culture.

In more recent works, Berry (2011) uses the word ‘preference’ (‘a relative preference for maintaining one’s heritage culture and identity; and a relative preference for having contact with and participating in the larger society along with other ethnocultural groups’; see Berry, 2011, p. 25), proposing the idea that some migrants are not unwilling to integrate as such but simply have a preference for keeping their cultural heritage and identity alive.

One example of how acculturation strategies can be used in empirical research is the analysis of the PISA 2009 data done by Edele et al. (2013) which is based on the same set of questions regarding sense of belonging used in this paper. Over 2400 ninth graders in Germany with immigration background responded the question “How much do you feel that you belong to the following groups of origin: a) the people of my parents’ home country or one of my parents’ home countries and b) the people from Germany” with either strongly (1), to some extent (2) and not at all (3). According to their answers, Edele et al. (2013) classified them into four groups: *separated* (low identification with Germany, high identification with parents' country), *marginalised* (low identification with Germany, low identification with parents' country), *assimilated* (high identification with Germany, low identification with parents' country) and *integrated* (high identification with Germany, high identification with parents' country). In their results, the four groups were homogeneously represented, accounting for one quarter of the total sample each. However, Edele et al. (2013) considered the option "to some extent" as weak identification and regarded it as the same as "not at all". This detail will be crucial in the further course of this paper, as a different approach will be followed and the answer "to some extent" will be regarded as the presence and not the absence of identification while the analysis of this same question on a different sample will be carried out.

On the basis of Berry’s theoretical framework, new concepts have been developed. One example is the *alternation model* in which individuals know and understand two different cultures and are able to alter their behaviour to fit a particular context (LaFromboise et al., 1993). Another example is the *fusion model* in which cultures will

fuse together until they become indistinguishable from each other and thus form a new culture (LaFromboise et al., 1993). Integration is presented as one possibility among other possibilities as well as a personal choice. Integration is then not measured by facts—such as having an occupation, social prestige, and participating in political decisions as Esser (2001) declares—but rather it becomes a choice; a choice to value both the dominant and the non-dominant cultural heritage. In contrast, the value of the non-dominant cultural heritage is not considered in the original concepts of social and system integration by Esser (2001), which measures integration by factors such as having a job or attending educational institutions. While Berry (2011) defines different acculturation strategies and sees integration as a possibility and an individual choice, Esser (1980) defines acculturation solely as a phase of learning about cultural characteristics of the new country of residence in order to achieve integration, as viewed by him as the last phase of the process of integrating in the new society.

Analysing these different interpretations of the term integration highlights why it can be difficult for scholars to develop scales that measure integration levels effectively and reliably. It is very important to focus exactly on what should be measured and with what objectives. A scale based on the concept of system integration as defined by Esser (2001), should use different items than a scale aiming to determine a subject's tendency to adopt the different acculturation strategies outlined by Berry (1997). Therefore, these two research instruments would likely come to different conclusions regarding the nature and extent of the integration of the subjects they survey because they draw on different concepts and criteria for measuring integration. The definitions of integration and the criteria proposed for measuring how 'integrated' someone is were stipulated by scholars who are members of the host-dominant society. The very term 'integration' as defined by Esser (1980; 2001) actually reaffirms the ascription of foreignness as it is mainly used to talk about 'people with a migration background'. This labelling practice constructs individuals as potentially 'foreign elements' that must be integrated, even if they were born and raised in their current country of residence and have based their lives there (Lingen-Ali & Mecheril, 2020). There is a lack of scientific research on and political initiatives concerning those members of society who are 'non-integrated' even though they do not have migration backgrounds. It is perfectly possible individuals without migration backgrounds do not meet the integration criteria defined by scholars (Esser, 2001); for example, they may lack trust in social institutions, have no access to the labour market, or may not recognize basic moral norms. These individuals tend to be viewed as socially disadvantaged rather than unwilling to integrate. The main criticism of the idea of integration as it is prevalent in the German-speaking scientific and political debate can be summed up as follows.:

> In a modern society, integration means accepting differences and respecting the right of every person to shape their own life independently. Nobody—immigrants or native citizens—can be asked to do more than to recognize the values of the constitution and to abide by the applicable legal system.

> Immigrants cannot be obliged to follow the traditions of a nationally defined culture any more than native citizens. (Rat für Migration e.V., 2017)

In view of this, the next section discusses the particularities of the idea of a German national identity. As this paper focuses on a study conducted in Germany, the German historical and social contexts must be considered when analysing results and suggesting improvements for research instruments.

2.3 National Identity in the Context of Germany

This paper has already discussed that reasons such as the diversity and fluidity of migrants' national and cultural identity make it difficult for scholars to develop research instruments that assess migrants' identities. Additionally, scholars developing such instruments for use in Germany must carefully consider the historical context of the German national identity and all aspects related to it. In Germany, love for one's own country and identification with the German flag or national anthem is often viewed as an expression of right-wing orientation (Oesterreich, 2002). This has historical reasons, which are related to the era of National Socialism. The crimes committed in the name of nationalism during that time make it difficult for German people, even for those born after that time, to identify with their own nation. For this reason, items that address identification with national symbols are likely to have a different significance in Germany than in other countries (Oesterreich, 2002).

This has been observed in research studies conducted in Germany throughout the years. In 1982, young adults between 15 and 24 years of age were interviewed in ten European states about diverse topics such as their ways of life and their values. The answers of the German subjects to the question 'Would you say that you are proud/very proud/not very proud/not proud at all to be German?' were at the lower extreme of the compared values in the participating countries. When reporting these results, the researcher herself remarked that the teenagers seemed to have learned to say no to national self-praise (Hübner-Funk, 1985). Furthermore, subjects felt guilty when spontaneously answering 'yes' to the question 'Are you proud to be a German?' and regarded the word 'fatherland' as inappropriate (Hübner-Funk, 1985).

The difference between Germany and other countries in terms of agreement to items that address national identification could also be observed in the results of the Civic Education Study 1999 (CIVED 1999), which was conducted in 28 countries. The difference averages 20 percentage points, verifying that German young people have a significantly lower level of identification with their own nation than young people from other countries (Oesterreich, 2002).

However, it is also important to mention that the relationship of German people with their national identity appears to have been experiencing a shift in the last decade or so. A highly visible reason that supports this assumption is, for example, the public expression of solidarity at major sporting events, which was first observed during the

2006 Football World Cup held in Germany (Mader, 2016). Representative surveys also confirm that an emotional attachment to Germany has increased continuously since the end of the 1990s (Klein, 2014; Westle, 2013). National identity is a meaningful concept for a large majority of German people today, and this majority also feels emotionally connected to their country. Concurrently, fewer Germans distance themselves from their nation today than in the 1990s (Klein, 2014). However, comparative international studies are still needed to assess whether the differences between Germany and other countries in terms of national identification persist. For this paper, it is of particular interest how far the national and cultural identity of migrants in Germany differ in a similar way from the identity of migrants in other countries.

3 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Based on the available data obtained through ICCS 2016, this paper aims to explore the identification of secondary school students with immigration backgrounds with their country of residence and their sense of belonging to this country, with in depth analyses for Germany (North-Rhine Westphalia). This will be done by analysing data relating to two areas of enquiry.

The first area of enquiry involves the scale ‘attitudes toward country of residence’, which consists of five items focusing ‘on affective components of identity, such as pride and respect’. According to the previous research, the scale can be used to assess subjects’ national identity (Ziemes et al., p. 7). This scale was administered in all countries participating in ICCS 2016, and some of the items had already been used in CIVED 1999 (Schulz et al., 2018; Schulz & Foy, 2004). Previous analysis of the 2016 sample has shown that participants based in Germany achieve significantly lower scores for this scale compared to participants from other European countries (Jasper et al., 2017) and that students based in Germany with immigration backgrounds show lower levels of identification with Germany than students based in Germany without immigration backgrounds (Ziemes et al., 2019). In this paper, the five items of the scale will be analysed separately. According to Roshwald (2015) the term 'civic nationalism' encompasses common rights and values of citizenship which unite people with a shared political identity, despite ethnic or cultural differences . 'Ethnic nationalism', on the other hand, is based on shared cultural traits and traditions (Roshwald, 2015) and looks back into the remote past in order to justify itself while being eager to impose its values upon other societies (Jaskułowski, 2010). To distinguish the constructs from nationalism as a political idea that include superiority to other countries, we follow Berg & Hjerm (2010) refering to the constructs as civic and ethnic national identity. The first, third and fifth item incoporate respectively the ideas of the nation’s flag, the nation’s past and nation’s comparison with other countries and, therefore, can be regarded as items depicting an ethnic national identity. On the other hand, the second and fourth item are enunciated in a more direct phrasing and have to do with having respect and being

proud of the country of residence. These assumptions must however be interpreted with care. No hypotheses will be made in this regard, however, the results achieved by observing the items separately might be useful for further research, in case differences are considerable. In view of this, this paper proposes three hypotheses relating to this scale.

Hypothesis 1.1: In view of the historical context discussed above, German students without immigration backgrounds will show significantly lower levels of agreement with the items of the scale 'attitudes toward country of residence' than students without immigration backgrounds living in other countries.

Hypothesis 1.2: Students with immigration backgrounds living in Germany will follow this same pattern and will present significantly lower levels of agreement with the items of this scale when compared to students with immigration backgrounds living in other countries. If confirmed, Hypotheses 1.1 and 1.2 will produce results that are distinct from the already available data because the data sample will be divided in two sets based on the variable 'immigration background', and therefore the attitudes towards country of residence of students with and without immigration backgrounds will be analysed separately by country.

Hypothesis 1.3: Drawing on data by Ziemes et al.'s (2019) and data from Snauwaert et al.'s 2003 study with Moroccan students in Belgium, Hypothesis 1.3 states that in all participating countries, students with immigration backgrounds will show lower levels of identification with the scale's items than students without immigration backgrounds.

If Hypotheses 1.1, 1.2, and 1.3 can be confirmed, the implication follows that students with immigration backgrounds in Germany follow a *global* pattern of lower national identification with their country of residence when compared with autochthonous students (Hypothesis 1.3), and a *national* pattern of low national identification when compared with students with immigration backgrounds from other countries (Hypotheses 1.1 and 1.2). The implication will further sustain the theory that comparative analyses using data from the ICCS 2016 research instrument are not applicable to the German context without considering the limitations of the instrument.

With this backdrop for the second area of enquiry, in-depth analyses will explore the sense of belonging of students with immigration in Germany. The questions on the "sense of belonging" were implemented as an addition to ICCS 2016 by the German research team. These students were asked to what extent they feel to belong to the people of their or their parents' home countries and in a separate item to what extent they feel to belong to the people from Germany. Students whose parents were both born in Germany were instructed to skip this question. This question was also used in the PISA 2009 study; in the analysis of the data, students were categorized according to the four acculturation strategies defined by Berry (1997) on the basis of their answers to the two different items. Based on answering with strongly agree category, about half of the students were categorized as assimilated and integrated (identification with Germany), whereas the other half was categorized as marginalized and separated (lack of

identification with Germany), see Edele et al. (2013). Considering these results, the following hypothesis is presented:

Hypothesis 2: The distribution of the students according to the four acculturation strategies will mainly be homogeneous, with each acculturation strategy accounting for one quarter of the participants.

This hypothesis is entirely based on Edele et al. (2013) results. It is our aim to test if different or similar results will be achieved when using the same instrument on a different sample. Our analysis method will be, however, slightly different from the one used by Edele et al. (2013), this will be explained in detail in the Methods chapter. Therefore, it is also possible that this slight change will create different results and the hypothesis will be discarded.

The last hypothesis serves to shed light on the relation between the "attitudes toward country of residence" and the sense of belonging. National identity demonstrates the sentiment of belonging to a nation (Guibernau, 2004) and, thus, according to this theory, there should be a strong correlation between research instruments aiming to assess both aspects. Therefore, the following hypothesis is presented:

Hypothesis 3: There shall be a significant correlation between the scale 'attitudes toward country of residence' and the question regarding a sense of belonging to Germany.

In the case that this hypothesis is discarded, it will be an evidence that the questions are measuring different constructs.

4 Methodology

4.1 Sample

The analysed data was acquired through ICCS 2016, an representative survey which was conducted in 24 different educational systems in Asia, Europe, and Latin America with eighth grade students (or ninth grade students, if the mean age of eighth grade students was less than 13.5 years). This study involved a student test which consisted of items measuring students' civic knowledge, a student questionnaire with questions on different aspects of their political, cultural, and learning experiences and attitudes, and a specific regional questionnaire for Europe and Latin America. The analysed sample comprised 94,603 students and mostly drew on data from the international student questionnaire, and specifically the scale exploring 'attitudes toward country of residence'.

The data set was divided into two subsets: students with and students without immigration backgrounds. Students' immigration background was assessed with the question 'In what country were you and your parents born?' Students who responded that both parents were born in their country of residence were considered *not* to have an immigration background. Students who selected the option 'other country' at least

once (either for themselves or for their mother or father) were considered to have an immigration background. Unfortunately, no questions regarding the country of birth of their grandparents were administered, making it impossible to assess if students were third-generation migrants. In total, 84% of all participating students of all countries (n = 75,449) did not have immigration backgrounds, whereas 16% of the participating students (n = 14,243) had immigration backgrounds.

In Germany, only the federal state of North Rhine-Westphalia (NRW) took part in this survey. NRW is Germany's biggest constituent state by population and has a vast history of immigration, with one third of its students having immigration backgrounds (Ziemes et al., 2019). In NRW, 1451 students in 59 different schools took part in ICCS 2016. As 40% of the participants from NRW had immigration backgrounds, the data is considered as suitable and representative for analysis in this regard (Ziemes et al., 2020).

4.2 Method

The analysis of Hypotheses 1.1, 1.2, and 1.3 focuses on the items making up the already introduced scale 'attitudes toward country of residence' (CNTATT). Items could be answered on a 4-point Likert scale in which 1 = *strongly agree* and 4 = *strongly disagree*. The five items were as follows:

- The <flag of country of test> is important to me.
- I have great respect for <country of test>.
- In <country of test> we should be proud of what we have achieved.
- I am proud to live in <country of test>.
- <Country of test> is a better country to live in than most other countries.

Analyses were conducted with the International Database Analyzer (International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement, 2018) which provides macros for IBM SPSS Statistics software to apply weights and to calculate the appropriate standard error for population-based estimations. In order to find out whether groups differed significantly from each other, t tests were conducted for each of the five items of the scale (NRW students with immigration backgrounds versus students from other countries with immigration backgrounds; NRW students without immigration backgrounds versus students from other countries without immigration backgrounds; and students with immigration backgrounds versus students without immigration backgrounds). This specific analysis of the items was chosen rather than working with the whole scale because one of the goals of this paper is to examine how each item works in the German context in order to propose suggestions for the development of improved research instruments.

The analysis of Hypotheses 2 and 3 focuses on the question regarding students' 'sense of belonging' to Germany and to the country of birth of their parent(s). The question

asked ‘How much do you feel that you belong to the following groups of origin: a) the people of my parents’ home country or one of my parents’ home countries and b) the people from Germany’. Respondents could choose between *strongly* (1), *to some extent* (2) and *not at all* (3). It was possible to choose the same option for both items; for example, (1) for both Germany and country of their parents. As previously mentioned, this question was only administered in Germany. Based on their answers, students were categorized into four different groups in accordance with the acculturation strategies defined by Berry (1997):

- Students who marked *not at all* for Germany and the birth country of their parents were placed in the marginalization group.
- Students who marked *not at all* for Germany and either *strongly* or *to some extent* for the birth country of their parents were placed in the separation group.
- Students who chose the option *not at all* for the birth country of their parents and either *strongly* or *to some extent* for Germany were considered to be in the assimilation group.
- Students who replied *strongly* and/or *to some extent* for both Germany and the birth country of their parents were placed in the integration group.

As the answer choice *to some extent* implies the presence of an identification rather than its complete absence, it was decided to regard this answer as indicating an existing sense of belonging, even though it is not as strong as the answer choice *strongly*. It is possible that national identification does not play an important role for the individual identity of those students who selected *to some extent*. However, this answer choice does not indicate the absence of an identification in the same way that the answer choice *not at all* does. While other researchers have opted for different approaches towards analysing this question (Edele et al., 2013), from a transnational point of view, this seems to be the most reasonable and fair way to approach this categorization, especially as the qualitative studies by Niemen (2018), Runfors (2016), and Bhatia and Ram (2009) outline that transnational individuals have difficulty identifying themselves fully with one nation only and instead tend to develop a feeling of being between two worlds.

5 RESULTS

Descriptive results of the number of participants and mean scores for each group for the five analysed items relating to the scale ‘attitudes toward country of residence’ are presented in Table 1, which also shows results of the *t* tests. Scores which significantly differ from the German sample are not marked when the compared group presented higher levels of agreement with the items than the German sample because this was the expected result. Scores which did not significantly differ from the German comparison group are written in italics, whereas scores which significantly differ from the German

group are marked with ** when the compared group presented lower levels of agreement with the item than the German sample. In order to test Hypothesis 1.1, the columns showing results for students without immigration backgrounds (A) are examined. German students have significantly lower scores than all other autochthonous students for the item regarding the importance of their country's flag, except for Sweden and the Netherlands (no significant difference). When asked about the respect they feel for their country, only Hong Kong, Dutch, and Swedish students show significantly lower levels of respect. Only Hong Kong and Italian students are significantly less proud of their country's achievements and significantly less proud to live in their country than German students. Finally, only Italian, Latvian, and Lithuanian students present lower agreement scores for the item '<Country of test> is a better country to live in than most other countries' than German students. Contrary to the expected results, some countries present significantly lower scores than the German sample without immigration background in single questions, such as Hong Kong, the Netherlands, Sweden and Italy. However, considering the number of analysed countries, it is still possible to conclude that Germany belongs to the group of countries with the lowest scores for all items of this scale. Especially, for the question regarding the flag, the German sample has the lowest scores in all 24 participating countries. Therefore, hypothesis 1.1 partially holds.

In order to assess whether Hypothesis 1.2 can be confirmed, the columns presenting the scores for students with immigration backgrounds (I) are examined. Just as the German sample without immigration background, this German sample with immigration background has the lowest levels of agreement with the item 'The <flag of country of test> is important to me'. This same pattern is observed for the other items: when a country presented significantly lower results than the German sample without immigration background, the same happened for the samples with immigration background with very few exceptions, such as Estonia for the second and fourth items. This shows that, in some cases, the German sample with immigration background presents significantly higher levels of national identification than other countries' samples with immigration background. Overall, it is possible to say that Hypothesis 1.2 can be confirmed and that students with immigration backgrounds living in Germany follow the same pattern as German students without immigration backgrounds in terms of their levels of national identification as measured by the five items of this scale.

Finally, *t* tests were conducted to assess possible statistically significant differences of mean scores for each item between students with and without immigration backgrounds of each country. A statistically significant difference for all five questions between both groups (the immigration group presenting the lower agreement scores) was identified in the following countries: Chile, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, Latvia, Lithuania, Mexico, the Netherlands, Norway, Slovenia, and Belgium. As for Germany, a statistically significant difference between both groups was observed in all questions, except the question whether the country of residence is a better country to live in than others ($t(1342) = -.53$,

p = .58). Other countries which also presented significant differences for the four remaining items were Bulgaria, Italy, Peru, Russia, and Sweden. It is interesting to observe that there was no or very little significant difference between students with and without immigration backgrounds in the participating Asian countries. No differences were observed in Taiwan; and in South Korea and Hong Kong, a statistically significant difference was observed in only one item. Therefore, Hypothesis 1.3 can be partially confirmed, except in the Asian participating countries.

To test hypothesis 2, students with immigration backgrounds were categorized according to the four different acculturation strategies as defined by Berry (1997). 507 students with immigration backgrounds answered the question regarding their sense of belonging to Germany and the country of their parents and could be considered for this analysis. Results of the categorization are shown in Table 2.

The results reported in Table 2 strongly differ from the results expected based on Hypotheses 2. Slightly modifying the categorization used by Edele et al. (2013) and interpreting the answer choice *to some extent* as the presence of a sense of identification rather than its absence has produced totally opposing results to Edele's conclusions. Over 90% of students feel at least some sense of belonging to Germany. Groups are not homogeneously large, as hypothesized. Instead, the group of integrated students accounts for more than three quarters of the total. The marginalized group consists of only six students, whereas with around 7% of the students, the assimilated and separated categories are almost equal in number of respondents. When analysing separate results for each of the two questions, the conclusion is that the option *strongly* was indeed selected the most times of all three choices. 281 students claimed to feel strongly that they belonged to their parents' country, whereas 201 students chose the option *to some extent*. 42 students did not report feeling a sense of belonging to their parents' country. Regarding Germany, just over half of the students (n = 256) reported feeling *strongly* connected to Germany (in accordance with Edele´s findings), whereas 214 students felt connected *to some extent*. 43 students felt that they did not belong to Germany at all. These results stand in contrast to the results for the scale 'attitudes toward country of residence', in which students with and without immigration backgrounds in Germany presented low levels of identification with Germany.

In order to check if there was a correlation between a sense of belonging to Germany and the items making up the 'attitudes toward country of residence' scale, bivariate Pearson correlations were conducted. All five items correlate with the question of sense of belonging to Germany, $p < .01$. However, the correlations are not strong but rather small according to Taylor (1990). The Pearson product-moment correlation with the sense of belonging to Germany produces results for each item as follows:

- Importance of flag (r =.24, n = 533, $p < .01$);
- Respect for country (r =.29, n = 532, $p < .01$);
- Proud of what country has achieved (r =.31, n = 536, $p < .01$);

- Proud to live in the country (r =.38, n = 532, p < .01);
- Better country to live in than others (r =.19, n = 532, p < .01).

Therefore, Hypothesis 3 cannot be confirmed, enabling the conclusion that there is no strong correlation between a sense of belonging to Germany and the items chosen to assess national identification with country of residence in ICSS 2016.

Table 1: Mean Scores of the Analysed Items Divided by Students with Immigration Backgrounds (I) and Students Without Immigration Backgrounds (A)

Country	*n*		Importance of national flag		Respect for country		Proud of country's achievements		Proud to live in country of test		Better country to live in than others	
Country	I	A	I	A	I	A	I	A	I	A	I	A
Germany (NRW)	532	813	2.70	2.28	1.88	1.68	2.00	1.88	2.06	1.75	2.34	2.30
Bulgaria	70	2678	1.53	1.30	1.60	1.34	1.68	1.43	*1.88*	1.53	*2.40*	2.21
Chile	228	4399	1.84	1.50	1.59	1.45	1.79	1.50	1.87	1.54	*2.48*	2.03
Taiwan	543	3286	1.62	1.58	1.70	*1.66*	1.58	1.53	1.61	1.53	1.75	1.68
Colombia	103	5017	1.36	1.35	1.40	1.31	1.45	1.37	1.35	1.28	1.89	1.80
Croatia	912	2867	1.55	1.49	1.40	1.38	1.44	1.44	1.54	1.46	*2.44*	*2.32*
Denmark	1048	4663	2.44	2.12	1.81	*1.68*	1.80	1.64	1.85	1.65	1.96	1.83
Dominican Republic	184	2875	1.13	1.10	1.24	1.17	1.32	1.21	1.42	1.22	1.76	1.66
Estonia	628	2099	2.21	1.63	2.11**	1.56	*1.97*	1.51	2.25**	1.66	*2.44*	2.02
Finland	309	2745	1.91	1.64	*1.80*	*1.62*	1.74	1.52	1.78	1.50	1.88	1.65
Hong Kong	1441	1020	2.11	2.14	*1.97*	2.02**	*2.09*	2.14**	*2.00*	2.02**	2.12	2.11
Italy	584	2606	1.70	1.51	1.63	1.52	*2.11*	2.08**	*1.98*	1.86**	2.63**	2.42**
South Korea	36	2463	1.73	1.53	*1.92*	*1.65*	1.67	1.53	1.64	1.64	2.03	1.90
Latvia	592	2423	1.90	1.53	*1.89*	1.55	*1.97*	1.58	*2.14*	*1.72*	2.75**	2.43**
Lithuania	434	2977	1.81	1.52	*1.83*	1.56	1.80	1.55	*2.15*	*1.77*	2.77**	2.59**
Malta	780	2619	1.99	1.54	1.69	1.47	1.70	1.48	1.90	1.54	*2.30*	1.85
Mexico	247	4768	1.61	1.39	1.60	1.44	1.69	1.48	1.71	1.46	2.12	1.95
Netherlands	506	2234	*2.69*	*2.31*	2.02**	1.76**	*1.93*	1.69	*2.10*	*1.73*	2.13	1.88
Norway	1338	4448	2.07	1.76	1.57	1.43	1.63	1.40	1.61	1.39	1.78	1.54
Peru	152	4467	1.40	1.26	1.47	1.29	1.44	1.32	1.54	1.29	1.91	1.76
Russian Federation	888	6056	1.64	1.59	1.48	1.45	1.50	1.45	1.55	1.45	*2.21*	2.08
Slovenia	649	2120	1.89	1.66	*1.87*	*1.68*	1.78	1.59	*1.96*	*1.68*	*2.36*	2.11
Sweden	913	1995	2.49	*2.26*	*1.95*	1.94**	1.84	*1.78*	1.79	*1.68*	1.87	1.80
Belgium (Flemish)	723	2084	2.50	*2.31*	1.75	*1.67*	1.79	1.69	*1.95*	1.64	*2.35*	2.13

Note. Answer choices were: 1 = *strongly agree*, 2 = *agree*, 3 = *disagree*, 4 = *strongly disagree*. *Italics* denote that scores did not differ significantly for the German comparison group. **denote scores that differ significantly from the German group, whereby the comparison group presented lower levels of agreement with the item than the German group.

Table 2: Immigrant Students Divided According to Their Sense of Belonging to Germany and their Parents' Country

Assimilation strategy	*n*	%
Integrated	428	84.4
Assimilated	36	7.1
Separated	37	7.3
Marginalised	6	1.2

6 DISCUSSION

This paper has analysed in depth one scale with five items and one question with two items which was used to assess the national identification of students with their countries of residence and/or birth. This analysis was conducted both at international level and at national level for Germany (NRW). The focus of the analysis was students' immigration background and how to assess students' national identification with their country of residence and the country of their parents using quantitative research instruments. The authors point out that empirical operationalizations of general national identity should be consistent in the form of national identity they intend to measure. If some items contain words and concepts matching the ideas of ethnic national identity whereas other items fit more the idea of civic national identity, results may be jeopardized. In this case, it is possible to observe that survey respondents in Germany presented lower agreement levels with the items which were assumed to fit the ideas of ethnic national identity (concept of flag and comparison with other countries). The authors further raise the criticism that the scale does not take into account the fluidity of national identification in transnational individuals. This criticism is based on the following analytic insights.

First, in order to demonstrate that some of the item wording caused students in Germany to present one of the lowest, or the lowest, scores for national identification, comparisons between the scores of participating countries were completed by means of *t* tests. Results showed that students living in Germany with and without immigration backgrounds present low scores for all five items of the scale, especially for the item regarding the importance of the country's flag. The symbol of the flag can be viewed as the most problematic item in the German national context because German people to this day tend to shy away from using national symbols due to the events of the National Socialist era (Strulik, 2006). This result further shows that it would not be possible to assess the reported recent increase of a certain emotional attachment to Germany as the country of residence (Klein, 2014; (Westle, 2013) using these scale items in the way they were configured for ICCS 2016. Had the items relating to the country's flag and pride been replaced by other, differently worded items which do not involve national symbols, the results for Germany might have been different in the international comparison.

Regarding students with immigration backgrounds, previous studies had shown that German students with immigration backgrounds present significantly lower scores for this scale than German students without immigration backgrounds (Ziemes et al., 2019). However, when conducting an international comparison, statistically significant differences could be observed between students with and without immigration backgrounds in all participating countries except the three participating Asian countries; in this regard, further analysis considering those countries' immigration histories would be required to assess the reasons for this difference. These results allow us to draw two conclusions for German students with immigration backgrounds. First, they have emulated the historical German pattern of low national identification, which is highlighted by the comparison with other countries. Second, they also follow the pattern of low national identification when compared to students without immigration backgrounds, which was shown by the comparisons of both groups for all countries. These conclusions highlight the importance of observing findings holistically rather than through the lens of one aspect. Whereas the low levels of national identification reported by German students with immigration backgrounds as compared to their counterparts without immigration backgrounds might seem to be a cause for concern, the results presented in this paper show that they are well within the expected range. The research instrument that was used caused Germany to be a statistical outlier due to its complex historical relationship with nationalism. It also does not regard the transnational identity of students with migration backgrounds, resulting in lower scores for this population. This trend is demonstrated by the analysis of the question regarding the sense of belonging to a country. Over 90% of students with immigration backgrounds felt that they belonged to Germany either *strongly* or *to some extent*. And over 90% of students also felt that they belonged to the country of their parents. These findings confirm the multiplicity of national identity for transnational individuals as shown in qualitative studies (Nieminen, 2018). It is a reality for transnational individuals to identify with multiple countries—although often not completely with each one, but instead with certain cultural aspects of both home and host society. Therefore, it is important that transnational identity should be considered when choosing a method to analyse findings. As this paper has shown, previous studies such as the one by Edele et al. (2013) have come to very different conclusions because they do not take sufficient account of the multiplicity of national identity and opted to interpret the answer choice *to some extent* as a lack of identification.

In light of the above findings, it would be reasonable to assume that German students with immigration backgrounds *can* identify with Germany. However, it is important to consider that these results are just a snapshot. Studies have shown that individuals' national identification can change over time and that is influenced by many factors, such as discrimination experiences (Jasinskaja-Lahti et al., 2012). The best way to assess the prevalence and persistence of national identification would be through a longitudinal study. Nevertheless, the findings presented here may raise awareness of the problems

that arise when research instruments are developed and used for analysis without considering important national and cultural contexts which might jeopardize results. Furthermore, the case of German students with immigration backgrounds highlights the importance of analysing results using multiple comparisons. It was shown that the levels of national identification of these students were not alarming low. On the contrary, when assessed using simple and direct questions which did not involve national symbolism, levels of national identification of students in Germany with immigrations backgrounds are actually quite high. Therefore, the authors of this paper propose the development of a scale following this pattern of direct questions based on the concept of sense of belonging and considering the students' own perception rather than national or historical aspects. Such a scale might consist of items such as 'How connected do you feel to the people of <country>?'; 'How similar do you feel to the people of <country>?' and 'How much do you feel that you belong to <country>?' These questions can be asked regardless of the country's history. Questions on sense of belonging from a cosmopolite perspective could also be asked, such as 'How much do you feel that you belong to <continent>?' or 'How much do you feel that you belong to the global community?'. Findings deriving from these questions could be much more elucidating as the ones from the scale 'attitudes toward country of residence', as it remains unclear, if having low scores in this scale can be regarded as something negative or as something positive, if it means that respondents are less inclined to a national identity based on national symbols. On the other hand, the scale sense of belonging would be based on positive identification, familiarity and emotions (Hedetoft, 2004).

In summary, the aspect of hybridity cannot be mapped using the scale 'attitudes toward country of residence', but the national addition of items in ICCS 2016 in Germany (NRW) opens up the possibility of examining which acculturation strategies young people with migration backgrounds deploy (Abs & Hahn-Laudenberg, 2017). Overall, this paper advocates the consideration of countries' historical and social contexts when developing research instruments which will be used in large-scale international studies and encourages researchers to assess, analyse, and report results using a transnational perspective, considering both the complexity of migration and the limitations of research instruments.

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Article

Teaching about migration - Teachers' didactical choices when connecting specialized knowledge to pupils' previous knowledge

Sara Blanck
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Keywords: migration, teaching, didactical choice, social studies, specialized knowledge

– Content and pupils are important starting points when teaching migration.
– Our findings expand the discussion of teachers' choices, pupils, and specialized knowledge.
– Teachers' reflections on didactical choices and pupils' previous knowledge are provided.
– Cases, pictures, stories, and affective dimensions could be useful when explaining migration.
– Continuous education in migration and collaborative platforms in social studies are needed.

Purpose: This article contributes to the discussion of teaching migration in upper primary school by examining teachers' didactical choices concerning specialized knowledge and pupils' previous knowledge.

Design/methodology/approach: The approach is practice-based design research, in which meetings with teachers and focus group interviews with ten-to-twelve-year-old pupils are analysed in relation to educational practice and exemplary teaching.

Findings: Teachers expanded concept of migration developed through discussions of specialized knowledge in relation to pupils' previous knowledge contributes to a more qualified migration education. Migration can be taught from a perspective or in thematic interdisciplinary projects. Migration biographies as well as using stories, pictures, and affective dimensions, can make the abstract concepts become concrete when reconstruction of migration in teaching.

Practical implications: This addresses issues of continuous education in social studies for teachers and the need for collaborative platforms.

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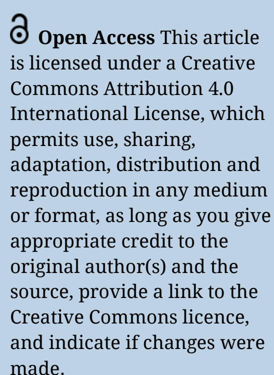

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1 INTRODUCTION

The teaching of migration as a curriculum content is urgent and could be complex. Teaching is about making choices and acting based on teachers' professional reflections on pupils and content. Content that contributes to the understanding of migration relates to issues of knowledge and values and is relevant for individuals as well as societies. When it comes to the teaching of content related to migration, Parker (2017) points out the knowledge blindness in the curriculum and argues for knowledge-based human rights education. Teaching about migration requires knowledge, and McIntosh, Todd, and Das (2019) argue for the need to teach migration across disciplines because the migration content involves different subject areas, not only English and History. Migration can be a sensitive topic related to issues of belonging and the identities of pupils. This question of belonging and migration is highlighted by McIntosh et al. (2019), who find that migration can be difficult and controversial to teach, and some teachers avoid teaching social issues that could appear controversial. However, as Diane Hess (2009) emphasises, the solution is not to avoid controversies in the classroom, but rather to use them in the democratic education. Teachers need to be better equipped to teach migration sensitively and effectively (McIntosh et al., 2019). One part of the support could be to examine the possibilities of connecting specialized knowledge, here understood as context-independent knowledge often associated with science (Young & Muller, 2015) with teaching in practice, to address this knowledge blindness and to incorporate the value issues.

Today, one of four pupils in Swedish classrooms has an external migration background (Regeringen, 2019). The previous knowledge and experience of all pupils needs to be acknowledged in teaching. Gessner (2017) points to the importance of using the pupils themselves as a starting point when teaching migration and emphasises the learning needs and experiences of migrants in relation to civics to empower them. The pupils' everyday knowledge can be used as an entrance to furthering knowledge; subsequently, the pupils' conceptual understanding is broadened (Barton, 2016, p. 22; Vygotskij, 1934/2001). Beginning teaching with pupils' previous knowledge is a familiar principle for teaching (Bransford, 2000). Cummins et al. (2015) indicate the importance of involving the learners' whole experience and identity by working with "identity texts," a teaching strategy especially effective for newly arrived or pupils from marginalised groups. Another part of the support for a more effective and sensitively teaching about migration could be an in-depth orientation about pupils' previous knowledge and then broadening and widening this by specialized knowledge. The everyday knowledge of the pupils then becomes an entrance and empirical base for the conceptual development of the pupils.

Both content with connections to specialized knowledge and orientations of pupils' previous knowledge are related to teachers' didactical choices. Didactical choices are here used, based on the didactical questions of Klafki, as all considerations and reflections teachers need to do when they are planning teaching, including selection of

interesting examples, the topic's significance according to knowledge base, and its meaning for the children's future (Duit, Gropengriesser, Kattman, Komorek, & Parchmann, 2012; Hudson, 2007; Klafki, 1985/2001). Teachers must choose the kinds of knowledge and capabilities that are significant and relevant to the pupils in their educational practice. The three corners of the didactical triangle must be analysed and understood in an integrative perspective (Osbeck, Ingerman, & Claesson, 2018). In this article, teachers' didactical choices when teaching migration are analysed from an empirical perspective. Teachers' selection and transformation of specialized knowledge are related to pupils' previous knowledge to deepen the understanding of teaching migration in educational practice.

Bringing knowledge back into the curriculum and the approach of powerful knowledge have been argued to be important for education in the last decade (Young & Muller, 2013, 2015). Pupils need exposure to specialized knowledge about issues such as migration, which, along with their context-bound everyday knowledge, will allow for a deeper understanding and effective handling of these issues. In the debate on powerful knowledge and its meaning for education, Hordern (2021) describes powerful knowledge as a subset of systematic specialized knowledge, but not all specialized knowledge is powerful. Specialized knowledge is within society developed bodies of knowledge that are necessary elements of a society where people are knowledgeable in different areas. What is of most interest in this article is the relationship between specialized knowledge, potentially powerful knowledge, and non-specialized knowledge as everyday knowledge (Young & Muller, 2013). Another important issue that both Hordern (2021) and Muller & Young (2019; 2015) point out, but not examined about practice, is that this knowledge needs to be made available for pupils. The pupils need science-based knowledge to navigate and act wisely in this society. This raises possibilities for the research presented in this article on how to select and transform specialized knowledge and make it teachable and learnable for pupils.

Qualifying subject-specific knowledge by connecting the content to related research is important but not sufficient in teaching social studies, especially when the focus is migration. Knowledge development cannot be done in isolation from the lifeworld of the pupils and their role in the society. As Biesta (2014, 2015) suggests, the goal of education is not only qualification but also subjectification—to be someone in relation to others and socialisation—to take part in traditions and practices. Another aspect is the relationship between the knowledge-based curriculum and the capacity-building curriculum, as pointed out by Carlgren (2020). Carlgren argues for powerful knowledge as a capacity-building content of education and a widening of the concept of knowledge, which includes tacit knowledge. With a capacity-building curriculum, Carlgren (2020) shows by the shift from powerful knowledge to powerful knowings that a knowledge- and practice-based view of the curriculum can be combined. Curriculum principles at the knowledge level, principles of the kind of knowledge and skills the education system should focus on, are linked to what is being taught and how, leading to the

transformation of knowledge at the classroom level (Bladh, Stolare, & Kristiansson, 2018).

Briefly, the main argument of this article is that teaching about migration and associated social issues should be based on a well-founded understanding of the phenomenon of migration, how it appears in different places and times, what causes it, and what its effects are according to society and individuals. A didactic approach grounded in Wolfgang Klafki's (1985/2001) concept of epoch-typical key problems, combined with the ideas of exemplary teaching, is used in this article. Migration and its related social issues are discussed in an educational setting where teachers execute their didactical choices in relation to their pupils' previous knowledge as well as specialized knowledge. A didactical model based on Carlgren's (2015) concepts of educational practice is used to theorise teachers' choices in educational practice.

In the Swedish school system, compulsory school lasts for ten years. These years are divided into three sections, and the middle section is called upper primary school, where the pupils are ten to twelve years old. The Swedish curriculum has been characterised by the strengthening of factual and content knowledge in all subjects over the last decade (Skolverket, 2018). Teachers in upper primary have a broad education rather than a deep subject specific education. The power of teaching traditions has become great (Stolare, 2017). This background prompted an interest in conducting a study focused on teachers' didactical choices in relation to specialized knowledge for pupils in upper primary. In Sweden social science subjects consist of four school subjects: civics, geography, history, and religion. In the teaching of social studies in upper primary school, the subjects are often taught separately and sometimes in more or less interdisciplinary teaching themes (Kristiansson, 2017). The topic of migration has explicit connections in the curricula of compulsory school with civics, history, and geography and is implicit with religion.

The purpose of this article is to contribute to the discussion and develop teaching about migration in upper primary schools by examining teachers' didactical choices in relation to specialized knowledge and pupils' previous knowledge.

The questions addressed in this study are as follows:

a) What content do teachers define as relevant and significant for the knowledge practice of migration they are going to create?

b) How can pupils' previous knowledge about migration be characterised based on its relevance and significance in learning practice?

c) What seems to be significant and relevant when teachers reconstruct specialized knowledge about migration in a didactical practice for their pupils?

The empirical ground for this article is a research and development circle about didactical choices teachers make when planning to teach migration in upper primary school. This material was supplemented with focus group interviews of the pupils' previous knowledge about migration. The research questions are repeated on Section

five. The approach is inspired by educational design research (Plomp & Nieven, 2013; van den Akker, Gravemeijer, McKenney, & Nieveen, 2006). In educational design research, the focus is on designing and developing teaching and learning environments and developing educational theories based on the results.

2 LITERATURE REVIEW

Several empirical studies on teaching about migration point out the relation between pupils' own or a personal experience of migration and a wider context (Deery, 2019; Duraisingh, Sheya, & Kane, 2018; Ernst-Slavit & Morrison, 2018; Kittelmann Flensner, Larsson, & Säljö, 2019; Radinsky, Hospelhorn, Melendez, Riel, & Washington, 2014). This gives possibilities for the pupils to see the connections between the actor and local perspective related to the global or structural level of migration. In a didactical point of view, these connections relate to the discussion about how to connect the everyday knowledge of pupils with specialized knowledge. Studies have approached this relationship in different ways.

Some previous research about teaching content on migration has a simultaneous focus on both developing pupils' knowledge in social studies and developing language and literacy skills or learning from literature (Ernst-Slavit & Morrison, 2018; Evans, 2018; Quennerstedt, 2019). Ernst-Slavit & Morrison (2018) conducted a classroom study with upper primary pupils with a focus on creating educational practices that both develop content knowledge and academic language. The results of the study show the importance of creating interactive development and constructing narratives in teaching that highlight regional examples that connect global migration patterns with local history. Students investigate their own family's migration with the help of interviews and oral history. In the classroom, they then, with the help of the teacher, look at the connections between their own stories, the classmates' stories, and the events and migration patterns of previous national and global history (Ernst-Slavit & Morrison, 2018). Working with oral history and using interviews to understand migration were also used in an Australian empirical study with upper primary pupils (Deery, 2019). The author examined the implementation of the oral history project and its possibilities in supporting pupils in developing a critical and reflexive understanding of multiculturalism. The pupils interviewed a person who had migrated about her experiences of migration in preparation for their own interviews. Deery (2019) argues from her result that pupils from different backgrounds developed their intercultural understanding through the interview and classroom discussion. This interview also encouraged all pupils, even those with less developed literacy capacity and pupils with their own migration backgrounds, to participate in the lesson (Deery, 2019).

A slightly different grip is taken in a study about migration, where pupils' reasoning about migration was based on data from technological tools such as GIS-web maps (Radinsky et al., 2014). The most important result of the study is that the pupils were reasoning and making connections between the visible data in the web maps and

comparing it to previous knowledge that is not explicit there, for example, other web maps, texts, or personal experiences. They made inferences by connecting their own local web map and data from that to experiences from their local society to understand the causes for migration. These causal inferences provided “hooks” on which to hang factual or conceptual understandings (Radinsky et al., 2014, pp. 155-157).

Another pattern in previous research is teaching about migration with wider aims for education than just knowledge qualification. These aims can put an emphasis on both knowledge qualification and values (Brossard Børhaug & Weyringer, 2019) or on teaching in civics that gives the pupils empowerment of content (Gessner, 2017). In another study, Antoniou and Zembylas (2019) argue for the importance of creating pedagogical spaces for affective dimensions of teaching by relating concepts of being a refugee to dimensions of affections, especially when it comes to understanding refugees’ and migrants’ lived experiences in more complex and nuanced ways. Bringing affective dimensions into the classroom, as argued by Keegan (2021), involves developing critical affective literacy in civic education classrooms.

The need for access to specialized knowledge is argued by Bladh et al (2018) based on the ideas of Young that all pupils, not at least because of issues of justice, need access to specialized knowledge. This access can be developed through the work of Klafki and Carlgren. These ideas are developed further by Stolare, Bladh och Kristiansson (Forthcoming) through the use of didactical reconstruction (Duit et al., 2012) and Prediger et al (2019) tetraeder on an example of teaching about migration. By combining these models with the ideas of Klafki teachers professional development is discussed and the dynamic nature of specialized knowledge, especially when it comes to social science and teaching about migration, becomes more clear (Stolare et al., Forthcoming). Teachers knowledge-building processes to strengthen the link between everyday and specialized knowledge with the example of teaching about migration in social studies is analysed through semantic waves (Randahl & Kristiansson, Forthcoming).

Important insights from previous research consist of the meaning of activating the previous knowledge of the pupils as a starting point and from that creating inferences and connections to others, structural, and global perspectives of migration. To make space for both knowledge qualification and values, affective dimensions and critical reflections seems like having didactical potential in the classroom (Antoniou & Zembylas, 2019; Deery, 2019; Keegan, 2021; Radinsky et al., 2014; Zembylas, 2021).

Some of these studies are based on a design research perspective, but none focus on connecting specialized knowledge with teaching through the development of teachers’ professional learning in research and development circles. In this study, the perspective of the pupils is captured in focus group interviews that describe their previous knowledge of migration.

3 THEORY

3.1 Exemplary teaching as a way of handling epoch-typical key problems

Teaching migration as a content may be considered managing both knowledge qualification based on science about migration and issues of values connected to the pupils' identity and their moral responsibility to the society. Two central elements of Klafki's (1985/2001) critical-constructive didactics, exemplary teaching and epoch-typical key problem, could be used to address aspects of both knowledge qualification and issues of values and morals.

By addressing migration as an epoch-typical key problem, one could raise historical awareness of key issues in the present and the presumed future, gain insights into every ones' responsibility for such issues, and achieve a willingness to contribute to the solution of these problems (Klafki, 1985/2001). The potential of organising educational practice by using migration as an epoch-typical key problem lies in its relevance that these issues have wider societal meaning as well as importance for the individual human being. In exemplary teaching, the learner works from the specific to the general with ideal examples of the phenomenon, thereby obtaining insight in context, an aspect, a dimension of the reality, and at the same time attaining the ability to structure an approach, a solution strategy, or an action perspective that has not been previously available (Klafki, 1985/2001, pp. 176-177). Therefore exemplary teaching needs to demonstrate key problems from different perspectives, acknowledge some of the historical roots, different solution strategies with perspectives of interests and values behind and then develop an affective impact and capability to argue from facts and act (Klafki, 1985/2001, pp. 74-85). Migration could be taught by using Klafki's ideas of exemplary teaching and epoch-typical key problems to achieve dimensions of moral/values and knowledge.

3.2 Teaching migration as a practice

There has been "a practice turn" in both contemporary theory and educational research (Carlgren, 2015, 2020; Cetina, Schatzki, & Savigny, 2001). Education can be seen as a practice in which action and interaction within practices constitute knowledge and where social life is organised, reproduced, and transformed (Cetina et al., 2001). This practice turn shows the importance of teachers' possibilities for designing practices in classrooms where "right" things are practiced. The task for teachers is to create a *knowledge practice* of what will be reconstructed in educational practice (Carlgren, 2015). Knowledge practice is a practice of activities where knowledge is being reconstructed and re-personified in a new context where knowledge again obtains a concrete meaning (Carlgren, 2015, pp. 220-221). Reconstruction refers to the act in teaching during which a subject content is reconstructed into an example, story, picture, model, task, problem, etcetera, to make it teachable and, hopefully, learnable by the

target group. The role of the teacher is, according to Carlgren (2015), to create a functional practice that makes it possible for the pupils, with the help of all available resources, including the teacher, to conquer this knowledge.

Should the knowledge practice be organised as subject specific or interdisciplinary? Teaching and learning migration often demands specialized knowledge relating to different school subjects to illustrate and explain the issues. Such interdisciplinarity could help the citizens of today navigate, analyse societal issues, make wise choices, and act in a society independently of a well-defined subject context (Christensen, 2013; Harnow Klausen, 2011, p. 34; Klafki, 1985/2001). Teachers must analyse and consider which knowledge and which capabilities, actions, or skills are relevant for the pupils to learn according to society and curriculum, as well as identify which parts have didactical potential for their group of pupils.

Teachers need to establish a knowledge practice and allow it to function as a *learning practice* in which pupils participate. In a learning practice, pupils learn different things while working on tasks and problems in interaction with the teacher and with available resources and tools. This ongoing learning and development of pupils' knowing could be described as a transaction between what they already know and the knowledge being offered in the educational practice (Carlgren, 2015, p. 227). Therefore, teachers awareness of pupils' previous knowledge is central. Children in upper primary schools have been living in the world and have been educated for at least five years. They already have some knowledge about their society and have developed a conceptual understanding of its issues. Thereafter, knowledge and concepts in the subjects of social studies seem to develop gradually over time rather than being brand new (Barton, 2016). Thus, the pupils' starting points for knowledge is central. Using pupils' earlier experiences can be useful; however, it is important not to end at this point but instead to broaden and deepen and differentiate their conceptual understanding further. Teaching has to be focused on assimilating new information with their previous knowledge (Barton, 2016, p. 22).

The exposure of pupils in a learning practice to the learning of content in knowledge practice is included in *didactical practice* (Carlgren, 2015). The didactical practice depends on the choices teachers make to reconstruct a content. The focus here for teachers is to involve pupils in the right practice and systematically develop their knowledge in relation to a specific learning object according to what they already know. Here, an analysis of the relation between what the pupils already know and the desirable knowledge needs to be performed if the teacher must distinguish the dimensions that are possible and critical to conquer the intended learning object (Carlgren, 2015, pp. 230-231). Important for designing this didactical practice is the process of how to make content learnable; identifying the framing, examples, enquires, actions, interactions, etc., are significant and relevant. This transformation process includes how the content/specialized knowledge and capabilities are presented, what the pupils do and which practices the pupils use to learn.

4 METHODOLOGY AND MATERIAL

The empirical material of the study is the research and development circles of teachers' content selection and didactical choices as they plan to teach about migration. This is supplemented with focus group interviews with pupils about their previous knowledge of migration to deepen the understanding of the learners' perspectives in the didactical practice.

Three teachers, with many years of teaching experience, from three different schools took part in a long-term research and development circle about migration between February 2018 and June 2019. The meetings with the teachers and I took place in a conference room. We met approximately every six weeks for one and a half years, and the meetings lasted about two hours. The meetings were audio recorded. All of the teachers were social studies teachers working with upper primary pupils. Two of them worked with a regular class and one of them with a preparation class of newly arrived migrants. The research project was organised into three phases.

Table 1: Three phases of the educational design research project

Phase 1	Phase 2	Phase 3
Input of and reflections on specialized knowledge about migration in the study- and research circle.	Teachers and researchers developed teaching designs of migration.	Iterative testing of teaching designs in classroom practice.

The first phase in the research and development circle was focused on input of specialized knowledge by reading texts about migration (Vicino, 2014). Besides textreading, the group also watched seminars about different aspects of migration as a societal phenomenon like what migration is and patterns of migration, research about migration, migration in relation to aspects like society, economy, language and time geography. During each meeting, we discussed "in-depth content" and "in-depth teaching" where the discussions started in content based on the seminars and reading and then where related to teaching. Headlines for the meetings were based on the book "Global Migration: The basics" of Vicino: Teaching about Social Issues and Migration, What Migrations Means and Why it Happens, Migrants and Society, Migrants and the Global Economy, Migration and Language, and Migration and Time Geography (Hägerstrand, 1985; Vicino, 2014). The other two phases focused on developing teaching designs of migration and testing teaching in the three different schools. This article focuses on phases one and two.

The approach of the study is based on educational design research (Plomp & Nieven, 2013; van den Akker et al., 2006). This sub-study is part of a research project at Karlstad University in Sweden entitled, "To develop teaching on social issues: Content selection and transformation in social studies education in upper elementary school, year 4–6." In

this project, a research team and teachers examined the teaching of the social issues of migration.

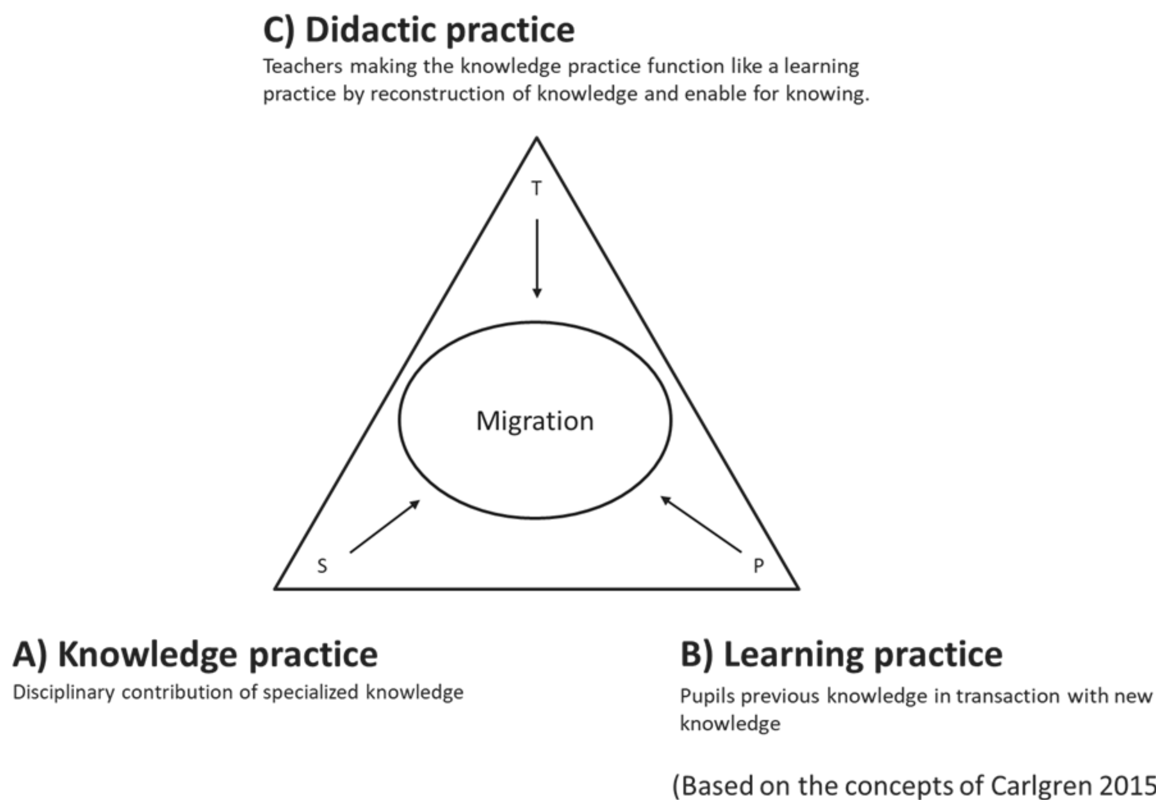
The current article examines the first phase of the research and development circles at the beginning of the design process (Plomp & Nieven, 2013), which could be described as a process in which the research team and the teachers in the circles discuss migration and problems and opportunities around the parallel teaching of migration. The research team worked together with teachers in two circles in different geographical and social setting. I have been the facilitator for one of the circles, and my role was to enable the processes in the circle, initiating the discussions and asking supplementary questions. Although my role was quite passive, I was also a co-creator of discussions in the circle. The empirical material in this article is from the circle I facilitated.

The five first meetings of the first phase of the circle were based on and analysed hermeneutically to the concepts of Klafki and Carlgren. To deepen the understanding of the pupils' previous knowledge of migration, focus group interviews based on cognitive maps (Khattri & Miles, 1995; Scherp, 2013) were performed and analysed. One of the teachers with regular classes started early with a teaching project about migration in four classes with ten year old pupils. All pupils in two of these classes were asked to participate, and 20 of them, where both the pupil and the caregiver gave informed consent, participated. One of the two classes consisted mostly of pupils with migration backgrounds, and the other class was more of an average Swedish class when it comes to background. Because of the young age of the participants, informed consent was an important part of the study. The study was also reviewed and developed according to research ethics and Good Research Practice (Vetenskapsrådet, 2017). There were focus group interviews with five groups of four pupils at the beginning of a project on migration after one or two lessons. My question to the pupils was, "What do you think about when you hear the word migration and people moving?". Each pupil was asked to write a note about their thoughts on Post-it notes, with which we mapped the concepts of migration together. We used the map to organise thoughts and discuss the phenomenon of migration. Audio recordings of the first phase of the circle and five focus group interviews were transcribed and analysed. A phenomenological hermeneutical method was used to interpret the recordings and interviews (Lindseth & Norberg, 2004). Briefly, the first step was to perform a naïve interpretation, while the second step involved constructing meaning units of the texts that were condensed and abstracted to form sub-themes and potential main themes. These themes were then compared with the naïve understanding for validation (Lindseth & Norberg, 2004). We strived for the results to be both utility- and theory-oriented, such that they would hopefully be useful for teachers' didactical choices and could offer suggestions for subject didactical research in social studies (van den Akker et al., 2006).

5 THE MODEL OF EDUCATIONAL PRACTICE AS AN ANALYTICAL TOOL

The aforementioned three aspects of educational practice—knowledge practice, learning practice, and didactical practice—are here combined into the didactic triangle model. The teacher (T) chose content in the form of specialized knowledge and capabilities (S). They orient themselves around pupils' (P) previous knowledge and create practices with the ability for the pupils to learn. This model is used in this article as an operationalised analytical tool for the empirical material.

Figure 1: Educational practice



(Based on the concepts of Carlgren 2015)

The empirical material consisting of recordings from meetings of the research and development circle and focus group interviews are here analysed and discussed according to the three practices and are operationalised with three questions asked to the material. Teaching migration could be seen as acts in didactical practice where the teacher establishes a knowledge practice about migration and enables the pupils to participate based on their former knowing (Carlgren, 2015). The three questions are the research questions of the study and have been asked of the empirical material.

1. Question on the empirical material of the research and study circle: What content do teachers define as relevant and significant for the knowledge practice of migration they are going to create?

2. Question on the empirical material of the focus group interviews with the pupils: How can pupils' previous knowledge about migration be characterised based on its relevance and significance in the learning practice?
3. Question on the empirical material overall: What seems to be significant and relevant when teachers reconstruct specialized knowledge about migration in a didactical practice for their pupils?

Question on the empirical material of the research and study circle: What content do teachers define as relevant and significant for the knowledge practice of migration they are going to create?
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Question on the empirical material overall: What seems to be significant and relevant when teachers reconstruct specialized knowledge about migration in a didactical practice for their pupils?

6 Findings

The starting point of the research and development circle was to examine the input of a choice of specialized knowledge about migration and allow this to meet the social studies teachers' knowledge of educational practice. Pupils' previous knowledge of migration collected at the beginning of a project about migration is also analysed. The findings are exemplified under three groups: knowledge practice, learning practice, and didactical practice (Carlgren, 2015, pp. 220-231).

6.1 Knowledge practice

Knowledge practice is the practice in which knowledge is reconstructed and re-personified in a new context, where knowledge obtains a concrete meaning. The teachers expressed the development of their own knowledge about migration. A lot of the conversations in the research and development circle assisted the teachers in processing the new specialized knowledge. This specialized knowledge contributed to an expanded migration concept that helped relate migration to broader areas of knowledge within social studies. During readings and conversations about migration from a scientific perspective, the notions of pupils and teaching was often present. A parallel trace for the teachers seemed to be: What of this can I transform for my pupils. This shows how practices of knowledge, learners, and didactics are interwoven with each other.

The teachers created a knowledge practice of the selection taught and ideas of relevant and significant content of knowledge for the pupils. Content selections with the

potential for didactical practice included concepts, different causes of migration, historical comparisons, and the use of social science models. These ideas and examples of teachers' content selection are presented here.

6.1.1 Specialized knowledge contributes to an expanded concept of migration

Based on the research and development circle work on specialized knowledge about migration, the teachers expressed that they had gained more knowledge and an expanded concept of migration. Reflections were made about how their picture of migration was broadening. In the following sequence, they discussed a reading and whether the text described migration as a positive or negative phenomenon:

> M: (…) Then I also believe it's about your own prior knowledge and how you are thinking about migration, emigration, and others. Do you see it as positive, or do you see it as negative? (C agrees). What I have heard mostly have been negative things, but how many positive things there are indeed! Or, the other way around. So, I think with the backpack you have when you go in and read these books, it fills up. I can feel that it is getting refilled a lot.
>
> C: I think so, too.
>
> M: Things I have forgotten about before: all refugees flee from the conflicts in Beirut. Everything that has happened over the years and such. World Trade Center was bombed as early as 1993, it said. I didn't know that at all.
>
> C: I also think this was very good. It's like a flashback.
>
> L: Historical flashback.
>
> C: I think this has been very interesting.

Third meeting

All the teachers agree that their perspective of migration has expanded and that their "backpacks" are refilled. Further, the teachers were faced with major challenges with new concepts and terms. As one teacher described, "the word 'migration' is much wider," and the focus now is to select and transform the content for the pupils:

> L: So yes, when I finished reading and watched the movie and so on, I was very… the economical was…. It says, "Is there anything you find difficult?" So, these economic theories and political science and stuff like that I think are difficult, and there is a reason why I do not read that. But now, I have quite a lot of meat on the bones, but I can immediately feel that this is nothing for upper primary. (C agrees) And if I have to choose with my heart in some way, it's escape, maybe love, to some extent also work, that you move for a job. Because I have it in my own group, so to speak. But I also learned a lot now. I have to peel it off myself: What do I want to give the children? Because I do not want to give

> them theories, but I thought for a while here that maybe this could be read in high school later. When they have come a little further in their development, so to speak. But otherwise this, push and pull, new migration economy and such, it was very interesting and just the word ‘migration’ became very much bigger.

Second meeting

This quote mirrors how the pupils are always present during these teachers’ reading and that they are reflecting on transforming the content to fit just their pupils. The teacher here believed that economic theories did not match the ages of her pupils, and if she was able to ”select from her heart,” it was more relatable for the pupils to understand migration through refugees, love, or migration because of work. This raises the question of what kind of knowledge practice is suitable for pupils in these age groups. Are some aspects of migration more suitable for older pupils? Is it possible for ten to twelve years old to understand, for example, economic theories, if they are reconstructed to suit them?

Furthermore, all three teachers insisted that the readings opened up ways for them to visualise social studies subjects from a migration perspective. They described the input of specialized knowledge about migration as an “Aha” experience and a new set of glasses to viewing social studies that could make a ground for another knowledge practice than before:

> L: But I actually thought a bit when reading about industrialisation. When we read about the age of liberty in the sixth grade, it is probably most often that you do it. Then, we read about urban... migration internally, and how it came later from England to Sweden. There you can get a little from that migration. And then of course, America. It also comes in at the end of 1800. Then you head over to high school. Well, we end there in 1850 something. When it starts, this wave of…
>
> C: Emigrants and...
>
> L: You can get a little of that in there, too, without needing war and flight, in the sense. That it is a labour migration.
>
> Me: Trade and work …
>
> L: Yes, work.
>
> Me: And you were also talking about urbanisation as one of the developments that began earlier as well.
>
> M: I have been teaching about the Middle Ages for a while now, and only now do I start… When I've done that, I think, Whao! This… I could talk about.
>
> C: But so typical!
>
> M: The first cities began to be built. And people started to become citizens.

C and L: It's internal yes …

M: Internal migration and the economy with the Hanseatic League for example. It was the Germans who came and settled in Sweden and such. They brought loanwords, and they brought culture and started building houses.

L: Sure, you got another set of glasses?

M: I had never thought about the migration idea then, huh?

L: Neither do I.

M: Today, I talked to them about it. Do you know what I've been thinking... Because it (migration, my supplement) has to do with geography that you read and how people move.

C: We are teaching about Sweden a lot in the fourth, of course. Now we come to this with the Sami, and it is also this. How are they forced to move from their land. It's the same thing there, actually.

Me: Absolutely. And how the Sami exist across national borders in their origins.

C: It's like you said. You get a slightly different look for it.

M: Yes, you get it. And all of a sudden, you see that migration is everywhere. Why haven't you thought about it before?

Me: It becomes like a perspective, a migration perspective that you can apply to different phenomena …

M: As an umbrella of knowledge that you can put over everything. Exactly.

Second meeting

The teachers talked about migration as an old phenomenon that can be related to several areas within social studies, such as industrialisation and urbanisation, the Middle Ages, the Viking Age, globalisation, and the indigenous Sami population. Creating a knowledge practice in the circle seemed to expand the concept of migration and awaken the view of migration, as a perspective of social studies. This view of migration based on specialized knowledge could open avenues for changes in knowledge practice and the ability to teach migration.

6.1.2 Teachers’ views of content selection

In the teachers’ discussions of content relevant to teaching migration, they chose concepts, causes, and consequences of migration, historical comparisons, and social science models. The models described are the analysis model, which could be described as a model with a phenomenon in the centre, causes listed on the left side, and consequences on the right. Another model is the push-and-pull model, which describes migration in terms of what pushes the migrants to the place and what pulls them there

(Vicino, 2014, p. 10). The third model is the time-geography model, which describes the time and space dimensions of people and phenomena in a notification system (Hägerstrand, 1985).

The teachers emphasised the importance of allowing the pupils to understand the different causes of migration and possible interplays between them:

> Me: What do you think of this in relation to teaching at upper primary school? Which of what you have read do you find particularly relevant to highlight in teaching?(…)
>
> L: I think the things H. (one of the seminar holders, my supplement) said, the list he had made. Why migration, does not have one reason, but sometimes there can even be several. You can definitely bring these up with the children, but without going into deeper depth on the financial aspects. Because it feels like it's more for the high schoolers. (C agrees)
>
> Me: Which ones did he list there?
>
> C: Was it five or six different…
>
> L: Work, flight, studies, marriage, family reunification, and lifestyle. Gender perspective. So, it is not the same pattern for women and men. Too dangerous. Not one cause but even mixed.

Third meeting

Besides the causes of migration, the teachers also mentioned the consequences of migration. One teacher explained how the analysis model can be used to describe the consequences of migration or what results from migration:

> L: So, I had a bit of this: what migration gives. It was said that it gives an increased multiculturalism. You can spin on it later. So, we have talked a bit about this now. Then, it is not only the Swedish not thinking outside the box, but we become multicultural. What can it give us? What could be the problem with it, and what are the benefits of it? It is a part of tackling globalisation. That you start more in childhood with that. That it is more or less the case today that we do not live in our little square, but rather that we have this exchange between countries with import, export, people, everything. It feels like that. In the analysis model, one of the good consequences is that of migration. That we can gain an increased understanding and not have to be like this (she shows with her hands before her eyes).

Second meeting

By explaining the positive consequences of multiculturalism using the analysis model, the teachers meant that their pupils could develop an increased understanding of other people. The quote above mirrors the teachers' recurring theme of a two-fold striving for

both knowledge content and content related to values. In this value-related striving, teaching should contribute to an increased understanding among the pupils, making them wiser citizens. During a talk about the role of social issues in teaching, the teachers described the goal of equipping the pupils to become good citizens:

> C: It is quite big, I think.
>
> L: In general. We tell the children, "This is how we live. This is how we should be towards each other."
>
> C: Yes, exactly.
>
> L: Not only based on the group of children, but this is also how it is in the society. So, this is not what you can do when you are an adult. You can go to jail. Maybe a little to write on the nose. But to equip them for the future.
>
> C: To become a good citizen, or what should I say.
>
> L: Yes, exactly like that.

First meeting

Issues of values were present in the talks; however, possibly because of the design of the study, knowledge content was the focus of these conversations in the first meeting. Further, the teachers outlined economy as an explanatory factor for migration and an important perspective on migration, but one teacher believed that migration connected to refugees and persecution could be even more important for young pupils to know:

> L: I have a feeling that we are pushing against the financial institutions. That it is migration from an economic perspective. We have talked about refugees, but it is a lot (of economic perspective, my supplement). I'm thinking of the book too.
>
> Me: It leads a little there. We don't just have to agree to that either.
>
> L: No, with upper primary school students. I think they would dig more into this escape themselves... the concept of escape.
>
> C: With war and persecution.
>
> L: Persecution, political refugees, and so on. I can feel that this is more important.
>
> C: But on the other hand, it is the case that most of the migration is economic, so you must not forget that either. But I agree with you, absolutely. And that's the feeling and you think that. But the book lifts above all. I feel that it focuses a lot on just this. That it (economy, my supplement) is the largest part of the migration.

Second meeting

6.1.3 Conclusion of the knowledge practice

One could argue that the concept of migration in the teachers' understanding of it has developed from being a narrower concept where migration in particular has been seen as extern migration, often with connotations of refugees, to becoming an expanded concept with more dimensions and even a perspective through which the world and social studies can be viewed. The teachers chose concepts, for example, causes, and consequences of migration, and models, for analysing migration as significant and relevant parts with potential for teaching migration.

6.2 Learning practice

Learning practice is about pupils participating in knowledge practice and the transaction between what they already know and what knowledge practice is being offered in the educational practice. The pupils' previous knowledge consisted of both preconceptions and experiences. Preconceptions could be described as the factual knowledge the pupils already have and how the central concepts are understood, and experience has more to do with stories, feelings, and everyday experiences related to the content.

6.2.1 Preconceptions

Pupils' preconceptions can be organised into three groups: their conceptual knowledge, the causes of migration, and their knowledge about the phenomenon.

6.2.2 Conceptual and factual knowledge about migration

The pupils in the focus group interviews wrote, reasoned, and discussed the meaning of terms such as migration, immigration, emigration and urbanisation. An example is S., who noted a difference between intern and extern migration without mentioning the terms for it and illustrated how she understood the concept of migration:

> S: When you migrate, you move from one place to another. That you might move from another country to Sweden, for example. And maybe you do it because you need a job or because the country is at war. But you may do it because you have friends or family who have migrated, and they may say that we are doing super well and that they are happy. So, then you might want to move to that country.

Focus group 3

Some of the pupils defined the term migration, whereas others described the difference between immigration and emigration as well as between intern and extern. The pupils described the different causes of migration, such as work, poverty, war, school/education, lack of democratic rule or freedom, inequality in what girls are

allowed to do compared to boys, and family and friends. Here is a discussion in which some of these factors are described:

> D: So, in most countries, people move because it is about to become a war just for bad democracy. And that democracy in their countries is not so good. The girls are not allowed to go; they are not allowed to do anything that the boys are allowed to do. For example, as the boys are allowed to play basketball, although not the girls, the boys are allowed to play football and such, although not the girls.
>
> Me: So, you talk about, about...
>
> A: Kind of what I said. That they do not have the same rights and that they move here to get it.
>
> D: Yes.
>
> Me: Different rights for girls and boys.
>
> D: And that they move to Sweden to get a better job, a better life and, therefore, not to be mean or anything, that is, for a salary, money, and live a good life in Sweden.

Focus group 2

The pupils seemed to understand quite a lot about the different living conditions in the world and that there are different incitements for migration. The third aspect of the pupils' preconceptions of migration was their overall knowledge about the phenomenon. The pupils mentioned, for example, the emigration to North America, the Migration Board, and things they had heard from the news, for example, the fleeing in inflatables from Syria:

> Am: Many people from poor countries travel with bad boats when they flee. Many of them perish then.
>
> Me: Just that. Have you heard of it? Outside of this …
>
> A: It's about moving as well. So, then they move because it is war or poor, and so on. And then they go in bad boats, and they die anyway!
>
> Me: Mm. What do you think about it?
>
> Am: BAD! Can they not have good boats instead.
>
> Me: Have any of you heard of these boats?
>
> Pupils: Yes …
>
> Al: Yes, that means that people get paid to smuggle people, like across borders and stuff, and some smugglers use boats. So very bad boats like rubber boats

> and then the boats have to go with a whole crowd and then the smugglers take them, or at least try to take them to another place.
>
> Am: They have no life jackets... or equipment. And then those boats are completely full. Like twice as much as they really should be.

Focus group 3

In this quote, it is clear that these ten-year-old pupils have an awareness and quite detailed knowledge about the situation of refugees and migration from the war of Syria, which has been current these last years, for example. This engages the pupils in an affective way and can be compared to the findings in the teachers' talks about the didactical potential of using refugees as content during the teaching of migration. This quote relates both to knowledge about migration and to the other part of the pupils' previous knowledge, the one connected to their experiences.

6.2.3 Experiences

The dimension of experience took form mainly in two different ways. The first occurred as the pupils described a personal relation to migration, and the second as they described feelings about migration. The first one is focused on the lifeworld of the pupils, which includes stories and examples of their own, their parents' or previous generation's external or internal migration. Another common theme in the interviews was the notion of "homeland," in which some of the interviewed group had their family's homeland very much alive:

> Me: (…) What do you think of when you talk about homeland. What is a homeland?
>
> P: I am thinking of the country where I come from... so, I was born in Sweden, but my parents come from X (country). So, I think my homeland is X because my parents come from there.
>
> Me: Because your parents were born there, but you were born in Sweden?
>
> P: Yes.
>
> Me: So, it's your homeland?
>
> P: But I think X is my homeland.
>
> Me: You think that X is your homeland.
>
> P: Because all my family and relatives live there.
>
> A: Yes, what are you thinking about?
>
> R: I was born in Sweden, and on my mother's side of the family, most people live in Sweden. But for me, it is still Y (country) that is my homeland because there are some relatives who live there, my parents who live there.

Focus group 5

These experiences of the pupils' homeland and stories related to their families raise the issue of values connected to identity and belonging (McIntosh et al., 2019). The second part of the pupils' experiences occurred as they described feelings related to migration. They described how migration can make people feel creepy, uneasy, excited, and sad because of missing family members. One pupil described migration and that moving could make people have many feelings simultaneously:

> An: Well, moving can be that you move from, for example, a country to another country. (S: Mm) or from, for example, another city, or perhaps from type X (city) to Y (city). (Me: Mm) Immigrating … sometimes it is called immigrating.
>
> Me: Just that.
>
> An: And then it's very exciting. You can have a lot of emotions in your body when you have to move from one city to another city or something.

Focus group 3

6.2.4 Conclusion of learning practice

The previous knowledge of the pupils consisted of both preconceptions and experiences. As seen in the material, the pupils had preconceptions of migration. Most of them could describe the term migration with the meaning "moving," and they also had knowledge of some causes of migration. They have heard about migration on the news, for example, about refugees from Syria fleeing in inflatables over the Mediterranean Sea. Some of them also had experiences in the form of stories, feelings, and everyday experiences connected to migration. In the material, it seems the pupils understand migration from an individual perspective of the social issues connected to migration, although only a few of them make connections at the societal or structure level. However, the pupils together in the classroom seemed to have quite a rich previous knowledge. One challenge for teachers is to become oriented to this knowledge and to use it as a starting point for the rest of the teaching as they reach the pupils' zone of proximal development (Vygotskij, 1934/2001).

6.3 Didactical practice

Didactical practice includes the other two practices (knowledge practice and learning practice), and the aim of the teacher is to design and establish a knowledge practice and make it work as a learning practice for the pupils (Carlgren, 2015). It is critical that teachers start with both the previous knowledge of pupils and specialized knowledge about migration, given that it is significant, according to disciplines, to develop pupils' knowledge and moral responsibility. Table 2 summarises the above findings about knowledge practice and learning practice.

Table 2: Summary of knowledge practice and learning practice

Knowledge practice	Specialized knowledge contributes to an expanded concept of migration, developing the teachers' comprehension and ability to handle issues of knowledge and values.
	Knowledge content: Concepts, causes and consequences of migration, models for analysing the content.
	Migration as a perspective and/or a thematic content.
Learning practice	Pupils previous knowledge consist of both preconceptions and experiences of migration.
	These preconceptions and experiences on group level seem to include a quite wide understanding of everyday knowledge about the phenomenon of migration and sometimes seeds of more general understanding.

According to this table, reconstructed specialized knowledge in knowledge practice in relation to pupils previous knowledge of migration in learning practice contributes to the potential for a more qualified migration education. To establish a didactic practice about migration, the teachers in the study described three central ideas:

d) Case and migration biographies could have the potential to describe different causes of migration.

e) It is important to give the concepts rich explanations through various examples in context.

f) Pictures, models, feelings, artefacts, and discussions progress the pupils from concrete to abstract thinking and vice versa.

6.3.1 Case and migration biographies in teaching

Teaching migration through migration biographies could, according to the teachers, be one way of reconstructing the different causes of migration. The teachers described how pupils in upper primary school understood the world mostly from an actor's perspective. A bridge between actor and structure could be built by re-personifying the structural phenomenon of migration using cases or migration biographies. The teachers also expressed that most of the pupils in upper primary school had a concrete view of the world, and that migration biographies, preferable of children in their age groups, could be useful, particularly in classes where many of the pupils have migration backgrounds.

> M: They need something to identify with.
>
> C: So, it does not become too abstract.
>
> M: Yes, exactly, and preferable someone in their own age.
>
> Me: Yes, indeed, this child that… I think this is effective. I really think this could be an entrance, because then you connect feelings, thought, and knowledge in one.
>
> L: They don't know anything other than being children. And this is what they compare with.

Fifth meeting

They acknowledged that identifying with someone similar was important. There is a need for the teacher to show that the person is simply a symbol of a structural phenomenon. The teachers pointed out that it is difficult for many pupils in upper primary school to abstract and understand societal phenomena at a structural level.

> Me: But what I'm thinking about is if the children see that this person, this child who is emigrating, that there are more behind it. That there is this structure behind (…).
>
> C: I feel that depending on how far they have come in their own development of maturity, so …
>
> L: That you can think outside the box …
>
> C: When they are younger, it is their little box that counts. Then, you have upper primary school girls who have come as far as they can, as you said, depending on what they have in their luggage.
>
> M: I think at this age they have a very hard time abstracting.
>
> C: I do not think they really know either, but...
>
> M: Without it, there will be more at the end of high school somewhere.
>
> C: Barely, then.
>
> M: The brain is not fully developed until you are 18 years old …
>
> L: Barely then …
>
> Me: No, sure.
>
> M: That's what they need to have piloted by us teachers. But it is not so easy to pilot such. Because we cannot go into every student's head and find out—what do you know—what do you think.

Fifth meeting

The teachers described here variations in pupils' understanding of abstract cognitive relations and the importance of teachers' support. As seen before, the pupils in the focus groups had previous knowledge consisting of both preconceptions and experiences. The challenge for the teachers is to orient themselves and let the pupils' understanding of concepts and their experiences and stories of migration, internally and externally, become a starting point for the teaching. One way of relating the pupils' previous knowledge to specialized content could be through migration biographies. Migration biographies in the circle were viewed as a reconstruction of scientific content with didactical potential. Two ways of using biographies were discussed—either work with the pupils' family's migration or use fabricated cases that can be re-personified for the different types of migration. For example, could labour migration be understood through the story of a person who migrates and sends remittances home? This re-personification could be a way of reconstructing knowledge practice (Carlgren, 2015). The cases could function as what Klafki (1985/2001, pp. 176-177) described as exemplary teaching. When the phenomenon of migration is presented with some ideal examples, the learners can work from the general to the specific and obtain insights on these aspects of migration as well as the overall context, and may be able to visualise migration as a solution strategy.

6.3.2 Various and rich examples of concepts in context

Allowing the pupils to develop their own thinking, preferably with discussions and understanding of concepts in a broader context, was often mentioned. Discussions could be organised from the principle of think–pair–share (Bamiro, 2015). First thinking by themselves, then in pairs, and lastly sharing the thoughts in a class group. Concepts and the phenomenon of migration could also be exemplified through films and pictures:

> C: We started with indigenous peoples. Minority people in Sweden. In the film, they talked in general about minority populations and how they have been treated. Then you ask questions in connection with the film. What are your thoughts after seeing this? It creates pretty good discussions that you can then work on and explain, make mind maps, and move on.
>
> L: Start from the children and then take it further instead of starting from: "this is what we are going to read now".
>
> Me: Because then you also have the pupils with you.
>
> C: And then you can also point out the different concepts and explain. So, they get it. For some of these concepts, they do not understand, so you have to explain more.
>
> (Others agree)
>
> M: I also think that a pretty good way is when you have talked a little about emigration and immigration, it can be good to have a whole arsenal of different

> images. For example, an overloaded inflatable boat or migration, what do you think? Look at this picture, what's going on? What does it look like? Why do you think they are on the boat? Where in the world do you think it is? Where are they going? Why are they fleeing? Or whatever it may be. Then you can take a picture of money. What can it have to do with emigration? To bring in some economic thinking. It is important that you find good pictures and that you think through which pictures are appropriate to show in that case. They can come up with the most fantastic ideas. Completely different ways of thinking than what you yourself have; they are as smart as possible. So, you can drop your chin sometimes.

Second meeting

The teachers also pointed out the possibility of using pictures and films to provide rich and varied explanations of migration. They also described how to point out concepts from the setting of the film and then explained them further with different explanations. Pictures are described as another useful tool to help pupils develop concepts and their thoughts.

6.3.3 Feelings, artefacts, and discussions as tools for making the abstract more concrete

The teachers in the circle, at least in the beginning, often returned to the pupils, needing to be presented with new content in a concrete form that could be related to the pupil. Using affective dimensions in the teaching that appeal to the feelings of the pupils or letting them touch artefacts, as well as using pictures and discussions, were mentioned as tools for making the abstract more concrete.

One teacher in the circle started a teaching project about migration based on the pupils’ family’s own migration. The majority of the pupils in his classes had family members who had experienced extern migration, and some had experienced intern migration. In the circle, this raised questions about the potential of feelings and the affective dimension of teaching.

> L: Yes, it can be very emotional. Also.

> M: It can be. I have some students who have come to Sweden. They were not born in Sweden. (…) Of course, someone may have been through traumatic things. And it can be, when you talk about this, there can be reactions of course. And it does not have to be the one who tells, but it can be someone else who comes up. (…) This can lead to people coming in and talking about current events. Now with Palestine. There were 55 who were shot dead. (The others agree). Sometimes you do not know what fuel you are bringing. (The others agree.)

> C: On the other hand, it can be quite good that, when you get into these current situations, there can be quite deep discussions. So, it can be very good, I think so too. You do not know what is happening, but it is important that you are sensitive as a teacher as well.
>
> L: And I think these are the questions you should ask. That you think about the age of the group and "how many doors should I open".
>
> C: It is true that you have thought about this as well, and it is not always what you have. You start with a discussion and …You should always be prepared; it's not like that but sometimes. Our everyday life looks like it does at school.

Second meeting

The affective dimension, in terms of feelings related to migration, as well as the discussions, are mentioned in this quote. The teachers described how the content of migration could be affective and provoke reactions. When actualities were handled in the teaching, one teacher indicated that “you don’t know what kind of fuel you bring to the classroom”. C agreed, indicating that these actualities can bring deep classroom discussions and reminded the group about the importance of being responsive. Being sensitive and the use of affective dimension could have some potential during the teaching of migration. Another dimension of teaching is, as described by the teachers, the potential of feeling, looking, and touching artefacts to make the abstract concrete:

> Me: Because you think that there is didactic potential in things. To bring artefacts.
>
> C: Look, feel touch... that is how it becomes concrete. It's not abstract, that's what it's about. And you can hang up discussions about things and that they can watch in groups and discuss, do you think... (L: Yes) That is how learning happens that way.

Fifth meeting

6.3.4 Conclusion of didactical practice

To summarise, reconstructed specialized knowledge and awareness of pupils’ previous knowledge of migration seem to contribute to a more qualified teaching about migration. The pupils as a group seemed to, according to the results from the focus group interviews, have rich previous knowledge about migration. The question remains: How can teachers orient themselves according to this information in the classroom setting?

Migration biographies and exemplary teaching in the form of case studies could be one way of making specialized knowledge of migration take concrete form. Concepts

related to migration can be exemplified in various settings and with rich examples in context. For example, the use of stories, pictures, examples, artefacts, and the notion of feelings related to migration. Migration could be taught as a perspective in the subject-specific course or/and as a thematic.

7 Discussion and practical implications for educational practice

Reconstructed specialized knowledge and an orientation of pupils' previous knowledge of migration has the potential to contribute to more qualified education about migration. The following discussion will focus on the practical implications for educational practice, according to the research questions asked at the beginning of the text. First, the question of what characterises the knowledge practice of migration is discussed; secondly, the relevance and significance for the pupils according to learning practice; and third, what is chosen and how is it reconstructed in the didactical practice.

7.1 Specialized knowledge of migration in knowledge practice

Many social issues, including integration and belonging, are apparent in the current media debate on migration. These social issues tangent both dimensions of knowledge and values that could be valuable aspects of teaching about migration in schools (Antoniou & Zembylas, 2019; Brossard Børhaug & Weyringer, 2019; Deery, 2019; Duraisingh et al., 2018; Ernst-Slavit & Morrison, 2018). All pupils need access to specialized knowledge to develop their knowing of for example migration (Hordern, 2021; McIntosh et al., 2019; Young & Muller, 2015). This study shows how teachers' knowledge about migration expands when confronted with and discussing scientific texts and seminars about migration. This could make it easier for the teachers in their reconstruction of the content, because it would be easier to recreate the knowledge traditions of the connected subjects and establish knowledge cultures that characterise the ideal tradition of knowledge (Carlgren, 2015).

The development of the teachers' specialized knowledge about migration increases the possibility of the pupils obtaining access to the same information. When knowledge replaces prejudices, the possibility of more qualified and nuanced discussions about migration and related social issues expands. The pupils need to get access to specialized knowledge, as Young and Muller (2015) argues to be powerful. They need to understand concepts and phenomenon to understand and participate in the society. This developed knowledge may also contribute to the moral responsibility of all involved, as Klafki (1985/2001) describes. This moral responsibility was also apparent in the teachers' discussion about the aim of social studies being to develop pupils into wiser citizens. By regarding migration and related social issues as one kind of epoch-typical key problem, it is important to the teachers' ability to develop the pupils' knowing, as well as their responsibility and willingness to contribute to the solution of these problems (Klafki,

1985/2001). When teachers in the study selected content for a knowledge practice (Carlgren, 2015) with input from specialized knowledge, it seemed that their former content selection traditions were challenged. This emphasizes the necessity of continuing education in social studies and collaborative platforms for teachers.

7.2 Relevance and significance for the pupils in the learning practice

Migration as a teaching content is urgent from both a societal perspective and an individual perspective of pupils. As seen in this study, the pupils already knew a lot about migration before teaching started. The pertinent challenge is orienting the teachers to this previous knowledge and in what ways the pupils understand the content. The teachers in the study discussed that those ten–twelve-year-old pupils may be a little too young to understand societal phenomena at a structural level. However, it is important not to underestimate what pupils already know and have the opportunity to understand. Instead the challenge is to create didactical practices where this transaction between what the pupils already know and what is being offered in the educational practice is focused (Carlgren, 2015). For this, the teachers need strategies of orienting themselves to the previous knowledge of the pupils and possible ways to transform and reconstruct theories and abstract concepts to suit them. This previous knowledge can be made visible in didactical practice (Carlgren, 2015) in different ways. The migration of the pupils' families can be made the entrance to understanding the phenomenon. This strategy allows the identities of pupils to take a central part in teaching. This, according to Cummins et al. (2015) and Deery (2019), is an effective teaching strategy, especially for newly arrived pupils or pupils from marginalised groups (Cummins et al., 2015). Another way is through discussions or mind maps that make the previous knowledge of migration visible as a significant starting point for all pupils. This entrance could be effective in social studies because the terms of everyday knowledge and specialized knowledge in these subjects are often the same, even if they could have a slightly different meaning. The term migration occurs, for example, in the everyday understanding as well as in the specialized knowledge, and what differs is rather broadening, specialisation, and adding more perspectives than that the meaning will be something completely new. The focus must be, according to Barton (2016), to further broaden the pupils' conceptual understanding (Barton, 2016, p. 22), and abstract the empirically based concepts as abstract concepts are filled with rich explanations (Vygotskij, 1934/2001).The teachers awareness of the level and variation of their pupils' previous knowledge is crucial as the pupils relate the new to the existing knowledge.

7.3 What is chosen and how migration can be reconstructed in didactical practice

The discussion continues here with teachers' didactical choices and the aspects of reconstructing migration that have didactical potentials. Teachers in didactical practice

attempt to arrange a fruitful meeting between the pupils in the learning practice and the contribution from science, as they qualify the knowing of migration (Carlgren, 2015, 2020). Teachers choices for reconstruction of migration could focus on knowledge qualification, and also give possibilities for subjectification, such as including a consideration of the identity of the pupils (Biesta, 2015).

Migration and its associated social issues could, as seen in this study, be taught in thematic interdisciplinary projects and from the perspective of migration. If migration is studied as a thematic interdisciplinary project, different complementary perspectives on migration could be reached. When the teachers in this study developed an expanded concept of migration, they related migration to different areas of knowledge. Thus migration can also be taught as a perspective, where migration takes place during the topics of social studies.

Using migration biographies, pupils' own or ideal type, is one of this study's findings. Biographies could have didactical potential to exemplify migration and allow for the viewing of the structural phenomenon from an actor's perspective. Working with ideal-typical cases of migration could, according to this study and Klafki (1985/2001) have potential to show different kinds of migration and function as exemplary teaching. One suggestion for teaching about migration is to let pupils meet up with stories about humans who have migrated by different causes like labour, climate, sexual harassment, political or refugees from war. In the study, the need for the pupils to understand concepts, models and to discuss the causes and consequences of migration is highlighted too.

Allowing abstract concepts, such as migration and urbanization, to take a concrete form in didactical practice was crucial for the teachers in the study. By exemplify the concepts in various settings and with rich examples in context will enable the pupils' understanding of the concepts. For example, the use of stories, pictures, examples, artefacts, and the notion of feelings related to migration could be useful. Teaching could, according to Antoniou and Zembylas (2019), provide pedagogical spaces where affective dimensions in the understanding of refugees or, in this study, all migrants could take form. The affective dimensions in this study also relate to Klafki's (1985/2001) work and the moral dimension of education. This study shows how values, attitudes, and feelings could have a didactical potential to address social issues and engage with the lifeworld of the pupils.

The use of educational design research as an approach has been useful because of its potential to explore both questions asked in practice and of researchers. These meetings in the study circle and focus group interviews make an interesting and fruitful meeting between pupils, teachers and researchers. This also provides good ground for developing practice-oriented educational research. This setting has been useful for discussions about this research problem's role in specialized knowledge and the everyday knowledge and experiences about migration. This issues could be examined further in

studies conducted in different classrooms, and the didactical practice relation to educational reconstruction could be examined further.

In conclusion, if teachers are strengthened through opportunities to reflect, transform, and reconstruct relevant specialized knowledge about migration and the previous knowledge of the pupils are made visible, the teaching of migration could be less complex and difficult. Teaching more substantially and sensitive about migration can include, according to the results of this study, both knowledge qualification and moral and affective dimensions. If the didactical choices teachers make consider both aspects of knowledge and the life world of the pupils, it increases the possibilities for the pupils to understand a phenomenon like migration to act wisely and responsibly in a changing society.

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Article

Preparedness for education to Rohingya refugee children in Bangladesh - potentials and challenges to citizenship education

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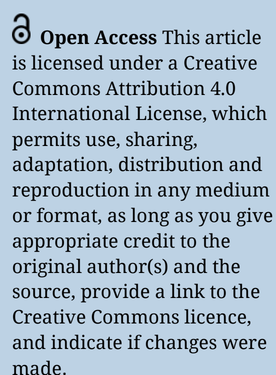
Keywords: Education, citizenship, Rohingya refugee, children, Bangladesh

- Identify the existing opportunities and challenges for the education of refugee children
- Citizenship and civic education of refugee children is seen as an asset to reduce inequality for their future livelihoods
- What significant initiatives were launched to support refugee children in developing key competence
- Explores how to respond more creatively and collaboratively to support the refugee children education in this critical situation
- How governmental and non-governmental organizations are willing to support their education process

Purpose: The number of Rohingya refugee children in Bangladesh is more than fifty percent who are out of formal education since the persecution and the mass atrocities which started in 2017 by the Myanmar government in Rakhine. They need education as their rights and means of future livelihoods that can contribute to both the refugee and host society in the future. Thus, perceptions into formal education can help refugee children to reduce inequality in general and build capacity from a socio-economic and moral perspective.

Methodology: The article endeavors to document the existing pros and cons of Rohingya refugee children's education in Bangladesh. Therefore, the study offers insights examining the existing framework of education for citizenship and civic education of refugee children as well as the opportunities in the future in terms of quality, quantity, and level of education. In direction to investigate the education process in the context of refugee children the study primarily based on secondary sources of data to grasp the conclusion.

Findings: The results indicate that limited initiative has been taken by the host country and other supporting regional and global non-state actors for Rohingya refugee children. However, the number of education centers need to increase immediately as many more children are out of formal education. In addition, it is crucial to start a junior schooling system for teenagers as well as recruit trained and efficient teachers with a structured curriculum. Furthermore, the government of Bangladesh is adamant to open a formal education system, though the international partners are continuously urging for it which is also



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crucial for education and citizenship education with a well-structured curriculum.

The teachers and students need additional support in terms of training and motivation to keep the process ongoing which is found more challenging for both of them while the host country's schooling shutdown since March 2020.

L

Limitations: Findings of this study on refugee children's education in Bangladesh cannot be generalized to another context.

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1 INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

No one is born a good citizen; no nation is born a democracy. Rather, both are processes that continue to evolve over a lifetime. Young people must be included from birth. A society that cuts off from its youth severs its lifeline. - Kofi Annan

The figure of refugee[1] and displaced people has increased in numbers all over the world that history never witnessed. According to the current report of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugee (UNHCR), the amount of forcibly displaced persons is 79.5 million, where 26 million refugees, 45.7 internally displaced people, 4.2 asylum seekers as a result of persecution, conflict, violence, or human rights violations at end-2019. Among them only 25.9 million refugees under UNHCR's mandate (UNHCR, 2020). As of 2019, more than two-thirds of the world's refugees are from just five countries: Syria, Afghanistan, South Sudan, Myanmar, and Somalia. According to the UNHCR, Turkey hosts the largest number of refugees 3.7 million, Pakistan 1.4 million, 1.2 Uganda, Germany 1.06 million while the fourth largest number of refugee by country of origin persisted steadily at 1.1 million from Myanmar and Bangladesh continued to host a large population of 906,600 refugees at the end of 2018, almost entirely from Myanmar. More than half of these populations of Rohingya refugees are children.

This generation is the greatest reversal in education probably in human history. In that way, it is inevitable to argue about the conditions for the conflict and violence but for those millions of children, who have fled the country and are living in the neighboring country most of whom were in school. The international community has to do something different for those children. The future of any society depends on its youth and investment in the children. When conflict erupts the path to their education is often blocked. This is true for the refugee children from Syria to South Sudan and Yemen to Myanmar. Thousands of refugee children are in their perilous journey, once they reach safety guiding them back to the classroom is essential. It gives them a safe place to learn and to play. Without education, they are especially vulnerable and easy targets for sexual violence, exploitation, trafficking, forced recruitment, or extremist doctrines. Whether in camps or cities school offers these eager learners a lifeline through citizenship and civic education that equip them with the skills and confidence to actively contribute to their communities and societies. The role school, in citizenship education, plays in a refugee child's life can be transformative. It is the one asset that they will take with them wherever they go when we invest in education who invest in the future. Millions of refugee youth deserve an opportunity to enrich their minds to expand their horizons and to help their communities improve and grow.

Development citizenship entails formal and non-formal educational activities where social inclusion and solidarity of youth is the main intention of strengthening active citizenship (EU Youth Strategy, 2010-18). It is essential for active participation and mutual understanding to encourage active citizenship through 'participation in civil society and representative democracy' and 'volunteering as a vehicle for social inclusion

and citizenship' (EURYDICE, 2012). A well-known Tibetan Proverb said “a child without education is like a bird without wings”, while Nelson Mandela considered “education is the most powerful weapon which you can use to change the world.” Citizenship education “refers to aspects of education at the school level that prepares students to become active citizens by ensuring that they have the necessary knowledge, skills, and attitudes to contribute to the development and well-being of the society in which they live” (EURYDICE, 2012).

Education matters to the young people around the world facing the trauma of displacement. Refugee children in the world registered to the United Nations refugee agency of those children sixty percent are out of school. This amount of dropped children from school is the destruction of human potential on an unimaginable scale. These children have a right to expect something better from us and that we should make universal education for refugees one of our overarching and most pressing of all development priorities. Rohingya refugee children altogether about five hundred thousand are out of school now.

The refugee is living below the poverty line and this driving the children into labor markets in parts of the world. They are out and working that's a function of poverty and the fact that they are the savings of their parents are being eroded. This is a tragedy for many reasons. Every kid everywhere the world deserves the opportunity of decent quality education but these children doubly deserve it now because firstly, these are children who have been traumatized and witnessed appalling stuff, they have been subject to the murderous activities of Burmese armed militias in Rakhine. *Secondly,* these children have got a tough ticket in life, they need a chance to build the skills and confidence that they will need as adolescents and adults to build a better life for themselves to contribute either to the host country or back in their home country where the school can provide a bit of decent counseling in a school-based environment for citizenship education can be the first step to rebuilding their lives.

Citizenship education is crucial for refugee children to develop knowledge and skills to understand their roles and positions within the society where they belong. It creates impact and drives them to analyze the prevailing structure and procedures to equip them to respond to the community and refugees' needs. In the context of Rohingya refugees, upgrading the concentration in citizenship education revitalizes and re-articulates the notion of citizenship to its broader terms which will lead to altering and eventually results in citizenship education. It will elevate knowledge and understanding of their communal structural change, personify the notable foundation to smooth development of diverse citizenship identities and represent a stimulus for citizens' (refugees) engagement in universal and multilateral society (Neubaur, 2012). This is significant for the Rohingya refugees to further develop their refugee status or citizenship outside of Bangladesh. Citizenship and civic education are imperative to the Rohingya refugee children to build and grow their civic sense, attitudes, perception, and actions in their refugee camps, crucial for their resettlement or repatriation. As

Rohingya refugees are excluded from Myanmar and lost their citizenship, the study calls for a broad understanding of the concept that guides the expansion of citizenship education in refugee camps which is comprehensive, radical, action-oriented, and participative.

The study aimed at how countries can respond more creatively and collaboratively to the challenge of supporting refugee children and young people in their education as well as education for citizenship. Although the scale of the challenge is very real and there is an opportunity to change the public narrative around global migration. It is widely known as the refugee crisis by highlighting the many ways in which organizations and individuals worldwide are stepping up with solutions and support and working with one another to create lasting change. The current study made the instance for this repository and circumstance for more interconnected responses to Rohingya refugee children’s' education across refugee camps and education for citizenship.

2 METHODS

The research was conducted on Rohingya refugee children education in Bangladesh, who constitute more than half of the total population of Rohingya. About one million Rohingya refugees fled Bangladesh after the military crackdown in 2017. These populations are solely inhabited in Cox’s Bazar district of the southern part of Bangladesh.

This study is based on secondary sources of data. I gathered data from different sources. The Rohingya constituted an ethnoreligious minority in Rakhine of Myanmar. The Rohingya population was in conflict and violations in several decades and the issue is common in politics, population science, human rights, and other allied social and basic sciences. To gather relevant data a systematic approach was followed (Jession, Matheson, and Lacey, 2011), and data collected by using Google, Google Scholar, Pubmed, ResearchGate, ProQuest, Mendeley, Web of Science. The key words included the common terms related to the subject: Rohingya refugee, refugee education and citizenship education, refugee education in Bangladesh, citizenship, education. The study included research articles, reports of governmental and non-governmental organizations published in the English language and excluded the redundant studies where the full text was unavailable. The identified records were exported into Mendeley™ where the duplicate articles were erased. Then, for inclusion in the full-text screening for the article the titles and abstracts were screened for eligibility. All relevant articles were reviewed by titles and potential citations to assess the suitability of the study. I assessed the full text of the relevant articles, reports, and extracted the relevant data from all suitable research on the location of the research study, existence, and explanation of the keywords of interest. All reference lists of the identified articles, reports of a refugee children context were selected.

The unit of textual analysis of this study was Rohingya refugee and refugee children. Further, I included teaching staff, NGOs working on education, and agents of donor agencies and government organizations. I deliberately selected these to garner pertinent and authenticated investigations on the existing education system and prospects for refugee children.

This research included the teachers and other related agencies as I aimed to explore the relationship among the agencies to support the refugee children's education in Rohingya refugee camps. I tried to collect information related to the practical experiences of refugee children from different secondary sources to identify the pros and cons of the existing education system for them. Non-children were also an important unit of analysis for the study as the COVID-19 pandemic jeopardized the existing education system for both the refugee and host society. In addition, I intended to discover what they were planning to improve the education system for the refugee in the coming days. Also, I tried to explore the innovative measures that had been taken for the education of refugee children in this pandemic. Thus I comprised all of them to obtain rich and extensive data and to make my arguments nuanced and authentic. It also imposed to improve the validity of the data gleaned from different sources to reach the inferences.

I selected the literature for review under the following criteria:

1. the population of the study included explicitly Rohingya refugee children;
2. only the full-text reports, articles, and web sites in English were accessible;
3. the research article was a primary study, a review, or reports from government and internal organizations;
4. both the studies that used primary data and/or secondary data were used for analysis;
5. the outcome investigated were refugee children and education related outcomes.

The study was designed to extend the array and scope to explain the nature and extent of the available literature scrutinizing the features of refugee children’s education and their crises in the light of citizenship and civic education. The study endeavored to spotlight the cruces which are crucial for developing citizenship education for refugee children to make effective citizenship and civic sense through education for resettlement or integration in the future. However, great expectations are anticipated for the refugee crisis management by identifying the pros and cons of children's education for citizenship and civic education in refugee camps which are documented and acknowledged in this review. Where all crucial issues related to the contemporary Rohingya refugee children's education and education for citizenship and civic were discussed.

3 DEMOGRAPHY OF ROHINGYA REFUGEE AND REFUGEE CHILDREN IN BANGLADESH

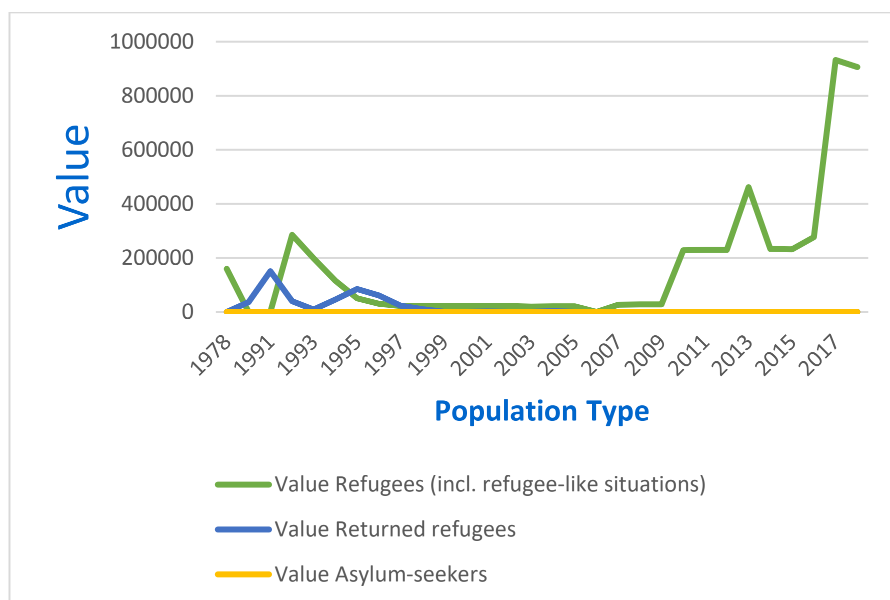
The Rohingya refugee is the largest displaced people in south-east Asia. "This was not the first—nor likely to be the last—catastrophe to fall upon the Rohingya, but it has been the most devastating since anti-Rohingya violence in the country began escalating in the early 1990s." (Fair, 2018). In addition, it was a place of anxiety for fifty years with prolongs civil war and pre-democracy struggles under the military (Aung, 2016). This emergent body of literature dealing with the creation of refugees through forced removal, particularly wherever this occurrence slides into ethnic cleansing and the concern to the studies on genocide (Stone, 2018; Bessel and Claudia, 2009; Siddiqui, 2018). It is also favorable, while increasingly furnishing, to the operational architecture of the international non-state actors from aid to coordinate their humanitarian development actions to classify the international laws that secure the rights of the refugees (Gemie et al, 2012; Cohen, 1949). So these all ultimately concentrating on the embryonic field of *refugee* –that comprises both the experiences of refugees from composition to migration and the responses from aid agencies and different non-state actors including host country to exemplify their experiences, not just like a persecuted and rescue seekers (Castles, 2012; Benezer, 2015; Kushner, 2006; Kushner, 2017; Gatrell, 2013). The government of Myanmar exercised the power against Rohingya as "*a semi-organized social movement with clear political goals*" where the instance is palpable (Van Klinken, 2017; Hossain, 2020a).

The political landscape of Myanmar was founded by the British colonial power with a fragile architectural base that used different ethnic groups against them to cemented their rule. Rohingya people were used by the British during their regime in Myanmar against other minority groups to pave their rule over there. However, after the independence in 1948, these Rohingya people were dominated by the government and continuously excluded from the uniqueness of the mainland of Myanmar for more than a hundred years (Ahsan, 2016; Kipgen, 2016). This happened because the colonizing nations affected the history of political ideologies and policies, in general, to set up the common social and economic policies of colonized nations (Johnson, 1967). Rohingya Muslim minority suffered a lot from other minor groups after the retention of jingoistic factions and establishment of "disciplined democracy" by the armed dictators as they asserted it as an effort to re-establish the order in increasing political chaos (Taylor, 2006).

Nowadays *refugee crisis*, from its genesis, demands interdependent, more collaborative, and nation-transcending initiatives because the history of a refugee is not just of their movement from one to another place but urge to understanding the past of refugees and their significance (Gatrell, 2013). In other words "*it is very much focused on security and border control, citizenship and statelessness, national identity...the role of NGOs and international organizations such as UNHCR in aiding refugees, creating and*

maintaining camps, and resettling refugees" (Gatrell, 2013). Rohingya people start coming into Bangladesh at the very beginning when Bangladesh come into being after the liberation in the year 1971. However, the flow was very low at that time but in 1991, about three hundred thousand people entered Bangladesh as refugees however, the refugees, at that time, usually get back to their homes that stopped in 1999.

Figure 1. Trends of Rohingya refugees flows in Bangladesh (UNFPA, December 2019)



Currently, the Rohingya refugee is in the world's most densely refugee camps in Bangladesh and enduring hardship for livelihood. The international community failed to convince the Myanmar authority to create favorable conditions to enable the voluntary return of Rohingya refugees to their home and the international community again remains paralyzed for them. While the great powers in Asia are playing their role as Bertil Litner precisely pointed out "The Great Game of East- referencing the strategic competition between India and China in Southeast Asia" (Linter, 2015; Fair, 2018; Murshid, 2018).

3.1 Demography of Rohingya Refugee in Bangladesh

The Rohingya started to flee from Myanmar to Bangladesh in 1978 after a few years of liberation of Bangladesh. However, it was about three hundreds thousands people who fled to Bangladesh in the last decade of the twentieth century but this figure has been changed due to many socio-political reasons of Myanmar's domestic politics and civil war. Political unrest in Rakhine again reveals more than seven hundred thousands refugee and they fled to Bangladesh again in 2017 and later when the military crackdown started at Rakhine Myanmar. In general, it is widely known that women and children are the most vulnerable group in war and conflict. It is clearly shown in Table 1

that fifty two percent of Rohingya refugees are women while fifty one percent of the total population are children. Among all of them, about fifty percent are adults. The serious part of this population is the vast majority is children who need food, education, and health with other basic opportunities for their future which is inadequate and somehow absent for them.

Table 1. Gender Distribution of Rohingya Refugee Based on Age

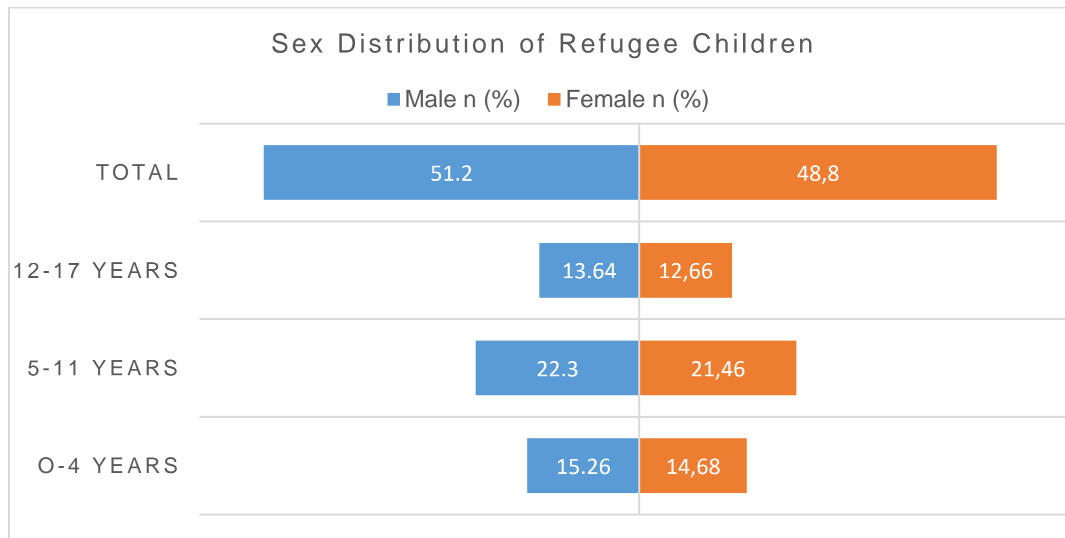
Age Group	Male	Female	Total	
	n (%)	n (%)	n (%)	
Infant-4 years	8	7	15	Total Children
5-11 years	11	11	22	51
12-17 years	7	7	14	
18-59	20	25	45	Total adult
60+	2	2	4	49
Total	48	52	100	

Source: UNHCR, 2020c

3.2 Demography of Rohingya Refugee Children

Just more than half of the Rohingya population consists of children (Table 1). Among all children, about seventy percent of children are adolescent (Figure 2) who needs care because they are suffering from stress and trauma. It is true for these children and adolescents that they are traumatized, mourning, living below poverty, and in a broken family (Figure 3) with cultural shocks. However the infant also needs an immunization, vitamin capsule and other basic health facilities for mothers and caregivers. The children who were seriously harmed by this distress voyage required special support as they can develop by learning and create the possibility of integration or repatriation in the future (UNESCO, 2005). The mental health of these children is seriously jeopardized through the incidence of their past life which needs to be addressed properly and need intervention. However, few NGOs are providing the facility to children with the cooperation of international organizations but further improvement is urgent for the children as a whole.

Figure 2. Gender Based Age Distribution of Rohingya Refugee Children in Bangladesh

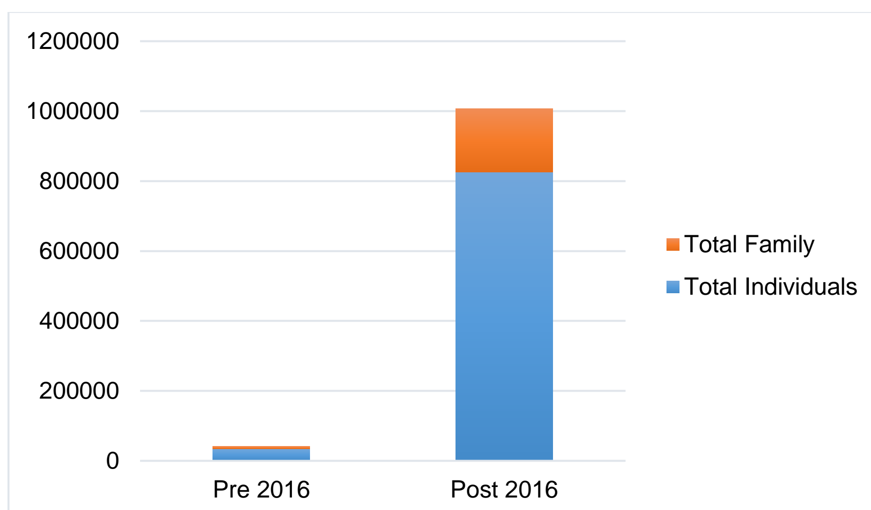


Source: UNHCR, 2020c

3.3 Family and Individuals of Rohingya Refugee

The family itself an institution where a child starts his/her socialization and civilization process. Refugee people are on a journey where life and living remain uncertain until peaceful resettlement, integration, or repatriation where they can start a decent life. Most of the Rohingya refugees crossed the border during the military crackdown at Rakhine in 2017, the highest numbers of refugee came from Myanmar at this time who joined the predated and become in total 910,357 (UNHCR-WFP, 2019).

Figure 3. Refugee Population Pre and Post- 2016



Source: UNHCR, 2020c

The doctrines of national unity demonstrated by control over power, common language, culture, and religion are essential to the self-identification of states, inclined to express themselves in fanatical attitudes, and repression of those who were perceived as 'others'. The Rohingya minority is the real example of Myanmar who was dominated, oppressed, and excluded from the center of the benefits of power and prospects.

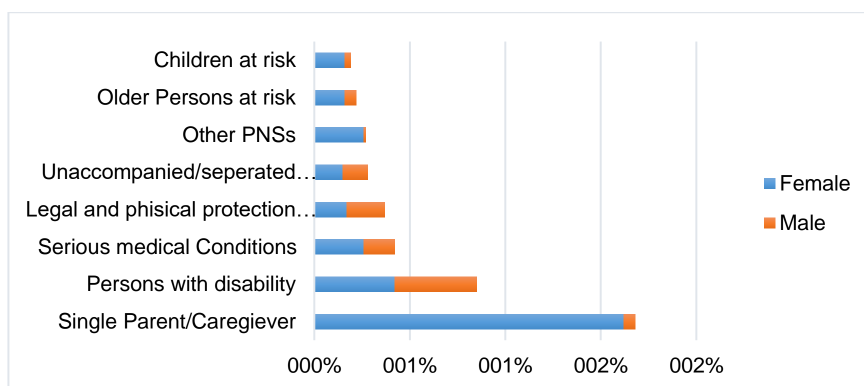
Table 3. Distribution of family size in Rohingya refugee camp

Family Size (Members)	Percentage	Average Family Size
1-3	33	4.6
4-5	34	
6-7	21	
8-9	10	
10+	2	

Source: UNHCR, 2020c

Refugees have been given an individual (Ministry of Home Affairs) MOHA card. But the main fault line of this registration is the missing link between the individuals with their other family members which was pivotal for house-hold assistance among the refugees. Though with the cooperation of leading non-state actors (i.e., UNHCR, EU) these problems are minimized. A significant achievement in 2019 was the biometric registration of Rohingya refugees who were aged 12 or more and given an identity card. This secures their identities, enhances their protection, and lays the foundations for an even more targeted, effective, and efficient humanitarian response going forward. This is the biggest biometric registration exercise undertaken by UNHCR in Asia (UNHCR, 2020b). The average size of family four-to-five persons which was the highest percentage of family size in refugee camps, while thirty three percent family had one-to- three members. Among all the refugee people ten percent of families had eight to nine member and only two percent had more than ten members in their family (Table 3).

Figure 4. Specific Needs of Rohingya Refugee Individuals



Source: UNHCR, 2020c

The vast majority of the refugee has their specific vulnerabilities where 4.3 percent of the total population identified with at least one specific vulnerability (UNHCR, 2020c). Among all refugees, 1.62 percent of females were single parents or caregivers while only 0.06 percent of the male were single parents or caregivers (Figure 4). It is also found that 0.42 percent of females and 0.43 percent of males are disabled and many are serious medical conditions. Some of them need legal and physical protection while few were unaccompanied children and few at risk (Figure 4).

4 CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION

Social equity and cohesion is a political priority at the local and global level. Education is identified as a key lever to involve children and young people in social and political life. Primary schooling for children enhances and offers better chances for their future (Eichler, 2019). Active citizenship promotion got importance in policy documents and recognized as a distinctive goal for education systems which yields development cooperation in several parts of the world. School education can help to expand the social and civic competences, concerning knowledge, skills, and attitudes. This approach demands a new method of teaching and learning in a number of subject areas including citizenship education. Citizenship itself a transdisciplinary approach however this is rarely used in the context of education (Marej, 2020; Schaller, 2004). An extensive spotlight on practical skills, learning outcomes and assessment requires skilled and competent teaching staff for successful implementation of key competences. While there are numbers of greater opportunities, it is crucial for the students to participate actively- i.e., activities in school, youth group activity, cultural events, and civil society organizations (European Commission, 2009b). It is necessary to measure the progress of implementation of key competence through the new method of assessment for developing skills and changing attitudes which require numerous significant initiatives to support refugee children in developing key competences.

Solem (2017) considered citizenship education configures a variety of individuals into a ‘community with shared values and shared identity.’ Besides, refugees within a camp can shape to visualize a citizenry where education plays a vital role in building a community and holding shared identity and respect to others. As a result, community building is the first building block for refugees' citizenship during their distress voyage. They are confined in a camp for peace and not recognized as citizens of their country of origin and host society. With the cooperation of international humanitarian organizations, the government should identify a suitable path for building community among them. Solem (2017) and Keating (2016) have seen education as synonymous with citizenship education to refugees in the refugee camps for peace while it intends to develop skills, dispute-free crisis management, and cross-cultural communication.

Table 4. Dimensions of citizenship education prototype: strategy and practice

Required Competences/Skills	Political Education; Critical Analysis; Dispute-free crisis management; Shared dialogue and communication Analytical interaction.
Required Values	Respect to universal human rights and democracy; Equity and tolerance; Harmony and interrelation; Stand for the significance of community engagement.

Modified by author from Keating (2016)

In addition, Westheimer and Kahne (2004) claimed that citizenship education inspired the students to be a following category of citizen -'responsible, participatory and justice oriented,' which is crucial for maintaining peace, stability, and security in the refugee camps for further resettlement or migration. In sum, Keating's (2016) definition and Westheimer and Kahne's (2004) classification of citizenship education focus on educating refugee students to build consciousness on 'political, social and economic system' for furnishing the skills to develop peace and managing crisis (Solem, 2017). It also helps the children to be conscious of their rights and protection.

4.1 Curriculum for the Citizenship Education

Every human society requires a specific manner for the children to making sense of their experiences about the world around and needs some 'set of norms, knowledge, and skills (Egan, 1978)' for their continuity. The curriculum is imperative for early childhood education. It helps the teachers to travel and create interest in their students and to focus the pathway through which children can transfer the acquired knowledge. Education and training are two sides of the curriculum which take into consideration the socio-political and economic needs of the society. It incorporates the means to develop skills and scholarship to the contents for general understanding that helps to identify the interconnections for alternate prospects (Paige & Lloyd, 2016) that compatible with socio-cultural and economic factors for future sustainability (Pauw et al., 2015). The question concerning their curriculum of education for Rohingya refugee children is very crucial and has significant implications for their future life however it is not questioned in general during the initiation of the curriculum in any society. Typically it enshrined with traditions, rituals, and immemorial practices however there are no boundaries but for children it a concern. The objectives of the curriculum of refugee children developed by this community who has a systematic value and philosophy of perceptions about them. The scholars' responsibility in this sector is to translate these objectives into

specific behavioral objectives that can lead to a better life in the future (Sikkema, 1958). Because curriculum works as a ‘narratable pathway towards the formation of identity’ (Goodson & Deakin Crick, 2009) which is appreciated, endorsed, and signified. There are four essential aspects (i.e., elaborate, implement, apply, and evaluate) for a curriculum to strengthen the teaching and learning process if we wish to carry out reasonably. Missing any of these components reduces the relevance for satisfactory learning both for teachers and students.

4.2 Teachers Training for Child Education

Knowledge on objectives and theoretical basis of the curriculum, among the teachers, yields to manage the practical environment. It is not only the means that we want to attain but also to create a free, simple, and supportive environment for them. It works as a guide for both of them while it bears a vision that we want to achieve. Curriculum objectives are not ‘simply matters personal preference of individuals or groups’ (Herrick and Tylor, 1950) but those objectives will be accomplished from diverse sources. It will help the teachers in a bidirectional way to support the students to grow inclusively that covers diverse aspects of their development. It is a great concern for the teachers that they are forming the future generation who will lead the regional and global future. These children have diverse characteristics that will help to contribute to the different sectors for development in the future. It is important that how the basis of these children be shaped so that individually or collectively can acquire skills to improve their role as a part of society and serving to progress.

4.3 Citizenship Education for Sustainable Development

Sustainability is the global concern for today in all respect to meet “the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs” (World Commission on Environment and Development, 1987, p. 8). However, many people around the world are, still struggling for life, food, safety, and equity and becoming homeless every day and less aware of sustainability for them in general. Many countries are responded promptly to these global calls with policy, program and to design an action plan and build educating capacity for future sustainability. Because education “…empowers learners to take informed decisions and responsible actions for environmental integrity, economic viability and a just society, for present and future generations, while respecting cultural diversity” (UNESCO-ESD, 2018), which is crucial for refugee children for future in general and political stability and security in host society in particular.

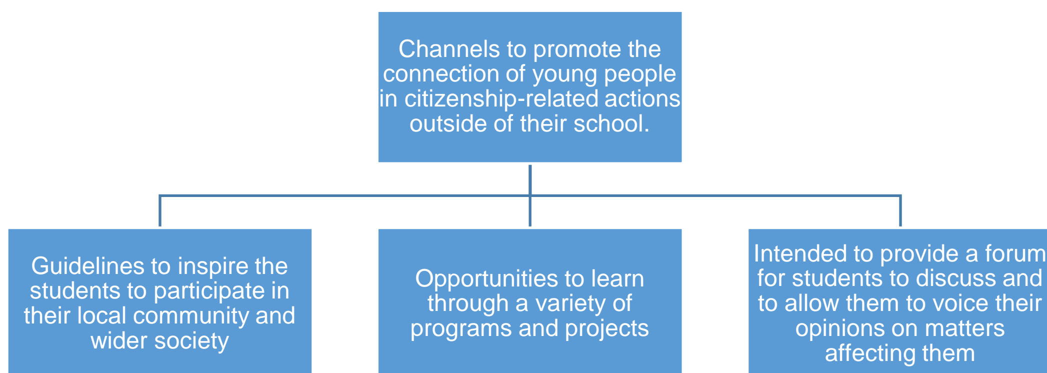
Education will help the children to take action as a citizen of their country and help them to be prepared for future action in their transformation. Because it will enable them to identify and develop crucial competencies on critical and creative thinking and

act properly to recognize their problems that challenging their future (Van den Branden, 2015).

4.4 School Culture and Students Participation in Wider Society for Citizenship Education

The formal and explicit classroom teaching helps young people to become full citizens, though students also can learn about citizenship through other means. It is said that students may start learning about the democratic process by involving them in school-decision making procedures. As a result, students have ‘opportunities to learn about and experience citizenship education in a range of contexts (...) through whole-school processes’ along with the ‘activities and experiences involving the wider community’ (Kerr et al. 2004, p. ii). A wide range of programs and structures can provide real-world experiences to the students out of their school for citizenship. There are few channels that can help the students to connect them to promote the citizenship education outside of their school- i. guidelines to inspire the students to participate in their local community and wider society, ii. various scope to learn through projects and programs, iii. offering a forum that allows them to express their views on issues that affect them. So it is necessary to create some instruments to educate the students on citizenship education. Not necessarily, the student will learn everything in their class but a wide range of scope is needed for their further development. These instruments will open a new horizon to learn and play an active role through which they can learn more about their final achievement. It will broaden the scope to involve with their wider community in their locality that will help to discover the ways of democratic participation and gaining new experiences to identify and address the topical issues. In addition, these will strengthen the cooperation between the generations to discuss in local and regional forums and to voice their opinions on issues that affect them which is crucial for local and global problem solving and today’s world is seeking such youth for the future.

Figure 5: Channels to Connect the Youth



5 FINDINGS ON EDUCATION AND CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION FOR ROHINGYA CHILDREN

The world witnessed joint efforts with the government of Bangladesh, UN agencies, and the NGOs in refugee camps and host communities that saved many lives. But it is not yet ensured that refugees live in dignity and are self-reliant. While it is said that medium and long-term solutions are immediately needed both for the refugee and host communities. Education along with skill-building and livelihoods are inseparable for effective and durable resolutions with reintegration. Refugee children in numbers have increased as conflicts interrupt societies on a global scale. Peterson (2015) observed nearly 32 armed conflicts in 26 countries of the world that saw the highest number of refugees recorded since 2015 (Dryden, 2015). A country should arrange adequate facilities to provide appropriate education to refugee children when they receive them (Hamilton & Moore, 2003). “According to Article 22 of the UNHCR (1951), a child who is a refugee has the same rights as children born in that country of resettlement” (Eichler, 2019). It is necessary to offer education to them because this will create and enhance their opportunity in the future to integrate, migrate, or repatriate which is basic for their livelihoods. Bangladesh is not a signatory for any formal treaty for refuge and asylum while not willing to integrate a million refugees in Bangladesh yet.

5.1 Education for Refugee Children: Institutional and Structural Support

The Rohingya refugee is living in the world’s most densely refugee camps. The great concern of Rohingya refugees was the continual rejection of formal education in refugee camps by the government policy. The government of Bangladesh was adamant that the refugee will not be permanently abode in Bangladesh and will return shortly to home when the conditions will be conducive. This decision was unfavorable to build concrete permanent educational centers with bricks by the donor and other humanitarian organizations. This government policy seized the educational rights of nearly four-hundred thousand Rohingya Children by prohibiting formal education, secondary education, education outside of the camps, permanent building (Human Rights Watch, 2019). However, the government of Bangladesh asserted that “educating refuge and displaced persons have the multiplier effect of empowering them, reduces their dependence on the host government and contributing to long term peace and social cohesion” in the funding proposal in 2018. Later on, the GoB deviated from their commitment and allowed only ‘informal’ education in English or Burmese and did not fund refugee education (Human Rights Watch, 2019).

NGOs made a small learning center with bamboo where only 40 students can join in the class. Due to limited space, it is not possible to increase the number of learning centers that force them to organize shifting for schooling while children get a chance for only two hours a day at school. In their class, there is no chair desk and electricity as

reported by Human Rights Watch 2019. The majority part of the children who used to come to the center is eleven years old or younger. Just more than four percent of students who are aged 14 years attend the center. While older children choose to join an Islamic religious school. There are numbers of religious school (Quami Madrasa) which are not structured education system not even similar to the general education system of Bangladesh. The prime minister of Bangladesh Sheikh Hasina grants permission for establishing thousands of Quami Madrasa (the religious one does not follow the traditional Bangladeshi curriculum) in the refugee camps, however, these happened when the prime minister has claimed herself as anti-Muslim in her political ideology. In response to it, she made aligned with Hifazat Islam that once toppled the ruling government a few years back (Sharma, 2018). The perceptions of refugees and children about schooling sometimes very shocking and hindering for their skill development when a girl responded about the learning center that "it was serious, while the learning centers are for playing, not for education" (Human Rights Watch, 2019). A handful of university graduate Rohingya refugees is in the camps however it was tough for humanitarian and donor agencies to find a secondary school completed Rohingya to operate the learning centers. The refugee people were given equal opportunity with Bangladeshi nationals to recruit as an instructor for the learning centers. These paid jobs are one of the few options existing in the refugee camps.

5.2 Current Education Facility for Refugee Children in Camps

Complex health support is essential for education for refugees as, in most cases, they are from a country where poor living conditions coupled with limited health facilities are prevailing before coming here (Minas and Sawyer, 2002) which is common to Rohingya refugees. These people need emergency health services for their life and education including the host community because demographic alteration can create difficulties for the refugees' healthcare system due to inadequate support systems.

Humanitarian organizations provide education and UNICEF had offered informal education in 2019 to the Rohingya refugee children who are from 4-14 aged. More than three hundreds thousands refugee children and adolescents were studying in 3200 learning centers where over 70 percent of learning centers were supported by UNICEF. This group of children was learning informal education based on the curriculum called "Learning Competency Framework and Approach" (LCFA). The lion's portion of children (more than 90 percent) were learning LCFA level 1 and 2 which were equivalent to preprimary level 2 in the formal education system. These refugee children taught five subjects are available for them i.e., English, Mathematics, Burmese, Life Skill for level 1 and 2, and Science for level 3 and 4. The life skills were only limited to create awareness about the diseases and allow them to play. The teachers are from the Bangladeshi community but for Burmese, there is a Rohingya refugee to instruct them. Though it was considered as development 'over the status quo ante' while the education quality was

very poor due to lack of lesson plan, textbook, and inadequate training for the teachers. All these reasons along with the policy of the government of Bangladesh did not allow the refugee children to sit for national examinations or promote them to formal education (Human Rights Watch, 2019).

5.3 Education for Adolescent

Education will help the refugee children to take action as a citizen of the refugee camp in their host country and help them to be prepared for future action in their transformation. About twenty thousand adolescents providing education facility by UNICEF in Rohingya refugee camps. These refugee groups are constituted by children aged from 15 to 18. They have been given instruction on numeracy, life-skills and vocational training however this is not good enough for these group of people who should study higher secondary to prepare them for undergraduate level. Education itself a driver to change a life by developing their skills they can contribute to their society. Rohingya refugee people are facing an uncertain future in their studies and life as well.

5.4 Formal Education for Refugee Children in Bangladesh: Preparation and Future Expansion

Rohingya refugee children are out of formal education. Currently, UNICEF allowed, by the decision of the Government of Bangladesh (GoB), to start providing formal education following the curriculum of the Myanmar education system together with GoB and other humanitarian partners. As a pilot project, it was decided to provide education to ten thousand refugee children from the sixth grade to nine grade who had less access to education compared to their younger counterparts. To do so additional 250 new teachers will be recruited with the existing 8900 teachers. They will teach them double shift basis. The refugee people get confidence in their future as they will be allowed to start education based on their familiar curriculum. The opportunity to be a teacher was given to both the Bangladeshi and refugee community if they had appropriate academic qualifications. This will support to build their future to reintegrate into the education system of Myanmar when the favorable situation will be available for them to return voluntarily with safety and dignity. In addition, supporting humanitarian partners declared that they will expand education and skill development programs to expand the potentialities of the refugee children that will contribute to their further development. Where Rozina Aktar, a teacher for level 4 students rightly pointed out “Education takes people from the darkness and brings them into the light. “What drives me is the students’ ambition to learn.”[2]

5.5 Teaching Staff for Refugee Children Education

Educating refugee children in Rohingya refugee camp is not a simple one while there is a lack of logistics and preparedness of the children as well. Teaching to newcomers can be a challenge because of language problems and then adapting to a new culture and environment. However, schools are still not able to offer the right inclusion strategy due to a lack of experienced teachers, useful methods, and facilitators (Block, Cross, Riggs, & Gibbs, 2014). This is factual for the Rohingya refugee children's education where there is no formal education is given nor adequate training is available for the teachers to develop their skills to deliver more and effective and practical learning. Education has long-term benefits that the individuals can transmit to society and the generations can get its dividend lifelong by their contribution to their community and society as a whole. The recruitment of teachers in refugee camps for their informal education had limited scope to attain the structural benefits of education by their teaching. It is not just because of their inability to deliver their lessons to the vast community of student adequate training and logistics are also insufficient for both of them. It is said that training can accelerate the performances through developing skills while limited training scope is available for these teachers to teach informal education to the refugee children.

5.6 Future Curriculum and Certification for Refugee Children Education

In Bangladesh, refugee children need access to more robust educational services. Many thousands of children are out of school. Further, 97 percent of adolescents aged 15 to 18 years do not attend any type of educational facility (NRC, 2019). In 2020, the Government of Bangladesh (GoB) authorizes the Myanmar school curriculum and has offered the humanitarian partners through the Joint Response Program (JRP) to grab the opportunity for education Rohingya refugee children. The preliminary phase is targeting 10,000 children in grades six to nine, which is under development. Both of the Rohingya refugee parents and children have wanted access to education in the Myanmar curriculum, which is crucial to prepare for them to return and reintegrate in Myanmar when it will be possible (UNHCR, 2020b). This is the latest initiative that has been taken so far for the refugee in response to their formal education. "In emergency context through the recovery, it is important that national authorities, educational institutions, and employers recognize curricula and the certificate awarded. Communities want to that their children's education has a value that national authorities recognize that value." (INEE, 2010).

6 DISCUSSION

Education and education for citizenship have focused globally as we are living in a globalized world where conflict and benefits both are coming simultaneously. This warranted to train more responsible and active citizens than ever before. Nowadays encouraging and actively involving youth in social and political life got priority at a local, regional, and global level. Social and civic competences are one of the key competencies of lifelong learning. Where active citizenship is considered one of the key objectives of the education system. This can be attained through involving students outside of their classrooms to know about the community, create and foster social change and development and fabrication with the greater society (Berman, 1990, Newmann, 1989). Where Rohingya refugee children have a limited scope to get involved in that way because the current curriculum is an informal one and not structured to citizenship education.

Education is regarded as a primary key to promoting active citizenship. Citizenship education is important and it helps students to introduce them to the wider part of society as they will take responsibility for their community and society in the future however it requires certain competencies (Zerkowska and Wenzel, 2020; Cohen et al., 2015). The refugee children have to adapt to new settings that affect their daily lives where the context and perspectives are different (Anderson, Hamilton, Moore, Loewen, & Frater-Mathieson, 2003) however most cases the majority of refugee are hosted by neighboring countries while their flights before and after are usually abnormal and traumatic. In this situation, mental health with other basic supports are essential for their survival and move forward. School education with its other extracurricular activities can create an environment that can pull these communities after sinking in the ocean of pains and sorrows of their past life. These children are under trauma since they fled even before that and confined in a camp and not allowed to move out so it is not possible to enlighten their potentials without school, curricula, and freedom.

EURYDICE (2012) found that policies have had a great effect on the study of citizenship education. Where education curriculum, parental involvement in an educational institute, the culture of schools, and participation in the community, supporting teachers, and assessment are found crucial for citizenship education. These components are invisible in the education system of refugee children while there is no formal curricula, structured educational format, and scope to involve parents and involve the refugee children in wider society as they are restricted in their camps. However, the issues were repeatedly come forward by the workers and agents of different NGOs, national and international development partners.

Table 5 Overview of Potentials and Challenges for Citizenship Education in Rohingya Refugee Camps

Level	Challenging Factors	Potential Factors
Micro-system	Frustration, Trauma, Mourning, lack of confidence, Disability	Confidence, Health, Knowledge about Language, Willingness to learn, Resilience.
Meso-system	New environment, single parents, Unaccompanied children, language barrier, Conflict with peers	Self-confidence, Joining in the Learning Center
Exo-system	Child trafficking, sexual exploitations, Forced migration, Family crisis	Family connection, Community attachment, Peer group, Social and Religious observation
Macro-system	Discrimination by policy, Oppressive attitudes of the host country, Policy Barrier, Cultural obstacle, Difficult to offer education	Education facility, Health care, Food Program, Emergency Support

Adapted by author

The refugee children instructed based on the informal curriculum which was questioned by the different partner in terms of quality (Human Rights Watch, 2019) however the quality of education offers ‘physical and psychophysical and cognitive protection that can sustain and save lives’ (INEE, 2010) no formal education was not available for them in refugee camps however they have the rights to get an education. Many development workers who were engaged in the process of curriculum, teachers’ recruitment, training, and monitoring the process were affirmed that it is not enough for them to develop their potentials in the future nor oven basic in a true sense just to live and lead a normal life. Though citizenship education requires ‘the understanding and application of normative concepts’ (Marej, 2020) and considered interdisciplinary which is invisible in the structure of the curriculum of the refugee children education in Bangladesh. How citizenship education yields to the greater society are widely acknowledged and developing continuously in countries where it mingled with their education system.

However, in Bangladesh, this concept is still not operative in their education system in a structured way where many components are available and practices in a scattered manner (Alam, 2012). To get the ultimate benefits from citizenship education needs institutionalization and systematic application in the education system which is not possible for the refugee children in the existing education system prevailing the refugee camps. There is no such sign that the government of Bangladesh will be positive about their formal education to promote citizenship education in near future.

7 CONCLUSION

Rohingya refugees are struggling for dignity as well as safety. They are waiting for justice and rights three years after fled from Myanmar. The government of Bangladesh (GoB) and UN agencies in association with NGOs efficiently and commendably deliver life-sustaining assistance for their livelihoods in the world's largest refugee camp. The combined efforts made them out of danger i.e., stabilize the situation of the camps, monsoon preparedness, avoid epidemics of diseases. However, the refugees need dignity and rights, not just subsistence where citizenship education is pivotal for their emancipation from distressing life and it can be the first building block for their next step in life. The agencies urge for more funding from the global community for humanitarian assistance for the refugees while government policy needs to reform and allow them to be educated in a structured educational system which is still uncertain. Citizenship education in refugee children allows engaging in social and political life to burgeon and secure democratic values and promote solidarity during the time of growing diversity. As they are living out of the home and allowed only subsistence, deprivation from opportunities (i.e., education) can jeopardize their future livelihoods. 'It is known that the history of indigenous people is a history of colonialism, which has been fundamentally transformed after the emergence of the legal doctrine of self-determination, questioning its legitimacy and reducing its scope through its long term effects are likely to be profound' (Hossain, 2020b). They need adequate opportunities for education in general and citizenship education in particular for their right to learn and live in refugee camps and further resettlement.

Citizenship education will provide an opportunity for knowledge, skills, and attitudes for civic competences, which can only be acquired by a structured education system based on knowledge and social values and commitment to engage in broader society. Education can offer multidimensional benefits to this vast community of Rohingya, citizenship education can develop the competencies to integrate or repatriate or migrate elsewhere as educated migrants or asylum seekers are welcomed and a good option for the receiving country. This is high time both for Rohingya refugees and the host community to take initiative for education immediately. However, Bangladesh as a non-signatory sovereign state still stayed outside the purview of the Convention Relating to the Status of Refugee 1951. The repatriation or migration of Rohingya in a third country is still uncertain as the global crisis is creasing day by day and there is no good news from the refugee receiving countries. As a result, the Bangladesh government should allow national and international partners to start formal education for refugee children that will offer citizenship education to develop their potentials as a citizen and to contribute their community and other humans.

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ENDNOTES

[1] According to the Refugee Convention (1951) Article 1A(2) Refugee is a person who "Owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence is unable or, owing to such fear, unwilling to return to it."

[2] https://www.unicef.org/bangladesh/en/stories/expanding-education-rohingya-refugee-children-bangladesh

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Article

Who wants a political classroom? Attitudes toward teaching controversial political issues in school

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Keywords: controversial political issues; attitudes; civil education; democracy

- The study examined teachers', parents' and students' attitudes toward controversial political issues (CPI).
- A Random stratified sample of 501 adults and 201 high school students completed questionnaires.
- Respondents had little confidence in teachers' ability to conduct CPI discussions in classrooms.
- Students reported low incidents of CPI discussions in classrooms.
- Support for CPI discussions differed according to specific topics.

Purpose: Many argue for the benefits of controversial political issues (CPI) discussions but little is known about teachers', parents', and students' attitudes toward CPI. The present study explored these attitudes, as well as attitudes towards specific controversial topics, and how they relate to socio-demographic variables.

Design/methodology/approach: Quantitative cross-sectional methodology was employed using questionnaires to collect data. Random stratified sampling was used to obtain a representative sample of 501 Jewish Israeli adults, including 70 teachers, and 201 Jewish Israeli 10th-12th grade students.

Findings: Respondents, including the teachers themselves, had little confidence in teachers' ability to conduct CPI discussions in classrooms. Students reported low incidents of CPI discussions in classrooms, and that they are mostly held by homeroom and civics teachers. Students supported CPI discussions more than adults (including teachers) and wanted teachers to disclose their opinions much more than adults did. Support for CPI discussions differed according to specific topics. Linear regression revealed that the less religious individuals are, the more left-wing, older and more educated, the more they will support CPI teaching.

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1 WHO WANTS POLITICAL EDUCATION?

Education researchers, theoreticians and practitioners have varied opinions about the place of political education (Crick & Heater, 2012; Gimpel et al., 2003; Quintelier, 2015). Teachers also differ in the extent they are interested in or willing to go in order to make education political (Davies & Hogarth, 2004). On the one hand, schools are meant to produce involved and conscientious citizens, and promote civic involvement, while, one the other hand, the neoliberal agenda wants to keep political involvement to a minimum (Yogev & Michaeli, 2010). In Israel, this ambivalence should be understood against the backdrop of a longstanding split between the professional ministry high-ranking officeholders and the politically elected minister. While documents produced by the professionals support political education, the minister traditionally tries to set one political agenda for student consumption (Netzer, 2020). In recent years the depoliticization of education is seen as a problem, especially as this creates adults who are politically apathetic and lacking political knowledge (e.g., Dahl et al. 2018).

1.1 Who wants a political classroom?

Controversial political issues (CPI) have been investigated from several angles. Many studies have shown the educational benefits of conducting CPI discussions for the students (Brookfield & Preskill, 2005; Hess & McAvoy, 2014; Bekerman & Cohen, 2017). Many other studies concentrated on the benefits of CPI discussions for society (Hess, 2009; Lemish, 2003; Lin, Lawrence, Snow & Taylor, 2016). Another body of research focused on teacher's reluctance to engage in CPI discussions and the motivation for their willingness or lack thereof (Barton & McCully, 2007; King, 2009; Cohen, 2016; Gindi & Erlich Ron, 2019). Professional teachers have targeted the kind of skills that teachers require in order to engage in CPI discussions (Kerr & Huddlestone, 2016; Versfeld, 2005). From a philosophical point of view, the ethics of engaging in CPI has been the focus of a book by Nel Noddings and Laurie Brooks (2017).

The research that has documented teachers' reluctance to engage in CPI finds many external reasons (i.e., parents, Ministry of Education, knowledge) for this reluctance, but evades the basic question whether teachers want to discuss CPI. The question of whether students or parents want teachers to address these topics is also ignored. Thus, this study investigates who is interested in political education. Do students want to engage in discussions of CPI? What do their parents think about political education? What do the teachers themselves think about engaging in CPI discussions? For this purpose, we surveyed 501 adults among which were 70 teachers and 201 students about their attitudes towards political education, controversial public issues and the way it should be taught within an educational framework if at all. We use the definition of attitudes as evaluations of individual objects, persons, or situations (Thurstone, 1931). The study was conducted within the unique context of a highly divided society in Israel. The study also

examines attitudes towards specific controversial topics and how they relate to individual differences.

1.2 Controversial Political Issues

CPI refers to issues on which no simple solution is accepted by most members of society, and different factions in society propose different interpretations and points of view (Leib, 1998). This definition is anchored within the educational field and its dialectics with other social fields (Tillson, 2017). For the purpose of this study, we are not interested in defining controversial issues according to their relation to the “truth” (Hand, 2008), or the percentage of people who adhere to one or the other side of a controversy. Our focus is on issues that teachers have to deal with in their everyday work. Thus, we expand the notion of controversial issues to issues that may be considered taboo or politically incorrect. We argue that in a realistic democracy, these issues are grist for the mill in education.

CPI discussions are intended to encourage students’ active participation, to promote their citizenship roles in a democracy, help them internalize democratic values and assist them in turning democratic values into worthwhile activities (Versfeld, 2005; Hess, 2002). Moreover, it is intended to help promote many student skills unrelated to democracy. CPI has been associated with students’ interpersonal communication, debate, critical thinking, decision-making, research and problem-solving skills (Hess &McAvoy, 2014).

There is ample research supporting the advantages of discussions of CPI in the classroom and yet teachers avoid such discussions and students report to rarely engage in them (Gindi & Erlich Ron, 2018; Hawley, Crowe, & Mooney, 2016; Hess & McAvoy, 2014; Tannebaum, 2020). Oulton, Day, Dillon, and Grace (2004) found that 36% of teachers reported they were not well prepared for handling CPI discussions in the classroom, while only 12% reported they were very well prepared. Studying CPI in the context of teaching history in elementary schools in Greece, Zembylas and Kambani (2012) found teachers often hesitant to discuss CPI with their students due to inadequate teaching skills and instructional materials, emotional unease (both teachers’ and students’) and societal norms. Misco & Tseng (2018) found that Taiwanese social studies teachers are hesitant to initiate CPI discussions unless they are part of the curriculum.

Findings suggest that although novice teachers view controversial issues as an essential element of good teaching, they do not include CPI discussions in their teaching without explicit prompts to do so. One study showed teachers to stipulate different conditions before they could discuss CPI including only if they feel comfortable with the class first, if teachers and students are from the same community, if it is a relatively progressive environment, only with experience and if they feel supported by parents, teachers and administration (Tannebaum, 2020).

Teacher reluctance is intermixed with lack of knowledge about the kind of political education that meets established standards and lack of knowledge of governmental policies regarding discussions of CPI. Thus, for example, Gindi and Erlich Ron (2018) found that only a 1/3 of Israeli teachers knew the Ministry of Education policy regarding discussions of CPI in class.

Beyond they declared policy and teachers' reluctance to engage in CPI discussions due to professional issues, there is a highly political aspect to teachers' reluctance that in Israel also needs to be understood within a historical context. The establishment of the Israeli education system involved a depoliticizing process that emphasized the common and unifying, and teachers were called upon to avoid expressing personal opinions and avoid discussions of CPI (Ichilov, 2003). Along a similar vein, Clause 19 in the National Education Law states that teachers are prohibited from participating in political demonstrations (Ungar & Vurgan, 2010). At the same time, the Ministry of Education's Director-General's Code of Bylaws allowed teachers to moderately express a political opinion, as long as this is done in the framework of a controlled class discussion of CPI (Gutel, 2015).

While the declared policy maybe that of promoting CPI, there are many implicit ways in which teachers are discouraged from engaging in CPI discussions. There are many examples of teachers around the world who have been dismissed from their jobs due to voicing their opinions, and specifically in Israel, the case of Adam verta[1] is well remembered by teachers as a deterrent to CPI discussions. In January 2020, a senior civics teacher was dismissed from his teaching position due to stirring up political discussions in class and a municipality worker was quoted as saying: “he will not work in any school in the city” (Tal, 2020). In the wake of the coronavirus pandemic, students were exempted from some of the materials in the civics matriculation examination, and conveniently it was decided that on the issue of Israel as a democratic and Jewish state, students will be examined only on the Jewish aspect and not the democratic one. It is not surprising then that previous research has shown that teachers do not feel they will be supported in case a complaint will be filed against them for engaging in at discussion of controversial topic in classroom, especially not by the Ministry of Education (Gindi & Erlich Ron, 2018).

1.3 Challenges in teaching CPI

Teachers' knowledge about how to practice CPI is often found lacking (Tannebaum, 2020; Oulton et al., 2004). It is well established, for example, that indoctrination is ill-advised and yet a study of civic studies teachers in Turkey found that 5% tried to persuade in a particular point of view (indoctrination), 9% did not bring CPI discussions into the classroom at all, 34% held a discussion but did not disclose their position, 27% encouraged a discussion including stating their opinion and 25% did not endorse any specific position on CPI (Kus & Öztürk, 2019). The issue of disclosure is a much more

delicate one. Many countries' policy including Israel state that teachers can share their personal opinion with students. On the one hand students are often very eager to know their teacher's opinions and serious arguments have been raised in favor of teacher disclosure (Journell, 2016). On the other hand, teachers' disclosure of their personal opinions can inhibit class discussion and there is a constant fear that it will lead to the slippery slope of indoctrination (Hess, 2009; Journell, 2016).

1.4 Whose responsibility is it?

Some argue that it is the social studies teachers' responsibility to teach controversial issues (Kus & Öztürk, 2019), while others see it as every teacher's responsibility (Hess, 2009). Some research has also shown that social sciences and civics teachers have greater self-efficacy at conducting CPI discussions in class and report conducting more such discussions than teachers of other subjects (Erlich Ron & Gindi, 2018). In similar fashion, novice teachers associate CPI with citizenship education rather than promoting awareness of social justice and often teachers note that CPI are best suited for the social studies (Tannebaum, 2020). In Israel, great emphasis is placed on homeroom teachers, who are also called in Israel "educators", suggesting that they are not only responsible to teach students but also to educate them. These teachers are expected to conduct meaningful discussions with their students about social relationships, love, societal issues, moral etc.

1.5 CPI in the Israeli context

Israel sits at a crossroad between three different continents (Europe, Asia and Africa) and is important to three monotheistic religions (Judaism, Christianity and Islam). In like manner to its geographical location, Israel is also at a crossroad of many controversies and its population is crisscrossed in many different ways. Three divisions in Israel are at the midst of spirited controversies. First, the Jewish Arab conflict with its implications for both the Arab citizens of Israel and the relationship between Israel, the Palestinian Authority and the Gaza Strip. The second division is between secular and religious and the unique features of church and state in Israel which is by its definition a Jewish and Democratic state (Smooha, 2002). Thus, the relationship between the state and Orthodox Jews has been the issue of much controversy throughout its existence. In the context of religiosity, it is also noteworthy that the degree of Jewish religiosity is an important determinant of many attitudes in Israeli society including political affiliation and attitudes towards minorities (Gindi & Erlich Ron, 2020; Pew Research Center, 2015).

In addition to the Jewish Arab conflict and the religious rift, there are many civil issues that preoccupy the Israeli discourse as it does in many other countries around the world such as same-sex marriage (Beck, 2013), equal pay for equal jobs, etc. The third unique issue is the tension between Jews who immigrated from "eastern" *Mizrahi* communities and Jews who came from European *Ashkenazi* communities. There have

been social economic discrepancies between these populations from Israel's establishment to this day and the *Mizrachi* culture has been suppressed for many years (Cohen, Lewin-Epstein & Lazarus, 2019). There are many other controversial issues but another one that we will focus on in this work is the issue of the separation of powers, where special emphasis is placed on the status of the judicial authority in Israel (Roznai, 2019).

2 METHOD

2.1 Participants

This quantitative cross-sectional study used questionnaires collected as data. The sample included a representative sample of 501 Jewish Israeli adults, including 70 teachers and 201 Jewish Israeli students grades 10-12. Samples were collected using a random stratified sampling technique to ensure that each layer of the research population was represented (Trost, 1986). Palestinian respondents were excluded from the sample as the segregated nature of the Israeli society and the Israeli education streams demand that such questionnaires be culturally modified in order to be relevant.

2.2 Research tools

The data used for this study was part of an online survey conducted in 2019 about political education. 27 items from the student questionnaire were used for the present study: five demographic questions regarding gender, degree of religiosity (secular, traditional, religious, orthodox), political affiliation (right, left, center and undecided), grade / education (students/ adults), occupation (adults). 22 items related to attitudes toward discussions of CPI in the classroom. Respondent were asked whether 13 controversial topics should be discussed in schools and if yes to choose the manner it should be discussed from 3 options including: 1. Discussed without teacher disclosure of personal opinion, 2. Discussed with disclosure of opinion but without persuasion or 3. Discussed with persuasion. The sample characteristics are presented in Table 1.

Table 1

Sample characteristics (N = 701)

Characteristic	Full sample [N=701]	Students [N=201]	Adults* [N=501]	Teachers [N=70]
Gender				
Men	351 (50.0)	100 (49.8)	251 (50.1)	31 (44.3)
Women	351 (50.0)	101 (50.2)	250 (49.9)	39 (55.7)
Religiosity				
Secular	328(46.7)	98 (48.8)	230 (45.9)	26 (37.1)
Traditional	206(29.3)	46 (22.9)	160(31.9)	22 (31.4)
Religious	104(14.8)	38 (18.9)	66(13.2)	15 (21.4)
Orthodox	64(9.1)	19(9.5)	45(9.0)	7 (10.0)
Political affiliation				
Right	338(48.1)	100(49.8)	36 (51.4)	36 (51.4)
Left	265 (37.7)	48 (23.9)	27(38.6)	27 (38.6)
Center	65 (9.3)	19(9.5)	7 (10.0)	7 (10.0)
Undecided	34 (4.8)	34 (16.9)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)
Education				
Elementary	7 (1.4)	---	7 (1.4)	1 (1.4)
Secondary	155 (30.9)	---	155 (30.9)	25 (35.7)
High school diploma	158 (31.5)	---	158 (31.5)	13 (18.6)
Academic	181 (36.1)	---	181 (36.1)	31 (44.3)
	Mean (SD)	Mean (SD)	Mean (SD)	Mean (SD)
Age	39.93 (17.43)	16.59 (0.89)	42.28 (15.44)	(14.42)

*Including teachers

3 RESULTS

3.1 Student specific reports and attitudes

Students were asked if in the past year they were involved in CPI discussions in class. 70.1% of the students responded in the positive and 29.9% responded in the negative. Of the students who experienced CPI discussions, in 106 cases (39.8%), the homeroom[2] teacher conducted the discussion, 96 (36.1%) involved the civics teacher, 42 (15.7%) a subject teacher, and 22 (8.2%) an outside lecturer. Students were also asked to what extent they would like their parents to be part of their CPI discussions in school. Students' average score on this question was 1.73 (SD=0.96) on a 5-point Likert scale indicating that overall, they do not want their parents to be part of such discussions.

The participants were asked directly: “If you define political education as "developing critical thinking of students on controversial issues," who do you think should engage in political education at school?”. Table 2 presents the distribution of respondents’ answers in the full sample and in the different subgroups.

Table 2

Who should engage in CPI in school according to the full sample, adults, students and teachers?

	Full sample (N=702)	Adults (N=501)	Students (N=201)	Teachers (N=70)
Political discussions should not be held	149 (21.2%)	131 (26.1%)	18 (9.0%)	17 (24.3%)
External experts	140 (19.9%)	96 (19.2%)	44 (21.9%)	19 (27.1%)
School staff	126 (17.9%)	83 (16.6%)	43 (21.4%)	11 (15.7%)
External experts and school staff	287 (40.9%)	191 (38.1%)	96 (47.8%)	23 (32.9%)

The participants were also asked to what extent they trust teachers to handle discussions of CPI competently (Table 3). There is fair support for teachers’ ability to handle CPI discussions in class. Figure 1 exhibits the different groups’ mean ratings for teachers’ ability to engage in discussions of CPI on a 1-5 Likert scale. Interestingly, adults trust teacher’ ability more than students (χ^2 (4, N=553) = 18.653, p =.001), and non-teacher adults more than teachers themselves (χ^2 (4, N=370) = 11.494, p <.005). It is notable that students are much more in favor of CPI discussions than adults χ^2 (3, N=702) = 25.633, p <.001), and also when compared to the subgroup of teachers χ^2 (3, N=271) = 13.531, p <.005).

Figure 1 Means and standard deviations of trust in teachers’ ability to engage in discussions of CPI on a 1-5 Likert scale

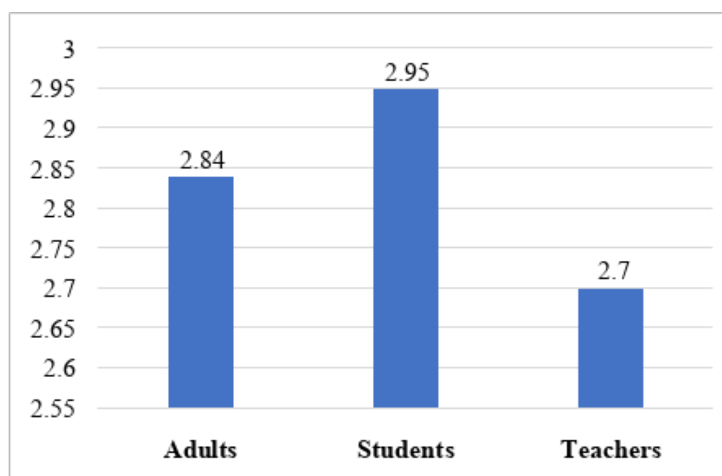

Table 3

To what extent do you trust teachers to be able to engage in discussions of CPI appropriately?

	Full sample (N=702)	Adults (N=501)	Students (N=201)	Teachers (N=70)
Not at all	41 (7.4%)	23 (6.2%)	18 (9.8%)	6 (11.3%)
To some extent	130 (23.5%)	92 (24.9%)	38 (20.8%)	16 (30.2%)
To a moderate extent	262 (47.4%)	191 (51.6%)	71 (38.8%)	22 (41.5%)
To a great extent	105 (19.0%)	58 (15.7%)	47 (25.7%)	6 (11.3%)
To a very great extent	15 (2.7%)	6 (1.6%)	9 (4.9%)	3 (5.7%)

The respondents were also asked about their attitudes towards holding class discussions on 13 controversial topics in Israeli society (presented in Table 4). In this analysis, the response ratios to the two responses that indicated agreeing to a CPI discussion (with or without disclosure) were accumulated as the percentage of 'willingness to discuss' each of the 13 topics. In addition, the mean agreement to hold discussions on all 13 topics was calculated and overall, the percentage of willingness to discuss was 81.97% (SD=23.76). Among students the percentage of willingness to discuss was 81.21% (SD=21.65), among adults 82.8% (SD=24.57) and among teachers 79.12% (SD=27.07)

The three issues that evoked the highest objection to be discussed in the classroom were: same-sex marriage, equal opportunity for Arabs, and the morality of IDF actions in the occupied territories. Interestingly, these topics receive the lowest proportions of support both among adults and students. The issues that evoked the highest willingness to be discussed were: the right of the Jewish people to the Land of Israel, the status of the judicial system in the state, and equal pay for men and women. In order to examine if there is a difference in the willingness to engage according to the general topic of the CPI discussion, the topics were arranged in four domains: civil issues (4 items, Cronbach's α=0.74), Arab-Israeli conflict (4 items α=0.67), church and state (3 items α=0.64) and two items that did not fit any category: strengthening *Mizrachi* culture, and the status of the judicial system in Israel. One-way repeated measures ANOVA was employed to examine differences between the domains. The results showed significant differences among the four domain areas, F (3.35, 2344.98) 12.886, p <.001). Bonferroni post hoc tests indicated that the status of the judicial system scored significantly higher (87.9% support for discussions) than all other topics and civil topics scored significantly lower (79.3% support for discussions) than all other topics.

Table 5 presents the manner in which the respondents who endorsed the discussion of a topic, thought it most appropriate for the discussions to be held. Respondents could choose one of three options: "holding the discussion without teachers disclosing their personal views" (henceforth "neutral"), "holding the discussion with teacher disclosure but without persuasion" (henceforth "disclosure") and "holding the discussion with persuasion" (henceforth "indoctrination").

Table 4

Willingness to discuss different controversial topics among full sample, adults, students and teachers

		Full sample (N=702)	Adults (N=501)	Students (N=201)	Teachers (N=70)
Ultra-Orthodox recruitment for the Army	Avoid	118 (16.8%)	78 (15.6%)	40 (19.9%)	15 (21.4%)
	Discuss	584 (83.2%)	423 (84.4%)	161 (80.1%)	55 (78.6%)
Gender separated academic studies	Avoid	147 (20.9%)	115 (23.0%)	32 (15.9%)	19 (27.1%)
	Discuss	555 (79.1%)	386 (77.0%)	169 (84.1%)	51 (72.9%)
Deportation of asylum seekers from Israel	Avoid	132 (18.8%)	89 (17.8%)	43 (21.4%)	14 (20.0%)
	Discuss	570 (81.2%)	412 (82.2%)	158 (78.6%)	56 (80.0%)
Resolving the Israeli-Palestinian conflict	Avoid	126 (17.9%)	88 (17.6%)	38 (18.9%)	14 (20.0%)
	Discuss	576 (82.1%)	413 (82.4%)	163 (81.1%)	56 (80.0%)
The right of the Jewish people on the Land of Israel	Avoid	50 (7.1%)	40 (8.0%)	10 (5.0%)	5 (7.1%)
	Discuss	652 (92.9%)	461 (92.0%)	191 (95.0%)	65 (92.9%)
The expansion of the settlements in Judea and Samaria	Avoid	154 (21.9%)	110 (22.0%)	44 (21.9%)	21 (30.0%)
	Discuss	548 (78.1%)	391 (78.0%)	157 (78.1%)	49 (70.0%)
Public transportation on Shabbat	Avoid	107 (15.2%)	75 (15.0%)	32 (15.9%)	13 (18.6%)
	Discuss	595 (84.8%)	426 (85.0%)	169 (84.1%)	57 (81.4%)
The morality of IDF actions in the occupied territories	Avoid	162 (23.1%)	122 (24.4%)	40 (19.9%)↓	16 (22.9%)

		Full sample (N=702)	Adults (N=501)	Students (N=201)	Teachers (N=70)
	Discuss	540 (76.9%)	379 (75.8%)	161 (80.1%)	54 (77.1%)
Strengthening Mizrachi culture	Avoid	115 (16.4%)	70 (14.0%)	45 (22.4%)	12 (17.1%)
	Discuss	587 (83.6%)	431 (86.0%)	156 (77.6%)	358 (82.9%)
Equal pay for equal jobs	Avoid	77 (11.0%)	50 (10.0%)	27 (13.4%)	11 (15.7%)
	Discuss	625 (89.0%)	451 (90.0%)	174 (86.6%)	59 (84.3%)
The status of the judicial system in Israel	Avoid	85 (12.1%)	51 (10.2%)	34 (16.9%)	9 (12.9%)
	Discuss	617 (87.9%)	450 (89.8%)	167 (83.1%)	61 (87.1%)
Same-sex marriage	Avoid	187 (26.6%)	141 (28.1%)	46 (22.9%)	20 (28.6%)
	Discuss	515 (73.4%)	360 (71.9%)	155 (77.1%)	50 (71.4%)
Equality of opportunity for Arabs in Israel	Avoid	185 (26.4%)	125 (25.0%)	60 (29.9%)	21 (30.0%)
	Discuss	517 (73.6%)	376 (75.0%)	141 (70.1%)	49 (70.0%)

It is notable that students were much more in favor indoctrination than adults on all topics. For example, there was a significant difference between adults and students on the topic of the army recruitment of the ultra- Orthodox (χ^2 (1, N=584) = 15.392, p <.001). Some topics produced especially interesting results in this respect. Respondents were especially supportive of indoctrination when it came to the issue of “The right of the Jewish people on the Land of Israel”. More than fifth of the sample wanted teachers to discuss this topic including disclosing their personal opinion and persuading students, and among students almost 30% supported indoctrination (χ^2 (1, N=702) = 11.507, p =.001). On this topic, significant discrepancies were also found regarding the proportion supporting neutrality in each group with only around 30% of students supporting neutrality compared with 50.1% of the adults (χ^2 (1, N=702) = 25.661, p <.001). On the other hand, when it came to same-sex marriage, teachers were quite reluctant to persuade (4.0%) compared with around 20% of the students who wanted teachers to be direct on this topic (χ^2 (1, N=702) = 13.800, p <.001).

Table 5

Way of teaching CPI among full sample, adults, students and teachers

		Full sample	Adults	Students	Teachers
Ultra-Orthodox recruitment for the Army	Neutral	309 (52.9%)	244 (57.7%)	65 (40.4%)	27 (49.1%)
	Disclosure	207 (35.4%)	131 (31.0%)	76 (47.2%)	20 (36.4%)
	Indoctrination	68 (11.6%)	48 (11.3%)	20 (12.4%)	8 (14.5%)
Gender separated academic studies	Neutral	307 (55.3%)	227 (58.8%)	80 (47.3%)	30 (58.8%)
	Disclosure	188 (33.9%)	122 (31.6%)	66 (39.1%)	16 (31.4%)
	Indoctrination	60 (10.8%)	37 (9.6%)	23 (13.6%)	5 (9.8%)
Deportation of asylum seekers from Israel	Neutral	334 (58.6%)	264 (64.1%)	70 (44.3%)	29 (51.8%)
	Disclosure	168 (29.5%)	105 (25.5%)	63 (39.9%)	20 (35.7%)
	Indoctrination	68 (11.9%)	43 (10.4%)	25 (15.8%)	7 (12.5%)
Resolving the Israeli-Palestinian conflict	Neutral	354 (61.5%)	285 (69.0%)	69 (42.3%)	35 (62.5%)
	Disclosure	176 (30.6%)	101 (24.5%)	75 (46.0%)	13 (23.2%)
	Indoctrination	46 (8.0%)	27 (6.5%)	19 (11.7%)	8 (14.3%)
The right of the Jewish people on the Land of Israel	Neutral	282 (43.3%)	231 (50.1%)	51 (26.7%)	24 (36.9%)
	Disclosure	227 (34.8%)	143 (31.0%)	84 (44.0%)	26 (40.0%)
	Indoctrination	143 (21.9%)	87 (18.9%)	56 (29.3%)	15 (23.1%)
The expansion of the settlements in Judea and Samaria	Neutral	342 (62.4%)	271 (69.3%)	71 (45.2%)	30 (61.2%)
	Disclosure	150 (27.4%)	88 (22.5%)	62 (39.5%)	12 (24.5%)
	Indoctrination	56 (10.2%)	32 (8.2%)	24 (15.3%)	7 (14.3%)
Public transportation on Shabbat	Neutral	291 (48.9%)	242 (56.8%)	49 (29.0%)	29 (50.9%)
	Disclosure	215 (36.1%)	141 (33.1%)	74 (43.8%)	17 (29.8%)

		Full sample	Adults	Students	Teachers
	Indoctrination	89 (15.0%)	43 (10.1%)	46 (27.2%)	11 (19.3%)
The morality of IDF actions in the occupied territories	Neutral	301 (55.7%)	238 (62.8%)	63 (39.1%)	28 (51.9%)
	Disclosure	161 (29.8%)	94 (24.8%)	67 (41.6%)	13 (24.1%)
	Indoctrination	78 (14.4%)	47 (12.4%)	31 (19.3%)	13 (24.1%)
Strengthening Mizrachi culture	Neutral	285 (48.6%)	237 (55.0%)	48 (30.8%)	28 (48.3%)
	Disclosure	232 (39.5%)	151 (35.0%)	81 (51.9%)	23 (39.7%)
	Indoctrination	70 (11.9%)	43 (10.0%)	27 (17.3%)	7 (12.1%)
Equal pay for equal jobs	Neutral	244 (39.0%)	200 (44.3%)	44 (25.3%)	20 (33.9%)
	Disclosure	252 (40.3%)	172 (38.1%)	80 (46.0%)	25 (42.4%)
	Indoctrination	129 (20.6%)	79 (17.5%)	50 (28.7%)	14 (23.7%)
The status of the judicial system in Israel	Neutral	316 (51.2%)	253 (56.2%)	63 (37.7%)	34 (55.7%)
	Disclosure	231 (37.4%)	154 (34.2%)	77 (46.1%)	20 (32.8%)
	Indoctrination	70 (11.3%)	43 (9.6%)	27 (16.2%)	7 (11.5%)
Same-sex marriage	Neutral	280 (54.4%)	225 (62.5%)	55 (35.5%)	27 (54.0%)
	Disclosure	177 (34.4%)	107 (29.7%)	70 (45.2%)	21 (42.0%)
	Indoctrination	58 (11.3%)	28 (7.8%)	30 (19.4%)	2 (4.0%)
Equality of opportunity for Arabs in Israel	Neutral	296 (57.3%)	232 (61.7%)	64 (45.4%)	28 (57.1%)
	Disclosure	173 (33.5%)	117 (31.1%)	56 (39.7%)	17 (34.7%)
	Indoctrination	48 (9.3%)	27 (7.2%)	21 (14.9%)	4 (8.2%)

3.2 What predicts attitudes toward CPI discussion in schools?

The relationship between attitudes toward CPI discussions in schools and socio-demographic characteristics was examined regarding gender, age, religion and political affiliation. Table 6 presents the intercorrelations among the variables used in the linear regression. Multiple linear regression was then calculated to predict general attitude toward CPI discussions (the mean willingness to discuss the 13 different topics) as a function of degree of religiosity (secular, traditional, religious, orthodox), political affiliation (right, center, left), age, and level of education. The results are presented in Table 7. Preliminary analyses were performed to ensure there was no violation of the assumptions of normality, multicollinearity and homoscedasticity. Durbin–Watson coefficients to indicate independence of residuals were satisfactory (2.11). A multiple linear regression to predict participants' general attitude toward CPI teaching using the step-wise method yielded a multiple R of .364, p <.005. The following four variables contributed significantly to the prediction: degree of religiosity, followed by political affiliation, age, and education. However, since the Beta values for age and education were low, they were not interpreted and only degree of religiosity and political affiliation were considered meaningful predictors. Thus, religiosity was found to be the strongest predictor in determining CPI attitudes, ($ß$ = -.24, p < .001), followed by political affiliation ($ß$ = .13, p < .01). This means that, in general, the less religious individuals are, the more left-wing, older and more educated, the more they support CPI teaching.

Table 6

Intercorrelations between variables used in the regression

Variable	Attitude toward CPI	Age	Religiosity	Gender	Political affiliation
Age	.13*	--			
Religiosity	-.36**	-.12*	--		
Gender	.02	-.01	-.02	--	
Political affiliation	.21**	-.002	-.31**	-.04	--
Level of education	.14*	.09*	-.09*	-.05	.13*

Note: *p <.05, **p <.01, ***p <.001

Given that CPI attitudes have been found to differ largely based on the CPI domain, separate regression analyses were conducted for the different domains: civil issues, Arab-Israeli conflict, and church and state. As Table 7 demonstrates, the willingness to discuss civil issues was the one best predicted with a cumulative R of .42 while willingness to discuss Arab Israeli conflict was least predicted with a cumulative R of .24. The main predictor for willingness to discuss civil issues was religiosity ($ß$ = -.29, p <

.001), followed by political affiliation (*ß* = .18, $p < .01$) and level of education (*ß* = .11, $p < .01$). Conversely, religiosity did not play a part in predicting willingness to discuss the Arab-Israeli conflict where political affiliation was the best predictor (*ß* = .36, $p < .001$), followed by age (*ß* = .13, $p < .01$). This means that the more religious people are, the less willing they are to discuss civil issues, while the more left-wing you are, the more willing you are to discuss the Arab-Israeli conflict.

Table 7

Stepwise linear regression to predict participants' general attitude toward boundary-crossing teaching

Step	Variable	B	Beta	t	Cumulative R
1	Religiosity	-.61	-.24	-7.182***	.306
2	Political affiliation	.49	.13	2.87**	.340
3	Age	.01	-.01	2.13*	.353
4	Level of education	.03	.01	2.09*	.364

Note: *p <.05, **p <.01, ***p <.001

4 Discussion

The findings of this study reveal that general population adults as well as 10-12 grade students have little confidence in teachers' ability to conduct CPI discussions in classrooms. This should not be surprising as the study confirms previous research findings regarding teachers' lack of confidence in their own abilities to engage in CPI (Oulton et al., 2004; Hawley et al., 2016; Tannebaum, 2020). The study provides further evidence of teachers' reluctance to engage in CPI From both the teacher and the student perspective. Teachers were asked in several different ways whether they should engaged in CPI discussions in classrooms and approximately 20% of them responded consistently that such discussions should not be held, much higher than the figures surveyed in Turkey where teacher reluctance was less than 10% (Kus & Öztürk, 2019). Student reluctance however was much lower with less than 10% of students showing resistance to CPI discussions.

Nevertheless, the students did provide further evidence of teachers' reluctance to engage in CPI, as only 70% of students reported that they had engaged in CPI discussion in the last year. The students reported that as expected, it is mainly the homeroom teachers followed by civics teachers who conduct such discussions. This is in line with previous findings regarding civics teachers' self reports that are higher than the reports of teachers from other disciplines (Gindi & Erlich Ron, 2018) as well as with some

professional approaches to CPI that see CPI as civics teachers' task (e.g., Kus & Öztürk, 2019)

Teachers and adults in general showed similar attitudes toward engaging in CPI while the two groups differed significantly from students. Students were much more inclined toward political education in schools and want teachers to disclose their opinions much more than adults, while it seems that teachers reflect the general attitude in the adult sample that is more cautious about such discourse. Teachers were also similar to the general adult sample and the student sample in their confidence (or lack thereof) that they would be able to do a good job in handling CPI discussions in classrooms. When asked who should engage in CPI discussions in schools, teachers were actually the group that referred most to external experts as the best professionals to do so (27.1% compared with an average of about 20% in adults in general and in students).

This research is the first of its kind in examining the relationship between the willingness to engage in CPI discussion and the different topics the class could engage in. The topic of discussion was found to be highly significant in attitudes towards CPI discussion. In general, the findings indicate that civil issues such as same-sex marriage and equal pay for equal jobs were the least supported as appropriate topics for deep CPI discussions in classrooms. On the other hand, the support for discussing other CPI topics was not general but content specific. Thus, for example the morality of IDF actions in the occupied territories and equality of opportunity for Arabs in Israel were among the least supported, while the right of the Jewish people on the land of Israel was the most supportive overall. It may well be that in the contemporary political climate the right of the Jewish people on the land of Israel is not considered to be a controversial topic at all and so more than 90% of the sample wanted teachers to engage in such a discussion.

Regression analyses demonstrated that degree of religiosity was the most significant predictor of individuals' willingness to engage in CPI overall. However, while it was the most significant predictor of engaging in civil issues, it did not play a part in predicting willingness to discuss the Arab-Israeli conflict, where political affiliation was the best predictor. It seems likely that the more orthodox one is, the less willing one is to discuss same-sex marriage, whereas discussing the Arab-Israeli conflict is not as clear cut as the degree of religiosity increases.

The question of disclosing teachers' personal opinion is a difficult one. Respondents that did not negate the idea of CPI were predominantly in favor of a neutral position. The percentage of respondents who subscribed to indoctrination (that teachers disclose their opinion and persuade the students as well) ranged from 5-20 percent depending on the topic and the population. For example, 20% of the respondents wanted teachers to persuade students in their opinions about the topic of the Jewish people's right to the land of Israel when they discuss it in class. In contrast, only 8% wanted teachers to indoctrinate students about the resolution of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. Thus, the topic of discussion proved to be highly significant in respondents' attitudes toward teacher disclosure and persuasion. More importantly, though, is the finding that this was

the decisive factor for teachers as well. Namely, even teachers' attitudes regarding issues of disclosure and persuasion were based more on the specific topic hand than on general principles of education.

What is it about the topic that makes it more prone to disclosure or persuasion? It would seem that the more individuals have a clear idea about teachers' opinion regarding the topic, the more they would support disclosure and persuasion. Namely, it may be that in the current nationalistic *zeitgeist* in Israel, respondents are assured that teachers would support the Jewish people's right to the land of Israel and therefore support disclosure and persuasion. This hypothesis is further reinforced by the analysis of the factors predicting support of CPI discussions. The most important factors in predicting resistance the CPI were being religious and being right wing while being left-wing was associated with supporting CPI discussions.

Overall, the findings point to a worrying picture when it comes to CPI discussions. We see that CPI discussions are infrequently held, and the teachers feel ill equipped to handle these discussions. The confidence that students and other adults place in them also leaves much to be desired. When it comes to professional decisions regarding teaching methods such as disclosure or persuasion, we see the teachers, just like students and other adults, base decisions on the specific topic at hand and not on professional guidelines. The findings point to a notable gap that teacher training institutions would do well to address both in raising awareness of the importance of CPI discussions and in teaching the skills required to handle such discussions. A specific training gap that this study highlights is in teachers' attitudes toward disclosure and persuasion. We ague that teachers should graduate equipped with a conceptual understanding of the issue of disclosure with its pros and cons, rather than waver on the way they handle these topics according to the topic at hand.

The limitations of this research should be acknowledged, and most importantly, the study would have done well to examine parents attitudes separately from adults in general. Hopefully, future research will examine the differences among parents, non-parent teachers, and other adults. In future research, it would be interesting to see if there are parallel lines in teacher willingness to avoid or discuss CPI topics in different cultures and contexts. Such research may assist in detecting the sources of teacher resistance to CPI discussions, considering such variables as the political climate of that period and the intensity of controversy around the topic. Comparisons between countries may raise the question what aspects of teaching CPI are global and what aspects are local. Finally, the limitations of a survey as a tool should be acknowledged. Future research involving in-depth interviews and focus groups can contribute much to help us understand why the politicization of education is so frightening to both students and teachers.

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ENDNOTES

[1] Adam Verta was a teacher that in 2014 was publicly criticized for engaging in political discussions in class, see Erlich Ron & Gindi, 2018 for more details.

[2] In Israel, a homeroom teacher is the central teacher for the students' class (homeroom), even when they move to other rooms to learn other subjects with other teachers. The homeroom teacher is responsible for educational and organizational aspects of the class as a whole, and the child as an individual (Fisherman, 2015).

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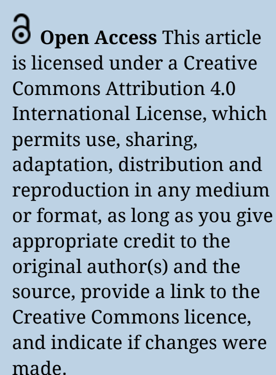
Book Review

Refugee Education: Theorising Practice in Schools by Joanna McIntyre and Fran Abrams. London and New York: Routledge, 2021.

Ian Thompson
University of Oxford

The plight of increasing numbers of refugee and asylum seeking children attempting to journey to Europe in recent years has been well documented in the media. The discourse that surrounds refugees is emotionally charged as well as highly politicised. Research has shown that young people whose families have become forcefully displaced from homes and cultures as a result of societal conflict are likely to be negatively affected in terms of the equality of educational and life opportunities. What is less talked about is what happens to these young people as they establish new lives in culturally different and sometimes hostile environments. We know little about the narratives, struggles and successes of refugees in the context of schooling.

This book on the challenges and possibilities of refugee education, written by the academic Jo McIntyre and the journalist Fran Abrams, is therefore a very timely and internationally significant book. It both challenges misconceptions of what the right to education should entail and offers an ethical and social justice imperative for the inclusion of refugee children in schooling. The book begins with a stark reminder that more than half of the 25 million refugees across the world are children. Children who under international law have a right to a decent and dignified education. However, education does not operate in a political and social vacuum and a child's ability to develop academically, socially and emotionally is dependent on complex and shifting contexts as well as their encounters of schooling. Refugee children have often experienced trauma and many will have significant mental health difficulties. Family, school, friends and neighbourhood constitute major influences on identity formation and the basis of the social support system for children and adolescent. However; forceful displacement (or immigration) as a result of a violence or other forms of social conflict and the resultant complete change of social environment pose additional challenges for the young people's identity formation and their integration into the possibilities of a new community. Displaced young people and their families also face challenges in their adaptation to new systems of education and the public sphere. This book aims to help us to understanding these challenges and to think of ways to overcome them.



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The major strengths of this book are its interdisciplinary focus and its development of a theory of inclusive education for refugee children. Theorising inclusive practice in schools working with refugee children is essential if societies are to meet their need. The theorisation uses the context of England and is done in conjunction with educational practitioners and informed by Nancy Fraser's concept of 'participatory parity' and Ravi Kholi's theory of the resumption of ordinary life'. These theoretical underpinnings capture the imperative for social justice for refugee children going to school in a highly performative system of education with unequal access to resources.

The authors' voices and perspectives remain distinct. Jo McIntyre is a well known educational researcher and teacher educator with a background as a teacher in schools. Fran Abrams has a wealth of experience as a journalist reporting on education amongst other social and political issues. These perspectives help inform the debates and structure of the book. The first part, written by Jo McIntyre, uses the method of case studies to illustrate theory and practice and is drawn from empirical research conducted in English schools. The case studies pick up both teachers' practice and refugee children's experiences and perspectives in order to explore the social reality of schooling for refugee children. These stories are told in the context of England but has international resonance for the creation of inclusive national education systems. The second part, written by Fran Abrams, focuses on the history, conceptualisation and policy development of refugee education in England. These chapters use both documentary analysis and interviews with teachers and refugee children and young people. Vignettes provide context to the analysis. The authors then come together in the conclusion to discuss the lessons drawn from history and the voices and experiences of teachers, senior leaders and refugee children.

The book is moving, informative and academically robust. It is also a powerful call for action in support of inclusive education for refugee and asylum seeker children. The authors have developed a theoretically rich interdisciplinary account of refugee education drawn from lessons from history as well as the lived experiences of young people and the professionals who work with them. It is an inspirational book that highlights optimism over despair and offers ways forward for schools. This book deserves to be read by all those interested and involved in refugee education.

Author Biography

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